GUIDE TO THE EH1 GREECE FILE

[The EH1 Greece File Unit covers general and specific data on modern Greece (from about 1900 A.D.), and the Greek people, including those of Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, but excluding modern Crete (see FZ5 Crete). For specific data on the Greeks of Eastern Anatolia and the Trebizond up to 1923 see MB6 Anatolian Greeks. The File Unit Sample chosen for this file is modern rural mainland Greece, thus excluding the urban areas and the islands. The sample includes the national culture and its manifestations on the rural scene. This File Unit is basically a Country File Unit and thus is inclusive of File Units: EH12 Greek Regional Cultures, EH13 Mt. Athos, EH14 Sarakatsani and EH15 Vlachs. Information on the latter two nomadic groups has been marked for these files and/or category 563. Other related File Units referring to pre-modern Greece are EH2 through EH11.

For a short summary outline of Greek rural culture see Sanders, Irwin T. "Village Social Organization in Greece," Rural Sociology, Vol. 18, pp. 366-375, 1953. For historical information see Webster's Geographical Dictionary p. 421. (Springfield: G. and C. Merriam Co., 1949.) Greece "became part of Ottoman Empire when conquered by Turks 1456; modern Greek kingdom won independence from Turkey in war 1821-29; received Ionian Is. 1864, Thessaly and part of Epirus 1881; defeated by Turkey in brief war over Crete ... which Greece finally annexed 1913; as result of Balkan Wars 1912-13, gained several islands in Aegean and territory in Macedonia; declared war on Germany 1916; at close of war with Turkey 1920-22, gave back E Thrace, Imroz, and Bozcaada and claim to Dodecanese (former gains by Treaty of Sevres 1920); exchanged population with Turkey 1923-30;

republic 1924-35; joined Balkan Pact 1934; restored monarchy 1935; invaded by Italy 1940 and conquered by Germany 1941; liberated by Greek and British troops Sept. 24-Oct. 30, 1944; recalled King George to throne by plebiscite 1946; received Dodecanese 1947." American Mission for Aid to Greece began operation when Britain ended assistance, 1947; Greek Civil War between royalist government and Communist-dominated EAM, 1947-1949; ten changes of government between 1947 and 1952; Parliament adopted majority system for electing its members, 1952.

This file has been processed in order to include in the HRAF Sample another European Peasant-Mediterranean file which has a good literature in English. Although the File Unit Sample was limited to rural mainland Greece, the sources contain some information on rural-urban differences, nomadic shepherd groups, and resettled Greeks from Turkish areas. Differences in rural culture between plains and hill villages are discussed. Field work for the sources was carried out mostly between the mid 1940's to mid 1950's (except 8:Stephanides, 1933-39) hence there is much information on war damage, reconstruction, and change in general. The general length of stay in the field was two years except Stephanides, who was an agricultural extension worker in a village for 8 years. The authors are mainly social scientists, and three are indigenes.

Sources 1:Sanders and 2:Friedl give the best general coverage, with more depth provided by the latter. 6:McNeill discusses differences between six rural villages and provides considerable information on politics and government. 8:Stephanides is a community study of resettled Greeks.

10:Lee is good for an overall view of Greek culture and may be read first for general orientation. 2:Friedl presents an excellent discussion of values and interpersonal relations in Chapter 5. For a full treatment of the Greek Orthodox Church (including beliefs) see 5: Hammond.

Other sources provide coverage of more narrow aspects of Greek culture: 3:Friedl, for rural-urban kin relationships; 4: Andromedas, for kinship terminology; 7:Friedl, for hospital care; 9:Megas, for rural-urban house types.

There is a general lack of information on formal and informal justice and law. The general picture of village life which emerges is one of mutual aid with some competition between families and between villages. This may reflect the period at which most field work was undertaken. The post-war period was one of rebuilding and cooperating toward progress. The only information on informal justice comes from 8:Stephanides, whose observations were made in the 1930's. 6:McNeill mentions conflicts between hill villagers when loyalties were divided between Communists and non-Communists during the Civil War. Again, perhaps because of the time of field work, there is much information on standard of living, but, except for source 9:Megas, only superficial description of material culture.

Special marking decisions are as follows: When the concept of philotimo (filotimo) has been discussed as the concept of "self" categories 156 and 828 have been used, when the resulting behavior is discussed in terms of "honor" see category 577.

Regional divisions of Greece have been marked for category 101 since the units delimited are not political but more historical and geographical.

The Nomos, or province, governed by a Nomarch appears to be modeled on the French department - see category 634. Each Nomos is divided into Eparchies.

The Eparchy is a geographical rather than administrative unit and is further subdivided into municipalities whose governors are directly responsible to the Nomarch. For information on the Eparchy see category 631.

The Demos, or deme, a larger town with a population over 10,000, is governed by a mayor - see category 633.

The Kinotis is a smaller town or village with a population usually over 300. It is also called a Commune - see category 621. For information on the Community Board (or Council) see category 623; the President of the Community Board, see 622; the Secretary of the Community Board, see 624; the Gerousia (an unofficial council of elders), see 623.]

Processed in 1965-1966

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks? Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the seminomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 ver-
sion of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picur- 184
esque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 369
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, cho-*
rikos, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approxima- [361]
tions of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions
about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of over-
idealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of
burdens and dull plodders through life.[18]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland,
away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* in-
terchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall
have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other
countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local po-
litical units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens,
whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had
reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over
20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small
village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more atten-
tion than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peas- 369
ant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways.
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 184
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1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

someone like Arnold Toynbee that Greece's early greatness grew out of the stern necessity to respond to the challenge of a partly hostile environment and a population growing beyond its means of subsistence. 182

Although the study of Greece's past shows that the cultural, or man-made, aspects of life have been tremendously important, one must nevertheless give the physical environment its just due. This leads to a consideration of some of the cold, hard facts about the rock that is Greece.

The Regions of Greece

Each of the regions of Greece, shown on the accompanying map, has its own assortment of mountains, plains, and a stretch of coastline; each has its own history and traditions; each has its own problems posed by the 101 13

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101 13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[433] [243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Preface and Acknowledgments

THE FIELD WORK on which this book is based was conducted largely in 1955-1956 under a Fulbright grant, with supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I am very grateful for this assistance. Return visits were made to the village for several weeks in the summer of 1959, and for two days in July 1961.

Margaret Mead and Hortense Powdermaker were most generous with their time during the initial stages of the project. In Greece, John Caskey, Peter and Eva Topping, Eurydice Demetracopoulou, Korali Krokodilou, and Olympias Kokkevi gave valuable advice, assistance, and encouragement.

John Melios, Nomarch of Boeotia at the time we resided there, helped in selecting the village and introduced my husband and me to the villagers. Our gratitude to him is very great both for this initial help and for his continued interest. Our thanks go also to K. Chlimintzas of the Agricultural Bank of Greece in Levadhia.

The family of Athanasius T. Triantaphyllou, who took us into their home in Vasilika, put us greatly in their debt for many kindly services besides.

Discussions with many scholars have contributed much to this book, though of course I bear sole responsibility for the points of view presented. I should like to mention Henry and Renee Kahane, Sidney Axelrad and Sylvia Brody, and John Andromedas, Fred Gearing, Popie Mohring, Irwin T. Sanders, and Conrad Arensberg.

My participation in the Wenner-Gren Conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean at Burg Wartenstein, Austria, in 1959, and in the similar conference at the Athenian Social Science Center in Athens in 1961, helped me greatly. Special thanks are due to Julian Pitt-Rivers and to John Peristiany, the organizers of the two conferences.

/4 cont./

Selection of the Village

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The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics. 621
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The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

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10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

GREECE[1]

The culture of the Greeks is here presented as an integrated whole. 105
The Greeks have been selected out of the European nations now engaged in introducing technical change, because they represent a unique case. They have the most ancient civilization of the European continent, yet their technical development at present is one of the lowest. The history of their industries and factories goes back more than 2,500 years; yet they now resist industrialization. They are [101] European, yet they look toward the Middle East and share a number of attitudes with the people of this area. They are Christians but with a special kind of Christianity, highly ritualized and impersonal, and incorporating much of local origin.

Individualism is prized and rampant; yet there is no atomization. 105
Self-esteem is paramount, and rests on freedom and self-dependence; 156
yet Greeks do not seek freedom from the family, and do not lose self-esteem when they are dependent on the family. They have their own unique individualism. They are highly co-operative, but the basis and formulation of their co-operative activity are different from those of the Western European nations.

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[1] The study of Greek culture is based largely on interviews, correspondence, and memoranda, conducted and prepared in the autumn and winter of 1950-51. Newspapers and magazines of this time were also consulted. Two Maternal and Child Care Manuals of recent years, several collections of folk songs, and a popular humorous work were intensively analysed. Accounts by people engaged in introducing change were consulted. The writer, herself a Greek by birth and upbringing, has depended also on her own firsthand experience of the culture. The manuscript was submitted to two Greeks for comment and criticism. 123 125

1: Karutz--73 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Greece EH1

/104/ The Macedonians

I.

000 1. Konak in Alaklissa. 2. Shepherd's hut of loam and straw in the Campania, the lowlands north of Salonika. 3. Fortress-like warehouse in Palalitza. 4. Peasant woman at a weaving loom in Skoplje. 5. Farmyard near Skoplje. 6. Bagpipes. 7. Baking bell. 8. Magical charm. 9. and 10. Votive offerings. 11. Cotton cleaner (hatter's bow). 12. Riding donkey. 13. Pottery oven near Skoplje. 14. Armchair. 15. Plowing farmer. 16. Brand iron used for branding sheep. 17. Incense pot. 18. Earthenware cover for the coal basin, used for keeping the heat in; on top of it is placed the pot or coffee jug.[1]

(Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 1 , and 11 are in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg. Numbers 13, 16, and 17 in the Ethnographisches Museum at Dresden. Numbers 4, 5, 12, 13, and 16 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt /Chief surgeon-general/ Dr. Hansen in Lübeck.

101 144 In the lowlands between Albania, old Bulgaria, and Greece, that is, in Macedonia, and incessant movement of peaceable and war-like peoples has produced the racial mixture of present-day Macedonia, in which the Indo-Germanic Thracians constitute the basic stock. To this were added, in antiquity, Romans, in the middle ages Slavs and Bulgarians, Turks and their Turkomanic or Near Eastern camp-followers; and, finally, Rumanians, Greeks, and the tribally related Albanians. The level tracts of land along the coast and the 231 swampy lowlands are maintained by a nomadic type of livestockbreeding; 241 the fertile fringe areas provide ample yields from the grain agriculture which cultivates primarily wheat and maize, but they are also receptive 342 to southerly cultures such as rice, opium, and cotton. The herders build for themselves hasty round huts of loam and straw; the field guards who here, as in all the other parts of the Balkans, watch over the cultivated fields all through the summer, construct frame-works shaped like beehives or pointed cones out of intertwined twigs and thick bundles of straw. Simple farmsteads also have a thatched roof on walls of tiles and loam; a combination of wood, loam, and tiles leads to two-storied panel-work structures (Figure 2) which contain, in the ground floor,

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a--Analy]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 21]

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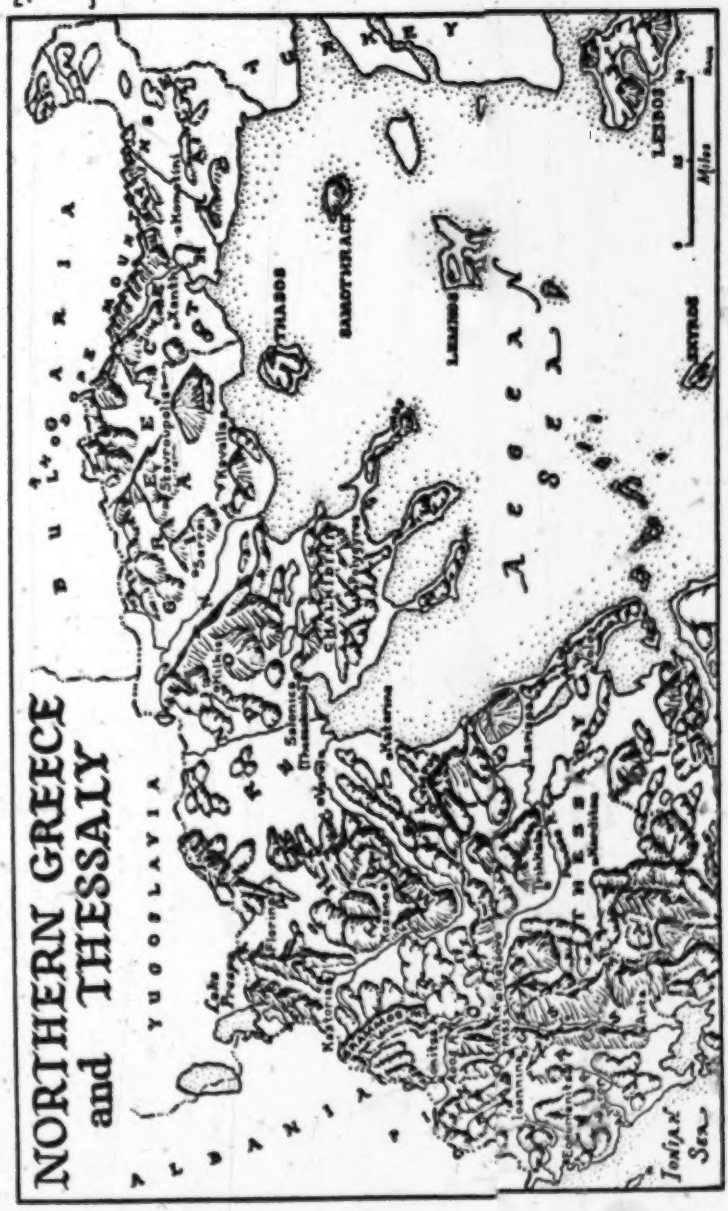

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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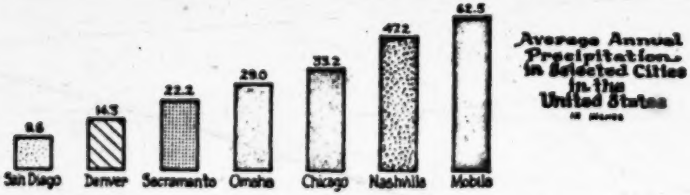

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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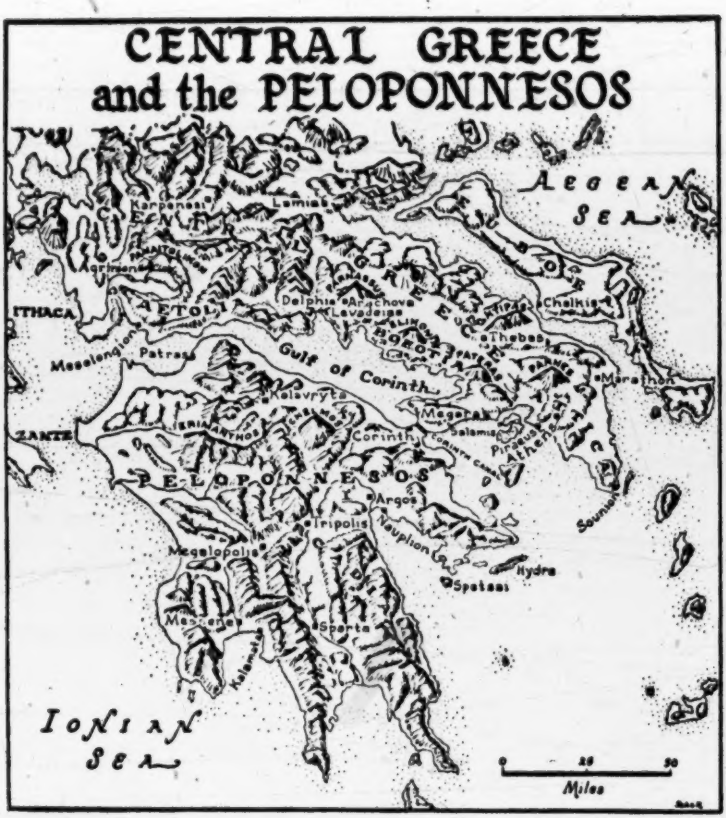

184 would have normally been paid to the mountain people, to Patras and sold it for
433 its weight in gold. As a result, the highland villagers faced serious difficulties.

511 About this time a band of five young guerrillas came by the village and demanded hospitality. The villagers took them in and killed a lamb so that
722 they could dine in plenty. After a few months, the same band put in another appearance, but this time the people could only provide a cock for the dinner. On the third visit, much later on, a wheat dish had to be the main course. Finally, on a fourth visit, when the members of the band were served only onions and garlic, they turned to the villagers and said: "You are hungry. Do you see those villages on the plain below? Why don't you go down there and take the food away from them, take their land, and let them come up here and live?"

An old villager answered: "Yes, we may be able to go down there and beat

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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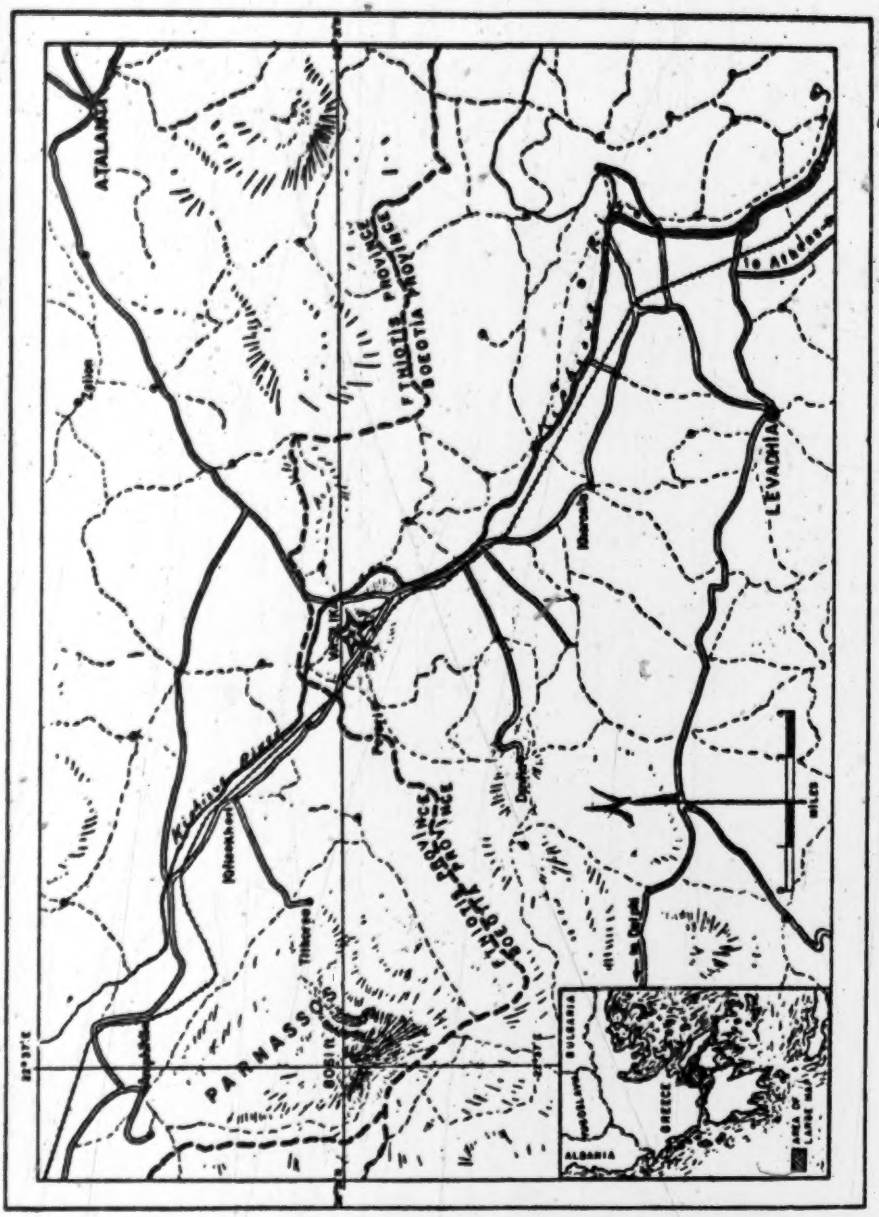

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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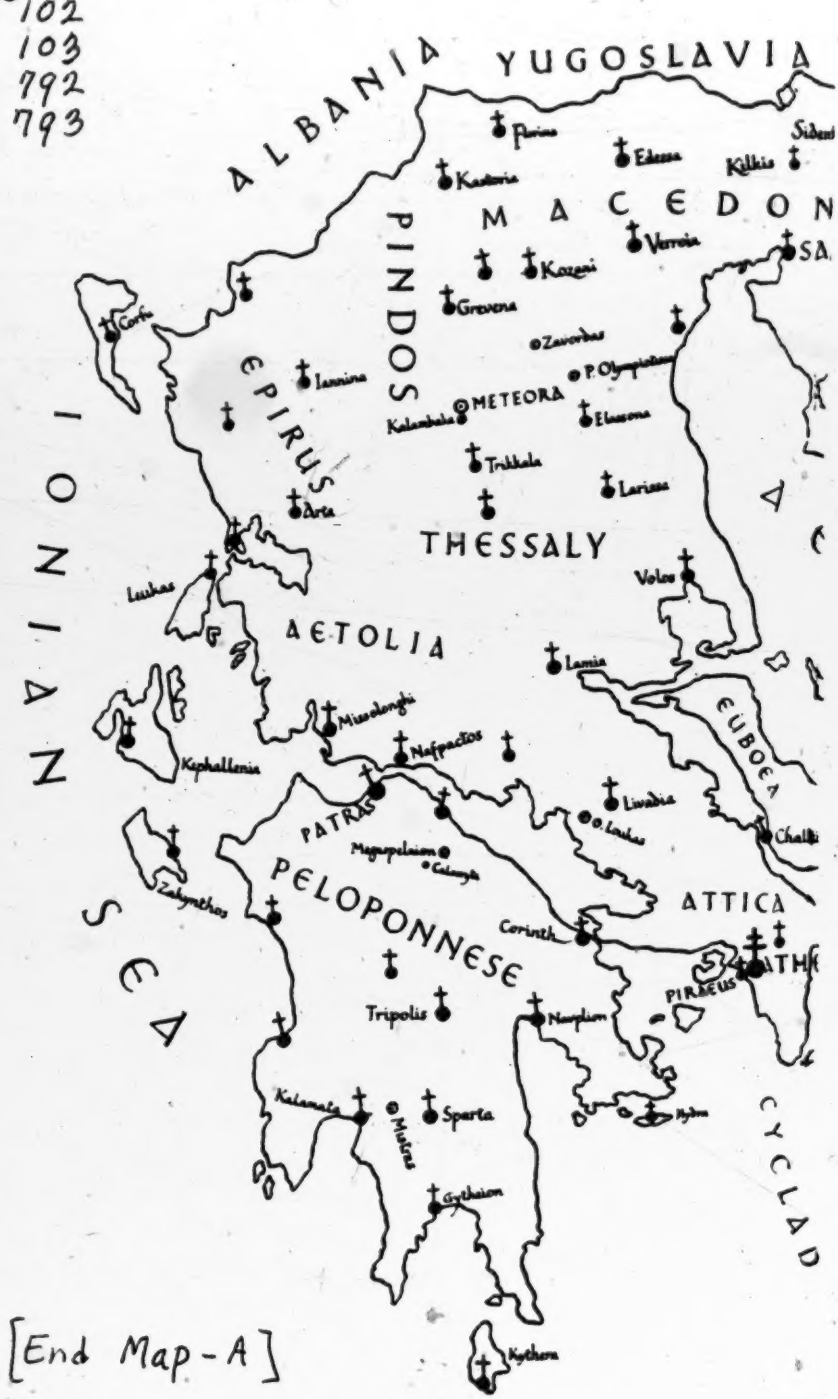

[End Map-A]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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[End Map - B]

1:Sanders Z-3,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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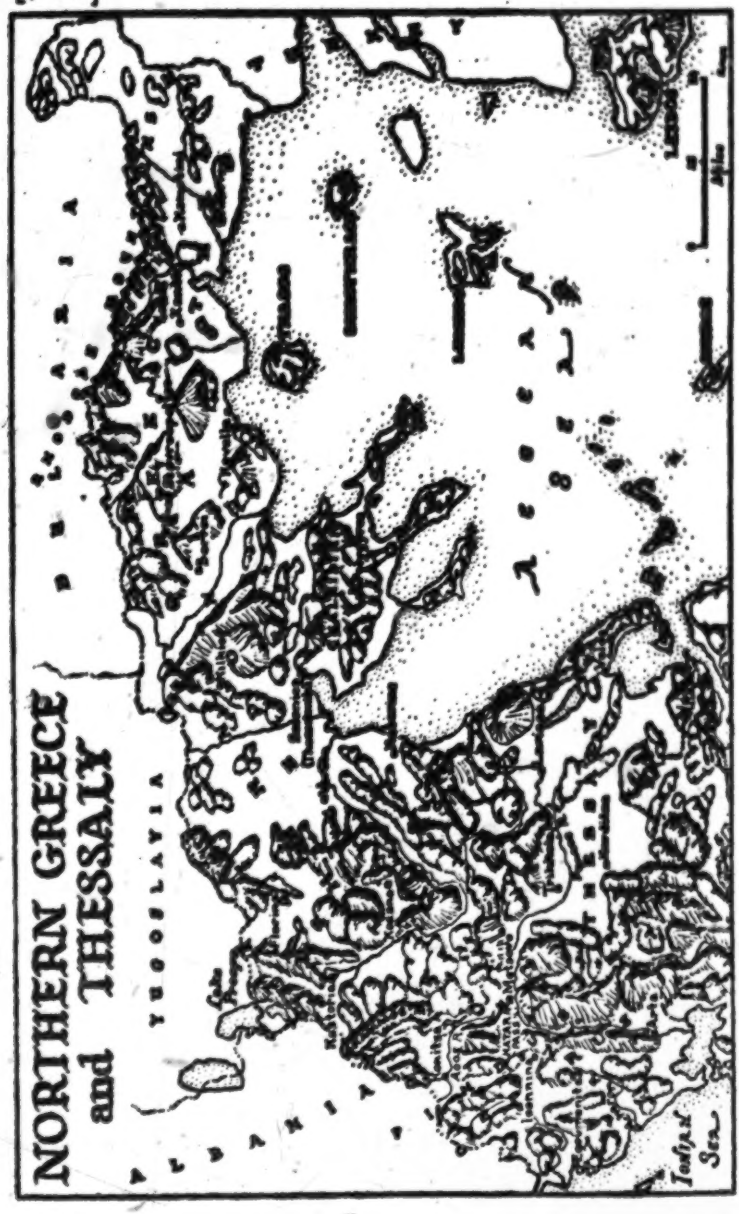

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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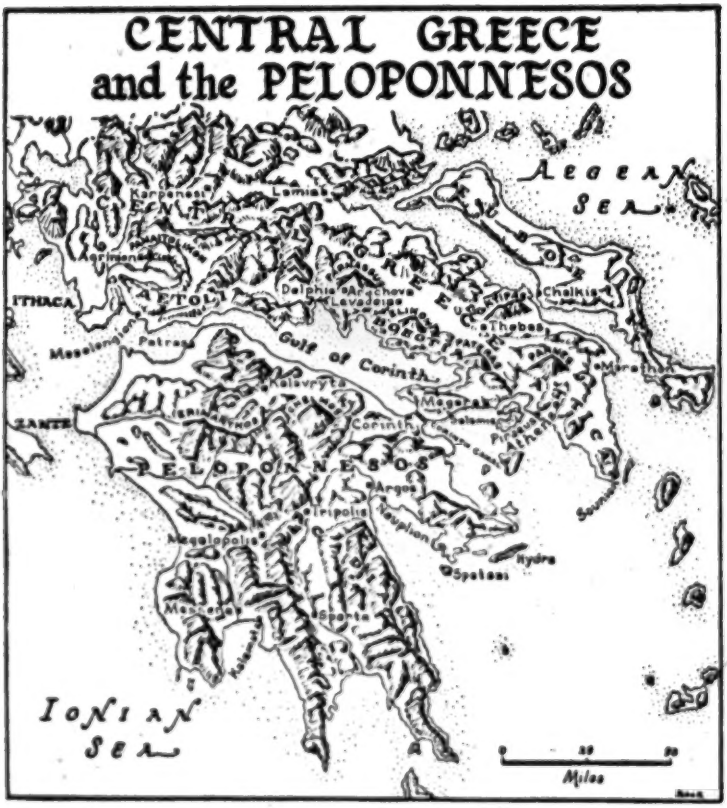

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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

1

The Village: As a Setting

THE VILLAGE OF VASILIKA lies almost at the foot of Mt. Parnassos on the Boeotian plain. The oldest of its fifty-odd houses were built in the late nineteenth century by the grandfathers of some of the now adult villagers. Most of them came from the village of Parori two miles to the northeast. Until 1933, when Vasilika sued for and won separate status, the two settlements were classified by the central government as one community (*kinotis*). The parent village still has the larger population, with some 700 inhabitants, while Vasilika, in 1955–1956, had 216.

Both Vasilika and Parori have come to be called by these names only since 1955. During the Turkish occupation, and for more than a century after the liberation of the region, the Boeotian villages used the names the Turks had assigned to them. Parori was Biskeni Aghas; Vasilika was Kravasaras. But in the last decade, patriotic considerations have led to a change from the old names to ones based on Greek roots. *Parori,* in Greek, means "near a mountain" and is an appropriate name for a village which rests in the foothills of Parnassos. *Vasilika* means "royal" and was the name of a hill in the region where a famous battle against the Turks was fought. In some cases, the names by which the villages were known in classical Greek times were restored. Drachmani, for example, once again became Elatia.

Most of the villagers of Vasilika, in 1961, still called the village "Kravasaras." Indeed, the new sign pointing to the dirt road which leads into the settlement reads *Kravasaras,* in spite of the designation of the village in the provincial records as *Vasilika.* This type of double nomenclature is common in the entire region. The wives of Vasilika, most of whom come from the surrounding Boeotian villages, frequently refer to their former houses by their older Turkish names. These are the names which evoke for them the emotions associated with "my village." Their husbands, on the other hand, often refer to their wives' home villages by the newly given names. An outsider must resign himself to learning the double nomenclature if he is to avoid utter confusion.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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[End Map-A]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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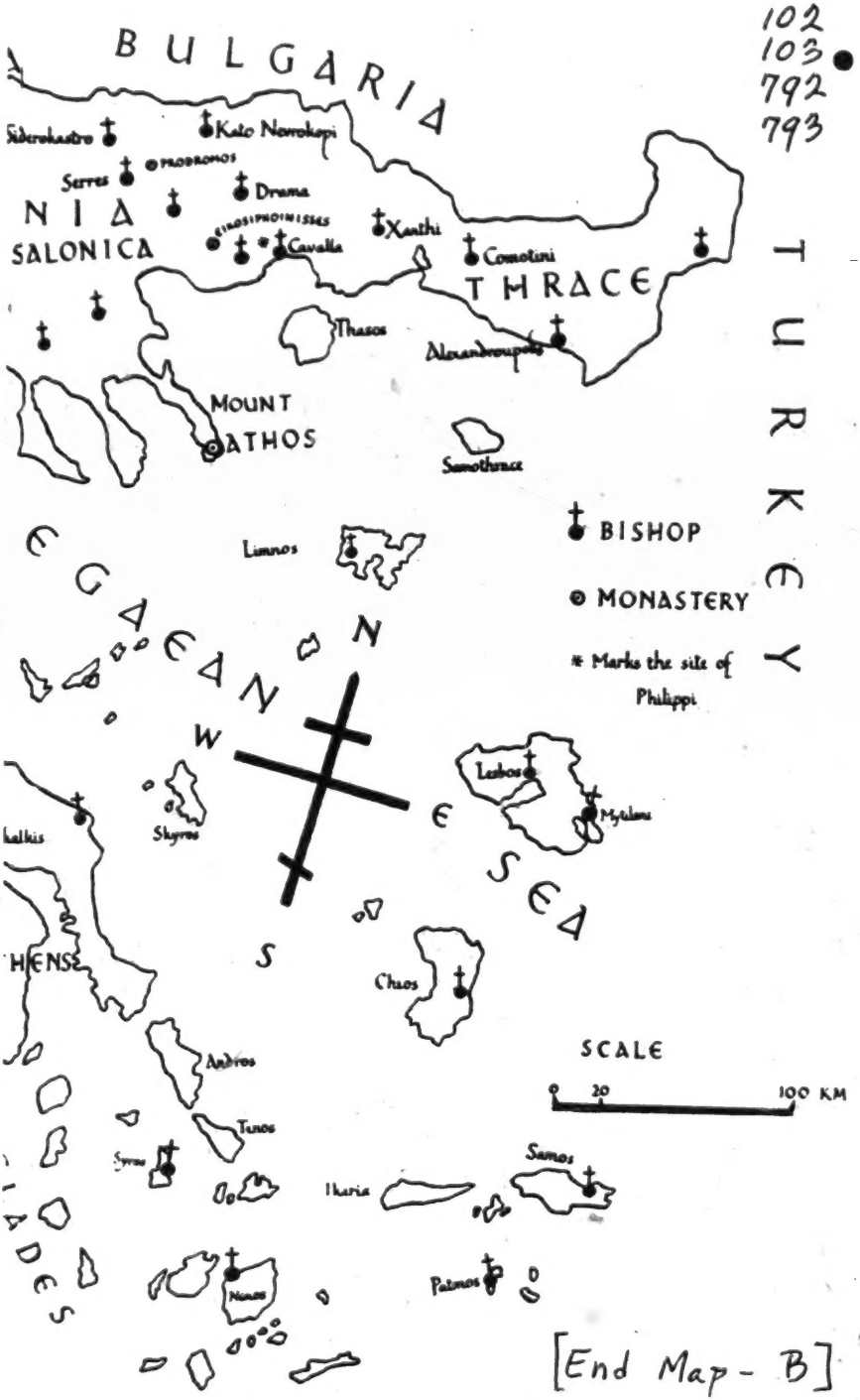

[End Map - B]

/4 cont./

Selection of the Village

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The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics.

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The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

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architselingas - the chief shepherd of the tselingata
demotike - the common form of Greek spoken by the people as a whole (the people's language)
kapheneion - the coffee house
katharevousa - an artificial form of Greek based as much as possible on classic syntax and vocabulary, which became in effect the official language of Greece after the war of independence in 1821 (the "purist" language)
koumbaros - a sponsor at a wedding or godparent at baptism
kouvenda - conversation without any particular purpose
nomarch - the head of the nomos or "province"
ouzo - an alcoholic beverage
philotimo - ultra-sensitive self-esteem
plateia - the village square
psychiko - good works done for the salvation of the soul
tselingata - a shepherds' cooperative organization found among the nomads

1:Sanders 7-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

121 throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959
[114] gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.

124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

● 104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Glossary

Greek terms given below are transliterated approximately according to the system used by Kahane, Kahane, and Ward, 1945, which is also employed throughout the text, except for certain geographical names.

AGHORA: Market place, central square

DHIMOTIKI: Demotic, the popular spoken form of the modern Greek language

DROPI: Shame

FILOTIMO: Sense of honor, amour-propre

GHAMBROS: Son-in-law; a man who has married into the speaker's family

GLIGHORA: Quickly

KHORTA: Green plants, growing wild, and used as vegetables

KINOTIS: A community as a governmental unit

KSENOS (plural, KSENI): Stranger; foreigner, outlander

KUMBAROS: Godparent at baptism; sponsor at marriage

LIRA (plural, LIRES): Gold sovereign; coined gold

NIFI: Daughter-in-law; a woman who has married into the speaker's family

OKA (plural, OKADHES): A weight equal to 2.8 pounds

PANIYIRI: An annual festival at which a village or town celebrates its patron saint's day

PATRIDHA: Native country; place of birth

PITA: Kind of pie

PRIKA: Dowry

RETSINA: Resinated wine

RUKHA: Clothing; trousseau

SALONI: Parlor, ceremonial room

SOGHAMBROS: A man who has come to live in the house of his wife's family

STREMA (plural, STREMATA): A quarter-acre

VASANO (usually plural, VASANA): Trial, tribulation, trouble

Letter to the Editor

Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use

Sir:

114 As a graduate student in anthropology and a person of Greek descent, I
197 would like to correct the inaccuracy, both as to words used and their modern
601 forms, of the Modern Greek kinship terms in Edmonson's "Kinship Terms and Kinship Concepts" (AA 59:393–433). The inaccuracy does not affect the thesis or conclusions of the paper, nor is it the fault of the author but rather of the vexed language problem of Greece. The terms given by Edmonson are not the everyday terms of the Modern Greek spoken language (*demotike*), but the revived Ancient Greek (more or less) terms of the artificially created literary language (*katharevousa*). Indeed, Pernot found it necessary to treat the two as separate languages in his *Grammaire du Grec Moderne*.

This is not the place to go into the bitter language controversy; suffice it to say that any dictionary written by a Greek is to a greater or lesser degree an unreliable index to what is actually said by the people. Edmonson's procedure of checking his Greek dictionary data with a native speaker was of course correct but unfortunately to no avail, as most Greeks of any sophistication will feel called upon to give the "right" or dictionary word if asked, especially to a professor. However, this is not to say that the *katharevousa* terms are never used in speech, but their frequency is low and the number of speakers is limited.

601 Since the actual kinship terminology of Modern Greek has, to my knowl-
[114] edge, not yet been published, I am submitting the kin terms used by my rela-
[104] tives and compatriots in America and in Laconia in the hope that they may be made available for use by interested researchers. (The system of transliteration is roughly that of Kahane and Ward.)

Modern Greek Kinship Terminology

father	patéras, babás
mother	mitéra, mamá, mána
parents	ghonís
brother	adherfós
sister	adherfí
siblings	adhérfia (n. pl.)
son	yos
daughter	kóri
child	pedhí (n.)
parent's father	papús
parent's mother	yáya
parent's parent's father	prospápu
parent's parent's mother	prósyaya
child's son	ángonas
child's daughter	angóna

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archimandrite - a priest-theologian attached to the bishop's household (formerly referred to the superior of a monastery). He may function in one of the following capacities.

deacon - an individual ordained to lead the prayers of the congregation. He usually serves a bishop, may also be in a monastery, but seldom in a parish church.

hierokerys - a priest-monk or lay theologian who is a preacher or "sacred herald."

pneumatikos - a priest-monk authorized to act as a confessor.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

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GLOSSARY

agamos (adj.) unmarried.

agios saint—commonly used of a bishop.

ambon pulpit.

anagnostes reader.

[669] *andartes* insurgent, rebel. Commonly applied to Communists, who were also known as *katsapliades* and *symmoritai*.

antidoron the blessed bread distributed at end of liturgy.

archegos leader, chief.

artos bread.

azymos unleavened bread.

basilissa queen.

caloyer see *kalogeros*.

catholicon principal church of a monastery.

coenobium, koinobion monastery of the common life.

comopolis a large village.

despotes (pl. *despotades*) master—commonly used of a bishop.

didaskalos (f. *didaskalissa*) teacher in a primary school (the first syllable is commonly omitted).

eikonostasis the screen which supports the holy *eikons*.

ekphonesis something pronounced aloud.

eparchia district, province; often used of a diocese.

ephemerios curate, parish priest.

epitropos one to whom a charge is entrusted, a guardian; commonly used of a churchwarden.

estia literally, a hearth or home; *Christianiki estia* is the name often given to the headquarters of the Christian movements of a diocese.

geros old man, ancient.

gymnasion secondary school.

hegoumenos abbot, superior of a monastery (f. *hegoumenissa*).

hierarchia the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy

hierokeryx preacher (lit. 'sacred herald').

hieromonachos monk in holy orders.

igoumenos, igoumenissa see *hegoumenos*.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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GLOSSARY

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kakodoxia heterodoxy

kalogeros monk; literally 'good old man'.

'kalos orisete' welcome!

'kalo taxidi' *bon voyage!*

kalymmafkion clerical hat

kalyva cottage or hut.

kapetanios one who leads (the English 'captain' fails to convey the full meaning of the word).

kathisma in general, a seat or chair. In particular: (*a*) a cell attached to a monastery; (*b*) a division of the psalter—a group of psalms for which one sits down.

katsapliades see *andartes*.

koritsi a young girl.

ktopodi (κτωπόδι) *oktapodi* octopus.

kyrios lord; colloquially Sir, Mr. (f. *kyria*).

latreia worship, service.

lavra a monastery organised somewhat less rigidly than a *coenobium*.

mesochori open space in centre of village.

mesonyktikon the midnight office, mattins.

metanoia, metagnia a prostration.

metousiosis approximate equivalent of transubstantiation.

oikoumene the inhabited world, the Byzantine empire.

orthros the office of the dawn, lauds.

ouzo a white spirit.

paidikos stathmos a sort of day nursery.

paidoupolis institution for children evacuated from dangerous areas during the Communist sedition. [669] [722]

palto overcoat.

Panaghia 'The All-holy': the Virgin Mary.

Pantocrator 'He who governs all things': the Almighty.

papadia priest's wife.

papas married priest (pl. *papades*).

paradosis teaching, tradition.

parekklesion chapel.

phakais (φακαίς) lentils.

phrontisterion training school for clergy, seminary.

pneumatikos spiritual father, confessor.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

104 *Prodromos* St. John the Baptist, 'the Forerunner'.

proedros president

proskynesis worship.

prosphora eucharistic loaves.

prothesis the preparation of the elements before the liturgy; the chapel on the north of the church where this takes place.

protosyngellos bishop's chaplain.

psaltes singer, cantor.

retsina resinated wine.

sarka long coat with loose sleeves.

[202] *semandron* a piece of wood (more rarely, of iron) suspended and beaten with a mallet to summon monks to church.

skete dependent monastery.

skouphos monastic cap

symmoritai see *andartes*.

synodikos member of the Holy Synod.

Taxiarchai the Archangels (a common dedication for a church).

Theotokos the Mother of God.

[609] *xenos* stranger *or* guest: there is no distinction in Greek.

●104

Gerousia - a group, composed of old respected people, who formerly ruled the village (among Greeks in the Caucasus) and is now an unofficial body which informally settles conflicts in the village.

ΠΡΟΣΤΩΟΝ (prostoon) - open portico

ΣΟΦΑΣ (sofa) - an open space between rooms or a recess whose floor is slightly higher than the remaining floor, and is used as a special living space or for the reception of guests during holidays.

ciller - cellar, a storeroom

near Messimvria (Haimonas, Bana, Alvlassi, Ravdas etc.), in some villages of the Didymoteichon area (Poemenikon, Vryssikon, Paliouri, 342 x 341

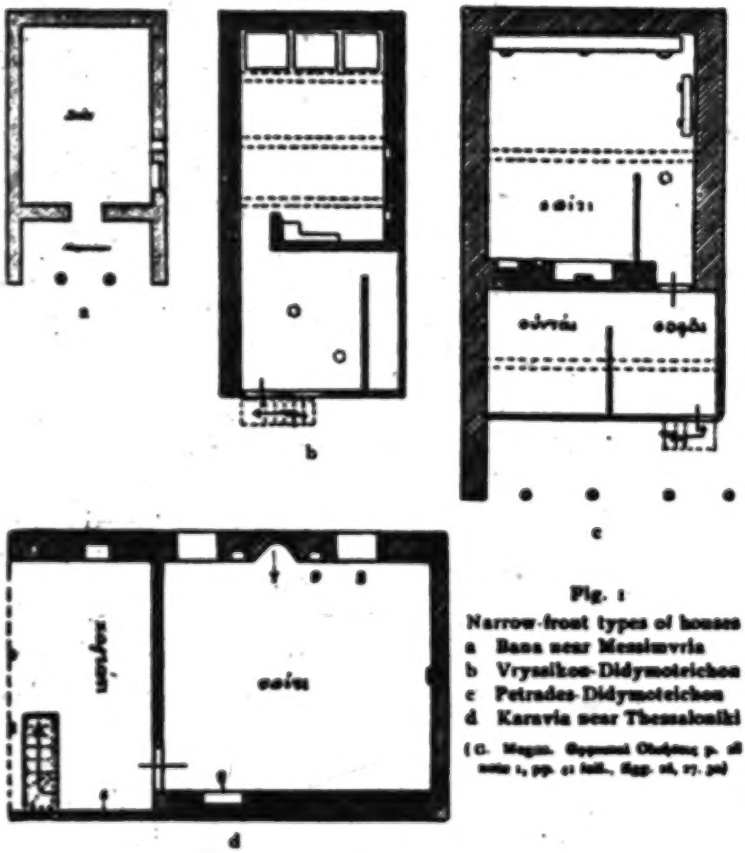

Fig. 1
Narrow-front types of houses
a Bana near Messimvria
b Vryssikon-Didymoteichon
c Petrades-Didymoteichon
d Karavia near Thessaloniki
(G. Megas. Θρακικοί Οικισμοί p. 28 note 1, pp. 41 foll., figg. 16, 17, pl.)

Petrades, etc.) and sporadically in other parts of Greece, as in the Karavia village of the Thessaloniki area[1] (Fig. 1. See also Plate I a, 1-6).

1) G. Megas Θρακικοί Οικισμοί pp. 27, 29, 44 foll. For financial reasons, clichés of the Greek edition have been also used in the present one. That is why we are presenting the equivalent English word only for the main parts [104]

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Another narrow-front type of house is also the so-called καλύβι or χαμόγειο σπίτι (hut, low house) on the island of Lemnos which, as in the two-storey type, has a tiled roof(1) (Fig. 2).

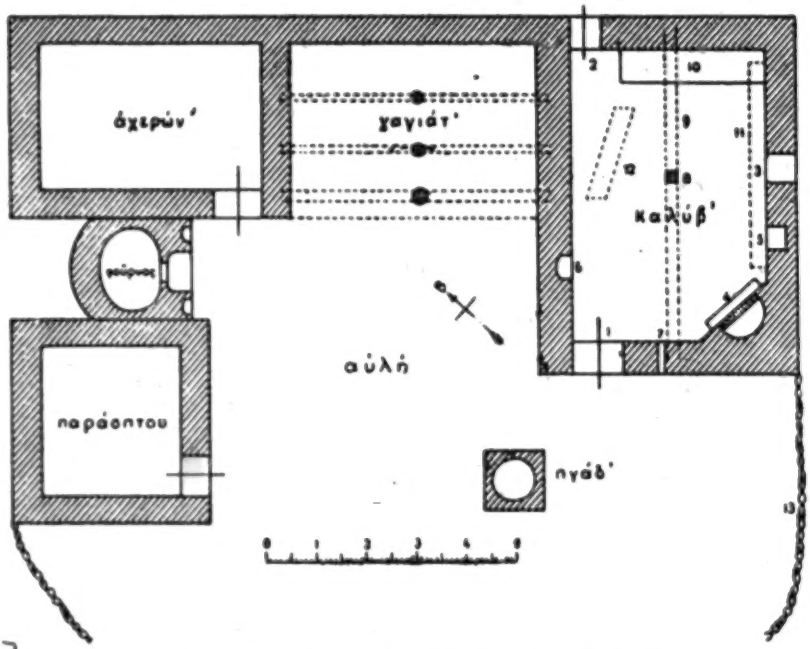

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Fig. 2 House and courtyard at Physsini in Lemnos
(G. Megas 'Η λαϊκή οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, fig 2)

Καλύβι (Kalyvi)=low house, hut; χαγιάτι (hayiati)=portico; σχερών' (scheron)=hayloft; παράσπιτο (parasspito)=outhouse; αὐλή (avli)=courtyard; πηγάδι (pigadi)=well; φούρνος (furnos)=oven.

The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its προστῶον on the long side of the rectangular plan (σπίτια διπλανά i.e. side-houses, as they are called in the Haimos villages(2). (Fig. 3 and 4. Plate II).

[104] of the house: σπίτι (*spiti* [hospitium] = house; οὐντᾶς or ὀντᾶς (*oda* Turk.)=room; μπροῦστι (*brusti*) or χαγιάτι (*hayati*) = portico, veranda.

1) **G. Megas**, 'Η λαϊκή οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, pp. 7 foll.

2) **G. Megas**, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 27. Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 16. Fig. 10.

the region of Monastir. 3. Shepherds from the foreland of the Rhodope mountains. 4. Woman spinning from her hand. 5. Women from the region of Skoplje. 6. Older women as spectators at the horo dance. 7. Macedonian girl from Krustavo. 8. Two farmers from Glumovo near Skoplje.

(Numbers 3, 6, and 7 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt Dr. Hansen, in Lübeck.

The mixture of peoples in Macedonia manifests itself in the dress. Side by side with ancient Illyrian semi-spherical caps and tightly fitting trousers and shoes tied with strings, there are Turko-Tataric kerchiefs and chin cloths and ornamental chains, Slavic kerchiefs, Greek kerchiefs, Slavic embroidered shirts, as well as Turkish sleeveless jackets. There is a great deal of joy in colors and variety in the colorful socks, the embroidered belts, and the ornamental silver chains. Quite particularly charming, however, are the women's aprons, and they contribute greatly to the festive picture presented by the Macedonian national dress. They dominate the fashions with their multiplicity of styles. They appear in all widths and lengths, in wool, in velvet, and in silk; they come in one piece as well as divided into a front piece and a back piece. They are woven and embroidered, and also patterned in stripes, and they display an enormous variety of luminous colors.

/107: Illustrations./

A note on the translation: The German word Dachreiter, which appears at various places in the text, is rendered into English by the dictionary as 'standard knee on the ridge of a thatched roof.' For the sake of stylistic economy and elegance I have translated the German term as "ridge rider." (Translator /R.T.N.)

[For illustrations, see 1:Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, photo-Andry]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

niques to such groups has raised some new problems in method and interpretation. 121

The customary discussion of these new problems includes questions concerning the appropriateness of delineating a small rural village as the unit for observation when, as in Latin America and in Europe, such villages may not be economically, socially, politically, or culturally isolated from the larger societies of which they are a part. Awareness of this problem has led to special emphasis on the analysis of types of association between the territorially based group which is the main focus of the study, and similar neighboring communities, towns, and cities, and also on the analysis of the way in which national economic, religious, educational, and political institutions impinge on the life of the small unit. Such information and discussion are inherent parts of this study.

Another significant question is the extent to which the village chosen can be considered typical either of similar neighboring communities or of the culture of the entire nation, or of both. When national cultures cover large areas of varied terrain and have huge populations distributed in villages, towns, and cities, it is likely that there will be some regional and community variation in culture and social structure. It is therefore sensible to ask whether in describing the ways of life in the Greek village of Vasilika one also succeeds in describing the essential culture of other farm settlements and the values and attitudes of all Greeks now living in Greece. When we give lectures on Vasilika either to professional or to lay groups, someone always asks, "How did you choose your village?"

Anthropologists have concerned themselves with the methods of choosing communities for study in such a way as to guarantee some degree of representativeness. One solution to the problem has been to compare certain features of the village with the numerical and percentage distribution of those features in the nation as a whole. One might compare the age and sex distribution of the village population with that of the entire nation, or the age at marriage, or the size of families, or the proportion of farmers to shepherds, or the average real income, and the like, and conclude that if the village resembled the nation in these respects, it had some claim to representativeness.

Another solution, the one used in this study, is to choose a settlement which seems from my reading, my observation, and my discussion with Greeks to have frequently recurring features of rural villages, even if such features are not necessarily characteristic of all such settlements. One hopes that intensive study of such a community will be a contribution to the understanding of rural culture and social structure in the nation, and that some values and attitudes of the people observed will be shared by the total population. The discovery of which of the values and attitudes are shared and the more general question of typicality can be postponed until similar studies are done of rural communities in different regions and of town and urban populations of different occupations and social positions (cf. Sanders 1962).

We chose Vasilika in Boeotia for special study both because it exhibits 121
some of the features just mentioned, and also because it is suitable for the appli- 105
cation of anthropological field work techniques. Its common Greek plains village

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

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[162] Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

[197] [122] [123]

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

[184] [171]

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

/102/ 621 476 178

4. The different organizations are a part of the people. Nothing is introduced by outsiders nor advocated by any one person, but through centuries have become an accepted principle of their community life to watch their community improve from all around.

Conclusions to be drawn from the village of Megali Vrisi. 621 105

1. The new village has two distinct type of people with their pattern of customs.

2. The Government's attempt to mould the customs of these groups into one may face difficulties at the beginning.

3. Both groups semi-primitive in the sense of having:

a. Patriarchal pattern type of family.
b. Father having the buying and selling
c. Both women and children doing farm work, unending toil of women.
d. Education or training rests with the grandparents.
e. Agriculture for making a living
/103/ f. Common land and pasture; no ownership.
g. Lack of knowledge of fertilizers.
h. Magic strongly believed by both groups.
i. Purpose of marriage was to have the labor of women and for raising children.
j. Land divided in many patches and scattered.
k. The "Gerousia" as the only powerful and effective group in community government.
l. Religion of paganistic type.
m. Business in its primitive form of exchanging goods.
n. Mutual aid very characteristic.

The low cash income, backward farm techniques, with too much emphasis on the subsidized wheat crop, poor housing and household equipment, inadequately balanced diet, disregard of proper sanitation and other preventive measures against disease, inadequate medical attention, absence of recreational opportunities, impractical religion, slow educational processes without vital

/103 cont./

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relations to the life of the people, and burdensome work of wives and children, are conditions which are suggestive of planning objectives.

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

GREECE[1]

The culture of the Greeks is here presented as an integrated whole. 105 ●
The Greeks have been selected out of the European nations now engaged in introducing technical change, because they represent a unique case. They have the most ancient civilization of the European continent, yet their technical development at present is one of the lowest. The history of their industries and factories goes back more than 2,500 years; yet they now resist industrialization. They are [101]
European, yet they look toward the Middle East and share a number of attitudes with the people of this area. They are Christians but with a special kind of Christianity, highly ritualized and impersonal, and incorporating much of local origin.

Individualism is prized and rampant; yet there is no atomization. 105
Self-esteem is paramount, and rests on freedom and self-dependence; 156
yet Greeks do not seek freedom from the family, and do not lose self-esteem when they are dependent on the family. They have their own unique individualism. They are highly co-operative, but the basis and formulation of their co-operative activity are different from those of the Western European nations.

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[1] The study of Greek culture is based largely on interviews, correspondence, and memoranda, conducted and prepared in the autumn and winter of 1950-51. Newspapers and magazines of this time were also consulted. Two Maternal and Child Care Manuals of recent years, several collections of folk songs, and a popular humorous work were intensively analysed. Accounts by people engaged in introducing change were consulted. The writer, herself a Greek by birth and upbringing, has depended also on her own firsthand experience of the culture. The manuscript was submitted to two Greeks for comment and criticism. 123 125

1: Sanders, Irwin T. Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

Pp. xv, 363; 19 photographs; 6 tables; 4 maps; preface; notes; bibliography; index.

Yale: Nn95 G9 962S.

/This source, the first general work in English to appear in many years on Greek village life, deals principally with the culture of rural villagers on the mainland of Greece, but also contains some limited data on the island and urban Greeks. The subject coverage is comprehensive, although there is relatively little on material culture. The treatment is divided into five parts: the first is concerned with human and cultural geography; the second with various aspects of land tenure and use, agriculture and herding; the third with the family, including women's activities and the life cycle; the fourth with the community, including mutual aid and cooperatives, the coffeehouse, school, religion, local government, and the village community; and the fifth with change, including social change in rural Greece and the social consequences of foreign aid. In addition to his own field work, Sanders made use of many

1: Sanders, Irwin T.

other sources of information, including much unpublished data. Notes to the text will be found in Category 116, pp. 335-355./

Field date: 1952-1959
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Sociologist-4,5
Processed in 1965-1966

2: Friedl, Ernestine. Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.

Pp. xviii, 110; 5 plates; map; editors' notes by George and Louise Spindler; glossary; bibliography.

Yale: Nn95.G9.962Fb.

[This source is an account of village life in Vasilika, which is located in the Boeotia region of central Greece. Vasilika was chosen by Friedl for her field study because it seemed to show all possible indications of being a good, representative cross-section of rural village in Greece today. An able synthesis of the data is presented, concentrating on the family and interpersonal relations. Data are given on the village - its physical setting and community organization; the family - its economic activities, standard of living, the dowry system and inheritance; and interpersonal relations - within the family, the village and the nation. She also shows how the traditional patterns of village life are being changed under urban influence, and how these influences have established an irresistable attraction for the young men of the village.
The field work upon which this source is based was conducted primarily in 1955-1956 (with the assistance of Fulbright and Wenner-Gren Foundation grants), with very brief return visits in the summer of 1959 and for two days in July 1961. The author, accompanied by her husband who also contributed to the collection of field data, lived in the house of one of the villagers while engaged in her study of Vasilika. /

Field date: 1955-1959 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5

Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1965-1966

3: Friedl, Ernestine. The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece. American Anthropologist, Vol. 61, pp. 30-38. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1959.

Yale: Nk10.Am37.61.

[In this study the author has attempted to show how the role of kinship in Greece acts as a mechanism for maintaining rural-urban connections, and how this mechanism continues to function despite any upward mobility changes on the part of the Greek peasant. This paper tries to point up the particular significance of kinship in the intricate network of group relations between rural and urban areas of Greece and to show the process by which, at least in the area of the village of Vasilika where the author did her field work, the "elite" are quite often likely to be one's own relations.
This source, which is based on the author's 1955-1956 field work, is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December 1957.]

Field date: 1955-56
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1966

4:Andromedas, John. Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, pp. 1086-1088. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1957.

Yale:Nk10 Am37 II.59.

/This brief article contains a brief listing and explanation of kinship terms in Modern Greek (demotike). /

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1965

5: Hammond, Peter. The Waters of Marah: The Present State of the Greek Church. London: Rockliff Publishing Corporation, 1956.

Pp. x, 186; 8 plates; glossary; index; end map.

Yale Divinity School: KG22 H184w.

Only pp. 10-186, including 7 plates (II-VIII) glossary, index. and end map have been processed for this file.

The author, an Anglican clergyman, has presented in this work a general study of the Greek Orthodox Church, written from his personal experiences and impressions during the two years he traveled in Greece (1948-1950). Since the author's period of field work partly overlapped the Communist revolution in Greece (1947-1949) much of the data contained in the source were gathered under the most adverse conditions. In general content the source covers the following aspects: the Greek Orthodox view of other Christian sects (e.g., the Anglican and Roman), traditions of the Greek church, its liturgy, ceremonials, conservatism and the role of the laity in the ceremonies, ecclesiastical organization, details of a village religious festival, a brief history of the church and its relationship to the Greek State, liturgical language, descriptions of several Greek monasteries (principally in Meteora), monastic life and the effects of war and revolution on its functions, the general effects of World War II and the Communist revolution on the Church of Greece with special emphasis on the northern villages, programs of relief work sponsored by the church, the development of the "Christian Union" movement and catechetical schools in the

5. Hammond, Peter.

Macedonian Diocese of Grevena, evangelistic and missionary movements in the church, such as the School of Logos, the Brotherhood of Zoë and other similar movements, the education and training of priests for the ministry, the life history of a particular country priest, Constantinos Photis, clerical dress, and the use of incense in the church.
The author's ecclesiastical knowledge and style of presentation makes this source both highly readable and comprehensible to laymen and researcher alike.]

Field date: 1948-1950
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Clergyman-5
Processed in 1966

6: McNeill, William Hardy. Greece: American Aid in Action 1947-1956. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1957.

Pp. xi, 240; foreword; 11 unnumbered plates; 6 appendices; index.

Yale: Nc95 G9 957M

Only pp. i-xi, 1-32, 85-146 and 176-203 have been processed for this file.

[Although the general orientation of this work is towards the evaluation of the over-all impact of American aid and western policy as a whole on the Greek population during the ten year period of 1947-1956, the three chapters chosen for inclusion in this source, dealing respectively with the country and its people, the villages, and public life, are primarily concerned with the adjustment of the rural Greek peasant to a dynamic and ever changing society. In these chapters the author discusses basic cultural changes in terms of economy, employment, public health, participation in town life and involvement in politics, and shows how these changes may vary between hill and plains villages. The source concludes with an intensive analysis of Greek politics and government from its status in pre-World War II days to 1956, with a considerable amount of attention being payed to the effects of the Greek communist party and its attempt to take over control of the government by revolution in the period of 1947-1949. In this section the author clearly shows the

6: McNeill, William Hardy.

effects of the American Aid Mission to Greece in helping to modernize and remodel Greek governmental structure.]

Field date: 1947, 1956
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Historian-5
Processed in 1965-1966

7: Friedl, Ernestine. Hospital Care in Provincial Greece. Human Organization, Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 24-27. Ithaca: Society for Applied Anthropology, 1958.

Yale: Nm10 +So15e. 16-17.

/This brief source discusses the extent and nature of hospital care in the Boeotia region of Central Greece, and the degree to which it is accepted and utilized by the people of the area. The author discusses similarities and differences between home care and that obtained under hospitalization, the effects of traditional Greek culture on the extent and degree of acceptance of hospital care, her interpretation of the pros and cons of hospitalization (from the villager's point of view) with special emphasis on hospital care as a status symbol among rural Greek families, and the attitudes of the Greek doctors themselves toward the hospital conditions under which they work./

Field date: 1955-1956
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965

8: Stephanides, Charalambos Stephoros. A Sociological Sketch of the Village of Megali Vrisi, Macedonia, Greece. Unpublished essay presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University for the degree of Master of Science. Ithaca: Cornell University 1941.

Pp. ii, 105 /HRAF MS: pp. iii, 68/.

Cornell: Thesis 1941 S.827.(2).

/This source is a community study written in retrospect and is based on the author's experiences while working in the village as an extension worker. The village is unusual in that it was occupied by Greek immigrants from Turkish areas in Thrace and the Caucasus. The study is organized in terms of general sociological topics, with the most information being given on community structure, local economy, standard of living, education, religion and recreation. A functional study of the family is also included. The information seems to be good, but there may be some patterns aberrant from the general rural Greek norm because of the background of the inhabitants./

Field date: ca. 1933-1939
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Indigene, Educator-3
Processed in 1965-1966

9: Megas, George Anastase. The Greek House: Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of the Other Balkan Peoples. Preface by C. A. Doxiadis. Athens: Ministry of Reconstruction, 1951.

Pp. a-h, 135; 75 text figures; appendix (including bibliography and 18 end plates).

Hard University: FA2565.700.60.

Translated from the Greek by Zenon Papadopoulos.

/The author presents a study of the evolution of the Greek "popular" house from its simplest form -- that found in rural Greece -- to its more elaborate urban counterpart. After this detailed analysis the author compares the modern Greek house to that found in ancient Greece, and to those in neighboring countries, Bulgaria (EE1), Yugoslavia (EF1), Albania (EG1). (This latter material is compiled from various published sources.) All plates referred to in the text will be found as end plates following p. 135./

Field date: no date

Evaluation: Indigene, Folklorist-5,4

Analyst: John Beierle

Processed in 1965

10: Lee, Dorothy Demetracopulou. Greece. In Margaret Mead, ed., Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, pp. 77-114. Paris: UNESCO, 1953.

Yale: Nkb21.953w.

/This source is a "report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change." It presents information of interest for national character or culture and personality studies. Since it aims to present Greek culture as an integrated whole, the researcher may find it helpful to read this first for general orientation.

Aside from the author's firsthand experience of the culture, the article is based on interviews and research carried out in 1950-51./

Field date: no date
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Ethnologist, Indigene-4,5
Processed in 1966

Friedl, Ernestine. Some Aspects of Dowry and Inheritance in Boeotia. In, Julian Pitt-Rivers, editor, Mediterranean Countrymen, Essays in the Social Anthropology of the Mediterranean. Recherches Méditerranéennes, Etudes, No. 1, pp. 113-135. Paris, La Haye: Mouton & Co., 1963.

Personal copy of T. O'Leary.

/This source has not been processed for the EH1 Greece file since essentially the same material may be found in 2:Friedl, this file./

Megas, George A. Greek Calendar Customs. Athens: Press and Information Department, Prime Minister's Office, 1958.

Pp. 159; 24 plates.

Yale: Nkv65 G9 958M.

/This volume contains a day-by-day listing and explanation of the main Greek religious and associated festivals. It is divided into four main sections according to the seasons of the year. The author is a Professor at the University of Athens and Director of the Folklore Archives, Academy of Athens./

Rodocanachi, C. P. Athens and the Greek Miracle. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1948.

Pp. ix, 194.

Library of Congress: DF77 .R5.

/Part III of this work is devoted to a brief description of the modern life of Athens, including material on the Anaphiot Quarter next to the Acropolis, the Agora, the streets, and a section on religion in modern Greece. Since the material is sketchy and devoted to city life, it has not been processed for this file, which is devoted to modern rural Greece./

113, 162, 167 Greece EH1

[For information pertaining to the status and territorial organization of the Greek minority in the Soviet Union, see 21: Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 146.]

113, 248, 288, 439, 442 Greece EH1

[For information on agriculture, imports and exports, the textile industry and cotton production in Greece from a report published in 1952 by The National Cotton Council of America entitled "Cotton In The Middle East", see category 116, M1 Middle East, 29: Dunn, pp. 163-182.]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P 329]
[P. 328 is blank]

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The works below relate to mainland Greece and not to the islands. They deal with some aspect of rural life, though not exclusively. Omitted are many interesting travelers' accounts from the past century, as well as all publications in Greek. Where such sources have been used in a direct way, however, they have been cited in the notes. 1/1

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•113 Kitto, H. D. F. *In the Mountains of Greece*. London, 1933.

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Recommended Reading

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3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it. 369

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956). 602 554 [121

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957. 114

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955–56, supported by a grant made under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. My husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the field work.

[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinos, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia. 463

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4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

193 indicating the members and partisans of a family or clan; e.g., Tsavaléi, Andro-
551 midhéi, Kolokotronéi, Petimezéi (Cf. Pernot, vol. I, p. 86).

177 Of the Modern Greek kinship terms listed above, most existed with the
601 same or much the same meaning in Ancient Greek. However, the latter had a much richer and more varied vocabulary in the totality of its literature, and the reduction has been considerable. It included many non-Indo-European loan words of which *theîos* and *anepsiós*, among others, survive today. The modern loan words are kunyádhos, bárbas, yáya, and batzanákis, from Romance, Turkish, etc. The bulk of borrowings and replacements of common Indo-European kin terms had occurred already in ancient times. For instance, *adelphós*, *-é* (modern *adherfós*), literally "co-uterine" (from *delphýs*, womb, a word of uncertain origin), became the sibling terms in place of **phráter* and [113] **eór* which dropped out before Homer. The full roster of classic and Homeric kin terms can be found in Miller's "Greek Kinship Terminology."

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EH1 Greece EH1

milordos Thomas Alcock, comments unfavourably on the attire of the monks: "the want of neatness in the persons of these people", he remarks, "is too conspicuous", a failing our traveller denounces as one of the sure consequences of "an unnatural and unsocial life". Thomas Alcock, it is hardly necessary to add, found the mode of life and habits of Greek monks "little agreeable". "They flatter themselves", he writes, "that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove." Whatever may have been the condition of the monks of Megaspelaion in 1829, certainly to-day the great poverty which afflicts many of the surviving communities is sufficient explanation of some want of neatness in their members. 792 292

The costume which I have thus briefly described, inner and outer *rason* and the appropriate form of *kalymmafchion*, is the customary outdoor dress of the Greek ecclesiastic, regardless of his status or office: of the aspiring archimandrite, in silken gown and with rolled umbrella and brief-case, who hovers discreetly about the chambers of the Holy Synod, as of the village *papas* who labours at his plot of ground, or, with a train of pack-animals picks his way along the boulder-strewn bed of some water-course in trackless Pindos. 793 292 184

Within doors, though the parish priest may put off his tall hat and outer garment, he is seldom to be seen less formally apparelled. And in the mountain villages what more appropriate night-attire for an ecclesiastical person than a thick homespun *rason*: though holy tradition be silent and the Greek country parson abed be subject to no such irksome canonical prohibitions as his brother, tending his flock beneath the vigilant eye of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is strictly charged that in the interests of decency, gravity and order, he shall not wear "any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet". 793 292 [513]

It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed description of the liturgical vestments of the Greek clergy. "It would be impossible", asserts Dr. King, "to give a description of the habits of the clergy . . . to an English reader without the assistance of figures: for as we have none which resemble them so we have no names in our language to express them by." The reader who would learn to distinguish an *epigonation* from an *epitrachelion* or would comprehend the mystical signification of [113]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 the stripes of red and white which adorn an episcopal *mandyas* and are
292 called *pomata and potama*, may with great profit refer to the delightful
[113] engravings which illuminate that learned writer's discussion of these matters in his work on *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*.

I will but refer briefly to the vestment known as the *phelonion*, which is of primary importance so far as the ordinary parish church is concerned. It is always worn by the celebrant at the liturgy and in its general appearance somewhat resembles the western cope, being of far more ample cut than the chasuble to which it in fact corresponds.

Dr. Covel (who has some diverting observations on this topic) connects it with the 'cloke' (*phailones*) which the Apostle asks Timothy to bring him from Troas (II Timothy, iv. 13), and with the ancient *penula* which was made in such fashion that "when the Head is put through the Top, all the rest hangs down round on all Sides, sloping like the Top of a round Tower or the Roof of a house . . . *Penula* was worn both by Men and Women in Winter upon their Journeys . . . purely to fence off Rain or cold Winter-like Weather. . . . *Tully* takes notice that it was a *peaceable* Garment (and so much more becoming *St. Paul* and a *Greek* Priest), for he was excuseth *Milo* from being guilty of Murder from having it on: *cum Penula irretitus, when he was wrapt up in his winter Peticoat, what could be less prepared or fit for fighting?* For a man cannot handle a Sword or any Weapon under it, either to assault another or to defend himself." The *phelonion*, he continues, is "something like a Woman's Petticoat, with only a hole at the top to put their Heads through, and the rest of it hangs down round about their thighs to their ankles. It is richly wrought with Gold and Silver; and the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one, though of a meaner making".

So much for the *phelonion*. Of the other vestures worn by the clergy at their various offices I will only observe that in former days every church would normally possess a complete set, while a large urban parish where several clergy might concelebrate on a Sunday or a festival would as a rule be suitably furnished with the appropriate vestments.
[822] The Greek Church has no scheme of liturgical colours: if a church possesses more than one vestment, the best will be brought out on high days without any regard to colour. The *kalymmafchion* is worn in church, as well as forming part of the outdoor attire of the clergy.

[727] To-day, alas, it can no longer be affirmed with any confidence of the *phelonion* that "the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one"—of however

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Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

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Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955-56. It was supported by grants made to me under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Dr. Friedl's husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the research throughout.

[122]

2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 210.

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3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim*; Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 261.

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the result of curing practices, but the means used depend upon and have some consequences for the economic, religious, and social organization of the society, for its belief systems, and for the psychological characteristics of individuals.[4]

Studies analyzing the social roles involved in illness and of the nature and extent of hospital care in the United States have led to the same conclusions.[5] Therefore, in the interests both of successful therapy and of humanity, it is usually recommended that scientific knowledge about illness and the practices associated with its cure be introduced in such a way as to take account of the latent functions of the indigenous behavior. But how practically to implement this recommendation is always a problem.[6]

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The Boeotian situation, to be sure, did not result from conscious planning along the recommended lines. It is here suggested, however, that this situation provides, in certain respects at least, the virtual equivalent of a case study in the successful operation of the recommended principles. The following description is presented with this in mind, and does not purport to be in any sense a total study of illness in the society described.

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Comparison of Home Care and Hospitalization

Let us first look at the treatment of illness in a Greek village home. Much as in the United States, the first day or so of fever or other sign of illness is treated with bed rest and home remedies. Aspirin is known, and in the Greek village of 1956 penicillin and other antibiotics are sold in the village store, and their use comes under the head of home remedies. But, significantly enough, the antibiotics will be administered only if some relative of the family (not necessarily a physician

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4. For a discussion of manifest and latent functions see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949, pp. 21-81. See also A. H. Leighton and D. C. Leighton, *op. cit.*, and B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 477; also Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.

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6. George M. Foster, "Relationships Between Theoretical and Applied Anthropology," *Human Organization*, 11 (1), 5-16 (1952); B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

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which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

[p. 26(A)]

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taking good care of us." The government itself, aware of this shifting of responsibility and lack of participation, urges the people, in its organ, *The Battle for Survival*, to work for their own welfare and to turn to the State only for guidance, or when they can do no more for themselves. It tries to put this co-operation on a par with war, both in the title of its bi-weekly publication, and in the phrasing of its admonition. But the disrupting centralization, the hated interference, remains. "Compulsory free labour" is demanded of the farmers, and there is a whole class of compulsory co-operatives for the betterment of the villages. These are circumvented with the ingenuity born of long experience. However we also have a recent report of a village where everyone gets up when the church bell rings at four in the morning, to work, without compulsion, on some village project, with pride and enthusiasm. The work is done under the leadership of a villager respected for his ability and disinterestedness. It appears that when the co-operative pattern which is already present is utilized, the villagers will work together for the common welfare.

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342 stables and storage rooms, and in the upper story the living quarters with a verandah, a balcony, and a sink; over them is a flat roof of tiles. The Albanian form of the square fortified tower is to be seen
177 on larger warehouses (Figure 3). The interior displays the customary
[352] simple furnishing of the Balkan dwelling; the semicircular chair in Figure 14 is reminiscent of the Albanian styles, while its horn-shaped
[415] supports remind one of Turkish influence. The weaving loom and the hatter's bow (Figure 11) that is used for the cleaning of wool and of cotton, have probably come to this country from the Orient, even though the hatter's bow is ancient European (compare the Plate, Estonians II). The baking bell shown in Figure 7, the bagpipes shown in Figure 6, the incense vessel shown in Figure 17, the wooden plow,
[492] shown in Figure 15, which is drawn by the team of oxen that are driven on by a goad (not a whip) and which are harnessed with a neck yoke--all these are universally characteristic of the Balkans. The riding donkey shown in Figure 12, on the other hand, points to the Orient.
[777] Figures 8 to 9 are illustrations of protective charms--the horse's skull is reminiscent of Kirghiz customs, compare volume 1 of this atlas, Plate, Kirghiz I, Figure 13, that are based upon the knowledge of spiritual forces which are everywhere alive, which are effective in everything that is and has being, and can be utilized for magical purposes, both in a good as well as in a bad sense.

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/105: Illustrations/

/106/ The Macedonians

II.

000 1. Men and women from western Macedonia. 2. Woman from
[See 2. Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 73a --Analyst]

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[p.vii]
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Preface

When a sabbatical year became due in 1952–53, I inevitably chose the Balkans, picked Greece, and ended up studying village life. The Balkans had interested me since 1929, when I first went as an instructor to The American College of Sofia, where I spent six years (1929–32, 1934–37). There was also a year's tour as Agricultural Attaché in the American Embassy in Belgrade (1945–46). 114

As for Greece, I had dreamed of getting to know her better ever since the days when I was an undergraduate major in Classical Greek. Two voyages of discovery in 1930 and 1937 made me even more anxious to live there for a spell.

And as for Greek village life, this was a natural subject in view of my training and principal research interest. At first, I expected to study only one or two easily accessible villages, using the same tested techniques in which I had been trained as a sociologist and which I had employed in writing *Balkan Village*, the account of a single community studied in depth. But a thorough survey of the literature in both Greek and other languages, conducted with the help of a competent Greek bibliographer, showed that no general work on Greek village life had been written in over fifty years and that relatively few articles on particular places or regions had appeared. This explains why I was ready to move from the security of precise social-science procedures to the more vulnerable area of personal interpretation, subjecting my conclusions to the scrutiny of at least a score of men and women, each familiar with many aspects of Greek rural life, who agreed to read the rough drafts of this work and test my comments against their experience. A six-week field trip 121 [122] [128] [114]

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121 throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959
[114] gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.

124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

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178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

[454] Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[369] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
[593] young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the
432 provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional variations are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
[166] On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

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Sara Katsani EH14..
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece.*[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

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[P. 335]
[P. 334 is blank]

Notes

Chapter I. The People of Greece

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1. This version of the legend was told by an old shepherd to a hunting party which had taken refuge in his hut from a storm brewing over Lake Stymphalia in the northern Peloponnesos. Mrs. Bessie Adossides, who served as my interpreter, had been in the party and told the story to me. For a less colorful version, see A. W. Gomme, *Greece* (London, 1945), p. 11. [124]

2. A prominent subgrouping running through these three divisions is that of the Asia Minor and other refugees who were settled in Greece in the 1920s. Also, divisions among the city Greeks appeared following the French Revolution, when commercial opportunities opened up, creating a new merchant bourgeoisie in contrast to the "old patriarchal class whose members were the political administrators of the Sublime Porte and whose strength lay in landed wealth and special prerogatives." See S. G. Chaconas, *Adamantios Koraïs: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York, 1942), p. 38. [563] [441] [565]

3. S. Manolas, in a personal conversation, pointed out three factors accounting for the settlement in cities of Greeks coming to America: as "late" immigrants, there was little land available to them for homesteading; they came over individually — not as families — and could not run a farm; they were not here to work the land, for Greece was still their home. They wanted to make money and go back, staying on here to take care of "one more dowry, one more acre to buy." For many, time ran out and they did not go back. To these one might also add the Greek's unfamiliarity with the mechanized agriculture found in the United States and the greater ease with which he found employment in the cities.

4. This point of view is borne out in an article by Anton-Hermann Chroust, "Treason and Patriotism in Ancient Greece," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April 1954: "The democrats, like the oligarchs, bore their native city a quite strange kind of love: the desire to dominate it completely and, if necessary, to exterminate their political antagonists. . . . It would be difficult, indeed, to find a prominent Athenian politician, irrespective of his political persuasion, whose public actions were not motivated by partisanship or loyalty to some faction or club within the city rather than by true patriotism," p. 287.

5. The books dealing with the history of Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania usually discuss the role of the Greek clergy in the spread of Greek culture. As one example, see N. Forbes and others, *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford, 1915).

6. A good characterization of the city Greek by Dorothy Lee appears in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 79: "The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. [114]

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000 They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture."

W. Miller, in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), gives a penetrating description of Greek urban life fifty years ago.

7. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Helias Revisited* (Athens, 1954), p. 35.

8. Bruce Lansdale, director of the American Farm School of Salonica, maintains in a letter that the qualities I have set forth for the city Greek hold for the villager as well: "Almost any villager can give you some very sound ideas on how the Greek government should be run as well as how the American, the Russian, the British, and any government in the world should be run. I remember hearing from villagers at the time of the Dewey-Truman election campaign that they were quite sure that Truman would win the election, which in fact he did. I would furthermore say that the intellectual curiosity of the villager is every bit as great if not greater than that of the urban Greek. This is in part because he does not have the pseudo-sophistication of the urban Greek."

9. For an anecdote illustrating the Athenian attitude toward the peasant, see H. D. F. Kitto, *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), pp. 138–139.

[511] 10. One Greek friend, well known for his frankness and objectivity, reacted to my characterization of the city Greeks as follows: "I, as a Greek knowing my Greeks, would add that he is a spendthrift, since a great percentage of the Athens families are living beyond their income; he is an individualist; he is suffering, and has since his appearance, from megalomania which pushes him into starting to build marvelous things without funds."

11. For further information about the islanders, see Andreas Adossides, "Fishermen of the Aegean," *Geographical Magazine* (London), XIV (1941), 86–91. One of the most complete studies in English of the folklore of any Greek island is that by Philip P. Argenti, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949). See also J. Theodore Bent, "On Insular Greek Customs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XV (1885–1886); and Nikolas G. Chaliotis, *Hydriaka Laographika* (Concerning the Folklore of the Island of Hydra (Hydra, 1931), chiefly a collection of customs surrounding the engagement, wedding, pregnancy and childbirth, death, the church, holidays, the sea, and the building of a house. Peter Gray's *The People of Poros* (New York, 1942) is a highly entertaining account of a sojourn just prior to World War II on this attractive island southeast of the Peloponnesos. See also Osbert Lancaster, "The Island Greeks," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXII (1948), 59–64; and H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean* (London, 1890).

12. Of course, many areas and even villages on the mainland have special characteristics for which they are noted and which have developed through long years of relative isolation. The Maniates from Mani in the southern Peloponnesos afford one such example. See P. L. Fermor, *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (New York, 1958).

[127] 13. By far the most helpful book on Greek peasant life was written by Rennell Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892). It has proven a bench-mark against which to gauge my own impressions sixty years later.

Jacques Ancel is one of the few historians writing about the Balkans who takes the peasant into account. See his *Peuples et nations des Balkans* (Paris, 1926), pp. 107–114. Considerable insight into the nonmaterial culture of the mountain people of Thessaly is gained from A. Hadjigakis, *T 'Aspropotamo Pindou* (The Village of Aspropotamo in the Pindus Mountains), 3 vols. (Trikkala, 1946–1950). See also V. Valaoras, "To Helleniko Chorio" (The Greek Village), *Elliniki-Ellinika* [sic] (Hellenic-American Monthly Review), VII (1956).

[114] 14. No purpose would be served in a book of this sort in trying to trace the controversy and weigh the arguments for and against the Greek claims of direct descent from the ancient Hellenes. On the one hand, we have the extreme (and today unaccepted) view of Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer that Slavic invaders from the north

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

completely replaced any Hellenic stock. His *Geschichte der Halbinsel Moreа Während des Mittelalters* (History of the Peninsula of Morea in the Middle Ages) (1830) is one of his important works. This has been refuted by Karl Hopf, who claimed that Fallmerayer used documentary evidence which was proven false. 000 [114]

Other works dealing with this question are those by George Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, 7 vols. (London, 1877); Rodd, *Customs and Lore;* and J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910).

A detailed analysis of the problems would involve two separate investigations: (1) that from the standpoint of physical anthropology to determine the biological resemblances of the modern Greeks to those living in classic times; and (2) the survival of the cultural traditions, including the Greek language, from the days of early Grecian greatness to the present. After these investigations have been made there remains the even more difficult — and perhaps impossible — task of relating point one — the biological — to point two — the cultural. But the reader is entitled to the interpretation given by educated Greeks to the presence in Greece of different-language-speaking groups. According to Ph. Annino Cavalierato, former Counsellor of the Royal Greek Embassy in Washington and now in the Foreign Office in Athens: 829 197

"The Albanian and the Vlach dialects, spoken in some areas, denote a foreign influence on a segment of the Greek people rather than the existence of a racial minority. The same could be said about the Heptanesian dialect, a blend of Greek and Venetian Italian. These dialects, Albanian, Vlach, Heptanesian, tend to disappear, and this is another proof of their superficial character: had they been truly the national feature of a minority, they would be perpetuated by education and culture. Being, instead, a passing historical accident, people care little about them and allow them slowly to disappear.

"As for the 'Macedonian' dialect, it should be noted that a 'Macedonian' dialect and a 'Macedonian' nation are both a fairly recent political invention. According to most linguists, 'Macedonian' is just a Bulgarian patois. During the days of the Ottoman Empire, the province of Macedonia was inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, the three latter ethnic elements being denser in areas closer to the respective countries. At the outcome of the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and of World War I (1914–18), this province was distributed among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A wide exchange of populations followed, as a result of which each individual was free to resettle in the country he considered his own. It is reasonable to assume, then, that those who remained in each country consider themselves as nationals of that particular country. There is only one explanation for the fact that Bulgarian is still spoken by some Greeks of Western Macedonia, while Greek, that was widely spoken in Southern Bulgaria, for example, has completely disappeared from that area. The reader will easily find explanation for this. [167]

"Turkish is the only foreign language spoken in Greece by a minority in the true sense of the word. This Muslim minority, living mainly in Western Thrace, was not exchanged in 1923, as were other Turks living in Greece, because the Greek minority of Constantinople was also allowed to remain in their homes." [167]

Chapter II. Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

1. The artist is Mrs. Maria Alexandrakes, who has also been connected with the Local Government Division of the American Mission. She helped us gain many revealing insights into Greek Life. 000 [115]

2. For two Greek sources on the habitat, see George Megas, *Geographia tes Hellados* (Geography of Greece) (Athens, 1958); and George Kollias, *Historike Geographia tou Hellenikou Chorou* (Historical Geography of the Greek People) (Athens, 1948). For especially useful sources in English, see *A Handbook of Greece* (London,

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tobacco is the only product they can raise due to the lack of additional land. I think this is the reason why the Mission sent somebody to do a study of the village in 1952" (personal communication). [127]

Chapter VI. The Changing Life of the Shepherd

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1. It is of interest to note the breakdown by products on a percentage basis for the total income from sheep. Figures for Greece are taken from C. S. Stephanides, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (July 1948), 153–155, as is the quotation about the characteristics of the Greek sheep used in the text of this chapter. Kentucky figures are from C. D. Phillips and J. L. Pearson of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture. [234] [433] [236] [281]

	Greece	*Kentucky*
Milk and milk products	45.10	
Mutton	14.26	
Lamb	24.77	84.00
Wool	8.68	16.00
Hides	7.19	
	100.00%	100.00%

2. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the human factors in the small livestock industry, the table below will give some basic information for those interested in livestock numbers and products. These data are based on official Greek Ministry of Agriculture figures.

Total Number of Sheep and Goats, Greece (In Thousands)

Period	Sheep	Goats
1935–38 (average)	8,304	5,111
1938	8,139	4,356
1945	6,262	3,066
1946	7,228	3,462
1949	6,785	3,629
1954	8,738	4,643
1957 (estimate)	9,300	4,900

3. See P. J. Iliopoulos, *L' Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951). Three other studies that deal with sheep production are: P. H. Kontos, *Dasa kai ktenotrophia eis ten Hellada apo oikonomikes kai politikes apopseus* (Forestry and Livestock Production in Greece from the Economic and Political Aspect) (Thessalonike, 1932); G. D. Kyriakos, *E Ktenotrophia mas* (Our Livestock Industry) (Athens, 1941); V. Handziolos, *To Proviema tes ktenotrophias en Helladi* (The Problem of the Livestock Industry in Greece) (Athens, 1941).

4. The description of the three systems of grazing practices (Vlachs, village ranchers, and village farmers) is taken from the American Embassy, Athens, Report No. 1056 (February 29, 1952), p. 13.

5. The study of transhumance as a habitat adjustment is almost a field in itself and will not be tackled here. Suffice it to say that I recognize the difference geographers make between transhumance and nomadism. Nevertheless, in the next section on the "nomads" of Epirus, I have followed conventional practice in thus alluding to these people, although most of them may actually be practicing transhumance rather than nomadism. V [101] [22]

6. An interesting source in this connection is Jovan Cvijic's *La Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918). This was published in French before it G [114]

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appeared in Serbo-Croatian, the author's mother tongue. In 1922 the first volume entitled *Balkansko Poluostrvo i Južnoslovenske Zemlje: Osnove Antropogeografije* (418 pp.) appeared in Belgrade. Volume two (254 pp.) appeared in 1931 with the subtitle *Psihičke Osobine Južnih Slovena* (Psychic Characteristics of the South Slavs). The connection between Cvijic's work and the present study is the interesting map facing p. 282 of volume one, which shows the migration patterns of the various shepherd groups throughout the Balkans. Any thorough study of shifting migration habits would have to take Cvijic's work as a starting point at least, although this would not imply accepting all of his generalizations about the effect of the physical environment upon social life.

7. Although no attempt has been made to cover the literature dealing with sheep production in the Peloponnesos, I have noted in passing that Z. Duckett Ferriman, in *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), tells of the pastoral pursuits of those living near the site of ancient Sparta early in this century: "Pastoral occupations become a necessity where tillage is impossible, and in every land the wildest districts are the domain of the shepherd, who is the most uncultured element of the population, and also the hardiest. The youths of Sparta were not kept in the valley, but sent up into Taygetus to acquire the training which they turned to account against the Messenians of the plain. . . . And so, today, the Arcadian mountaineers are noted for their strength and hardihood, and are perforce shepherds. Every cottage has its flock, tended during the day by children, elusive, faun-like beings, who manifest neither pleasure nor discontent nor surprise at the presence of the stranger, so unlike in this to the inquisitive, obtrusive Greek child of the towns and villages of the lowlands. At sunset they are relieved of their task by their fathers, who keep watch by night against wolf and robber. At the end of October all the livestock is moved to the plains, marching in solid phalanx, goats in front, sheep in the middle, mules and donkeys behind, the well-armed shepherds and their fierce dogs on either flank" (pp. 28–29).

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[857]
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Another interesting source is volume one of *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), by William Martin Leake. Interesting information about sheepraising in the western Peloponnesos is found in K. N. Eliopoulos, "Poimenika tes Eleias" (Pastoral Life in Elis), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 253–285.

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8. Many travelers to the Balkans come into contact with these nomads and write about them. M. E. Picot, *Les Roumains de la Macédoine* (Paris, 1875), analyzes all of the source material available to him, and prior works need not be cited here. Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), devotes a few pages to pastoral life, stressing particularly the appearance of a Vlach encampment and the authority of the Vlach chieftains. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900) makes this interesting comment on the Vlachs in Macedonia: "They remind one of those ingenious pictures in which an animal or a human face is concealed so as not to be obvious on first inspection, though when once seen it appears to be the principal feature of the drawing. In the same way, one may live and travel in the Balkan lands without seeing or hearing anything of the Vlachs, until one's eyes are opened. Then one runs the risk of going to the opposite extreme and thinking, like Roumanian patriots, that most of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Vlachs in disguise" (p. 409).

Andreas Adossides, "The Shepherds of Greece," *Geographical Magazine*, September 1943, pp. 217–225, gives a vividly written account.

Jovan Cvijic, "The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples," *The Geographical Review*, V (June 1918), 470–482, estimates the number of Arumani (or Vlachs) at about 150,000 to 160,000 scattered individuals. He points out that during the Middle Ages they were very numerous and constituted the majority of the population in Thessaly and in Aetolia, two areas respectively called Great and Little Vlachia.

V. T. Vikas, "Ethima para Vlahophonois," (Customs of the Vlach-Speaking People), *Laographia*, VI (1917), 169–188, is chiefly a description of holidays and recreation.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marinos, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

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For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [596] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

About the Series

THESE CASE studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful. 121

About the Author

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Ernestine Friedl is associate professor of anthropology and sociology at Queens College in New York. She holds the Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University. Before coming to Queens, she taught at Wellesley College and at Brooklyn College. She has done field work among the Chippewa Indians of northern Wisconsin, and has published material on that tribe. Her field work in Greece was done in 1955-1956 and has resulted in several articles for professional journals as well as this book. Dr. Friedl has served as secretary-treasurer of the American Ethnological Society and is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

About the Book

Life in Vasilika has a flavor of its own. As Dr. Friedl points out in the introduction, one has two reactions in viewing this way of life for the first time—a strong sense of its familiarity and a surprised awareness of its strangeness. In the exploitation of these two dimensions, she has given us a compelling and intellectually satisfying analysis of a village in a contemporary national society that has ancient historic roots.

In this book the author makes one concrete part of life flow into another—from land resources to cotton cultivation, division of labor, concepts of cleanliness and order, the furnishing of homes, the dowry system, the ceremonies and festivities. And everywhere the evaluations that the people of Vasilika place upon these parts of life are made clear. In this way a patterned way of life as a whole emerges, and the reader learns about what the people do, and with what resources, at the same time he is learning about what the people think and feel about what they do.

[P. viii is blank]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ABOUT THE SERIES

We acquire insight into the quality of interpersonal relationships in Vasilika, which are like those between man and nature. Both are characterized by constant struggle. The individual is sustained and revitalized for this struggle within the family, and the struggle itself is a means of maintaining the identity of the self and of society.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Stanford, California
1962

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

To John Peristiany I am indebted also for his stimulating analysis of his own Greek field materials; John Campbell's treatment of data from his study of a Greek shepherd community was similarly illuminating.

For technical assistance of a high order, I am obliged to Robert E. Logan and to John Berthelsen.

Dorothy Demetracopoulou Lee, Kimon Lolos, and Ivan Paneras read an earlier draft of this manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions; to them I offer my best thanks.

My husband, Harry L. Levy, professor of classics and dean of students at Hunter College in the Bronx, deserves special mention. He is the other member of "we" when that pronoun is used in this volume. He participated in all the field work. His knowledge of the Greek language, both ancient and modern, has been an unfailing resource. His insights have provided clues to much of the life in the village. His editorial assistance has been invaluable. In truth, the book could not have been written without him.

E. F.

New York City
1962

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57). 121 369

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations. 114● 369 602

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all. 369 602 554 [571] [571]

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 369 554 433 000

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it. 369

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956). 602 554 [121

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957. 114

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955–56, supported by a grant made under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. My husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the field work.

[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinois, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia. 463

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Letter to the Editor

Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use

Sir:

114 197 601 As a graduate student in anthropology and a person of Greek descent, I would like to correct the inaccuracy, both as to words used and their modern forms, of the Modern Greek kinship terms in Edmonson's "Kinship Terms and Kinship Concepts" (AA 59:393–433). The inaccuracy does not affect the thesis or conclusions of the paper, nor is it the fault of the author but rather of the vexed language problem of Greece. The terms given by Edmonson are not the everyday terms of the Modern Greek spoken language (*demotike*), but the revived Ancient Greek (more or less) terms of the artificially created literary language (*katharevousa*). Indeed, Pernot found it necessary to treat the two as separate languages in his *Grammaire du Grec Moderne*.

This is not the place to go into the bitter language controversy; suffice it to say that any dictionary written by a Greek is to a greater or lesser degree an unreliable index to what is actually said by the people. Edmonson's procedure of checking his Greek dictionary data with a native speaker was of course correct but unfortunately to no avail, as most Greeks of any sophistication will feel called upon to give the "right" or dictionary word if asked, especially to a professor. However, this is not to say that the *katharevousa* terms are never used in speech, but their frequency is low and the number of speakers is limited.

601 Since the actual kinship terminology of Modern Greek has, to my knowledge, not yet been published, I am submitting the kin terms used by my relatives and compatriots in America and in Laconia in the hope that they may be made available for use by interested researchers. (The system of transliteration is roughly that of Kahane and Ward.) [114] [104]

Modern Greek Kinship Terminology

father	patéras, babás
mother	mitéra, mamá, mána
parents	ghonís
brother	adherfós
sister	adherfí
siblings	adhérfia (n. pl.)
son	yos
daughter	kóri
child	pedhí (n.)
parent's father	papús
parent's mother	yáya
parent's parent's father	prospápu
parent's parent's mother	poéyaya
child's son	ángonas
child's daughter	angóna

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families [162] comprised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, [463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

743
758
[178]
[844]

[489]

Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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* Ernestine Friedl, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at Queens College, New York.

114 ●

1. This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955-56. It was supported by grants made to me under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Dr. Friedl's husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the research throughout.

[122]

2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250.

[113]

3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim*; Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 241.

[p. 24(A)]

8:Stephanides--1 I. Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/1/

BIOGRAPHY

The writer was born in 1909 in the village of Tjakrak a few miles away from the largest hazel nut exporting harbor of Kerasoun on the Black Sea. 114

During 1914 he attended his village school. He was deported to the interior part of Asia Minor with the rest of his family and during deportation, 1916-1918 he lost his parents and a brother.

In 1919 he entered the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Morsovan Turkey. After a year of study in Anatolia College he left for Greece in 1922 with the rest of his people.

He attended the Chalkis Gymnasium High School for a year. [879] In 1923 he entered the migrated Anatolia College from Turkey to Greece. He graduated in 1926 and served for a year as teacher at the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Syra, Greece. In 1927 through the help of Professor Kelsey he came the United States and took his Bachelor of Science in 1932 from Cornell University. In 1932 he returned to Greece, and after a year's service in the Greek Army he started extension work in Kilkis area under the supervision of the Near East Foundation. During the years in extension work he married in 1934 Paulymnia Charpidou, a refugee from Pontus. Later a /2/ son was born. In 1939-40 he transferred to the Athens area to demonstrate the practical value of the new established system of extension.

In 1940 through the interest and help of Professor L. D. Kelsey he returned to Cornell for advanced work.

8:Stephanides--2 I, Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/3/

A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI.

PART I.

Introduction:

The author was born in Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. His parents were the descendants of some of the first colonists that were established by the Greeks in ancient times. His ancestors lived in the same village for many centuries and it was for the first time in many centuries that he went with the rest of his people to Greece. The exchange of population between Greece and Turkey marks one of the rare historical accomplishments of the Greek people. The establishment of a million and a half people under the prevailing economic conditions of that period was a gigantic job for a small nation like Greece to accomplish. 114 167 648

The author, as a refugee among his people, had a chance, after getting his education at Cornell, to work with them to share with them the difficulties they met in their new environment. He shared the life that was mixed with tears, toil, sweat and patience. He also shared the marriages, the holidays and the dances at the village square. His eight years of experience in the village of Megali Vrisi and his share in promoting agricultural, recreational, health and educational activities led him to the description of the village of /4/ Megali Vrisi 123 [121]

The Rural Sociology Courses under Dr. Sanderson have influenced him more than anything else to see, describe and evaluate the social make up of the life of the people of Megali Vrisi. 114

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

PREFACE

At the present stage of the reconstruction of our country the building of houses is of colossal importance. 362

At no other time, since the reconstruction of liberated Greece began, after the 1821 Revolution, was there such a great opportunity for building activity in the Greek mainland as at present. 369 927

The 430.000 destroyed houses in our country, most of which are to be found in the countryside, form 24% of our total number of houses, and the great majority of these have been either totally destroyed or damaged beyond repair.

At the present moment, the attention of all our authorities is focussed on the best solution of the housing in the Greek countryside.

The question is of paramount importance and is much more difficult than that of reconstructing the urban centres where a different way of life allows the application of solutions usually common to all towns, and even to all countries.

But the problem is quite different in the countryside where the 'land' factor and the 'human' factor, free from the intense influence of civilization, have a direct bearing on the way of life, the methods of living and consequently the types of dwelling. It is for this reason that a great importance should be attached to all the forms of dwellings originating in Greek tradition. In this way we will be able to understand how similar problems have been faced previously by the same people and in the same surroundings.

The present survey by Prof. G. A. Megas, who is already known from his previous works on Thracian, Lemnian and Thessalian Houses, is the first attempt at a synthetic presentation of the whole problem of the Greek Popular House. 114 342*

The problem is not an easy one.

The Greek house has developed through the centuries, under the influence of many civilizations on those physical factors which usually determine its form. The author achieves a global presentation of the problem in conjunction with the similar problems in the countries

[P. 4 is blank]

114 *surrounding Greece, and thus gives the reader a picture of the situation*
*342 *which had never before been so clearly described.*

It will be quite natural that many objections will be raised to certain interpretations and co-relations and it would be advisable that these objections be heard so that the question may be completely clarified and that the people engaged in this problem be fully informed.

The first step, however, towards this direction has already been made and it is due to Professor Megas.

The Coordinator of the Greek Recovery Program
C. A. DOXIADIS

h

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

INTRODUCTION*

Greek popular architecture was first systematically studied by the architect Aristotelis Zachos, who examined especially the old «noble houses» of Northern Greece, which constitute the most composite and developed forms of urban dwellings of the post-Byzantine period. One of the rules drawn from the studies of this memorable man is that the developed form of urban houses has always its foundation, as regards the general disposition, in the architecture of the farmers' dwellings; consequently the primary form of the houses of Jannina (and correspondingly of the other urban centres) should be sought in the houses of the Epirus villages and of the other villages of Northern Greece (1). 114 342* 369

Professor An. Orlandos was the one who also mainly studied the urban houses of the last Byzantine years and of the subsequent period.

The popular house in its simplest form, the rural form, was first viewed and studied, in its internal division and composition, by an artist, Mrs. Angheliki Hatzimichali at Skyros, Roumlouki, Ikaria, Samos and Villia. Late D. Loukopoulos, at the same time, gave us a good description of the houses and household utensils of Aetolia.

The present writer, while serving in the educational centres of Thrace in 1922, had the opportunity to study the rural house of the Hevros area, but the publication of his survey on the «Thracian House» was delayed. 114 342*

Further systematic research of the popular house followed by the

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* This survey was originally compiled for announcement at the 3rd Plenary Session of the International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore, which met in Paris on 1-5 October, 1947. The original form of this announcement is maintained in the present publication.

1) **Ar. Zachos**: Ἀρχιτεκτονικὰ Σημειώματα — Ἰωάννινα (Ἠπειρωτ. Χρονικά, Vol. 3 p. 298). Cf. also conclusions of my book Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, 1946 pp. 75 and 108.

114 Folklore Archives of the Academy of Athens, by the Society «Greek
*342 Popular Art», by the Ministry of Reconstruction and independently by various Greek or foreign scholars of Folklore and Architecture.

121 When I began these studies at the Didymoteichon area, some 25
*342 years ago, my purpose was different: it was to study the customs and habits of the people, in relation to their religious practices. But, when I entered the house of the peasants, I had to face a multitude of questions, pertaining to the methods of popular construction, the disposition and arrangement of space, the stabling of the cattle, the storage of cereals and their protection from humidity and rats. questions to be solved not only by reference to climate, soil, biology or history, but which had an immediate relation to the other factor, the one that dominates and regulates all the others, the factor of man.
[476] Thus, I felt an attraction towards the house as a dwelling and at the same time as a work that came out of the hands of the peasants who build their own houses in this area, as in many other parts of Greece, on the system of mutual social assistance.

My attention was especially drawn to the variety of architectural forms, presenting an interconnection and an inter-relation, and showing an organical evolution, natural to every human activity.

The examination of these houses would help me in discovering the original form, from which the present type of dwelling has gradually evolved. If a house presented a modification or an increase of spaces, I had to find out how these modifications or additions were made, how the new spaces were adjusted to the original nucleus of the house, how they were later included in the house as a whole and formed with it a new and increased type of dwelling. That is why I did not limit my study to one or two most representative types, but extended it to all the modifications and variations, as I tried to find the way followed by popular architecture from the simpler to the more composite forms.

At the same time, I studied the ways and methods of house building, how the roof, the hearth, the storeroom, the oven and the loom were constructed. Thus in spite of the many technical difficulties I had to overcome, I found that the study of popular dwellings was the most interesting and fascinating, and at the same time, the least explored part of my folklore researches. The folklorist may thus clearly see in this study how the man of the people, following traditional types and systems he inherited from his ancestors, adapts them every time to the actual facts and means at his disposal, so that they may satisfy his needs and the needs of his family

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
*342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[597] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegrpom should build his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bungalow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards improve, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

• 114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphically on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can find each of these forms in the explanations given at them.[1].

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein.—I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

ling of the Balrektari of Nikahi in Bregumatja (see above pp 100 foll. figg. 64 and 65).

5 Nopcsa, fig. 22: Plan of a house at Bajza, district of Kastrati.

6 Nopcsa, fig. 23: Plan of a two-storey house at Kolaj.

7 Nopcsa, fig. 25: House with a veranda at Brebula.

8 Nopcsa, fig. 24: House with a veranda at Toplana.

9 Nopcsa, fig. 28 House with a veranda at Vukaanlekaj (Hotl). (See above p. 104 fig. 70).

10 Nopcsa, fig. 27: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Mali Renrit (Above, p. 103 fig. 69).

11 Nopcsa, fig. 26: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Mali Renrit (Above p. 103 fig. 68)

12 Nopcsa, fig. 30: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Kastrati (Above p. 104 fig. 71).

13 Nopcsa, fig 29: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Serna.

14 Nopcsa, fig. 31: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Kastrati.

15 Nopcsa, fig. 31: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Kastrati.

16-19 Plans of Houses of central Albania according to a description by J. von Hahn in «Albanesische Studien», Jena 1854, I pp. 169 foll.

WHO IS WHO

114

The Author: **George Anastase Megas**, graduated from the School of Philosophy, Athens University, in 1913, Doctor at the same School in 1925. Post graduate study at the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin, 1927-1930. Since 1936 Director of the Folklore Archives at the Academy of Athens and since 1947 Professor of Folklore in the University of Athens. (Address: 36, G. Iakovidou Street, Athens, 8).

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 [114]

completely replaced any Hellenic stock. His *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea Während des Mittelalters* (History of the Peninsula of Morea in the Middle Ages) (1830) is one of his important works. This has been refuted by Karl Hopf, who claimed that Fallmerayer used documentary evidence which was proven false.

Other works dealing with this question are those by George Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, 7 vols. (London, 1877); Rodd, *Customs and Lore;* and J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910).

A detailed analysis of the problems would involve two separate investigations: (1) that from the standpoint of physical anthropology to determine the biological resemblances of the modern Greeks to those living in classic times; and (2) the survival of the cultural traditions, including the Greek language, from the days of early Grecian greatness to the present. After these investigations have been made there remains the even more difficult — and perhaps impossible — task of relating point one — the biological — to point two — the cultural. But the reader is entitled to the interpretation given by educated Greeks to the presence in Greece of different-language-speaking groups. According to Ph. Annino Cavalierato, former Counsellor of the Royal Greek Embassy in Washington and now in the Foreign Office in Athens: 829 197

"The Albanian and the Vlach dialects, spoken in some areas, denote a foreign influence on a segment of the Greek people rather than the existence of a racial minority. The same could be said about the Heptanesian dialect, a blend of Greek and Venetian Italian. These dialects, Albanian, Vlach, Heptanesian, tend to disappear, and this is another proof of their superficial character: had they been truly the national feature of a minority, they would be perpetuated by education and culture. Being, instead, a passing historical accident, people care little about them and allow them slowly to disappear.

"As for the 'Macedonian' dialect, it should be noted that a 'Macedonian' dialect and a 'Macedonian' nation are both a fairly recent political invention. According to most linguists, 'Macedonian' is just a Bulgarian patois. During the days of the Ottoman Empire, the province of Macedonia was inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, the three latter ethnic elements being denser in areas closer to the respective countries. At the outcome of the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and of World War I (1914–18), this province was distributed among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A wide exchange of populations followed, as a result of which each individual was free to resettle in the country he considered his own. It is reasonable to assume, then, that those who remained in each country consider themselves as nationals of that particular country. There is only one explanation for the fact that Bulgarian is still spoken by some Greeks of Western Macedonia, while Greek, that was widely spoken in Southern Bulgaria, for example, has completely disappeared from that area. The reader will easily find explanation for this. [167]

"Turkish is the only foreign language spoken in Greece by a minority in the true sense of the word. This Muslim minority, living mainly in Western Thrace, was not exchanged in 1923, as were other Turks living in Greece, because the Greek minority of Constantinople was also allowed to remain in their homes." [167]

Chapter II. Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

000 [115]

1. The artist is Mrs. Maria Alexandrakes, who has also been connected with the Local Government Division of the American Mission. She helped us gain many revealing insights into Greek Life.

2. For two Greek sources on the habitat, see George Megas, *Geographia tes Ellados* (Geography of Greece) (Athens, 1958); and George Kolias, *Historike Geographia tou Hellenikou Chorou* (Historical Geography of the Greek People) (Athens, 1948). For especially useful sources in English, see *A Handbook of Greece* (London,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the willingness of literally hundreds of people in Greece to answer questions and search their records on my behalf, this little book could not have been written. The warmth and extravagant hospitality with which Greeks of every rank and station receive a stranger is, indeed, a source of never ending surprise to one accustomed to the atmosphere of an American city, and I wish hereby to thank all those, both friends and casual acquaintances, who thus contributed to my knowledge and understanding of the Greek scene. 123 [574] [609]

More particularly, I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of busy officials of the Greek government who took time to talk with me, and more than once set wheels in motion to provide statistics and other special information I requested of them. In Salonika, Mr. Orphanides of the Agricultural Bank, and in Athens Mr. Leviratos of the Ministry of Coordination and Mr. Liakis of the National Statistical Services were especially helpful. 115

Among the members of the American community in Greece, I am particularly indebted to Mr. Bruce Lansdale, Director of the American Farm School in Salonika, and to Mr. Doggett of the aid mission. Mr. John Enepikides, of the American Embassy, also went far out of his way to help me find information I needed.

I must also gratefully acknowledge the assistance and friendship of Mr. John Skiriotis and Mr. John Boudouroglu, who made it possible for me to participate in the rapid fire of normal Greek conversation by translating my questions and interpreting the answers when I could not keep up with the pace. 124

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[pp. i-ii contain no textual material]

Rainbow in the Rock

The People of Rural Greece

IRWIN T. SANDERS

Harvard University Press
Cambridge
1962

[Title Page]

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[p. iv]

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[P. V]

to
Margaret
Gerda
Rob

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[p. vi is blank]

Preface

When a sabbatical year became due in 1952–53, I inevitably chose the Balkans, picked Greece, and ended up studying village life. The Balkans had interested me since 1929, when I first went as an instructor to The American College of Sofia, where I spent six years (1929–32, 1934–37). There was also a year's tour as Agricultural Attaché in the American Embassy in Belgrade (1945–46). 114

As for Greece, I had dreamed of getting to know her better ever since the days when I was an undergraduate major in Classical Greek. Two voyages of discovery in 1930 and 1937 made me even more anxious to live there for a spell.

And as for Greek village life, this was a natural subject in view of my training and principal research interest. At first, I expected to study only one or two easily accessible villages, using the same tested techniques in which I had been trained as a sociologist and which I had employed in writing *Balkan Village*, the account of a single community studied in depth. But a thorough survey of the literature in both Greek and other languages, conducted with the help of a competent Greek bibliographer, showed that no general work on Greek village life had been written in over fifty years and that relatively few articles on particular places or regions had appeared. This explains why I was ready to move from the security of precise social-science procedures to the more vulnerable area of personal interpretation, subjecting my conclusions to the scrutiny of at least a score of men and women, each familiar with many aspects of Greek rural life, who agreed to read the rough drafts of this work and test my comments against their experience. A six-week field trip 121 [122] [128] [114]

1:Sanders 7-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

121 throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959
[114] gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.
124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adonidis, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

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course, should not be held accountable for my general interpretations. Special thanks, therefore, go to Mrs. Elle Adossides, Maria Alexandrakis, Constantine Apalodemos, Panos Bardis, Ph. Annino Cavalieratto, Angelike Chatzemichali, Ernestine Friedl, D. J. Georgacas, Ann and Charles House, Print Hudson, K. D. Karavides, Lampros Koromelas, Catherine Koumarianou, Bruce Lansdale, Dorothy Lee, Glen Leet, Harry Levy, Spiro Manolas, B. G. Moussouros, Theodora J. Pantos, T. K. Papaspyropoulos, John D. Photiadis, N. D. Rigopoulos, George Sakellopoulos, Theodore Saloutos, Costas Souliotis, William Tait, Chris A. Theodore, Peter Topping, Vasilios G. Valaoras, V. T. Valaasis, J. C. Vogel, Clayton E. Whipple, Robert L. Wolff, and Charles Yale.

I. T. S.

Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts
January 1961

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Part One

Survival

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[I]

The People of Greece

The Legend

When God was building the earth, he lavished all goods such as water, pasture, forests, and rich soil on the countries of the world. Then suddenly he remembered that he had forgotten Greece. What could he give to this country since he had given all the riches to the others? He started stroking his beard thoughtfully. All at once an idea struck him when he saw the rainbow hanging over his head. Reaching up, he chopped a piece off, stooped and picked up a little soil and many stones, and kneaded the whole thing together in the palm of his hand. Then, opening his palm, he blew the mixture into the sea, and Greece came into being.[1] 539 773

In its symbolic meaning, the rainbow of the legend is the Greek people who are as colorful as the sun-drenched rocks on which their nation grew to greatness.

The fact that the Athenian civilization with its poets, philosophers, dramatists, and sculptors had its origin in a city of less than two hundred thousand people on the rocky Attic plain has been a source of wonder to all who know anything of ancient Greece. But today there is also a miracle of Greece at which to wonder. In our twentieth century we see a land of 51,182 square miles supporting eight million people; that is, an area the 175 [131] [161]

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175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
[131] Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
[161] 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
[311] has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
[156] Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
[181] three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through
[10] cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take
[829] up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the seminomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

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[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":[7]

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

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[The City Greek]

369 nians. According to the story, a man reading his newspaper at a café table
829 was studying the battle plans and maps of the Russian command. The more
195 he studied the newspaper details of the Russian army lines, the more excited he became, until he finally called out a warning to the Russian general half a world away in these classic words, "More to the right, Koropotkin! More to the right!" This phrase is repeated with a smile by one Athenian to another when he wants to imply that the other is passing judgment on something a little — but only a little — out of his field of competence. As
369 a matter of fact, a multitude of anecdotes told by city Greeks about them-
829 selves swarm into memory. One way of gaining an insight into the Greek mind is to listen to these stories.

The Greek shows pride in his intellectual curiosity by relating the tale of the Greek walking along a Paris street with a French friend. The Greek in the excitement of a discussion of nationality traits boasted that he could identify any Greek who came down the street. To the Frenchman this seemed impossible in such a cosmopolitan city as Paris.

"Let us wait here for a few minutes and I will find the Greeks for you," said the Athenian, who thereupon began to twist his cane into a nearby wall as though he were boring a hole. Many people passed by without paying any attention, when all of a sudden one man stopped to observe this strange behavior. He looked at the cane, the small hole, and at the man turning the cane as though trying to figure out the reason for the procedure. The Greek with the cane asked, "Are you Greek?" "Yes, I am," said the inquisitive passerby. "What are you doing with that cane?" The performance with the cane was repeated and after an interval a second man — of course, another Greek — stopped to observe. This was enough to convince the Frenchman of his Greek friend's ability to discover his fellow countrymen by tickling their curiosity.

This intellectual curiosity has its other side, too. One Greek social worker with an objective view of herself and her associates said, "When we Greeks face a crucial problem in social welfare or elsewhere, we are inclined to examine it from all sides. We look at it from so many points of view that we finally convince ourselves that it is not a very serious problem and practically explain it away, with the result that we do not feel the need to take any action about it at all."

369 It must be obvious by now that city Greeks are never dull. Conversations
521 with them do not merely flow; they roar along. They always have some prin-
[275] ciples to defend, some causes or organizations to promote, or some absorb-
[829] ing hobbies to share. The mark of the true urbanite, as previously implied, is the regular visit to a favorite café, the modern version of the ancient agora, to transact business or to discuss with friends every conceivable facet of the happenings of the past twenty-four hours, not only in his own social group but in the world at large. It is only fair to point out that a few of the

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[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officals, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

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[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the
[186] wide world.

The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural
[463] pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are
[702] farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible uni-
829 verse. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable
186 servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from
511 and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out
[829] in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their
184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

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[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 ver-
sion of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picur- 184
esque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 369
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, cho-*
rikos, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approxima- [361]
tions of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions
about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of over-
idealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of
burdens and dull plodders through life.[10]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland,
away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* in-
terchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall
have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other
countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local po-
litical units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens,
whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had
reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over
20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small
village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more atten-
tion than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peas- 369
ant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways. 184
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 174

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[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
174 objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is [191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak [197] Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock; [854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

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[The Greek Villager]

from a distant island or an isolated mainland village. On the other hand, 184
almost every village home contains photographs of relatives who have taken 369
on the habits of the city. All islanders are not seafarers, for the majority of
those in the larger islands live from the soil as do the peasants of the main- [854]
land. There is thus a lively interdependence among the urbanite, the sea-
farer, and the villager.

This interdependence, not always recognized by the Greeks themselves, has a fascination for the Western observer who is curious about the working of a society other than his own. For him the panorama of Greece is a source of enchantment. Now brilliant, now shadowy, through it the thread of tradition runs. Who are the carriers of this continuity? What has insulated the thread against time? It is doubtful whether the answers can be found in the clear, cold, statistical analysis of the social scientist. But an observer trained in the scientific method, with a background of Greek history and literature and an acquaintance with modern Greece that began with a first visit there thirty years ago, may be able to give interpretations and insights helpful to those interested in contemporary Greece.

Such interpretations may even have a broader implication. The Greeks 171
differ in innumerable ways from Asian peoples and from those of the 184
Middle East and Africa. Nevertheless, most Greeks on the mainland live in 369
villages which are much closer in tempo and quality of life to villages on
other continents than to anything one can find in the United States. They work small plots of land, scattered in strips around their villages, as do many rural people throughout the world, in sharp contrast to the mechanized American farm of several hundred acres; they know the meaning of hunger, of poverty, of the catastrophe of war and violence, which most Americans fortunately have not had to experience, but which is all too common in the newly developing countries; they also face many of the same problems of relationship to the central government and its services, of accepting or rejecting national programs of rural change.

To know the rural Greek, therefore, is to know more about rural humanity, most of which lives in a different social world from our own city-dominated society. Village people want to be seen not as cannon fodder, potential customers, religious or political converts, but as parents hoping for a better life for their children, as farmers wishing better yields to feed the family until next harvest, as new citizens — not yet secure in their franchise — learning the rudiments of the political process. Even more important, they want to be seen as individuals, with all the rich color this word conveys.

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[p12]

II

Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

13 In a literal sense, the rainbow in the rock is the magical coloring of the Greek landscape, the crystal-clear air, and the intensely blue sea. Anyone who paints the Greek sea as it actually looks runs the risk of skepticism from critics abroad who might well say, "no sea could be so blue, in so many shades," particularly if all they have for comparison is the gray Atlantic. An artist friend told of a young Swedish painter who came to Greece after considerable success in landscape painting in Italy and France.[1] For six weeks he tried to paint, but nothing looked right. It was only after he developed new techniques that he began to catch the spectrum of opalescent colors, the strong variations in light and shadow, and the sharp delicacy of forms visible at a considerable distance. Anywhere in Greece the physical environment is impressive, not as a backdrop to be taken for granted, but as a sensation to be enjoyed in its own right.[2]

182 [829 13] Perhaps this is why so many Greeks are ready to accept geographic determinism as an explanation of their difficulties. There, spread out for all to see, are the effects of climate, of differences in terrain, of dwindling or unprotected resources. And the temptation is strong to assume that all troubles would pass away if only the earth were more fertile or if heaven shed its rain more plentifully. But the explanation is not quite so simple. Those turning to the philosophy of history for an answer might be told by

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someone like Arnold Toynbee that Greece's early greatness grew out of the stern necessity to respond to the challenge of a partly hostile environment and a population growing beyond its means of subsistence. 182

Although the study of Greece's past shows that the cultural, or man-made, aspects of life have been tremendously important, one must nevertheless give the physical environment its just due. This leads to a consideration of some of the cold, hard facts about the rock that is Greece.

The Regions of Greece

Each of the regions of Greece, shown on the accompanying map, has its own assortment of mountains, plains, and a stretch of coastline; each has its own history and traditions; each has its own problems posed by the 101 13

101
102
131

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101 13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

[433] *Epirus*, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

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Attitudes and Beliefs about Nature

82

The Greek people, as one would expect of individuals everywhere, vary considerably in their attitude toward the physical environment.[3] Some, completely oblivious to the beauty about them, nevertheless try to read the weather signs in order to know when they should plow or sow. Some, at the other extreme, show a deep sensitivity to the changing moods of nature, as, for example, the illiterate shepherd in the Boeotian village of Schematari who would take pencil and paper and lovingly draw a tree-filled landscape or the rising sun. Most of the Greek villagers, however, seem to fall between these two extremes; from time to time they, in the words of one peasant, "gain an optimism in life when they see the beauty of a nice slope of the mountain or a lovely dawn." On the whole, the world seems a friendly place and there are few things to fear at the hands of nature.

More than this, the world is in God's hands. The frequent reference to God in popular speech may be a cultural trait handed down from generation to generation, but some of the oft-repeated, time-honored phrases are said with such animation and with such a light in the eye that they must express the individual feeling of those using them. There is no counterpart in English to the common phrase *Chara Theou* (Joy of God), which combines not only rapture and active enjoyment but the sense of the sparkling light God sheds on the earth. During the spectacular Greek spring, this phrase is a most appropriate way of describing one's feeling. 82 771 776 [195]

Even those who are not very conscious of their natural surroundings from day to day miss them deeply when distant from them. Over and over again, returned emigrants in Greek villages gave as the reason for their departure from America their need to see the mountains or plains or the sea on which their eyes had rested while they grew up. 82 [167]

Much of this feeling toward nature is based on the sense of intimacy with her.[4] Indeed, one of the first requirements in trying to understand the life of any people is to learn their reaction and adjustment to the natural world. The Greek farmer studies nature for important signs which tell him whether to bring the flock in from the high hillside, whether to start or delay a journey, whether to put out his tobacco plants. Those signs directly relating weather to agriculture are obvious and easily understood by the Westerner, if not always accepted as scientifically valid. But the signs which natural objects and events provide of the supernatural — illness and death, the appearance of ghosts, or even the way the universe was made and is run — all of these stretch the imagination of the scientifically trained specialist, who may be inclined to dismiss them as superstition and therefore unimportant. Nevertheless, they continue to be important to many Greek villagers, young and old alike. 82 787

In listening to folk interpretations of nature, one also learns much about

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is
787 lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at
[777] least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

824 Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of
[787] the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed
777 clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk
539 story:

Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony
[844] known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panagias to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the
[789] midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward
[754] off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sta matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[9] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old
82 people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

825 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild
787 animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day. 825 787 [777]

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there. [777] [776] [422]

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder. 825 779 [788] 771 [521]

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates. 82

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[1] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in 821 127

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

821 one of the high schools in Athens. T. K. Papaspyropoulos has written of
[127] his native settlement near Kalavryta in the Peloponnesos.[8] A literal translation has been used in order to retain some of the flavor of the village informants.

The sky. Our mother told us that the sky was a big dome which covers the earth like a lid of a cauldron. This dome has for ornaments the sun, the moon, and the stars. High up in this dome God has his throne and sits with Christ, the
[772] Virgin, with all the saints and the angels. Near the throne of God is Paradise with the souls of the good people and the saints. Hell is down below in the deepest part of the earth, together with the devils and the sinners. May God protect us!

The sun. The sun is the god of the day. He throws light on the earth and warms the people. The sun brings cereals and all the goods which are upon the earth. Without him we would be dead from cold. The sun does not only warm us but tours the whole world and brings greetings to all those who are away
[533] from their home. He also tells us what he sees. We have many songs for the sun, such as those which begin "My sun, three times my sun, and my world-roamer." "The working people watch for him."

[271] Everybody is afraid of the sun. We do not drink water while facing him, neither do we look straight into him because we get blind. In summer time the sun either burns our cereals or our heads. But in winter we beg him to come out and warm us up. We sit there by the sunny spot and he bakes our bodies. We
[533] also sing him a song: "Come on out, my sun. Just come out a little bit so that we can take a walk near the threshing floor." Sometimes it rains heavily and the sun is out at the same time. Then we sing to him: "Sun, sun and rain, when the poor get married. Sun, sun and moon, when the donkeys get married. Sun, sun and drizzle, when the female teacher gets married."

The moon. Just as the day has for a king the sun, the night has the moon as its king. The moon is a more agile king than the sun. It takes a walk on the sky shining and chasing the clouds and makes people come out of their homes.
[512] With the moon the women spin at night; the children play on the threshing floors; the men water their fields; the muleteers can see and go to their work; and the shepherds enjoy the slopes together with their sheep while playing the flute. But the moon can also harm. The biggest harm is done to the thieves because it throws its light and does not allow them to rob for they can be seen. "The thief enjoys darkness and the wolf the upheaval" [distracting disturbance]. When the moon comes out for the first time we say: "Welcome to the new moon. We are happy to see you. Bring us good." Many seek to find money. They get hold of it and say: "As the moon gets full may my purse get full of coins." When the moon disappears those who are in the mountain and see it set say: "May you fare well and return better and achieve better things." "My moon, my shining moon, and beautifully adorned, did you by any chance see Andrew and his ship?" . . .

[539] *The milky way* (the priest's straw). Do you see those stars that divide the sky into two? We call them the priest's straw. Once upon a time a priest went to stay for a couple of days in a monastery. When he left, because he couldn't

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take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw. 821 [539]

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . . [245] [243] [132]

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune. 731

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless. 731 133 [361]

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!) 731 821 [123]

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Kokinya is a village of about one hundred houses not far from Kozane in Western Macedonia. The prefect of Kozane heard that a serious storm had hit the village and went out with his agriculturist to see what damage had been done, taking me along. As the agriculturist got estimates of crop destruction (50 percent of the wheat, 80 percent of the corn), we began to find out the peasants' explanations for this storm. One old man put it simply when he said, "it was God's will." • Even though the storm had occurred two days before, the people were still dazed at the thought of so much labor going to waste, to say nothing of the loss of the expected income from the crops. They did not seem bitter, nor altogether resigned. The visit of the nomarch (prefect) and his hour's discussion with the men brought a ray of hope. After many matters had been looked into, the nomarch asked just before he left: "I'm going to write up this report and make request for aid from the proper ministry. What are you people of Kokinya going to do?" They answered: "We are going to go to our fields, work with our vineyards. The rain has made new ravines. We must carry soil and fill in. Now we will have to work harder."

This statement reminded me of a conversation one evening on an apartment terrace halfway up Lykabettos Hill, a hill standing all by itself in the center of Athens. The Acropolis was clearly outlined in the moonlight, and the lights on the sea far in the distance told of the movement of boats in and out of the harbor. There we discussed the Greek peasant's idea of fate with a group of educated Greek friends — one of them the novelist Elias Venezis. As the backdrop for the present point of view we went back to the ancient idea of the three Fates and the classic themes of Greek tragedy.[10]

The Greeks with whom we were talking were careful to distinguish between the passive fatalism of the lands farther to the east and the active fatalism of the Greeks, pointing out that the Greek peasant made no abject surrender to nature or other forces about him. Even though the individual knows the odds are against him, he must stand up and face his destiny with dignity and correctness, whether the forces which would crush him show any mercy or not. We were reminded of the common saying, "syn Athena kai cheira kinei," which means, "with Athena move your own hand too." Thus it was neither incongruous nor contradictory to hear one Kokinya peasant say, "it is God's will," and to hear his neighbor say "now we will have to work harder."

On such a mental adjustment to the mountains, plains, and the sea, which we shall take up in order, is the survival of the Greek people largely based.

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The Mountains

133 The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece
[311] as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields
[132] below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war
185 Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article
[311] in *Soil Conservation,* holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc-
[233]
[175]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 175

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of 137
Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian 185
triremes.[12] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek [233]
forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, 137
certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a 311
fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the 233
economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does 135
have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An [471]
American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of [439]
the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[13] We often tend to 132
think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Mace- [134]
donia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of [249]
the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

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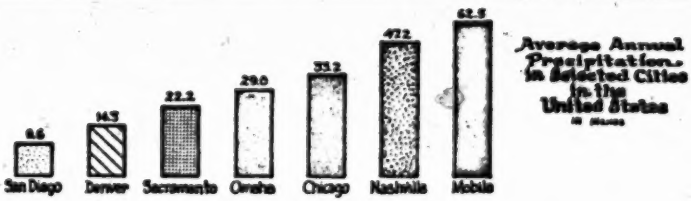

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Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

823 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits
361 about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages
241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos.
433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with
[233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our
[312] village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one
[423] stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired
[487] as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the
[312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

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The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] [291]

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

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312 or too little water; never is it "just right." If there is too much, a drainage project must be undertaken to make much-needed land available for cultivation.

312 The most noteworthy reclamation project before the turn of this century
471 was the draining of Lake Kopais, just north of Thebes in Central Greece.[18] The work was undertaken by a French company in 1886 and completed by an English company in 1887, which continued to operate the agricultural estate of sixty thousand acres down to its purchase by the Greek government prior to the November elections of 1952. At that time, this large hold-
[427] ing, along with its complicated drainage system, was turned over to the former tenants, who had worked for the foreign company. Now as owners,
[474] or as members of a cooperative, they face the necessity of making their contribution to the over-all maintenance of the drainage channels so that the water may run off adequately and prevent the land from reverting to its once-marshy condition. According to some foreign technicians, the Greeks are doing a good job of managing this operation.

312 Much of the time, however, there is too little water through the growing season. One answer to this scarcity has been the recent drilling of hundreds of wells, from which water is pumped to the thirsty fields through irrigation ditches. In addition, a number of ambitious water-control projects have led to considerable storage of water and the spread of irrigation.

312 In villages, usually on the edges of plains watered by streams flowing from a mountain source, the water crier is a unique institution. This indi-
203 vidual is encountered, for instance, in the Peloponnesos, where he strides through the streets of the village calling out the name of the person whose patches of land are next in line to receive the flow of water. One of these criers had a voice so powerful that, while standing on the small plain below, he could notify people in the village on the mountainside hundreds of yards away.

312 A Greek villager, like the Arab, will make much over the merits of the water of his homeplace. To praise the water he will speak of it as *cho-*
423 *nephtiko nero,* or "digestive water." He will even fight over it, as the fol-
628 lowing news item shows.

> Athens. The Kentucky mountaineers' storied concept of feudin' justice reached here recently and two girls were killed and four men were critically injured.
>
> Two Greek villages — Kerasovo and Papadates — went to war a few days ago to settle a dispute over water rights, and 400 men, women, and children battled for hours with clubs, hoes, knives and hand grenades.
>
> Two army companies were sent to restore order.
>
> The cause of the trouble was water. Sovereignty over Cold Fountain, a spring irrigating the wheat-fields of Kerasovo, was contested by the farmers of neighboring Papadates.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

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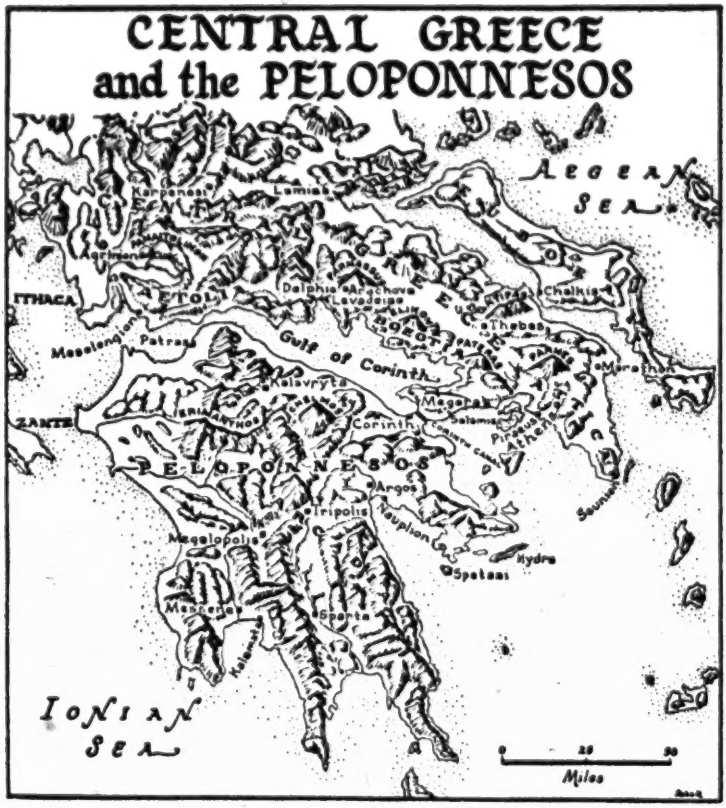

184 would have normally been paid to the mountain people, to Patras and sold it for
433 its weight in gold. As a result, the highland villagers faced serious difficulties.

511 About this time a band of five young guerrillas came by the village and demanded hospitality. The villagers took them in and killed a lamb so that
722 they could dine in plenty. After a few months, the same band put in another appearance, but this time the people could only provide a cock for the dinner. On the third visit, much later on, a wheat dish had to be the main course. Finally, on a fourth visit, when the members of the band were served only onions and garlic, they turned to the villagers and said: "You are hungry. Do you see those villages on the plain below? Why don't you go down there and take the food away from them, take their land, and let them come up here and live?"

An old villager answered: "Yes, we may be able to go down there and beat

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

them now and begin to live in their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can." 184 433 511

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains. [722]

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are: 184 157 829

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it." 184 511

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna- 184 157 829 [166] [722]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage.
501 Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

marine. As of November 1957, the Greek merchant fleet numbered 541 vessels, whose tonnage totaled 1,510,535 tons. By 1961 its 1,110 ships amounted to 5,893,652 tons. 505

In addition to being a potential economic asset, the sea makes its influence felt in a psychological sense. "The Romans built roads but the Greeks always used the sea" was an observation made to me by a retired Greek admiral. The more one thinks about this simple statement of difference between two great nations of antiquity, the clearer become the varied bases for their greatness. Rome, the conqueror of the European continent and much of the Mediterranean world, held on to her territorial conquests for centuries, but the lasting conquests of ancient Greece were not those of territory, which she also conquered from time to time, but the victory of a superior culture. The Romans were administrators of subject lands; the Greeks became traders and merchants who colonized along the coasts of the whole known world, accumulated their wealth in cities, and maintained a competitive individualism much in evidence even today. 174 823 [157]

From this tradition of the sea the Greek has gained an outward look, sometimes carried to extremes. "He knows about every country but his own" commented a Westerner who had spent many years in Greece. 181 186

An old, old peasant put the way he felt toward the sea and what it meant to him in these words: 823

"Look over the sea," he said, pointing to the shining water in the distance. "Do you know anything farther than that? Going over the sea means going over to America. In the olden days, under the pressure of need, one stole from the other and the other fought back and killed and so got out of the country. Only the goat thieves and the peasants were left. For us village people, 'farther than the sea' means not just emigrating but also means bringing in. We can use it to improve life. Here near our village we have a waterfall and big water supply; we can have electricity and irrigation but we need scientists from across the sea to tell us how to use what we have. Then more people can live on the land and will not need to emigrate."

There are many Greeks, especially women, in isolated villages who have never seen the sea. Even for them it seems to have a deep emotional meaning, for, as one Greek folklorist explained to me, there is an unconscious worship of water all over Greece. A twenty-one-year-old peasant girl on her way to relatives in Athens rode with us from her village in the heart of the Peloponnesos. This was her first trip away from home. We stopped on the brow of a mountain while she had her first view of the sea. She who had ridden with us for many miles, shy and silent, looked out to the wide indigo horizon and cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" (The sea! the sea!), and then subsided, wide-eyed. It was obvious to all of us that she was deeply

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the
186 knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives,
823 only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (Jan-
823 uary 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering him-
[755] self fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism
[778] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of
[789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most per-
776 sistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of
539 Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> [195] "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> [502] When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

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One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns." 823 195 539

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea. 823 776 346 782 502 778

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her. 823

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today. 184 181

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III

The Village Setting

621 Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization.
361 To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and
[369] mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes, or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place,
[491] the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new
[487] roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the more isolated areas.

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him
[476] the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows
[438] him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or
[233] neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture, frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural

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Agricultural

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square. 241 621

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing. 621 609 574 275 [272] [273]

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention. 621 609 574 [312] [275] [494]

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

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361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

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TABLE 1. BUSINESSES AND SERVICES IN EIGHT GREEK VILLAGES*

	Tobacco village near Xanthe	Village A near Mesolongi	Village B near Mesolongi	Village in Central Greece	Mountain village near Lamia	Village near Agrinion	Village A in Macedonia	Village B in Macedonia
Population	1145	1062	2030	1372	1060	2915	1654	2493
Flour mills	6	1			2	3	2	
Bakeries	1		3	1		3		
Groceries	6	8	3	7	6	21	7	8
Barbershops	3	2	3	3	2	5		
Coffeeshops	6	8	5	5	1	7	3	3
Carpenters	5				2			
Masons	12			4	4			
Shoemakers	5	1		2	1	4	1	1
Saddlemakers	1		1	2				
Tinsmiths	1					1		
Blacksmiths	2	1	2	3				
Butchers	2	5		4	3	6		
Tailors	1	1		3	1	1	2	3
Dressmakers	3	6		10	2			
Carriagemakers						2	1	
Yardgoods shops				2		1		
Tobacco-news			2			2		
Restaurants			6			4		

* Includes those services mentioned for two or more villages.
Source: Village studies by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece (mimeographed).

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443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

[494] Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

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123 house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he
574 young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impres-
609 sive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

173 Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be
361 legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

361 Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to
167 rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

361 There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advis-
461 ability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the stand-
[484] point of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Fre-
[489] quently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

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on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes. 361 461 [805 177]

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating: 361 167

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[9] 361 167 181 [571 275]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses. 361 167

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their 166 361 727

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166 voices, questioned: "Just how would a fisherman know how to guard
361 livestock?" The new site had been chosen because it was sheltered, near
the water, and on the road. The houses had been provided free by the
727 Ministry of Reconstruction, each being set in a plot of four hundred square meters in which a small vegetable garden was possible. As the surrounding cropland was insufficient to support all of these families, the men had to go far away in search of jobs while leaving the women and children behind.

361 In the beginning of the reconstruction period, private contractors were
given the task of rebuilding the destroyed villages and in some cases put
727 up shoddy dwellings in a location where people did not want to live. Some
178 of these stand today between Lamia and Volos abandoned, mute testimony to the failure of projects carried out without consulting those supposed to benefit from them. But most of the postwar villages are now inhabited and contrast, because of their straight streets and their houses in a perfect line, with the older villages where the streets wander and each individual put up his house on his lot as it pleased him.

361 Location, however, is more complex than some of the peasants' explanations or the contractors' choices would imply. It usually represents over a long period of time an adjustment to the resources which people need for their livelihood. First of all, there must be water available for drinking
[312] and washing. Should a spring upon which everyone depended dry up, the people of the village would move, ghosts or no ghosts, particularly if the women got tired of carrying water from some unreasonable distance. Over a period of time, also, the peasants locate their settlements as a compromise between the requirements for wood and pastures on heights above the village and the need for daily travel to their fields lying below. That is why villages are so frequently perched on a hillside instead of on the level land beneath. Of course, if the plain is large and the hills distant from land owned by the peasants, they will build a village on the plain and make long trips for their wood. Another factor affecting location in the days of Turkish rule was the villager's desire to be off the main road and thus less subject to taxation by officials and to requisition of foodstuffs by passing troops. He valued his freedom. Those old villages are now suffering from the isolation which was once a blessing. But many of the people still cling to residence in the old village in preference to separate farms because of the protection a village gives against wild animals and predatory armies, and because neighbors help each other to cultivate the earth. A further reason for the long survival of the village was its suitability to the system of large landholdings prevalent through much of Greece before the liberation from the Turks. Estate owners or managers could better control and supervise the rural workers whose houses were conveniently grouped together. Nowadays, according to those engaged in community development, better provisions for schools, roads, medical services, mail, and other

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public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby. [363]

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[7] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece. 491 [521] [619]

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away. [177] [653]

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner." 491 178

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491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

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donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

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Village Hygiene

364 This closer contact with the ideas and the services of the city is helping
[369] overcome one of the negative aspects of village life from the survival standpoint, namely, its lack of adequate hygienic provisions. When Greek villages are judged in terms of what one finds in many rural settlements throughout the United States and Western Europe, they measure up fairly well. They have their expected quota of flies, their problems of sewage disposal, and the difficulties of obtaining pure drinking water, but these concerns are common to farm people in other parts of the world.

364 When, however, one measures the Greek village by scientific standards
312 of public hygiene — and these should be the goal in the interest of better health for its people — then there are obvious shortcomings. According to *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*:

> many of the rural sections depend on small springs and hand-dug wells for their water supplies. These are usually isolated from inhabited areas and the water is not piped to the villages. It is quite common to see women carrying water in earthenware containers from sources as far as a mile from their homes.
>
> In semi-rural communities, particularly in the lowlands where underground water is more common, public wells, springs and private wells are often in use. Many private wells exist all over Greece and are sometimes the preferred sources of supply, even where safe piped supplies are provided. In some of the smaller Ionian and Aegean Islands and in a few villages in the northeastern Peloponnese and eastern Crete, the complete lack of any surface or underground water has compelled the population to depend on rain water collected from the roofs of their homes.
>
> Many private and public wells and many rural springs are open and unprotected from contamination which may be introduced by the human or animal population which it serves. . . . Even after collection, the water is frequently subject to contamination in containers. . . .[8]

The urban water supplies are more apt to be adequate with proper precautions taken for filtration and chlorination.[9]

364 A description of waste disposal is also contained in the report quoted
514 above:

> For the disposal of human excreta in the rural areas of Greece either the pit privy or bored-hole latrines are utilized. Defecation on the ground is still widely practiced due to lack of sanitary facilities in residences and schools. However, the sanitary type of bored-hole latrine and pit privy has been installed under various programs at low cost to villagers in rural areas mainly as demonstration projects.[10]

164 In addition to the obvious visible signs of sanitation progress, one can
165 learn much from the list of causes of death for Greece as a whole. Table 2 shows the first fifteen general causes of death for 1950. Some of the

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TABLE 2. CAUSES OF DEATH IN GREECE, 1950, BY NUMBER AND RATE

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Cause of death	Number	Death rate (per 1000 people)
Heart disease	3270	.427
Cancer	2730	.358
Cerebral hemorrhage	2679	.352
Tuberculosis (respiratory)	2214	.293
Senility	1954	.258
Pneumonia	1523	.201
Nephritis	1284	.168
Violent accidents	1259	.165
Causes unknown	1166	.154
Congenital debility	998	.132
Diarrhea, enteritis	973	.128
Other tuberculosis	634	.083
Other diseases of digestive system	629	.082
Other infectious diseases	621	.081
Diseases of the liver	511	.067

Source: Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece* (Athens, 1952), p. 62 (mimeographed).

diseases which give the health authorities most cause for concern are tuberculosis, dysentery, typhoid and paratyphoid, venereal diseases, smallpox, various intestinal parasites, and particularly infectious hepatitis.

Of these causes of death, tuberculosis creates the greatest problem for those interested in preventive medicine, for it is commonly recognized that the reported death rate, 29.3 per 100,000 people, is probably less than half of the true figures. Greek peasants can therefore take small comfort in the fact that tuberculosis death rates in the urban areas are more than twice as high as those for rural districts, since this still means relatively high rates in the villages. Although the government is attacking tuberculosis with considerable vigor, the public response is only half-hearted. One of the first jobs of the UNRRA–World Health Organization mission after the war was to try to persuade the tuberculous to recognize their illness, to take treatment, and to realize that it was no disgrace to be ill.

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However, in most families it is still considered a shame to have the disease, so much so that cases are hidden and doctors are even paid for not reporting cases to the public-health authorities. Although undernourishment is frequently associated with the high incidence of the disease, in Greece malaria has been a contributory cause by undermining resistance to the tuberculosis bacillus.

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164 Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a
744 story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

364 Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

342 As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can
184 associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years,
[712] plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

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When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma,* found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture. 342 184 [361]

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?" 574 [517] [286]

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern. [514] [457]

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu- 342

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342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastore* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic- 184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

1:Sanders 2-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even to the extent of sleeping on the portico, on the roof balcony, or anywhere else where they found it comfortable. As a matter of fact, some students of the Greek house think the court the basic element, and the other parts of the house an adaptation to it and to the other needs connected with the individual peasant's kind of agriculture. Where the court is covered with flagstones, it serves for a longer season than do those that turn to mud after the fall or spring rains begin. 351 [513]

The court is separated from the street by some kind of wall or a fence of holm-oak branches. In the plains villages these walls, like the houses, are of mud brick. They too are white-washed a brilliant white on the Monday of Holy Week before Easter. Later on, when the rains come and the white-wash wears away, the walls take on a drabness that made travelers from early times on down to our day describe these plains villages as unattractive. Where the walls are well kept, where there are attractive tiled gateways — as in Macedonia — large enough for the wagon to drive through, the yards behind have a mysterious and richer look. 351 184

The village setting is part of the Greek peasant's physical adjustment to the land. Throughout Greece there are many variations in the appearances of the settlements due to differences in terrain, location, and communication. Villages set in the shadow of a towering mountain and surrounded by a forest of firs have a snug look; those whose green trees and vines are the only cool color in a vast stretch of hot brown fields invite one to stop and rest; those which stand proudly on the brow of a hill seem to be keeping a watchful eye on the farmlands lying around. Others, perched on some airy height, dare you to climb and visit them, and anyone doing so will be surprised to find that behind the village there is a broad shoulder of the mountain which provides good farmland to those willing to live there on the heights. For many villages the dark blue sea is part of the setting, even though none of the villagers may be able to swim a stroke. Whatever the location, the villager has the deep belief that his village site is the best possible one. The water of his village is the best-tasting in the world, and in moments of homesickness when he is away from his native place he would give anything for a drink of that water again and for a chance to see the incomparable view from his village. 361 361 186 271

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Part Two

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Land

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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IV

Land as a Birthright

Grandfather slipped his hand underneath and drew out a little bundle which had lain over his heart. 423

"It is nothing. . . . A handful of earth. . . ."

"A handful of earth! . . ."

"Yes, a handful of earth from our fields so we can plant a root of basil in our land of exile, to remind us. . . ."

Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, p. 259

A Handful of Earth

To some readers, this passage will reveal a poetic insight into the mystic attachment which not only the refugees portrayed but people in many parts of the world have for the land which is theirs, which they revere, and for which they will endure bloody encounters. To other readers, this will seem an overromanticized stereotyping of the peasant. Which reaction is more justifiable in considering the Greek villages today?

Seeking an answer to this question brought me face to face with the dramatic social changes which have been occurring in Greece, with all their marked regional differences. Facts and figures are a good starting point for trying to resolve a debated question. Certainly, in Greece today, with the population increase, good land is at a very high premium. The "handful of 423 178 241

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
[432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was oc-
432 curring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
[166] rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months.
[578] Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511]

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
[369] rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
[593] young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional varia-
432 tions are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security. On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live
[166] in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[6]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago.

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[7] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow.

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria,* did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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175
423

authorities continued the existing forms of land ownership as long as they controlled Attica and the rest of Greece.

There were, for four centuries, four ways in which agricultural and forest land was held during the Turkish occupation. First of all, much land (the old Byzantine estates) belonged to the Turkish state; that is, it was the property of the Sultan who owned it by right of sovereignty. He could not give it away irrevocably, but he could award it as grants to Turks or to Christians adopting Islam. Such grants included the fiefs (or estates called *tsiflikia* in Turkish) over which the new owners had all property rights. These holdings were found chiefly in the richest parts of Attica.[10]

A second form of property in land was that owned by the communes, which had full property rights. The Turkish occupation, for reasons of general policy, preserved the communes existing prior to the occupation together with their administrative institutions. Also, every city, town, and village preserved its magistrates who, elected for the most part by the Christians, were called *demogerontes* (village elders). The occupying Turks also respected the communal property reserved for the needs of the commune (pastures, woodlots), which was administered by the demogerontes. As the later description of local government will show, these elders, in addition, had the right to impose taxes, enforce civil law, exercise police and other powers, with the result that they became the natural protectors and councilors of every inhabitant in the commune. This institution of demogerontes was the incentive which maintained and helped develop national sentiment during the years of occupation, and it was found in those communes which had been *kephalochoria* (head or independent villages) in the Byzantine period.

A third form of landed property was that owned individually by the inhabitants of these kephalochoria, the villages which had the communal land mentioned above. These were settlements usually in the mountain or hill regions. Because their poor or mediocre soil was of little economic interest to the Turks, and because of their inaccessible location, they were not completely subjected economically. They preserved the regime of small holdings: either small holdings already existing in Byzantine times or those which their inhabitants had begun to acquire around the places where they lived, some by purchase of the right of limited tenure, some by grant on the part of landlords. These small holdings frequently were planted with olive trees, vineyards, and fruit trees, as they had been for generations.

The fourth form of property was that which belonged to monasteries and to religious foundations. The Turks, under the system of the Waqf, deeded land to mosques or hospitals in keeping with Koranic law in much the same way as Christians had given land to monasteries in the Byzantine era. In this way, large estates came into being under the control of these

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks. 175 423

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica: 175 423 427

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops. [311]

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years. 178 241 [235] [462]

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of
241 summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illus-
[241] trate modern Greek land reform.[12] The size of the farm holding in Thessaly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still
[671] exists for those poor villagers who need it.

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

But he was being forced to surrender even this by the provisions of the 1952 constitution which sought to put in the hands of all the remaining peasant tenants the land which they tilled. 423 [427]

It was some of this land the Thomai peasants were waiting for. Thomai was a village of refugees from near Konya, Turkey, who had settled there in 1926 and 1927. Each had been given approximately fifteen acres of land, much of it quite fertile in comparison with land elsewhere in Greece, but still not enough for their needs. [167]

Arriving in the village, the director of agriculture questioned the men, gathered in the coffeehouse, on the extent of the damage done by the rain and they agreed with him that the loss was not nearly so great as the Athens papers had stated in their morning editions. One of them was even frank enough to say, "Oh, you know how farmers are inclined to exaggerate their losses."

"But what about our pasture land?" one of the more aggressive peasants wanted to know. "We are supposed to get some from one of the Hadjilazaros estates. When will the government give it to us? We need it for our flocks."

Patiently the director explained that they would definitely receive this land but that it would take time. He said he felt the matter would be settled fairly soon since the expropriation — the most difficult part of the transaction — had already been completed. One peasant asked: "How could the owner manage to sell some of the estates to be expropriated before the government took them over? This gives the government less to distribute."

The director pointed out that in any sweeping law like the land reform there were often legal loopholes. These were being closed, but the landowner had been able to use them to his advantage. "Remember," he added, "the present government is really interested in enforcing the law and you will get your pasture land." [18]

The land hunger so vigorously expressed by these villagers in the middle of some of the best land of Greece was due partly to their social origins. Added to the conservatism, the moderate pessimism, and longing for land common to most rural people, there was another factor: when they had lived in Turkey, deep in the interior, they had had all the land they could use. Turkey is less densely populated than Greece. Some Thomai peasants even longed to return to Turkey, so much had they idealized the earlier years before their forced exodus. Yet they admitted that in the 1920s in Turkey they had used primitive methods, plowing with a wooden rather than a steel plowshare; many had lived in caves. Significantly, they admitted also that in this part of Greece they had found agriculture more advanced, but it was an admission of a fact to which they could not adjust. Compared to the more flexible peasants of the refugee villages of Northern Greece, these Thomai villagers were reluctant to change; their nostalgia for the 178 423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful,"
[177 they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and
825] for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the
[685 point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever."
[521 The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land re-
241 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant became about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the
[311 entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan. 423 474 241 [167]

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future. [242] [407] [435] [407]

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem. [652]

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity." [343] [242]

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 the smallest holdings, must have found sweet consolation in knowing that
474 now many of their more advantaged village neighbors wish to join the
241 cooperative pool. But this poses a problem. "How," the secretary asked anxiously, "can we calculate what arrangement to make with these people? How can we know what to charge them for the risk we took, the major expenses we bore? Certainly, now that we have succeeded, it would not be fair for them to come in and benefit free of cost from the pioneering work that we have done."

As these cooperative members talked of their plans, their eyes glowed with happiness and enthusiasm. The men had concrete proposals to solve other problems. They expect to shift from sole concentration upon grain production to more diversified farming, including livestock and poultry production, the raising of dry legumes and other crops that tend to give employment to the able-bodied members of the cooperating families.

International recognition as well as scientific farming is coming to Nees Karyes. Today there are people from Yugoslavia and Israel, as well as touring Americans, who have seen the way some of the peasant families in this village of Thessaly set about solving their problem of too little land in too many strips cultivated in unscientific ways. The secret of this undertaking, in great part at least, lies in the feeling of responsibility on the part of those who participate, since they originated and now conduct and plan for the cooperative which they jointly own.

Pressure on the Land

761 Most rural Greeks, however, struggle along with insufficient resources
241 and with no cooperative venture such as Nees Karyes to give them hope.
511 A village cobbler from Karpenesi in Central Greece explained the matter in this way: "There has been such an increase in population that the fields are no longer sufficient. The village child today lives more poorly than did his father as a child, because there are more mouths to feed and no added resources."

A well-informed Greek official put the problem in excellent perspective: "Today there is less income per family, less food, and the land values go
[565] up. Those that have more land become better off, leading to totally new economic and social distinctions in the villages. Many of our farmers are trying to make a living on such small farms that all they produce is hate. The main problem of the Greek farm family is the population problem. There are too many people. The villager with nothing to do has no place to go in search of work. That is why you see here in Athens many strong, healthy men selling matches. They have no work to do either in their villages or here in the city."

What the Greek villagers are up against in one part of the Peloponnesos is revealed in *Greece, Ripe for Improvement:*

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Like many of the older agricultural areas of the world, this area is densely populated and now has far more people than its depleted resources can adequately support. . . . At the present time, nearly 10,000 people are attempting to support themselves on 25,000 hectares (62,500 acres) of land, some of it waterlogged, most of it eroded, and all of it reduced in productivity.[16] 161 241 511

Yet this population pressure is of relatively recent occurrence. One writer in 1842 described the large amount of land then available in the Greece which at that time consisted of the Peloponnesos and Central Greece: [131]

> The industry of the 100,000 persons engaged in agriculture is almost completely lost to view in the extensive wilds of Greece; and the universal remark of tourists is, "What a pity that the cultivation of the soil is so neglected! what a rich and fertile country! what myriads of colonists might prosper here!" [17]

What happened between 1842 and 1952 to change the population picture so drastically? The population of Greece grew not only by natural increase but by the acquisition of new territory. The story can be told most simply by figures contained in the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook* for 1952; in 1861 there were 60 people per square mile in what was then Greece; in 1951 there were 149 people per square mile in what is Greece today. [131]

Students of population remind us quite properly that mere density per square mile is not a safe guide to the actual or the potential standard of living. The highly industrialized areas of Western Europe support several times the density of Greece and their people have many more modern conveniences. In a rural country, the density in terms of arable land is a more revealing indication of living conditions.

In the United States there are 17 acres of arable land for each farm person, but in both Greece and India there are only 1.3 acres. Our major farm problems come from surpluses; Greece, too, has her surpluses, although, like most countries moving away from a peasant economy, she is deficient in certain food supplies. One ray of hope for the less-privileged countries is the possibility that they may increase production per acre from 13 to 14 bushels (the present grain yields in Greece) closer to 30 bushels, a figure surpassed by the United Kingdom, Denmark, and the Netherlands, where scientific agriculture is practiced. But even here basic soil types set certain limits.

The present situation seems likely to become even more acute. In Greece between 1951 and 1961 there was a population increase of 9 percent, a figure which may grow larger if death rates are lowered faster than birth rates. Without a rapidly expanding economy to absorb these added people into productive jobs, the Greeks will feel their economic limitations even

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more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of the depressed areas of the country.

Land Use in Greece

What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[18] We may not be able to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest, and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres (double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

Greece Today, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens, in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation; and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Furthermore, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is 63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective average for these countries.

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of which are owned or administered by the state.[19] They were obtained in the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

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Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

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Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

[664]
[427]

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

[312]

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

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The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

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villagers, then conservatism and lack of progress will handicap the peasant; if, on the other hand, the man-land bond becomes too abruptly broken, a rural proletariat will come into existence and will make demands beyond the capacity of the country to provide.

The golden mean would call for such a balancing of forces that Greek villagers, proud of their rural heritage but aware of steps necessary to improve their economic and educational position, would grow stronger with the passing of time. For some the answer to greater economic stability would lie in higher yields per acre through fertilization and better farming practices; in other cases mechanization may prove an aid, as would more efficient irrigation or marketing facilities and lower interest rates. Along with the economic remedies, whatever they prove to be, a sense of psychological security will develop in the peasant if he thinks of himself as a landowner and gets prestige and satisfaction from the intelligent way he treats his land. Linked to this, however, must be the feeling that he — the villager — is not Greece's forgotten or neglected man, but that those engaged in agriculture are viewed by policy makers as an important segment of national life. Individually and collectively, no people can afford the costly luxury of taking lightly their birthright of land.

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[p. 75]

[V]

The Peasant at Work

A description of how the land is owned and what it grows gives only one side of the agricultural picture. To round out the chapter just concluded, one needs to see the peasants at work, to follow them from tobacco field to olive orchard, to see how they plow and harvest, and what they do to the part of the earth they own. As they live and work in their small fields, the peasants develop their own way of looking at man and the world. This sets them off from the city dweller or the seafarer, for certain basic rural attitudes prevail all over Greece whether the farmer's energy goes into producing citrus fruits and olives in the south or tobacco and hardy grains in the north. Closeness to the land in the physical and often in the spiritual sense is one such attitude already described. Matching this is the villager's closeness to the changing seasons and weather and his dependence on them. For a truly genuine account we rely again upon T. K. Papaspyropoulos, who has vividly described contemporary life in Kleitoria. The entire following section on the seasons is a translation of his words.

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The Cycle of the Seasons in the Peloponnesos

Winter. During winter we have finished all our tasks and we gather in our homes. We have sown, we have gathered our maize, beans, and what other goods God has given us — onions, garlic, potatoes, quince, pomegranates, and so on. We have put our cheese to age; we have rendered our

221 [241] [252]

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[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing.
[273] When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

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Peloponneses

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their 221
caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered [796]
as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The
man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also [275]
go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly
the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder [241]
or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start prepar-
ing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do [462]
not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To
the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; [275]
they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few
understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not
wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of
wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it
out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others
curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have [796]
Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, [535]
then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help [462]
outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, [241]
beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When
some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes [342]
then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time
because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their [354]
games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a
fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and
get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then 221
onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our 796
work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do
something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church;
then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manli-
ness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass,
we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our 221
tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then 512
the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we
have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children [462]
return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by
themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many,
it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her
hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs
to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re- [275]

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Peloponneses

221 512 [275] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 221 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever 241 else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we [432] start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it [273] and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot 82 south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare so, don't believe in Him and don't

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bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a 221
miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our 82
homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to [186]
eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations 241
under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants [291]
of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My [492]
animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; [427]
the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 [652]
drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Re- [369]
flecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

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Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 [426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily [435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Al- [464] strate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with [249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from [273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and [412] potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407] [412]

> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown.
>
> Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the [462] fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[1]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

they had a resilience that kept them going. When asked how their tobacco crop was doing, they broke into broad smiles, and the man said: 241

"This year our tobacco is just like basil." (By this they meant that it was nice, thick, and round.)

The woman was quick to add, "ho Theos na dosi" (may God grant it).

In a book of interpretations there is a temptation to linger with a couple like this, to record in detail their simple ways which contrast so markedly with the complicated life in the West. The temptation is even stronger when one encounters throughout Greece peasants who are as far removed from mechanization as the Acropolis is removed from the Empire State Building. The late Robert P. T. Coffin, during a year in Greece, caught their spirit in "The Golden Age," which begins:

> High in the back mountains of old Greece
> I came upon incredible peace;
> A wife with a distaff twisting wool
> A boy who filled wool breeches full,
> Riding together on a burro
> Ahead of a bronze man running a furrow
> On a steep acre mostly rocks,
> Twenty red hens, and two bronze cocks.[8]

Yet there is a spirit of change stirring in Greece that cannot be ignored no matter how strongly one may be drawn to the simplicity of the past. To drive along the road just south of Corinth and to see a new bright orange tractor plowing in the shadow of Akrokorinthos, with its lofty crown of crenelated medieval ruins on the summit, is a startling sensation; or between Levadeia and Lamia in Central Greece, to come suddenly upon a combine efficiently working its way through a wheat field with Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, as a backdrop, is to be jolted momentarily by the incongruities of an invasion by the machines into an ancient world which for ages had moved in the pattern of man, land, and animals. 178 241 407

The swiftly changing techniques are illustrated vividly on almost any day's tour through the countryside. At threshing time, for instance, I have seen peasants threshing grain by putting it into a bag and pounding it with sticks; not far away will be several threshing floors on the edge of the village with many teams of horses tramping out the grain; elsewhere there will be the slow-moving oxen pulling a little platform with metal teeth fixed underneath to separate the grain from the stalk; and around the next bend may be a big cooperatively owned threshing machine operated by a long belt turned by a tractor. Tired women, faces veiled with white scarves against the scorching heat and dust, stand feeding the broken sheaves into the thresher; other women sack the grain for the sweating men to carry away in trucks. In the memory of the traveler the impression of fierce heat and 243 178 [407]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241 311 406 462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 [407 452 464] Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243 554] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated hat only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary. [407] [445]

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type. [407]

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.] [8]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors — [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.

At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.

[476] Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu-
[461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about people, changing for the better." 241 178 [461] [242]

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women. Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-to-do peasantry. 241 178 461 462 [517] [423] [556]

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive. 178 241 407 [435] [452]

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license. [439] [444] [658] [874]

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors belonging to cooperatives. [422] [474]

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178 241 434

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 of Alekos, the first few owners get good income from custom plowing, but
241 with many tractors there is not very much supplementary income to go
[434] around. These steel horses in Greece plow more deeply, give more leisure, help spread scientific farming throughout the plains, and service an increasingly larger proportion of the 950,000 farms of the land. But with one tractor to every 70–80 farms, it is not surprising that Yannes, the tobacco grower from Alistrate, still waits for his horse so that he will not have to stand idly by while another finishes plowing a field.

The Harvesters of Chalkidike (Macedonia)

Social changes, and especially those connected with mechanization, frequently wear two faces — one bright, the other dark. In Athens I had heard from fellow Americans about the growing use of machinery, the previously mentioned over-all increase in agricultural production to more than 37 percent above the prewar figure, and the steps being taken to rationalize agriculture to an even greater degree. These programs represented not only heavy investments of dollars and drachmas, but also considerable self-sacrifice on the part of American and Greek staff members with a missionary zeal for their work and a willingness to work overtime. There was no question of the need for Greece to become a part of the scientific revolution in farming, but it was at times perplexing to find that little thought was being given to the social effects of this revolution on the people in the rural areas.

178 Once out in the provinces, away from the bright programs of Athens, I
241 saw the dark face of mechanization. While riding with the director of agri-
243 culture of Larissa on the drive previously mentioned, I was somewhat
464 shocked to hear him say that he was glad the recent storm had visited the area.

"Why is that?" I asked. "Doesn't it make it harder to harvest the grain?"

"Yes, that's the point," he replied. "Now it will have to be done by hand in many places, giving work to some of the people from the mountain villages in this area who depend upon the harvesting to earn their supply of wheat for much of the year. Without the bread from this wheat they cannot live."

Again, a nomarch of Thessalonike talked to me of the people displaced by mechanization. He tried to see the good as well as the bad, indicating that machines without any question had raised the yields by putting more land under cultivation and by making better farming methods possible. He, too, however, used much the same words as had the official in Larissa, pointing out that he was glad to see the rains in Macedonia since it meant that harvesting would be done by hand.[8]

One bright June morning found us in Niketas, a small coastal village in
243 Chalkidike where mechanical threshing was in progress on the edge of the
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

village. We hired a caique, with both sails and motor, to take us on the three-hour trip to Neos Marmaras, a picturesque refugee village. Hardly were we aboard when a group of excited peasants came to ask if they could go with us. Our one crewman seemed to have no objection so we told them to join us.

Almost at once these lively individuals explained that they were from the village of Parthenon. They had been spending the past twenty-five days helping the peasants around Niketas harvest their grain and were no longer needed now that threshing had begun. Before talking about their work, however, we had to exchange the rites of hospitality. We had spread out a blanket on which we placed a large piece of bread bought just before departure and a portion of white cheese given me by the teacher in the village. Although the peasants looked thin and hungry, they refused our food. One man, carefully eyeing our bread, said, "Here, take some of my bread; yours isn't well done."

Six or seven of the people of Parthenon, sprawled around the blanket while we ate, tried politely to hide their curiosity. Our lunch finished and the purpose of our trip explained to them several times, it became our turn to ask them questions. We started with a woman in her thirties, a widow. She was dressed in a poor cotton dress, was barefoot, wore a kerchief on her head, but her proud look and direct answers were those of an independent spirit. She was obviously very anxious to get back to Parthenon and several times expressed her gratitude for the lift. "Thank you very much. You have saved us four or five hours of walking on this warm day." She had had to leave her four children at home twenty-five days ago and had had no word from them since then, even though her village was only a relatively few kilometers away. Apparently she had gone on working in the harvest fields for winter bread, clinging to the belief that "no news was good news," but her drawn face showed her long concern: "I left them with only a piece of bread to eat. I don't know how they made out."

"How old are your children?"

"My eldest child is fifteen, the next is eleven, and the other two quite young."

"Does the fifteen-year-old take care of the rest while you are away?"

"He would if he could, but he must look after the cows of my brother who is a soldier, and so the eleven-year-old takes care of the younger two."

We learned that there were some relatives living in the village who probably kept an eye on the youngsters but did not assume full responsibility for them.

We were told that these villagers did not look forward to this trip. It is a trial, an ordeal that must be endured if they are to have any bread, for the men cannot find work in Parthenon that will provide them with money to buy bread.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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243 466 "You ought to come harvesting and stay with us for a week and you would have plenty of material for your book," said one of the men good-naturedly. "When working in the wheat we sleep in the fields with only a blanket for a bed. It has been raining and we have been wet through and through. We can't wash ourselves, we can't even wash our plates — we are so busy."

243 "Where do you get your food?"

465 "The person for whom we work feeds us. He gives us garlic, olives, bread, salted fish, and sometimes a bean soup or potatoes. We all lose [262] weight during this period and wish we didn't have to work this way."

"Are you well paid for your work?"

One of the men, unshaven and tired, but gay throughout the conversation, said that the average pay was about 10 okas of grain for 1 stremma of land (28 pounds for one fourth of an acre). A man might get 14 okas and [562] a woman as low as 7 okas, but the average ran about 10. There was no explanation for this different treatment of the sexes except that the bargaining position of the woman was lower. (I compared this figure of 10 okas with the 20 okas that the farmers of Thessaly paid a combine owner for each stremma of land harvested, while they had to pay 30 okas per stremma when the harvesting was done by hand, losing about 10 okas through this less efficient way. Out of the total yield of 150 to 200 okas per stremma in Thessaly, the cost amounted to 7 to 10 percent of the crop in the case of the machine and 15 to 20 percent in the case of hand harvesting.)

511 "Do you get enough wheat during the harvesting period to see you through the year?"

"It all depends. Some years we do and some years we don't. Bread is our only food. It is our milk, cheese, butter, honey, sugar, all in one. What the grass is to the animal, bread is to us. Otherwise we live on air and water."

511 773 Then, as though carried away with some of their troubles, one of the men asked, "Do you know what we say about our village of Parthenon? We say that when Christ walked by our village he left us a curse, for we have only stones there." Another added a variation, "Yes, when Christ passed he blessed what was on his right, but on his left he threw stones." Even this rationalization had no trace of bitterness, but a matter-of-factness that was supposed to help the foreigner understand why they were having difficulties with food. Other villages down on the plains had an easier time of it, but Parthenon, high on its rocks, had to make a living the hard way.

243 465 Coming back to the question of harvesting, we asked them when they would get their wheat, for they were carrying nothing but a woven handbag or a spare jacket. In about a month they would return, for then the grain would be threshed and ready to distribute. Each person had carried his

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?" "Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agreement is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea. 243 465

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker provided for himself. 243 464 594 243 466 [412]

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where their services are no longer needed. 124 464 178

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the
[526] village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
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423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

 621

land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business 463
(baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade [423]
such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their 621
own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land 241
belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, 511
therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in [369]
search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income 249
from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the 435
mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own 511
production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of [458]
Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, [204]
had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas 249
variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

249 year, since there is not sufficient land to permit crop rotation. This means that extensive use has to be made of costly chemical fertilizers, about 260 [242] pounds to the acre. Formerly, when fewer Turkish families lived in the village, they were able to keep more animals and had plenty of animal manure which, according to old-time residents of the area, gave a 40 percent higher yield. Since then the land has become more worn out, and more reliance must be placed on chemical fertilizers.

The transplanting of the young tobacco plants from the seedbed to the regular fields is done in rows which have been marked in the field by straight [412] lines, drawn by a hoe, about a foot apart. For each row the peasant uses a stick to make holes three inches apart, into which he puts the plants and presses the soil firmly down around the plant. He waters them immediately but is careful not to get any water on the tobacco leaves themselves. Ten days later he hoes around the plants and follows this with a second hoeing ten to fifteen days later.

[461] Usually tobacco-leaf collectors start about July 15 and continue their work until the end of October. They are up by 2 A.M. to gather the leaves before sunrise, and gather only once in a while in the evening. There are four or five collections from each plant during the season, with each leaf picked just at its maturity. During the daytime the members of the family string these leaves into long strands which are then hung up to dry in the sun. Once dried, they are hung in dry sheds or on the rafters of the house.

In November, after the first dews fall, the village home manipulation starts and continues until the middle of March. The purpose of this manipulation is to sort out the leaves into three categories: the first category includes the best small leaves; the second includes the larger sound leaves; and the third includes all those that do not meet the previous qualifications and yet are sound. This last class is called *refouzia*. Any broken leaves are thrown away or else made into pipe tobacco. The leaves of each class are made into bales of from 55 to 70 pounds and then stored in a dry, protected place for the merchant. By the time the baling has been completed, the family must begin once more the cycle of preparing and sowing the seedbed to start the next year's crop. The tobacco farmer, whether from [461] Macedonia, Thrace, or Central Greece, largely because of the traditional [221] pattern of manipulation, is on a twelve-month work year somewhat like the American dairy farmer. His year contrasts markedly with that of the Peloponnesian villager whose seasonal change was described at the opening of this chapter, or with the wheat farmer of Thessaly. Furthermore, what he grows he cannot eat but must sell as best he can to buy his food.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Harvesting Olives in Southern Greece

During my travels in Greece I have passed countless olive trees, for they hug the coasts, crowd the islands, and thrive inland where the climate is mild enough. But I never really understood the significance of the olive tree until I visited an estate in Southern Greece where three thousand trees of about seven varieties provided the only income. 245

I had already learned that over 12 percent of the caloric intake of the Greek people came from olives or olive oil; that Greece produced in 1948–1950 an annual average of 47,000 metric tons of table olives, chiefly in Thessaly and Central Greece; that the smaller oil olives, grown elsewhere in the country, accounted for 103,000 metric tons annually of this precious oil, which was bought and stored as a financial reserve whenever the currency became the least bit shaky. The oil olives also produced another 12,000 tons of residue oil. Friends had said that olive growing was a story of "from rags to riches," since one year might bring an outstanding crop and the next a disastrously poor one,* but that this was one of the accepted features of growing olives. [146] [454] [458]

Some inquiring students think the olive was in Greece before the goddess Athena, with whom it is so closely associated in myth, and was originally associated with the cult of Erechtheus. Be that as it may, the olive — the "All-Dewy One" — has held a special place in the tradition of the Greek people. They have also come to know that olive growing is much more than storytelling or the writing of descriptive poetry; it is hard work. In Thessaly, around the Gulf of Volos, it was interesting to watch men plow underneath the trees and fertilize the soil to increase the olive crop; to see on the western coast of Greece and in the Peloponnesos how the peasants irrigated the fifteen to twenty trees that each might own, thereby adding to the quality and the size of the fruit. In Attica one could watch the men expertly trimming the tree so that it would bunch as it grew, making harvesting a simpler task. In the Ionian Islands, where the air is humid and growth more lush, the trees reached much higher, causing the people there to wait for the olives to fall after ripening rather than pick them directly from the tree. "A lazy man's way," said a mainland peasant. [824]

Like many things of importance, the olive harvest has a slow beginning. In October, walking through the olive groves of this estate, one could see the table varieties beginning to ripen. The Kalamata olive was one. At first, the few workers on the estate gather the olives falling to the ground, but within a week's time they begin to gather some from the trees. It is then that the girls from the surrounding villages make their gay appearance. Not many are married, for this would show that their husbands were [464]

* Compared to the 1959–60 figure of 156,000 tons of oil, 1960–61 showed 75,000 tons.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

[Harvesting Olives]

245 not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to
[464] earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up
461 long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to
[264] last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled
[412] rakes and "combed" the tree.

"Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to
[832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come
[264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he
[466] was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between
[264] ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each
[521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends. 245 461 [521]

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground. 245 258 461 [492]

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?" [521] [273] [264]

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re- 258 576

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds
of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to
whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to
be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who
drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and
fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the
lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during
the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance.
"No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil,"
which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was
considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged
in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
[245] Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of
oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of
pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said,
"If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that
house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive
2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition,
their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant pro-
ducers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not
511 so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan
from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equip-
ment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing,
many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware.
What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit
and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices,
and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p 99]

VI

The Changing Life of the Shepherd

A year in Greece puts one on intimate terms with sheep and goats. They are everywhere. They dart across the highway before a speeding car and raise their tails in a contemptuous gesture as they leap to safety across the ditch into a field; they form a fitting part of almost every landscape one wants to photograph; and they provide the country's chief meat supply as well as the white *feta*, or soft cheese. Their wool and hides are also important sources of income to the shepherds. 233 [262] [234]

There is nothing particularly glamorous about the Balkan sheep of which those in Greece are typical. They have a narrow, long tail and wool mixed with hair. C. S. Stephanides in his article, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," writes: "The Greek sheep has a small skeleton; narrow body; short but strong legs, well-fitted for long journeys; the ability to feed on poor roughage, to withstand hardship; and early maturity." There are eleven leading breeds, seven of these being island sheep, which give much more milk, meat, and wool than the mainland sheep.[1] This is explained by the isolation of the islands, the comparative small acreage of some, and the poverty of the farmers there which forces them to keep but a few sheep and to select out the very best. The superiority of their livestock has come about through centuries of such selection. As a matter of fact, those mainlanders undertaking scientific improvement of their flocks import the island sheep for breeding purposes. 233 232 [735]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 233 [439] Although before the war Greece had over 8 million sheep and almost 4.5 million goats, these were still insufficient to meet local needs, and additional animals had to be imported each year. The war brought a reduction of about 2 million sheep and over a million goats, but by 1954 the numbers had risen to more than the prewar figures, and by 1957 sheep were estimated at 9.3 million and goats at 4.9 million.[3] From 1922 to 1937, with the resettlement of the 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor, the pasture area in Greece decreased but the number of sheep rose from 6 million to well over 8 million. It takes little stretch of the imagination to see what this has meant in terms of overpasturing and in accentuating the competition for grazing land.

G [167]

The chief concentrations of sheep and goats are found in Thessaly and through the western part of the country (Epirus, Roumele, and the Peloponnesos). Even in Attica, according to P. J. Iliopoulos, a region where numbers are not so dense, the small livestock make the best adaptation to the natural conditions; they provide the peasants with some income to offset farms that are too small or harvests that are insufficient; and they require less capital investment than do large cattle.[5]

G [434]

V G 233 221 [427] There are three different systems of sheep management in Greece.[4] The first is that used by the so-called Vlachs, an interesting nomadic group to be discussed in detail later on. This group of grazers controls about 15 percent of the sheep. They are landless and rent grazing land from private landholders, the church, or the state. It is customary for them to graze their herds in the plains during the rainy winter months, while the lowland pastures are lush, and then drive their flocks into the mountains as spring and summer advance.

The second type of management is that practiced by the village ranchers, who control about 70 percent of the small animals. They own land in the plains, where they singly or cooperatively graze their flocks in the winter; they send them to the mountains in summer, as do the Vlachs. In some instances, farmers in this group will arrange with a Vlach to include their animals in his flock during the summer grazing in the mountains.

G 233 [476] The third type is connected with settled agriculture. Village farmers control the remaining 15 percent of the sheep and goats and keep them on the plains at all times. Usually, the animals of these farmers are combined under the care of Greek shepherds, whose responsibility is to prevent the animals from damaging the crops by restricting their grazing to the rougher foothills or the fallow or idle areas in the plains.

The best way, however, to describe the changing life of the shepherd is not to talk about sheep and goats, but to look him up wherever he is and try to view the world through his eyes. We will do this by visiting him in the Peloponnesos and in Epirus, by which time facts and figures on sheep and goats should have much more meaning.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us
124 there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently
[491] the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under
669 the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still
727 stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. 362 727 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semiannual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 844 124

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 221 361 423 427 246

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The
land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is
allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only
three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down
below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking
out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the
sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to
a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise
in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds in-
debted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some
other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

[157] "Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and
all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-
ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out
to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just
admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to
cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly
moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been
told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd
takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the
market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe. 233 533

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community. 221 621

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis. [623] [622]

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots. [666]

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school. [871] [794] [474] [652] [233]

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous 621 [186] [175] [776] [669] [778]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
241 get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble
[511] the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
511 their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and
[221] children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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G 233 474

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

G 233 241 177 178 [291] [234]

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

G 124 137 G 517 233

The "Nomads" of Epirus

G 563

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

S V G

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

[233] [221]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani
EH14
Vlachs EH15

563 differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more
S about these people and their way of life.

V I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by
[342] wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the
[361] edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number
more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely
[162] wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers
[291] and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over
their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many
G of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who
now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated
[291] homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for
V there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the
[101] nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to
[197] draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily di-
[191] vide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs)
[291] who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly
the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because
of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, al-
S though they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from
[101] whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who
[197] speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the
Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced
endogamy.

S Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement.
V The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent
[101] dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their
[361] summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each
year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The
[342] Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance
(like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call
home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their
winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the en-
campment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

V The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of
[174] the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words
[197] from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin.
[101] As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several
extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old
[175] provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria
and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds
as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced
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[175]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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these views during the last century and the early part of this century, when the struggle for independence was reverberating through Epirus, Macedonia, and other areas frequented by these nomads.

A detached assessment of the situation, and yet one without much tangible evidence to support it, would place these Wallachians as descended from Balkanites of Romas times, who were Latinized by colonists, army garrisons, or some other continued type of association. When the Slavs came pushing into the Balkans during the sixth century, the Wallachians retreated to the mountain areas and continued (or took up) sheep raising and remained relatively unmolested. Since they could not wrest an adequate living from their barren surroundings, many of the men found it necessary to migrate elsewhere for work. Some were gone many years, and some would go away for only part of the year, but almost all of them learned some trade, becoming important as builders and artisans all over the Balkans. Of even greater importance was their role as caravan owners and drivers. They raised not only sheep but many horses which they concentrated at certain points such as Thessalonike, loaded them with merchandise, and conveyed the goods through well-defined routes to Vienna or down to the Adriatic. Considerable wealth was amassed in this way. Some of their settlements two hundred years ago — for example, Moschopolis in present-day Albania — were centers of culture and wealth. With the coming of railroads, their caravans were no longer so necessary; and with the growing unrest in the Balkans during the past hundred years, free passage from one country to another was increasingly difficult. Although the various treaties following the Balkan wars and World War I provided for the free movement of these nomads from one country to another, particularly with their flocks, the borders had in effect been closed to them even before the start of World War II.

This, in a brief and general way, is the background of these Vlach nomads. In the days under the Turks, early in the century, when Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece were claiming large chunks of Macedonia, each tried to make a case for large groupings of its own people. The Vlachs, chiefly Greek Orthodox in religion and with a knowledge of Greek as well as their own Romance language, were claimed by the Greeks as their own. Many Vlachs agreed with this, despite the appeals made by Rumanians to the contrary.

My chief contacts with the Koutso-Vlachs during 1953 were in Metsovo, one of their most celebrated villages, and along the roads of Greece. On the road between Arta and Ioannina, for example, one bold young shepherd girl named Maria, seeing women (my wife and the interpreter) in the car with me, asked for a ride. She was Koutso-Vlach and was on a nine-day trip back to the summer village in the mountains which she considered her permanent home. We passed some of her companions leading

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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V 484 492 221 V [482] horses on which very small children were perched somewhat precariously on wooly blanket-rugs stacked up on the saddles. On one horse we saw several hens tied to a saddle and I wondered what the horse thought of being turned into a mobile poultry yard; cows, heifers, and goats were also a part of the procession under the care of the women. The women were carrying their share of the load, some with babies, others with water kegs strapped to their backs. The lowly donkeys were carrying the tent poles. As we passed the long straggling march of people and animals, we blew our horn and enjoyed the open-mouthed astonishment of the other Vlachs as they saw one of their number riding in such state.

V 484 221 233 V 233 427 G 241 427 She explained to us how they stopped before midday and rested, and then after milking the sheep traveled during the night. When we wondered whether or not the children enjoyed the six-month shift, she said, "They learn to make the move for it is a necessity." "How many times have you moved like this?" we asked. "As many times as I have years — twenty-three." She was amused at our ignorance. Her family also was having trouble over the rental of winter pasture, for the farmer from whom they had been renting wanted to put the land into crops. With an air of assurance, she added, "But we are holding it under the rent law." Before the last war legislation had been passed forbidding a farmer to put into cultivation pasture that had been rented for three consecutive years to a shepherd, unless he proved to the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture that he absolutely needed it. This action had to be taken a year in advance and the shepherd had to be notified.

V 484 221 G 123 After a while, our lively passenger told us that she wanted to get out at the next turn, for that was the rendezvous point at which the women would stop to unload the pack animals, set up camp, and wait for the men with the flocks to catch up with them before noon. Our conversations with other members of this group dealt more with the problems they were facing as a shepherd people than with the customs and beliefs which set them off from their fellow nomads. In Metsovo, to be described later in connection with a funeral I witnessed, we saw other aspects of Koutso-Vlach character which need not concern us here. Of the three nomadic groups they have been most fully described and documented in the literature, notably in the memorable book by Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans* (1914), which was based on extended acquaintance with the people of Samarina, another well-known Koutso-Vlach village.[9]

V 221 182 Four of the effects of this migratory life which Wace and Thompson list seem to hold true for all of the nomadic groups even in 1953, and they deserve brief mention. Such a migration, for instance, presents a wider outlook on life in general in contrast to the utter stagnation normal in remote villages. At the same time, it is a serious financial drain, for two houses must be kept up; nevertheless, what is lost in cash is perhaps gained in

Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group? [10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders · Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

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35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[582] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why
[186] not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
SaraKatsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks V [194] present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

S 186 When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 434 233 [433] Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14..
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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Sarakatsani	5,956
Arvanito-Vlachs (Karagouni)	786
Koutso-Vlachs	3,409
Greek peasants (like Valtetsi people)	3,549

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[162] He also gave the following distribution, by families, of the Sarakatsani, the type of people we had visited at Kalpaki:

Western Thrace	699
Macedonia	1,499
Thessaly	794
Roumele	1,112
Epirus	492
Peloponnesos	1,390
	5,986

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[162] This book also indicated that there in Epirus I was in the center of the Karagouni group, since relatively few of their 786 families were geographically much farther eastward or southward.

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123 The next afternoon, with Christos Berates, we headed into the countryside and saw within a mile of town his camp of four tents up on the left.
233 Since his flocks had not yet arrived, he was somewhat disturbed and asked if we could drive back toward Kalpaki to meet them. We passed at least
[361] eight other flocks whose shepherds Berates knew and with whom he talked briefly. These shepherds were very happy to accept the cigarettes we offered, but they were both awed and mystified — to Berates' delight — at seeing him riding in an American car. They kept telling him that his flocks must be quite far behind. Even when a flock came into view at some distance, Berates could tell it was not his by the sound of the bells. His anxiety grew as dusk came on and we saw no more flocks on the road. Then suddenly he asked us to stop. He said, "they are over there!" and pointed far to the left. Sure enough, we heard the faint tinkle of bells and then about two hundred yards away saw the sheep coming. His flock, taking a short cut, had left the main route. He called to the shepherd and found that everything was in good order. Reassured, Berates was ready to go back to the camp to wait for his sheep.

V
342 We had to leave the car along the main highway and scramble up the high bank before finding the path that led us up the hill. There in a row,
361 about ten feet apart, stood the four tents of brown homespun waterproof mohair, each stretched on a frame consisting of three poles tied at the top. The first tent was that of Christos and his son and daughter. A small fire
V of *pournari* (the evergreen oak with hollylike leaves) was replenished with
35 fuel cut by a small, sharp ax. In that tent alone were seven big woven duffel
[372] bags, stuffed full of household goods or clothes. The floor of the tent was

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covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring 272
tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

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we ate, we watched the milking going on nearby. There was a rhythmic pitter-patter as the milk was squirted into the big receptacles. Each animal was named according to some physical characteristic, corresponding to "Brownie," "Dotty," "Blackie," or after some person whom the shepherd thought the sheep resembled. As the men sat there we asked them how they milked when it rained. They told us that they simply put on their heavy waterproof capes and kept right on milking.

Some of the sheep were sheared. We learned that the shearing was done below (on the plains) and sold unwashed for "it weighs more with the oil in it." The unsheared animals were simply carrying up to the summer camp the supply of wool that the women would need to use in making their blankets and heavy garments. Some of the animals were sheared in various symmetrical patterns, a style of decoration which pleases the children, so the older people said. These fancy designs are not nearly so common now as formerly, according to Berates.

Despite the magnificent mountain setting and the fascinating activities going on in the fire-lit darkness, the conversation itself — focusing on the present problems facing nomadic peoples — stands out most vividly as I look back upon this evening. Since my central interest was social change, I welcomed the turning of the talk into such a channel.

Without any doubt, the life of the nomad is getting more difficult every year. A major problem had already been brought out in many conversations along the roads of Greece as well as with the people of Valtetsi: land on the plains below is no longer so available as it used to be. Scientific agriculture is winning the day and pastoralism is on the way out. But Berates and his men were most bitter about the difficulties they faced on the road between summer and winter pastures. We had noticed the many signs represented by a pile of stones perhaps a foot high or by tufts of straw twisted onto a branch, warning the nomad not to trespass. These signs were numerous even as one approached and entered the mountain areas. That was why the men had had to drive in one day the sheep all the way from Kalpaki to Konitsa, using routes shorter than the main road but nevertheless arriving late at night. Tired from this experience, they felt such a long march to be most unfair. One man said, "Here in the mountains a peasant will sow only one oka of seed in a field so he will have an excuse to keep us out."

The field policeman, who serves a commune although under the authority of the central government, patrols his beat most vigorously during these days of migration. He not only sees that the animals keep out of the forbidden fields, but also enforces the custom that no nomad family camp in one place longer than twenty-four hours. But most field policemen are quite ready to show the nomads where they can find a camp site in the event some old one is no longer available, for these guards expect a tip — a box of cigarettes or "whatever one has the pleasure to give," as Berates put it.

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G 563 578 V 648

These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[13]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

G 563 233 V 233 648 G [241] V [361] G 563 641 V 648

The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

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words, while their problems are growing, they are now gaining the constitutional means of handling them. They may feel oppressed economically, but they are not politically oppressed.

When I asked Berates if he wanted to settle down, he said that it was all right for the small livestock owners, but that it was impossible for a large owner like himself with eight hundred sheep. He would keep on trying to make a go of it as he had done in the past. When asked how he would feel if he did not have to move up to the mountains, his immediate reply was, "I would get sick," and all of the other men nodded their heads affirmatively. "I even have to go to the same spot, not just anywhere up the mountains. And the sheep need the change, too. They got sick during the war when they were not able to make the change."

The Disappearing Tselingata

One of the interesting types of cooperative organization which I hoped to find in Epirus was that of the *tselingata*. I had heard that, just as the agricultural peasants have their village community, so the shepherds in the past grouped themselves under a chief shepherd who directed their activities and also represented the whole group before the outside world. I had also been told that this form of association was found among the nomadic groups but that it was not necessarily identified solely with them.

A clear account of this primitive but practical shepherds' cooperative is contained in a helpful book by K. Koukkides entitled *The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greece and of Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World*.[15] In this arrangement each sheep and goat owner contributes his flock as capital and his labor. This union is usually governed by the eldest shepherd, who is called *architselingas* (chief shepherd), and who looks after the organization of the union, rents the pasture land, allots land to each according to the quality of land and to the different categories of animals to be grazed, specifies the work that each member will do, and makes payment for all of the necessary common expenses. In addition, he obtains credit to cover the living expenses of each member and the member's family, regulates the amount paid to each shepherd, pays taxes and any field damage done, and acts as the banker and the "grocer" of the union. At the end of each period he subtracts all these expenses from the general income or fund which has accumulated from the sale of the milk, wool, sheep, and cheese, gives back to his colleagues whatever is due each according to the flock he has brought into the union and according to the personal work he has done, such as pasturing, transporting milk to the cheese plant, milking, making cheese and other dairy products, and taking the goods to the market.

The quantity of milk is estimated according to the number of animals each shepherd has, so that if animal diseases occur in the merged flock the loss will be shared by everybody. An important part of the net profit is

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[The Tselingata]

used for public works, especially for the operation of schools. All these accounts are regulated by the general assembly of the members of the union. G V

In my conversations with Berates, the visit to whom has just been described, I learned that he considered himself an architselingas. True enough, he owned most of the sheep, but he did allow the six men who worked for him to have flocks of their own, say fifty to sixty head, if they could get a start. One of his shepherds was assigned the task of keeping the records of milk production so that each one could have a share prorated on the basis of the number of animals in the common flock. Every six months Berates draws up a contract with those associated with him; he supervises the cheese production up in the highland pastures and even helps process the milk for some of the smaller owners who are not in position to set up their own plant. 233 474 G V [675] [234]

Those who knew Epirus a generation or so ago tell of the great authority these chief shepherds had, each ruling in autocratic fashion his people and the area in which they were established. Should one of the shepherds associated with any of these chieftains become dissatisfied and want to move away, he found it impossible to attach himself to any other chief shepherd, for these men of position stuck together. In the days of turmoil and disorder early in this century, it was almost necessary for a small owner to be connected in some way with a leading figure who could protect him and represent him to outside authorities.[14] V G 233 474 622

The tselingata, from many accounts, were not necessarily based on kinship, though there were interesting examples of the group of relatives being so large that they formed a union by themselves. In such a case, age and generation would usually determine who had the authority and his word would carry great weight among the others.

Even today there are powerful chief shepherds. The mayor of the city of Egoumenitsa, along the Ionian Sea, was the head of the Petoules family which is run on the principles of the traditional tselingata. There are eighty members in the family and all of them obey him. In 1953 I was told that the Petoules family collectively owned from 12,000 to 14,000 sheep, in spite of the fact that on one day in 1948 the Communist guerrillas took 4,200 sheep from them. Although they owned sufficient land to graze at least 14,000 sheep, they were improving the pastures by sowing wild clover. The summer area alone added up to about 3,450 acres and the winter area was additional. V G 233 474 G [669]

One official in describing this family said that in 1952 some of the governmental representatives in Ioannina were ordered by the central government to go to the head of the Petoules family and take some of the pasture land for the settlement of refugees who needed land. They expected trouble but were pleasantly surprised when the architselingas agreed to give the land and also went with them to select it. Two villages were constructed, G [423]

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but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on an elephant," as one of my informants put it.

Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoules Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of the chief shepherd.[13] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grandsons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

Stress and Strain

The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[14] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests. 233 241 578 621

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in. [423] [474]

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The 233 578 185 [656] [669] [654]

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233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly
578 made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they
654 must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep, which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas-
[241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and
[249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

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seemed sadly out of place in his mountain dweller's lambskin kalpaki (brimless hat) and his shepherd's staff, sitting under a tree and looking out at the fishing boats. 233 178

"Do you have sheep?" we wanted to know, both curious and surprised to see him there. [291]

"No."

"Then why are you wearing the kalpaki and carrying the shepherd's crook?"

"I've lost so much that I like to carry my crook just to have the illusion that I still have my sheep."

Some of the younger men in the group, separated by war from their mountains and their sheep, were full of talk and plans of farming. When we asked them if they had thought of fishing here by the sea, both young and old looked incredulous, even contemptuous. "We are shepherds," they said proudly. "We do not know the sea." Having lost the mountains, the younger men were willing to try the plain, but the older ones could not. The concept of occupational displacement took visible form in this fifty-year-old shepherd sitting idly and hopelessly under a tree, looking at the sea which he did not know and the plain which he could not understand, his big brown hands clasping the symbol of his lost world, the shepherd's crook.

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Part Three

Family

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[VII]

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

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Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521] 843

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 787

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843 787 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 834 576 593 Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings. Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this [492] [626] last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the [312] [482] fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry [626] the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the [522] tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

562 593 521 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only occasionally with her husband.

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occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her. 562 593 [574]

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula: 538 593 [212]

Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name]. [858] [583]

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her. 594 [511]

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594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

[584] Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

[654] Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the
[511] children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

[578] These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[831] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

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the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

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562 594 184 does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

593 594 [178] [586] [562] [178] [369]

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[9]

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Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

562 641 593 [626] [623] [177]

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

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reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

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178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the
[591] bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

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844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere,
there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
754 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path
[778] of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or have a little icon."[8]

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In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

854 [177] [856]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

853 [854]

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

291 [854] [515] [593] [828]

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

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861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs"
[178] because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where
184 the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
[462] receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about
the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by per-
184 sonal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

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bacco-growing parts of Thrace, a child of six may be expected to help to the extent of his ability. In general, by the time he is five or six, he is asked to watch a younger brother or sister or to watch the sheep or turkeys; when not doing this, he can join children's play groups. By the age of fourteen a boy is already a competent field hand. A girl between eight and ten years of age is given little jobs, but between ten and fourteen she assumes much heavier burdens. 857

Yet life is not all work. Children in Greece also have their periods of play, frequently under the watchful eye of some woman in whose yard the children's play groups may be found. Some of the children, however, prefer to play away from home — along the street, around a fountain, or at the school yard — so as not to be called upon to do the chores which would be assigned if they were at hand. It is remarkable how many games can be played without toys. Much can be done with stones and little pieces of broken glass (where no marbles are available), and what dolls can be made by little girls from a few nondescript rags! Occasionally I would find two or three barefooted children damming up a stream near some pigs lying in the mud; or boys would roll iron hoops on the highway while their family worked in a field close by. So intent would the children be on their play that they would seem oblivious to approaching buses or autos. [524]

One of the children's games played throughout much of Greece is a form of jacks. In the village of Laimos, near Lake Prespa, the children playing it called it *vroche* (rain) although elsewhere in Greece it is usually referred to as *pentovola*. Instead of using a ball, on whose bounce the jacks must be picked up and the ball caught, the girls threw a stone in the air and picked up other stones in time to catch the one that had been tossed. Pebbles figure also in the game called "forty stones." Eight stones are put in a straight line, with forty on each side of the center. At a signal all must run to a set place and return before the girl called "the gatherer" picks up all of the stones into a pile. If the gatherer wins, she sits on the pile and pretends to be a setting hen. 524 [192]

There are the familiar games of hide-and-seek (only the Greek children spit on the tree serving as home base rather than touch it), drop-the-handkerchief, cat-and-mouse. Many of the games require special songs which the girls especially seem to enjoy. Boys at play seem much less organized and more apt to argue over the fine points of the game. [526] [533]

Quite often we came upon children simply sitting still. "What are you doing?" we asked. "Oh, we are telling riddles." Not all of these we heard would have much meaning to an outsider, but some of them had almost a universal touch:

My lamb, my little curly lamb, climbs, eats, and gets fed on grass, drinks water, and dies. (A fire on the mountain.)

Around, around it's round and in the middle it is long. (A well.)

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524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

[313] [492] [462]

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

[178] [415] 264

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you."[6] Therefore, when we describe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

[261] 146 262

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

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tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

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262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than
[146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[8]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he
[146] leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
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Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

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291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the [437] priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women 517 continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She 184 and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such [438] handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

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and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

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[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

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The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time. 438

Keeping the Family Well

758 462 574 511 369

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

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Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

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> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

753 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, —
776 from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest,
759 who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particu-
[793] lar charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters,
[868] although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary
755 folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia,
757 a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a
[184] wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane per-
793 son out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

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To cure terrific abdominal pains, or "twisting the navel": 755

The constant pains and vomiting are said to be due to the untwisting of the navel. If the patient is to recover, his navel must be retwisted. Only a few people know how to do this. The one effecting the cure presses the navel with the index finger of his right hand, holds it firmly and starts walking around the patient. As he turns around he halts — at the head, at the feet, and at each side. He goes around like this seven or eight times and the patient recovers. (Aetolia and Arcadia) [753] [826]

Only special women can do this. The one who helps puts a rag around her finger, twists the navel several times until she feels it catch. Then she withdraws her finger and puts a compress on the navel: This compress is composed of blue paper into which some incense melted in *mastica* has been placed. (Spetsai)

Even though some of these practices are restricted to particular regions of Greece, and are carried out by only a few people in a given village, they do constitute a folk approach to healing. But there is one important belief, general throughout Greece, which is associated with illness: the Evil Eye. In one family, in a village near the town of Thebes, some of the members wore amulets which the priest had blessed and into which communion bread had been sewed. Elsewhere in Greece I saw amulets containing splinters of holy wood or earth from Jerusalem, worn around the neck. The women in explaining the Evil Eye said that one cannot always tell who casts the Evil Eye, but that there are some people in the village suspected of doing this and that they are to be avoided or else watched carefully. 751 754 [753]

If a child is believed to be under the spell (that is, shivers and does not feel well), the person suspected can be brought before the child and asked to spit three times to get rid of the curse, or the child can be taken to the priest who reads a blessing. Perhaps the cure thought most efficacious is a secret formula which an older woman passes on to a younger one with the instructions that it is never to be improperly revealed. Not all village women know the formula but only those who have been particularly selected by the wise women, or an older relative, for this purpose. In this village home, the women after much whispered discussion, decided details of the formula would do no harm since we were outsiders and would be leaving soon. Here are the basic elements: 755 [753] [793] [124]

Christ and the Virgin Mary
Passed through a crossroad;
They spread their golden apron
And ate. Crumbs fell on the apron.
They took those crumbs
And tossed them into the sea.
The sea waters were stirred up
And man was cured.

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755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to 755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry- [751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and [827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
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feeling the mystery and fear that surrounds the whole discussion of the cause and cure of an illness attributed to the Evil Eye. As they grow older, they understand why the parent of a child or the owner of an animal will say in reply to any words of admiration: *Phtyse* (Spit) or *Phtyt' to* (Spit it), at which you must pretend to spit.

It is into such an atmosphere of half-truth, and even harmful customs, that those interested in scientific medicine must practice their profession. They quickly find that patients are often brought to them after the priest and the wise women have done their best and failed. They also know that merely giving a prescription is no guarantee that it will be followed as directed, but may even be blended with folk medicine that makes it ineffective. In Greece today there is one physician for every thousand people, a proportion usually considered adequate in the United States. The difficulty comes with their maldistribution, for over 50 percent of all doctors are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area. Consequently, many villagers have to travel long distances to obtain medical treatment, but the improved roads are making such trips less time-consuming.[14]

Once in a while some member of the family has to be hospitalized. An American, thinking only in terms of scientific sanitation concepts, is often amazed at what he observes if he chances into a small Greek provincial private hospital, one of which has been well described by Dr. Ernestine Friedl:

> One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient. Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.[15]

Before one condemns too quickly such medical practices, it is well to try to understand some of the cultural factors which explain them. These have

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

743 been pointed out by Dr. Friedl. The bedclothes from home give the patient
758 a chance not only to show a part of her dowry but they, being familiar, lessen the unfamiliarity of the hospital. Human companionship is considered an absolute good. To be left alone by one's family, especially when one is sick, is dreaded.

> The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.[17]

Then, too, the presence of relatives overcomes any doubt the patient may have about the doctor, for they can keep a check on him and discuss in constant family conferences the kind of treatment he is giving.

These are only some of the cultural influences surrounding hospital care. They have their advantages and their disadvantages, as Dr. Friedl points out, but they do show the pervasiveness of the family system and the fact that woman's role in medical care, even when a relative is in the hospital, is indispensable.

562 Women in rural Greece today are conscious of their hard lot; they long
593 for an easier physical existence, for their contacts with the cities have been
[369] frequent enough to show them the advantages of the conveniences there. At the same time, they are not discontented in their social relations. They observe that a man honors his mother and is solicitous over his sister's welfare; in the beginning, however, he behaves differently toward his young wife who is less experienced in the world than he and whom he must command if he is to retain the respect of his fellow villagers. Later on, his wife — though still observing the proprieties of deference and obedience — becomes almost his equal in many matters most essential to her. He consults her about the children or about any important shift in agricultural activity, although reserving for himself the final decision.

Rural Greeks would probably not see the intended humor in the sign once posted in an Alabama restaurant — "Keep your wife for a pet, and eat with us" — since the Greek peasant wife still maintains an indispensable economic role in addition to that of sexual companion and the bearer of children. Her chief security in a male-oriented society is her very indispensability, and the more dependent her husband is upon her, the greater her sense of satisfaction. To be merely a pet, even though this carried with it a lightening of physical toil, would threaten the very foundations of her

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

existence. In the Greek cities also, both the sophisticated and unsophisticated men and women agree that a woman's place in life is to cater to the man's desires, to build up his ego, to be "a good wife." As long as there is mutual agreement in this regard, marriages remain stable. Instability begins when there is disagreement over what the roles of husbands and wives should really be. 562 593 [369]

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VIII

Courtship and Marriage

177 A young woman, who had grown up in the traditionally sheltered way
834 in a Greek village, after spending several months in an American university,
581 made these comments:

593 The father here in America is like a brother instead of a father.

I like the way the American mother reasons with the children and doesn't order them around.

In Greece you never tell anybody about your boy friend — not even your parents. Over here people talk about private matters. If you should do so in Greece, your parents would throw you out of the house.

In Greece we marry for love; in America you love without marrying.

831 One may question the last statement as far as the Greek villager's marry-
834 ing for love is concerned; but there is no question about the Greeks' stress
593 upon keeping the boys and girls apart until they are married. The honor,
[581] or chastity, of the bride is a value of great importance, and any breach of the sex mores may have dire social consequences. To be sure, there are violations of this taboo and in many areas a gradual erosion of the rigid enforcement, but in rural Greece one can count upon parents and brothers
[577] actively to try to safeguard a young woman's honor. This is even institutionalized in what is called *e time tou adelphou* (the honor of the brother),

1:Sanders Z-5,V (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyma, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[8]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[9] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

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Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements. Women should be 18 before marriage.	[583]
In Macedonia	Between 20-25, even before completing military service.	From 18-22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18-25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid. [583] [162]
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17-25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21-25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20-37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20-50.

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the

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584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves through-
517 out the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads
178 and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day
583 near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were
[243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of
[465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

"It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of
594 it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee
[571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries
[438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra*, or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[4] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what
[583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of
184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers
178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

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Syros (island): I will not marry if my parents object.

Central Peloponnesos: In my village the young people pick their own mates. Twenty years ago the parents picked the mates but we still have to get parental consent as a matter of courtesy. We have no matchmaker in our village. You find these near the cities where people make money in such matters. 584 184 178

Macedonia: I would marry whom I picked out for I am going to have to live with her. I don't see why my parents will object, for I am going to pick out someone who is respectable. [Second speaker:] I have loved a girl from an early age and, if my father objects, I will marry her anyway since I am the one who has to live with my wife and my father can live with his old woman. "But what if your father disinherits you?" I will marry and do without his fields.

Northern Peloponnesos: If I see a girl whom I want to marry I will go directly to the girl's parents. If the girl accepts me, then my parents will go to arrange for the marriage. "What do you say when you talk to her parents?" I have seen your daughter and would like her for a wife. Could you find out if she likes me and if so would you accept me? By doing it this way, the rest of the village does not know that a boy has been turned down. But boys are always accepted unless they have done something very bad.

These comments from the young men themselves illustrate that one could divide the villages of Greece, and the families within the villages, according to the way mate selection is carried out. First, there are still villages where the young people have almost nothing to say about whom they are to marry and leave the matter up to the parents entirely. For example, in another group interview of nineteen young men, five said that they would expect their fathers to select their wives. One young man said, "I'll follow my father's selection since no father would want bad for his son." Villages where such views predominate are becoming fewer all of the time and tend to be found where the economy is based upon livestock production, including the nomadic shepherd tribes. Second, there are villages where parental consent is essential but where the young men are expected to take the initiative, suggest to their parents the names of the prospective bride, and let them carry on the negotiations from there. Almost nowhere does the girl have the right of initiative, although in some villages she would not be forced to marry anyone to whom she had strong objection, unless there were overriding family or economic considerations. Third, there are villages where the young people make the decision almost entirely on their own but expect their parents to agree, nevertheless being ready to strike out on their own should the parents prove "unreasonable" and try to prevent the marriage.

The peasants look at the changing marriage scene in terms of "marriage for love" and "arranged marriages." What they really mean by the first term is active participation of the young people in mate selection, but they 584 581 178 831

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 do not mean that the young people subscribe to the romance of the Holly-
581 wood movies where love is glorified as an end unto itself. By "arranged
178 marriages" is meant the lack of initiative on the part of the young and the
willingness on the part of the boy or girl to give up a preferred mate if the
[831] parents strongly object.

It is safe to say that the pendulum is swinging from the arranged to the marriage for love. But in most Greek villages the parents still play an active role in negotiating with each other on behalf of their children and in trying to forestall what they would consider an unfortunate selection. Where par-
[626] ents and children disagree in such cases the situation becomes known to the village at large, and public opinion sometimes supports the young people. The father may be told at the coffeehouse, "Why don't you let your daughter marry Theodore? He is not such a bad boy after all." And the neighboring women take the mother to task, reminding her that her husband was not such a wonderful catch when they first married but that he had worked hard, had done well, and had earned everybody's respect.

The Dowry

581 What are the criteria of a fortunate and an unfortunate selection? Young
583 people were very explicit about this, although by no means unanimous in their answers. Looming large throughout most of Greece is the dowry, or economic resources which the girl brings to the new union.[1] One father from a village near Thebes summarized the situation as follows: "If you have gold sovereigns, you marry off your daughter; if not, you don't." In the
[162] villages the surplus of girls, existing since World War I, has been increasing. This came to light when we asked where the men sought their mates — in the home village or elsewhere. Often the reply would be: "Wherever the men can get the best *proika* [dowry]." But there were those who disagreed with this emphasis on money: "If you marry just for money, all day long the wife will hold the purse strings and then where will you be?" In the case of the girl, honor or chastity ranks high as does good health, without which the wife cannot be a good worker. Beauty and good looks are also most welcome, although now and then one would say that "beauty is not too important if the girl has a good heart." As for the man, wealth, education, and position make him a proper risk as a husband if he has a good reputation as well.

These traits which prospective mates should possess have much meaning because in Greece marriage unites two families, and dowry arrangements are contracts between families and not just between two individuals. One keen observer of village life pointed out that "in a village one always hears people speak of families as 'good family' or 'not a good family.'" The standard of *good* is largely in terms of money. The individual from a good family has a big head start in life in a country where financial resources are

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

so limited. In the village of Laina, near Thessalonike, people said of a girl: "Every boy in the village wants to marry her; she is from a good family and has five hundred golden sovereigns as a dowry."

Another informant, describing the village from which she came, also cited the importance of family background. In her village "the boy wants a mate who will be a good tidy housewife, attractive, strong enough for field work; money comes in but is last. The family background is very important. If there are two girls, equally attractive, and one brings a bigger dowry and the other comes from a better family, the boy will choose the latter. The girl, on the other hand, wants a fast worker and does not mind too much about his family's reputation or even his own if she thinks him kind and considerate enough not to make her go out and work; he shouldn't gamble or drink (too much); his looks don't matter, but he should be loyal and not more than five or six years older. If a woman marries a man younger than herself, there is a lot of gossip at first but it then quiets down. The girl knows about a man from hearsay."

There are undoubtedly regional differences in the emphases placed upon the traits most sought after in one's prospective mate, as was borne out when I asked sixteen soldiers stationed near the Albanian border what they would rank first in choosing a wife. Those from around Kavalla and in other parts of Northern Greece placed honor first, being a good housekeeper second, and beauty third. Those from the Peloponnesos and the island of Chios stated beauty, honor, and money in that order, while a man from Thessaly said that in his village the dowry or money would be first. A Cretan listed beauty at the top. But the danger of an easy generalization from such comments as these should be avoided, even though they do correspond fairly well to those made by well-informed Greek home economists for two of the areas mentioned above: "Around Kavalla, for instance, if a girl's father offers a big dowry, she will first want someone from outside the village and does not care too much about his looks. He doesn't have to be an Apollo. If she is considering someone from her own village she asks about his family, his looks, and his reputation.[8] The village man pays more attention to looks and wants to be sure that his wife will be a good worker. In the bigger towns he is more concerned with the dowry. Around Larissa (Thessaly) questions of love are secondary, for the man there is more interested in the dowry. If the girl has a 'fortune,' or large dowry, she is apt to choose someone from the town and may expect the husband to come and live in her village. But it is not uncommon for a man and wife to sell her land to build a house in the city."

Some of these regional differences in emphasis take on new light when one sees that the dowry consists of different property in various parts of Greece.

Usually, the eldest sister is supposed to marry first, followed by the next

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

582 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own
583 account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony
[178] or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the
[452] necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no installment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will
[571] only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furniture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

184 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there
583 is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla,
[425] the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate
[178] into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)
3 medium pans	

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot
[432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at
[461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be
[594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable
[554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman,
[581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start
[883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact
[584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the
[454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumu-
[426] late a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the re-
[626] quired amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk
[183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are
[602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 ence. On the island of Salamis, not far from Athens, while visiting in a village home we asked a young woman to tell us about her engagement. This is her account, which highlights some of the points previously made:

> A matchmaker arranged our marriage. When my mother finally decided that it was time to have a man in the house, we discussed with which family we wanted to affiliate. We had heard my father say before his death that he wanted his daughter to marry one of the sons of a retired chief petty officer in the village. My mother and sisters named one of the sons who was still single and I said, "All right. Whatever you decide," even though I didn't know the boy. So my brother-in-law (my oldest sister's husband), as head of the family, arranged the contact through a third person. I had said that I would take anything but a bald-headed man. [At this point everyone laughed for the one selected was prematurely bald.] On a Tuesday both families had said *Entaxel* [all right], and on Saturday the groom-to-be was supposed to visit me. He didn't try to see me in advance, for he had faith in his parents and, besides, we all live in the same village. But he sent word that he couldn't come on Saturday, for as a petty officer he was on duty. Instead he came on Thursday with a friend. He sent his friend in first to announce that he was here and to ask if he could come in. I said certainly but spoke in the plural form; he said not to do this for it annoyed him. We looked at each other for the first time. He asked, "Do you like me?" I said, "Of course." What else could I say? I shrieked when I saw his bald head, shrieked with disappointment. He came and sat near me. My mother said, "You see, he has already become very bald." [The fiancé, who was present during the interview, was asked what had been his thoughts when the match was made. He replied, "Since her father and my father had known each other, I said what is the use of pretending."]
>
> On the Saturday following his visit to me I went to pay my first visit to my in-laws. I took candied almonds and flowers to my mother-in-law and we all ate, drank, and were merry. Then he and I started visiting each other. But the people began to say, "How does such traffic go on since they don't have an engagement ring?" So we decided to have the formal engagement. We were going to do it on his name day, but he got sick and we postponed it to Easter. The groom bought the ring and gave me a silk dress, shoes and stockings, and his relatives gave me some earrings and beads. I gave him slippers, pajamas, shirts, and handkerchiefs. On the day of the engagement, I sent his mother a large [262] bread ring with thirty-one red Easter eggs on top and she sent a cake containing five eggs to my home. At the engagement ceremony the fathers of the couple usually place the rings on the fingers, but since my father was dead his father put the rings on both of our fingers.

Engagements in this Salamis village last two years or more unless the families are rich and can hurry the matter along. The length of time is based on the dowry that the girl must accumulate. Not only must she bring the [583] house but must furnish it with a bureau (or chiffonier), a buffet, six dining-[352] room chairs, four kitchen chairs, and a mattress. The groom provides the dining-room table, a cupboard, and a bed.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter.

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies:

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown.
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life.
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10]

When the bride is ready wa[illegible] amount of [illegible] y na[illegible] given to the groom's family. [illegible] fixed [illegible] on a Sun[illegible] day unless one of the [illegible] ore [illegible] which case the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

groom's relations. There is gay music and much shooting, which continues once the party has reached the bride's home. There the flag bearer puts the flag on the bride's roof and receives a ring biscuit from the bride in return. The groom gets off his horse and goes up the steps. As he reaches the top step, the bride's mother offers him wine and a boutonniere of basil, marjoram, or other plants, wrapped in a white handkerchief. The groom kisses her hand and she kisses him on both cheeks. She offers him wine, which he drinks, asking for her blessing. He returns the glass and puts the boutonniere in his lapel. The groom now enters the bride's home whereupon all relatives join him and, if they follow the old custom, give a small sum of money to the bride, who now turns toward the east and bows, then west, north, and south, so as to form the sign of the cross.

585 [788] [788]

As soon as the relatives have received some sweet, the bride, usually leaning on the arm of a cousin, starts for the church. The others, including the groom's relatives, follow on foot. Then comes the church ceremony. When the couple have arrived at the altar, the priest begins to read the liturgy and then takes from a box the two wreaths of artificial blossoms, tied together by a ribbon, which the koumbaros has brought; the priest puts them together and says, starting with the man, "the Lord's servant [name] engages the Lord's servant [name]." He touches the foreheads of each as he says his or her name. He then holds the wreaths between the couple and makes the sign of the cross, "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," three times for the groom and three times for the bride. The koumbaros, who is standing between the couple, receives the wreaths from the priest and, as the priest starts a chant, holds the wreaths over the heads of the couple and starts crossing them back and forth. When this is done, he puts the proper wreath on the proper person though the ribbon still connects the two wreaths. The same thing happens with the rings. After the koumbaros puts the rings on the correct fingers, the priest reads from the Bible, "what God hath joined together let no man put asunder" and separates the couple, who have been holding hands by the little fingers, by moving his hand between them. He next administers the communion — a sip of wine to the groom, the bride, and the koumbaros.

585 608

Perhaps the liveliest part of the whole proceeding is the "dance of Isaiah" which follows next. With the priest holding the Bible in one hand and the hand of the groom in the other, with the groom holding the bride, and the bride the koumbaros, the principals go around the table where the wreaths were laid before the ceremony started. They make the circuit three times, stopping four times in each circuit. During the course of this procession everybody is throwing bonbons and rice at the principals, sometimes with such telling force that the priest stops to warn the people not to be so energetic. The circuits completed, the couple and koumbaros resume their earlier position before the altar and listen to the priest read the final Scripture and receive his blessing.

In Artotina, the procession goes from the church to the bride's home. She is led by the groom and the koumbaros. The dowry is then loaded onto the pack animals to the accompaniment of traditional songs. The bride climbs upon the best animal and the groom, when mounted, takes a stand on her right. He takes a golden coin out of his pocket and hands it to her after making the sign of the

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1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

[184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get [305] a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [302] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece [777] of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a [177] few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

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As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

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IX

Ceremonies and Holy Days

593 Greek family life also has its serious overtones. In such a closely knit
182 unit the illness or death of a member may be more keenly felt than in a family system where one's own security is not so closely tied in with the fate of the others. In a society such as rural Greece, where there is so little
[589] room for the unmarried woman, the task of finding a suitable husband for a daughter or sister can become an overriding consideration coloring all of life's relationships. Where the family is the economic and producing unit, economic ups and downs are intimately geared with the ups and downs of the family. Should the bond between husband and wife become strained,
[369] the home increasingly becomes the center of tension with fewer outlets than exist in an urban setting. In such cases, the man stays around the house as little as possible and the wife seeks the company of the neighboring women or of some relatives.

Fortunately for all, just when home life has become a bit ruffled, some ceremony or holiday appears to make the family forget for a while their differences in order to carry off the ceremony with the proper flair. The housewife can immerse herself with good conscience in the time-consuming preparations; the father knows that certain duties are exclusively in his domain; and the children wait expectantly for their cues from the adults so that they, too, may participate.

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A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the 851
baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of god- 608
parents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free [662]
to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, still- [842]
birth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume [845]
that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty-
four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her [782]
desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the [833]
morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People stand- [777]
ing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church [574]
for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to [123]
be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the [846]
child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does [783]
not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

1:Sanders Z-5 ↓ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[835] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings.
[789] The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The god-
608 parent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility
[262] of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[553] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of
[535] wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing, spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general
[842] merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter, are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

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The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

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535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[8] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

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Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

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796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[a] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

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Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

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considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[9]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

[527] [533] [788] [755] [777]

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

[789]

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata,* or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti,* since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

[585] [369] [785] [769] [777]

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

[785] [262] [372] [783]

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

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796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

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the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where 796
people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the
crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this [262]
day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood
of Christ.

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick [778]
flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon.
All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from al- [275]
coholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church
service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of [785]
the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the
streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the [788]
congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their
Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is
brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers
can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so.

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A [262]
few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody at-
tends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by
11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire
supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos*
Aneste bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the [541]
firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with
Christos aneste (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste*
(Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the
people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him.
Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a [778]
black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day
to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once [785]
back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed
Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's [262]
visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the [574]
spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but
by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from
their homes in the city.

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are con- [527]
sidered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their
regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful [771]
dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity
which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the
guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their
own Orthodox Church.

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[P 189]
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Part Four

Community

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Mutual Aid and Cooperatives in Rural Greece

The Greek village provides many evidences of mutual aid, although the Greeks are not renowned for their cooperative tendencies. Indeed, those commenting on Greek national character usually state that the Greeks cooperate only in a crisis. If there is no crisis at hand, they have to make one in order to get the job done. This view is partially correct, since some examples of mutual aid respond directly to a sense of urgency, while others follow traditional patterns at a leisurely pace. For instance, a group of potato diggers near Neochori were brought together to meet a sudden need. 476 181

A Potato-digging Group near Thebes

It was March 28, 1953. We had turned off the main highway between Thebes and Athens and were headed eastward along a secondary road in search of some villagers whose relatives in California had insisted that we carry their greetings in person. Before we had found the right village, we noticed more than forty people busily harvesting potatoes in a nearby field. We stopped the car, walked into the field, and were greeted by Yannes P. Katseles, the owner, who lives in Neochori, the village just up the way. The men were digging the potatoes; the women were picking them up and cleaning them; and a commission merchant standing on his truck was 244 476 [123] [462]

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[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less
476 interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby
forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at
[462] hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of
[465] what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that
466 we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how
the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close su-
476 pervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The
owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in
[123] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be
[539] noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pic-
[126] tures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is
[785] served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

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being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

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244 476 578 issuing invitations usually avoid other women with whom they have had a recent quarrel, although they do not hesitate to invite two women on good terms with the hostess but not on good terms with each other. These women can usually stay far enough apart in such a large group that they do not have to associate with each other or air their differences. Men are said to be less inclined to let previous disagreements affect their invitations, even inviting those with whom they may have sharp differences. Their main concern is to get the job done. Just the same, they rely chiefly upon relatives and neighbors. The women in Yannes' living room all agreed that there was no one in the village who had the reputation for not paying back the work that others had contributed, which shows the seriousness with which this obligation is assumed and discharged.

124 But no interview in a Greek village is a one-sided affair. The visitor has to answer questions if he has asked them. Never have I heard questions fly quicker and faster than on this visit to Neochori when the women sensed that I had finished my inquiry about potato diggers. My interpreter was quizzed about her life in Athens, where she got her clothes, how she had learned to drive a car, and about members of her family. I was asked about my income in America, what kind of kitchen my wife had, and about many details which she could have answered much better than I if she had been able to accompany us up from Athens on that particular afternoon. This [181] occasion showed that when the Greek villagers began to express themselves on their home ground, in a familiar setting, they stood out as inquisitive, interesting personalities who shared many of the same concerns as fellow human beings in other countries despite their noticeable differences of dress, speech, and other cultural manifestations.

000 In driving back to Athens we had to pass the same potato field which had been the cause of this excursion. I thought at the time that a study, at a later date, of changes in the mutual-aid groups would tell much about changes in Greek life in general. Will mechanization eliminate the necessity of group harvesting? Will economic considerations so rule a later day that Yannes will invite only efficient workers from throughout the village, or will he continue to use relatives and neighbors because of his close social bonds with them?

Traditional Patterns of Mutual Aid

476 539 Throughout rural Greece one finds many examples of mutual aid. Even proverbs attest to the value of cooperation: "bean by bean the bag is filled"; "many streams make up the river"; "many stones knock down the walnut." Union in strength is stressed as well: "where there are many, God's blessing"; "where there are many, many riches"; "the many are the ones who will take Constantinople."

It is understood, too, that each party will live up to his end of the bar-

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gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone." 476 539

Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yannes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need. 476 492

Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd. 476 233

Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakassa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." 476 241 [493]

But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. 476 [339]

Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari* [573]

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476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described
573 and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria,* or the groups of women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring
[562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are
[574] strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work
[535] is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes
[533] are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other
[589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid
[226] activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have
[241] numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general,
[422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

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Even when death is there, there is help. Who can bury the dead by himself? The village all cry together, they all suffer together, and the whole village buries him. He too is not far away from them. His soul roams around them and, as they say themselves, he watches them.[2] 476 [764 775]

The Agricultural Cooperative Movement in Greece

One could logically argue that a people with as many kinds of mutual aid as the Greek villagers should take readily to the cooperative organization designed to assist cooperators, through organized efforts, to achieve goals which they could not hope to satisfy individually. But the transition from informal mutual aid to an organized cooperative proves much more difficult than one would at first imagine. In the first place, since the village mutual-aid patterns are a "here and now" undertaking, those participating can see the immediate results of their labor and can hold the person helped accountable to return assistance to them when needed. The formal cooperative organizations, on the other hand, have to set goals which are removed both in time and place from the average peasant. Not only are the centers of financial control and the markets distant, but the member has to wait for benefits to accrue in the case of a marketing cooperative. In a credit cooperative, the loan received is more tangible, but its attainment has probably seemed to the peasant a long, laborious procedure. 474 476 178

The transition from village mutual aid to the formal cooperative organization is difficult, in the second place, because the *formal* organization itself is an urban rather than a village development. To participate in and guide an organization takes as much "know-how" as repairing a tractor or managing a flock. But it is a different kind of skill from any which the peasant has been trained to use, and he is therefore either ill at ease or grossly inefficient when he tries to work with such a new social mechanism. Parliamentary procedure, the keeping of books and membership lists, and the preparation of reports go on around him all of the time, but he is seldom called upon to participate in such activity. This means that, as a member, he is apt to be passive and apathetic; he is also apt not to understand much of what is done in the cooperative organization and is therefore chronically critical of management, the government, and perhaps the whole idea of formal cooperatives in general. Once he has learned to deal with the social mechanism of the organization, he is much more self-assured and agreeable, but getting to this point takes a great deal of time for most villagers. [369]

But perhaps a third difficulty in the transition from local mutual aid to membership in the cooperative society is most crucial. Basically the mutual-aid groups consist of family members and neighbors; only occasionally do they even call upon others in the village. The cooperative association makes an immediate leap beyond family and neighborhood to encompass men from the whole village — men who know each other but who have not

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474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes
476 closely identified with the central government, which immediately intro-
178 duces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting
438 past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic
474 greatness because of the well-run association which administered the com-
621 munity's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different
474 in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece
426 today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village
[875] of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with
656 at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

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exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

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474 to shift away from the village to the national capital, where the Agricul-
177 tural Bank is located, or to the provincial cities, where the bank has
[652] branches to which the individual peasants are supposed to go to "process" their loans.

A second important question touched upon in the FAO report was whether the producers' cooperative ought to be compulsory in one or both of two ways: first, requiring all of those who produce a given commodity (such as tobacco) and who live in a given village to belong to a cooperative and, second, forcing all cooperative members to market their produce and buy their supplies only through the cooperative. The FAO Mission counseled against making the cooperatives compulsory, and the same point of view has been held by most of the American advisers who have worked with the American Aid Mission in Greece. Greek government officials,
[241] however, sometimes think that legal sanctions would strengthen cooperatives and thereby tighten the economic machinery through which 10–12 percent of the Greek tobacco crop and about 80 percent of olive oil, to mention but two crops, reach the market.[7]

474 The cooperative leaders, however, face a problem of social as well as
626 legal sanctions: they would like to guide the cooperative movement from the stage where each cooperative member is a law unto himself to the point where any farmer who fails to sell his produce through his cooperative has to reckon with the disapproval of his fellow farmers. This can only be done through a long-term program of education which stresses not cooperation as an abstract ideal but the fact that a cooperative organization depends upon the support of every member and is not much stronger than its weakest link. It is in this matter of interpretation, of teaching the villager the meaning of cooperation, that the cooperative movement is not very successful. Cooperative officials are so busy being administrators that they do not take time to be interpreters, to be sure their communication strikes a responsive chord in the peasant. Then, too, they tend to feel that they have so much authority (such as fiscal control) in their hands that they do not have to depend upon the subtler forms of authority — namely, pressure by loyal members upon those who would deviate from what is considered good cooperative practice. This is tied in with the psychological problem of making the members feel that the cooperative is theirs rather than the instrumentality of cooperative and governmental officials who live outside the community.

474 One report by A. W. Willis, an American marketing specialist, goes so far as to say: "The Greek cooperative law makes cooperatives an arm of the Government and actually prohibits member control as well as any profit acquiring to members. The entire agricultural economy of this state could profit through true Cooperatives but not through those now in existence under the present law."[8]

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How strong are cooperatives in Greece today? In 1957, they numbered 7,127 and had a membership of 718,000.[9] They therefore constitute the principal farm organization in Greece. Those who lead the cooperative movement are quick to point out what they hope to achieve: to narrow the ratio between prices received by the farmers and prices paid by the farmers; to market members' products and purchase for them equipment and supplies; to process farm commodities, produce pesticides, farm machinery; and to provide special services for members such as plowing, cultivating, and harvesting.[10] Since many of the Greek farmers are too impoverished to raise sufficient capital on their own to finance a local cooperative, they are therefore dependent upon those cooperatives for which the government, through the Agricultural Bank, provides all the funds and over which it insists on centralized control.

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How the Villagers View Cooperatives

What the FAO study team, the American missioners, and even the Greek government officials think about agricultural cooperatives is secondary to what the Greek peasants themselves think. Their opinions ranged all the way from those of open resentment and hostility to those of great pride in local cooperative achievements. To be told, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, that some villagers whom we wanted to see had hid upon our arrival, for they thought that we were either cooperative officials or connected with the Agricultural Bank, was an object lesson in itself. We asked one of them why he had run away. He replied: "I still owe the Bank a great deal. We have to pay 9 percent interest on what we borrow, 1 percent to the cooperative and 8 percent to the Bank. Last year I hadn't paid off my loan ($70.), so I couldn't get a new loan. I borrowed what I needed from a private individual at 20 percent and paid off this loan to the bank so that I could obtain potato seed on a new loan. Now I have sold my potatoes and the Bank will be after me to pay them what I owe."

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When we asked what happened to people who did not repay their loans, we were told that in such cases the collector came out, wrangled with the people, and if he received no repayment took them to court. To such villagers, cooperatives were chiefly credit agencies and in no sense stood for a local association of farmers pooling their energies and resources to achieve joint goals.

Now and then we found peasants who were anxious to start a cooperative but considered the initiation difficult. In a village near Megalopolis in the Peloponnesos, the people were well aware of the difference between prices received in the village for watermelons and what such products cost in Athens. Like farmers everywhere, they thought the price differences unjust. They blamed bureaucratic red tape for holding up the establishment of a cooperative. Some of the more dubious went on to say: "Even if we do

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474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
[124] asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
[621] in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
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Kalivi, Attica

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were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me:

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

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We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

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The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

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In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

[233]

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
[652] taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agri-
[245] cultural Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance.
Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
[231] this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
[235] nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary
[434] cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this
is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the for-
[471] eigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way coopera-
tives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the rea-
652 son that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

XI

The Village Coffeehouse

Eventually the coffeehouse, instead of being merely the setting for many lively conversations about village life, became an object of interest in its own right. It, too, is a village institution which takes its rank along with the school and the church. The coffeehouse, or *kapheneion*, is more than just a structure. Like the English pub, it is a place of assembly, a communication center, a place to transact business, satisfy one's thirst, or find out about the health of one's friend.

Most coffeehouses are located near the main square or at some crossroads where things are apt to happen. They find their fullest development in the cities. In the early evening, the time of day when Washington "rolls up its sidewalks" and becomes quieter and quieter, the squares of Athens, the Greek capital, literally burst into life. Constitution Square, for instance, after hundreds of chairs, which have been stacked during the day, are set up around small tables, the waiters begin their hazardous dashes back and forth across the busy street to the food shops which line the square. Their frenetic activity contrasts with the leisurely attack by the patrons upon the small cup of sweet, sirupy coffee and glass of water before them, although a conversation at some table may reach such proportions that one becomes oblivious to the automobile horns, the radio blaring out some popular tune, or the clink of spoons on a glass as people try to attract the attention of a waiter.

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 369 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison, its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it has a variety of forms.

Coffeehouse Types

275 443 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three assorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles [562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's 275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four 443 by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches 347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves [262] Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly [373] glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[2] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis*, while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[3] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas,* where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek coffeehouses we find the equivalent of what Chester Bowles has referred to as the "tea house jury": 275 521 208

> One evening in Taipeh I asked a world-wise old Chinese diplomat what he thought would happen on the mainland. "Have you ever been to China?" he asked. When I said that I had not, he said, "In every one of China's one million villages is a tea house. Every day at the tea hour the people, especially the wise people of the village, gather to talk.
>
> "Chiang lost," the old man continued, "because this great 'tea house jury' decided that he had failed. The villagers came to believe that the Communists could do no worse, and they might be better.
>
> "Someday perhaps the 'tea house jury' will bring a verdict against Mao. Then China will be ready for a change." [8]

Although my study of the Greek coffeehouse never got beyond the introductory stage, I felt fortunate indeed to find that the investigation by John Photiadis of Stavroupolis in Macedonia had addressed itself to many of the specific questions in which I had been interested.[9] No one would claim that all of his findings for one village in Northern Greece would automatically apply to the whole country, but they do possess enough generality to provide some penetrating insight. For example, his discussion * of the coffeehouse attractions are most helpful. 275 521

The primary appeal is *kouvenda*, or conversation, explained as follows: 275

> *Kouvenda* means conversation without any particular purpose, a recognized form of "passing the time." It is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of ideas or description of events, or delving into the past in a quiet manner. But sometimes it is contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud, a statement or a question is countered by a challenging question, tact and gentleness have no part, insults are hurled, but within appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinions, and its end is neither to reach truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech. But whatever impression this occupation of passing the time makes on someone who is a stranger to this custom, to these people it is their enjoyment. It constitutes one of the attractions that makes the coffeehouse a necessity for the villager. 521 571

Photiadis points out that during the kouvenda the participant is involved emotionally, is not only trying to prove his point but is also enjoying this oratory. The irresponsible statements are not to be taken seriously, although they sometimes are, with unfortunate consequences. In this connection, I was always interested in what the men argued about most in the village coffeehouses and found that they did not discuss politics to the same extent as the denizens of the urban coffeehouses. They preferred to talk about community affairs, crops, and personalities, although the announcement about some [369]

* Relying on some of Dorothy Lee's analysis.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions force-
571 fully expressed.

A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis: 1/1

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the avail-
204 ability of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

1/1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 [512]

they spend more than twice as much time during the non-busy period than during the busy period.

Apparently Stavroupolis also follows the pattern generally encountered throughout Greece in which the peasants spend much more time during the day in the coffeehouse in the winter months but more time during the evening hours in the summer. This of course follows the cycle of farm work.

When asked to give the reasons why they go to the coffeehouse, those with high yearly participation in Stavroupolis coffeehouses replied as follows: have nothing else to do (76 percent); to play a game (74 percent); to have a drink (64 percent); to see friends (63 percent); to hear what is new (56 percent); to talk with someone (51 percent); to go to a place where men go (25 percent). On the other hand, when all the men — not just the "high participants" — were asked to check which three of the seven reasons above were most likely to apply in their case, and the checks for each reason were computed as a percentage of all checks, the following distribution was obtained: to hear what is new (32 percent); to meet friends (26 percent); to have a drink (14 percent); to talk with someone (13 percent); to play a game (8 percent); nothing else to do (4 percent); it is the place where men go (3 percent).

These differences in response deserve a word of explanation. Apparently the high participators have gotten to the point where going to the coffeehouse is an end in itself, a habit which requires no justification other than to say that there is nothing else to do. Most men, however, try to give a more logical explanation, since they are aware that there are supposedly serious alternatives to going to the coffeehouse and that there are other things they might be doing. So more than half of all the reasons checked included the two most socially acceptable: to hear what is new and to meet friends.

But what are characteristics of those who are the "high participants"? In Stavroupolis, at least, the following facts hold true:

The higher a man's education, and particularly the higher his wife's education, the less time he spends at the coffeehouse.

Older people participate more than younger people.

People of higher economic efficiency participate more than those of low economic efficiency.

Nonfarmers participate more than part-time farmers, and part-time farmers more than farmers.

The most frequent participants are also apt to be leaders in the village organizations.

Furthermore, more high participants look unfavorably upon farming and living in the village than do low participants.

The native-born participate much less than do the settlers from eastern Thrace

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or Asia Minor who moved into the village in the 1920s, thus showing that participation may have something to do with cultural traditions. 275 571

These factors associated with participation may themselves be related to others which have not been spelled out. Then, too, the fact that participation increases with age would also be tied in with the leadership in organizations, since young people seldom attain official positions. Although findings such as these have to be tested in many ways before they become accepted generalizations, they do at least suggest some fruitful leads for further research.

Of equal interest is the reason the peasants give for going to one coffeehouse instead of another. Other accounts of village life had listed cleanliness, reputation, honesty, services provided, and the credit extended as the determining factors in the choice of coffeehouses. [452]

One village study reports as follows:

> Determining factors in the choice of a coffeehouse are the reputation of the owner, his cleanliness, honesty, and the extent of credit given to customers. Social class of an individual does not determine choice of a coffeehouse. An outsider coming to the village for the first time may visit any coffeehouse, but gradually as he becomes acquainted with the village people he will be drawn to a certain shop according to his interests, age, associates, etc.[7]

In this same village one coffeehouse is preferred by aged people. Youngsters, noisy people, and those who play technical games such as cards, chess, and checkers are not found there. A second coffeehouse is preferred by adult and old people, while all the younger people of the village gather in the third coffeehouse, which is popular because of the different games available there and because of its dance floor. This latter innovation means that girls, in the company of their parents or relatives, may visit this particular coffeehouse on Sunday afternoons or holidays in order to dance both the traditional folk dances and what passes in rural areas for modern dances. [535] [562]

One additional study is worth mentioning because it summarizes the type of patronage a village's seven coffeehouses enjoy:

A. Frequented by out-of-towners and employees
B. Employees, strangers, workers in village
C. Dance floor, so attracts mostly young men
D. Adult and old men of village
E. Village residents — not young men
F. Card-playing, so frequented mostly by young men
G. Outdoor coffeehouse — frequented by young men in summer.[8]

A villager will usually patronize the coffeehouse of which a relative is in charge so that he can get credit more easily, or simply give his trade to [602] [452]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 [602 452] the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agriculural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques. 275 573 521 208 203

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury." [626]

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places. 275 461 [184]

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it [242] [208] [521]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 because of a conversation the previous evening with his cronies at the coffee-
461 house. One villager got to the crux of the matter: "In the coffeehouse we
[242] get into arguments over our political leaders and don't attend to our fields.
[208] We do this because we are uneducated and people do little to help us, and
[521] so we spend our time on foolish things. The government doesn't send people here to instruct us; we are farming the way our fathers did."

With the spread of the program of agricultural extension, perhaps this peasant can no longer legitimately make the same complaint, but the chances are that the men of his village are still arguing about many matters and, perhaps in his opinion, spending their time on "foolish things."

Even the critics admit that there are still many conditions which encourage the men to patronize the coffeehouse quite apart from the attractions already
[593] described. For most village men, home is a most unattractive place in the evening. Dimly lit, poorly heated in cold weather, dominated by women and their silly prattle, the home cannot begin to compete with the masculine company found at the coffeehouse. Furthermore, most men can think up perfectly valid reasons (in their opinion, at least) for going to the coffeehouse: they have a business matter to talk over; they want to know how some world crisis is shaping up; they need some advice on a farming decision.

Should they be found at the coffeehouse during the daytime, when conscientious farmers might be finding something worthwhile to do, they do not experience many twinges of conscience. They are not pricked by any Puritan ethic that teaches them constantly to be busy; instead, they save their energies for the time and place where it is unquestionably in their interest to work hard and long. When no such occasion presents itself, what more could a man ask than to enjoy his leisure, unplanned and unsought though it be? Nor does he think that it is up to him to seek out productive uses of his time. If people have good employment opportunities, they will seek him out, and he will respond. If he is from the tobacco-growing districts, the chances are that he has put his only resources (wife and children) to work for him and can take his ease until he must return to see how the work has progressed. He has no idle capital to invest but does his best with the human labor at his command. When heavy work is required, he will do his part, but when that is done others can harvest, string, and manipulate the tobacco. He provides the entrepreneurial skill.

Perhaps the coffeehouse and the attitudes of its habitués clash more strongly with American value orientations than do any other aspects of village life. To the Greek peasant, to be idle is no sin; to converse in the kouvenda can be as satisfying as to be a spectator sportsman; to seek to learn "what's new" if you live in a village is just as worthy as the search for novelty which motivates many in the United States. To get away from the women, the Greek peasant does not have to go on a long hunting trip to

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Maine or a fishing shack on the river; he simply goes to his coffeehouse. To feel important, he needs only to provide some morsel of news which others may not have heard or to give words of wisdom to those younger men who seek his counsel. He has a club — something which the middle-class American male does not possess and for which he constantly seeks substitutes.

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[XII]

Local Government

829 154 If the Greek villager did not have a government to curse, he would be in a bad way indeed. Somewhere he has to find a scapegoat for the hard life that he leads. He could berate his wife or beat his children, but that would give only limited relief, since he knows they are not responsible for his difficulties; he could raise his clenched fist to the heavens and curse the Almighty, and he does this in some of the most colorful language known to man, but that too has its possible dangers, since the Almighty in a less genial mood might give him his comeuppance. What better object for his scorn could he find than the government, which is always wanting taxes, [666] takes him off to military service, asks him innumerable questions every time he seeks a loan, and stages a periodic election prior to which "lying" politicians come to seek his vote.

829 619 At the same time, the peasant is shrewd enough to distinguish between Greece as a nation, to which he can be tremendously loyal should anyone cast aspersions upon it, and whatever national government is in power. He also draws a distinction between the local government of his village and the central government in Athens, with his views of the former going up and down, but his regard for the latter seldom going up. There is no mer- [666] curial quality, therefore, to peasant politics. If the peasant does shift his

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vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

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175 623 642 Instead of being organized on the basis of individuals living in a geographic area, which was the classical mode, the community became a body of believers united by a common purpose. . . . Within this framework, new concepts of local government grew. One was the council as a vehicle for the consensus of the community as a whole. Another was the assembly of all members of the Christian community to give assent. Still another was the leadership of clerical authorities in local government and community activity. These ideas are indigenous to Byzantine culture and they are a part, even if not immediately visible, of present-day local government in Greece.[1]

With the fall of Byzantium in 1453, the Greeks came under Turkish rule. But the Muslim masters worked through already existing institutions, and Mohammed II went so far as to recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople as the political leader of the Greek nation. In the provinces, the metropolitan bishops, and priests exercised the rights given to the Patriarch, and his executors, through the *euphoria* (supervising committee) or the *demogerontia* (group of village elders). These village elders collected taxes from their compatriots, rendered justice when differences arose between Orthodox Christians, and settled any disputes which contesting parties referred to them. Basic to this self-government was the idea of the autonomous community, which centered around the elders selected by popular vote. These elders (*demogerontes*), in turn, selected "first elders" (*protogeri*), who administered the provinces and conferred with the monarch's counsellor in the provincial capital about the amount of taxes to be collected for that province, while each demogerontia tried to specify the share of each larger village, as well as the personal contribution of each individual taxpayer within a village.[2]

175 623 In addition to tax assessment and collection, the elders had many other important functions: they divided the uncultivated land or fields or any other land remaining without heirs, regulated the flow of waters, determined the rights of inheritance, handled the community's funds, and supervised the payments made by Christians to be relieved of military duty and the serving of court papers. Since the tax function remained paramount, the local authorities brought pressure to bear upon their compatriots, by advice or scolding, to pay what was due and to avoid any mishaps with the Turks. These leaders, because they supervised the tax collection, also had local funds to use at their discretion for the community. As Koukkidi says: "The great strength of the Greeks was the continuity of communal life. The community to them was a small democracy which organized its life and shaped itself."[3]

175 623 642 With the liberation of Southern and Central Greece, and the ascent to the throne of King Otho, the governmental patterns of Western Europe were imposed upon the traditional councils of elders. But this came at a time when, with the exception of the loyalty to the Patriarch, there was no

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governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither. 175 623 642

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws. [671]

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues." [4] 631 642 [658]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior. [185]

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

[621] [633] [162]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

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631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains. The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut
262 sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
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toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor. 623 653 [651] [727]

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done. [316] [333]

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax: 651 [203]

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

Here the local authorities were following the ancient practice of "farming" out the taxes to the highest bidder who, in turn, was expected to derive from rigorous collection much more than he paid for the right. Every time a bleating goat or an ox changed masters, the successful bidder would collect his 2 percent of the sale price.

The community council has other duties in addition to managing a community-owned radio, rebuilding churches, and collecting taxes. It conducts local elections as well.[6] By 1951 the political situation had stabilized to the point that local elections could be held throughout the country. Of the registered voters, a greater proportion of women than men voted, thereby showing their appreciation of the right of suffrage. From nine to thirty-one 623 666 [633]

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councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes, on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's; its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[7]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorating the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high-powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there, as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

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therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job. 624 [702] [205] [206]

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed. 746 511 [623] [622]

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter. 746 625 735 [727]

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

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746 representative of the International Red Cross, who arranged with the or-
625 ganizational officials in Athens for an immediate distribution of rice, sugar,
735 and molasses (for children). Momentarily, the representative also secured money for bread, telephoning from Athens to the commandant to buy the bread locally. The Red Cross representative had expected the commandant to buy about eight hundred one-oka loaves of bread, but he had different ideas: "Why not give the people flour and cut down the expense of the salt, water, and manipulation that goes into the baked bread?" So he bought nine hundred and eighty okas of flour and persuaded the flour mills at Volos to contribute another two tons. He also handled the problem of transportation with originality. Since these eight villages are remote, the trucking costs to them are high. The commandant, suggesting that the dis-
[476] tribution be at four points, appealed to the local transportation coopera-
[494] tives to supply the trucks after the Union of Trucks had voted to help. Then the drivers agreed to donate a day's free labor, with the "day" totaling sixteen hours for many of them before the distribution was completed and the trucks were safely back in Volos.

746 But the role of the village notables should not be minimized. Although
625 the commandant had made a trip through the district to look personally
735 into the condition of many families, he depended upon the president, the priest, the teacher, and the gendarme to prepare the list of the needy in
622 each village. The role of the president came to the fore at the distribution points, to which he brought some men and pack animals. The commandant explained in great detail to each president the basis on which the distribution was being made, who had made the contributions, and what families were to receive how much. The supplies for each village, when weighed out from the trucks, were turned over to the community president. He then
[492] supervised the loading of the pack animals and headed the animal train back toward his village. Once arrived, he was to see that the distribution was carried out according to instructions.

Such an experience leaves many impressions: the deep personal interest which the commandant of gendarmerie showed in the welfare of the people in his area; the dignity of the village presidents who asked very intelligent questions to be sure that they properly understood the instructions about distribution; the tattered clothing worn by these quiet, almost impassive villagers. And here, as always in Greece, one sensed deeply the beauty of
000 the natural surroundings: the mountains where patches of snow still lingered, the dark glades through which the road sometimes wound, the
[494] occasional olive groves and chestnut forests, with lively pedestrian traffic ready to greet one every few hundred yards. Down on the plain, on a sunny afternoon, the meadows were full of a profusion of wild flowers so delicate in color and stamina that they die soon after they are plucked or after the hot sun of late April and May beats down on the unprotected plain. On

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our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built. He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

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622 cil members who are in some way connected with the project or activity. The
623 mayor usually introduces topics for the approval of the council, but no action can be taken before the prefect of the area gives his final approval.

[208] In Stavroupolis, people respond quite emotionally to each method applied by the village government. Problems are discussed by the council before decisions are made and are discussed again by the male population in the coffeehouse with interest and emotion. . . . The village government's business is their business and these informally-made decisions are important since no project can operate normally or smoothly if their informal decisions are opposed.[8]

651 But no picture of local government is complete without some sketch of the tax and financial picture. According to the 1950–51 legislation, local governments gain their revenues from the following sources.[9]

Property Revenues
— For the use of slaughterhouses
— Grazing rights on communal-owned land

Dues and Excises
— Building dues, ½ to 1 percent of the amount of cost
— For the use of sidewalks, streets, and public squares
— Dues on hotels, beds, and bills
— Weight and measure excises; advertisement excises
— For the use of municipal and communal property, works and services including garbage and cleanliness, electricity and gas

Direct Taxes
— Tax on agricultural and forestry products: 2 percent mandatory, 4 percent optional
— Tax on cattle; tax on poultry and fish up to 3 percent of price
— Tax on vacant plots within town plan areas in demes over 20,000 and those in the capital area and Thessalonike area
— Tax on property which has gained value owing to deme or communal public works

Indirect Taxes
— Tax on sale and purchase of cattle
— Tax on olive oil dregs

Contributions
— Contributions determined by council not over 30 million drachmas per head in Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika; 15 million on other demes; 5 million in communes

[653] Personal Work
— In demes and communes under 10,000 population, men over eighteen work ten days a year. Also includes their animals and motor equipment

Loans, Donations and Legacies

Sale of Real Estate and Movable Property

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Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[19] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

631 634

In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

[828] [578]

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631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many argu-
578 ments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
634 for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
623 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The
653 nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guerrillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office 75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
634 nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a
275 truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted, "did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sundays before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
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mata, at the southern part of the Peloponnesos. When we discussed the attitude of the peasants toward Athens and the central government, he commented: "Life in the village is difficult; Athens has had special privileges. The villages are 100 percent right in their complaints. In my nomos many of them have no roads, no irrigation or drainage. Their education is so far behind that it is pitiful; their homes are in awful condition. How can a peasant under such circumstances feel gratitude! Paying for the priest and the teacher should be the job of the central government in the same way that a father supports a child. The recent decision to turn back to the communes a share of the tobacco tax is encouraging the villagers very much. Here it will amount to about one dollar yearly per capita."

When I asked him more about the actual workings of the communes in his nomos, he repeated much that others had said:

> The president of the community represents in a small way the national government. So the community council is both an arm of the central government and also a representative of the local village. All decisions of the council have to be communicated to the nomarch; this is compulsory. If the council and president decide to spend any of the local funds the nomarch has the right to say "yes" or "no." If they wish to add a paid employee, the nomarch will check to see whether it is legal or not. If the nomarch does not answer in two weeks' time, then the local council has the right to go ahead without further permission. But the villagers for the most part are not conscious of their rights after the expiration of the two-week period and are capable of waiting fifteen years. The chief reason for delays in such matters is the lack of sufficient personnel in the nomarchy.

During 1952–53, the possibility seemed strong of developing a capable, well-trained group of nomarchs, all of whom were supposed to have security of tenure and not be subject to dismissal except for carefully defined "cause." These nomarchs were being sent to England, the United States, and elsewhere to study how local governments functioned, and to see what ideas might be adaptable to Greece. The community presidents, over and over again, expressed appreciative comments on the work of many of these nomarchs. To be sure, in some villages I found that the nomarch had not yet made himself known, but I had the general impression that a much better relationship was building up between the peasantry and the national government because of the changed attitudes of friendliness and understanding on the part of these key officials. When I revisited Greece in 1955 for another study period, I found that the Minister of Interior in early March 1954 had rescinded the career-nomarch legislation and had immediately dismissed one third of the nomarchs. According to one observer:

> The odd characteristic about these dismissals was that they were not necessarily based on political opinions nor on efficiency. Several strongly-pro-government nomarchs were dismissed despite known efficiency. Apparently this arose

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634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
758 rangement [*kondoia*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
465 clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

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than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a differ- 625
ent administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, 659
such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, [167]
we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental serv- 65
ices enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not
have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local [369]
people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental *facilities* in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area. [625]
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco. [249]
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[12]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government car- 651
ries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support 631
of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

651 specialists think it undesirable to have over 90 percent of all taxes collected
631 by the national government, as is done in Greece, even though much of it is channeled back through various services to the local communities. At the same time, they admit that there is great reluctance on the part of local authorities to take on the tax-collection function and that in those instances where they do collect local funds they do so inefficiently. Obviously, the golden mean has not yet been found in this delicate area of the relationship between local and central government.[13]

647 When the topic of conversation turns from the services to the officials who carry them out, local informants respond fast and furiously, much of the comment in disapproving tones. I have yet to find a description of Greek life, past or present, that deals very kindly with Greek officialdom. This might be said of many countries, but in Greece the lowly and even high-placed official is beset with so many difficulties that it is a wonder he functions at all. His first problem is the low standards traditionally expected
647 of the civil servant. Most Greeks think that it is perfectly proper procedure for them to bestow a favor upon some official so that he will give their case
662 preference, either in considering it before other cases or in recognizing certain extenuating circumstances in their favor. The law may or may not be abrogated and regular channels set aside, but the irregularities deal quite often with rearrangements and interpretations within the scope of the limits set by the law so that one person gets preferential treatment over others. When one comes face to face with the great number of papers that have to be signed to do even a simple transaction involving governmental authority, one realizes how great is the temptation to bribe or bring to bear some other consideration (such as working through the good graces of a relative of the official) to shorten the red tape and wind up the matter more quickly than usual. Not all officials would condone such measures, but they are subjected to much temptation.

647 A second problem, tied in with the first, is the low compensation which officials receive in the face of increased living costs. Since many govern-
[465] ment workers cannot live even modestly on their salaries, they take on
[464] other commitments. These part-time jobs cause them to slight their full-time government employment, for which supervision is frequently lax.

Insecurity in the job is a third difficulty for many of the higher officials.
[661] The ministries, which in countries like France are run by highly skilled civil servants no matter how many cabinet ministers come and go, are
[645] staffed in Greece by people, many quite capable, who are apt to be swept out of office when a new minister comes in. Many, because of sheer competence and skillful legerdemain, manage to survive from one change of ministers to the next, but are never sure that they will weather the next changeover. In some ministries there have been as many as forty different ministers in six years.

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A final difficulty lies in inadequate personnel and equipment to do many of the highly technical governmental tasks as they should be done. Engineers who are responsible for numerous activities in many villages may not have transportation facilities sufficient to visit these villages as often as would be desirable. Those responsible for accounting and fiscal matters may not have sufficient clerical help to keep up with the work load, thereby delaying reports or requests from local governments.[14]

But despite these difficulties, I would place the crux of the problem of the relationship between local and central government in the attitudes which the officials assume toward villagers and even townspeople. There is something about being an official in Greece that tends to make one officious. The officeholder may not realize this but, as he takes on the roles that go with a new governmental position, he tries to carry an air of authority that does not quite ring true, or else he tries to bolster up his feeling of insecurity by lording it over those who are in some measure under his control. He preserves his own *philotimo*, or self-esteem, by clinging to all the symbols of prestige to the bitter end. I could want no better documentation of this state of affairs than a notice distributed in November 1952 by the Minister of Agriculture, which appeared on the walls of the director of agriculture in Kozane. It read:

Mr. Director:

1. Don't forget that we are the servants of the people.
2. Don't forget that your pay comes from the work and the sweat of the people.
3. Please be polite and just to the people and your employees.
4. Keep working hours; do not go away during working hours which are for the public.
5. Reply willingly and quickly to requests and petitions of the people. "Come by tomorrow" is not accepted.

People — Farmers:

1. Do not ask for illegal things but demand your rights.
2. If you do not get your rights or have complaints write to Complaints Office of the Ministry and you will get a quick reply.
3. Even then, if you don't get justice, write directly to me.

Minister of Agriculture, A. Apostolidis

In official Athens, over the past few years, there has been many a tug of war, sometimes silent and sometimes raucous, between those who would decentralize many functions of government to the local units and those who, for a variety of reasons, would maintain strong central control. It is safe to say that those who favor the former course are those who think of government chiefly as an administrative apparatus through which citizens' needs are met. Certainly, many members of the American Mission have

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 sought to strengthen the hands of those favoring decentralization in the
647 belief that this would accomplish more with American aid money. On the
[177] other hand, those who favor strong centralization tend to think of government primarily in political rather than administrative terms. They see government as an arena where personalities and parties struggle for the opportunity of directing the affairs of state. They realize that much political power is built on patronage or at least the promise of patronage; they also argue that the political process is built upon compromise and that many administrative practices are established in governmental bureaus to forestall any such compromises. Which group is prompted more by disinterested, public-spirited motives can best be determined by the observer on the spot as different personalities, representing these varying points of view, step onto the stage.

664 THE PEASANT AND POLITICS

Shortly after my arrival in Greece in the fall of 1952, I encountered an interesting case study of the peasant and politics. All over Greece, one September Sunday, the farmers demonstrated against their government. This affair was treated, as one would expect, quite differently by the various Athenian newspapers, but the general tone of argument never got down to the facts of the peasants' grievance but instead haggled over who was responsible for getting them all stirred up.

[204] One newspaper, *Philelevtheros,* under the caption "The Farmers' Plight," wrote:

> There is no Greek who does not admit the rights of the farmers, or the fact that they are, and always were, the most neglected class in this country. Everyone feels the farmers' plight as if it were his own, and they know that Greek society will never stand on its feet as long as the farmer's lot is a miserable one. Their present fate, however, is not the fault of the Government, but is due to a whole century of reactionary rule. The farmers' demonstrations would have
> [665] been even stronger and more genuine if the Rally Party agents had not attempted to exploit them. However, they failed in this attempt.

[204] *Ethnos,* a newspaper representing a rival party, reported under the caption "Farmers' Demonstrations":

> Over the whole of Greece, in all those areas where men strive to get the maximum crop from our not very fertile soil, solid demonstrations were held last Sunday. The farmers were protesting with absolutely justified indignation against the indifference the Government is showing in handling their problems, and the way in which it has withdrawn its promises to them.
>
> In the face of this Pan-Hellenic uprising, the Government, through its comic Minister of Coordination, and through its press, finds nothing better to give in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[13] 664

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead. [369] [654]

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter. 622 [669] [646]

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch 662 664

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662 replaced. Indications such as these showed the importance of the legislature
664 in keeping the administrative apparatus in check, but did not provide any guidelines as to how this might best be done.

665 But this approach has its negative overtones as well. Over and over again I was told that such-and-such a thing was impossible for the village because
662 it had not voted in support of the party in power. This was one of the points cited by a prosperous Greek merchant, who travels much throughout the country, when he listed changes he considered necessary in the rural parts of the country:

1. Smaller interest rates so there will be greater ease in handling money.
2. Less red tape so that the peasant when he comes to borrow money for a drill doesn't spend more money waiting than he spends for the pump.
3. State employees must understand that they are in the service of the people, especially the peasants, and not expect to be bribed to get a job done.
4. Greater justice so that the gendarme and judge are not primarily interested in a person's party affiliation but will carry out justice.

In other words, party affiliation may influence the administration of justice. From another point of view, working through a member of parliament is really the peasant's way of trying to get around a law. To do this is considered a great accomplishment, for he thinks that rules are made to be broken and evaded. This is because the rules have been made by others whose criteria for developing them are different from his own. For him, individual criteria are more important than rules others have made.

662 I had an impression, gained from hundreds of conversations with peasants throughout Greece, that the peasant prefers the political to the administrative approach. At first, the explanation was hard to find because it was obvious everywhere that the government agencies, though inefficient at times, were helping him reconstruct his destroyed home, assisting him in the purchase of agricultural equipment, teaching his wife and daughters how to can tomatoes and cook fish, and bringing more water to his parched fields. The reason became apparent, however, when I remembered that the
571 Greek peasant is more interested in personal relationships than he is in things or in concrete achievements. He complains if he does not have
662 things, especially if those in other villages are getting them, but does not value them in their own right. They are a measure of how his personal relationships are working out. He honestly feels that he can deal with the politicians sent up from his district to parliament and continues to share this optimistic frame of mind no matter how many times he has been disappointed in the past. Of course, he is content to work through the government official if he can personalize that relationship, to his own advantage, and not be treated as an anonymous citizen who must be dealt with impartially in keeping with the rules. He would rather be dealt with as a person

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and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life. 571 461

As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[14] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance. 665 829

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise. 666 665 829

When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician." 665 829 156

I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back 665 578 666

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665 the rival party the other sixty percent support. However, should occasion
578 seem opportune, a great number of them might switch to the support of a
666 third party simply as a means of expressing disapproval of the performance of the ones they have been supporting. But let the men of a village find some common denominator, such as the erection of a school or a church building, and they will forget their political differences.

829 In conclusion, the best way to characterize "the peasant and politics" is
66 in terms of indifference. This is especially true if one looks on politics as
369 an organized way of bringing certain measures to pass through the election of officials committed to carrying them out. This has never worked for the Greek peasant in the past, and he is dubious about its merits in the future. If one means by politics the utilization of personal and family contacts with politicians and officials to get some gain for oneself, then the peasant can understand its significance and see its value. For, after all, politics and politicians are associated with the city and especially with Athens. Villagers are caught up in the backwash and, in their view of the world, have little importance as active agents. Political phenomena, like the weather, have to be endured, although now and then some useful protection from each might be sought in personal initiative, but not by group effort.

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XIII

[P 241]

The Village School

What Will Happen to Us If We Can't Read?

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"I was making a distribution of goods in the village of Tsarakina, near Trikkala, during the days of the guerrilla war," explained Elle Adossides, who is well known for her humanitarian activities during and after World War II. "Four field policemen were helping with the distribution. Suddenly a boy of about ten years appeared before me. His legs were like matches from undernourishment, his face was yellow, his arms were bare, and he was dressed in flour bags. With a determined look, such as only a child can assume at times, he spoke up and said: 'I too have something to ask.' 'Something to eat? Some chocolate perhaps?' I inquired, in what I thought was a kindly voice. 'No,' he said impatiently and then raised his head, giving me a piercing glance, 'what we need is a teacher, books, pencils, and paper. What will happen to us if we can't read and do our sums?' "

This incident highlights in a vivid way the Greek's thirst for education. On every hand, one reads and is told by Greek informants that "education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece." [1] Young people from Greece who come to America to study are told in letters from their village friends back home: "Don't sleep, learn all you can." The same theme is voiced in conversations in village squares throughout the country as local officials stress the point that their people value education very much, citing in-

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181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a [533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality.
156 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
181 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate
871 for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of oppor-
181 tunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the
871 corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well.
[461] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern- [643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have
872 to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learning. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[3]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The children in our village are tyrannized. Just as they sit down to study their mother says, "Get up. Break your bones, take your papers and the goat, and take her out to pasture." "Get up, get some water, get some wood, go and bring in the oxen. Don't you hear? In the evening you can study." The children go do their different tasks and in the evening come back broken with fatigue and drop off to sleep. In the morning they are cuffed by the teacher because they haven't written their lesson, and thus it goes. Black letters they learn! As if they had a lamp! Most of them read sitting on the floor; they drop on their stomachs near the fireplace and read in the light of the burning wood. From exhaustion they fall asleep and there is danger that they might get burned if the elders do not pull them away. In spring when the days are longer they read outside; they take the hog and the goat and go here or there and read while the animals pasture. What sort of reading can they do? As soon as they start, the hog escapes here and the goat there; they try to catch the hog, the goat escapes again. They start crying and lost is the reading. They also get beaten if the animals cause damage to the crops. Most of the children work also in the field; they also do some heavier tasks. What sort of letters can they learn? It's lucky they learn as much as they do.

When I discussed parental attitudes toward education with an experienced school man in Northern Greece, he said: "Less land and more knowledge is needed. A farmer can't see the need of educating a son who is to farm. He will keep the one to succeed him at home and send the others off for an education." The people of Vilia, a village in Central Greece, brag that the parents there see to it that the children go through eight grades but indicate that the other villages do not do this. "We do this," they say, "because an educated man commands more respect." But what about the children in the other villages?

From time to time an Athens newspaper comes out with some shocking statistics which cause a sensation and are then forgotten. Such accounts point out that the Article 16 of the Constitution states: "Elementary education is *obligatory* for all and is supplied *gratis by the state.*" In 1951–52 it was estimated that two hundred thousand Greek children of school age were not in attendance. Conditions have improved considerably since then, but the effects of this nonattendance will be felt for many years to come. At that time it was also stated that at about the third grade the numbers of those who started are halved, a truly high drop-out rate, although other reports place this reduction at the end of the fourth grade.[3] One article comments:

Although the Constitution states that elementary schooling is supplied gratis, the various stamps and taxes, not to mention the prohibitive prices of schoolbooks, writing materials, and other paraphernalia, make this statement null and void.[4]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men). Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen to us if we can't read?"

[212] [369] [562] [669] [875]

Local Support for the School

871 Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school, since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people and the community council toward the education of their children.

[875] [875]

One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board, the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

[634] [653]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable. 871

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities. 346 [177]

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture: [177] 346 727

The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[6] [634] [658] [653]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7] 872 [346] [875]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Therefore, the school board in many villages has its hands full trying to provide an adequate school building by seeking aid from the King's Institute, from the local community council, or from whatever other source can be tapped. The village is much more apt to procure and hold a teacher, [875] since teachers are in such short supply, if it can provide him something approximating satisfactory living conditions. That is why some school boards, [346] in constructing a new school, include a room in which the teacher can live, for such private accommodations are not available in many Greek villages. Providing necessary equipment and school supplies is another persistent problem for the school board, particularly since many of the parents cannot afford to buy for their children what the teacher thinks essential. [658] Nor should it be supposed that the national government is indifferent to this state of affairs. Its funds for education are necessarily limited and these are first earmarked for teachers' salaries. What kind of person, one might ask, would care to teach under some of the difficulties encountered in the village schools?

The Village Teacher

875 For the almost 940,000 pupils in elementary school in 1956–57, there 872 were 19,872 teachers. This means a national average of about 47 pupils per teacher, although as an average it indicates that a large number of teachers have more than this. In many of the smaller villages, the teachers have from four to six grades in one room, reminiscent of the rural one-room school in America of many years ago.

If we turn to accounts of village life, we gain a quick insight into, but certainly not a representative sampling of, the number of teachers one would meet, since each of these villages has at least three teachers:

[874] In a fairly large Macedonian village we find five teachers, three with the rank of "instructors" who have finished a two-year normal school beyond secondary school. The two others are trained kindergarten or nursery-school teachers. They have 402 pupils, of whom 358 are in the regular six grades and 44 are in kindergarten and nursery. Most of these teachers have been in this village for at least five years. Nevertheless, because of their urban background, their thinking is urban and they find it difficult to take part in village activities.

In a village near Xanthe there are three teachers, all new to the community, who are paid by the central government. Two of these are from the Peloponnesos far to the south. All are graduates of the pedagogical academies. They have 156 pupils with an average daily attendance of 142.

Another village in Central Greece has three teachers: one man and two women. The man has resided in the village since 1947; one woman was appointed head of the school in 1942 but was away during the German occupation; the third was appointed in 1951. All are graduates of the normal school.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 212 554 875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village,
871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-
educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and
[554] gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the
teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influ-
[242] ence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the
teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia,
who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first
apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in
that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees
for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the
teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various
problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since
they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is
cherished," he concluded.

871 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the
184 past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences
in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a
[231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from South-
ern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to
pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted:
"The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern
Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and
you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find
people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in
the Peloponnesos."

[175] But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a
verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred
years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our
heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better educa-
tion. For instance, in my village of Bdita we have a semigymnasium where
there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said
that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant
gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the
[875] state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not
sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the
first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three
grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for
Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated.
But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient
with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

intimately, agreed with many of the points that the Athens gymnasium director had made, as the following summary of his comment shows: 875

About thirty or forty years ago the community was independent. It was something solid; it elected the best people to office. Why? They elected their own teacher, their own priest, and the field guards. Three main points of their life — education, religion, and security — were all in their own hands. The central government wanted to take into its own control all of these functions in order to put in its own appointees who would influence the people. The peasants lost their ability to manage their own affairs, and became hostile to the government and to the teacher. The teacher is no longer responsible to the farmer but to the government. Nowadays, because of this and because of the anti-government attitude brought in by the refugees from Turkey, the peasant has separated himself from his government and asks everything from it. 875 829 631

The teacher has no obligation toward the village, no sense of community relations. He stays in the coffeehouse and aims to move to a town or city. Formerly a village would give some bright boy a chance to go outside for an education and then he would come back and live in the village where he had his own home. He was one of the best teachers. 875

When one begins to sift from many conversations the findings about the village teacher and to read the village accounts which include him in their pages, a few matters stand out. First of all, it is true that the allegiance of the teacher is to the national government and to the bureaucracy upon which his advancement depends. He thinks of himself as a representative of the national ideal, which he is supposed to instill in every child studying under him. His loyalty is therefore to Greece, and one of his major purposes is to help the village child feel a close identification with the national state. Second, he tries, often like a drillmaster, to get the pupils to master the course content worked out in Athens. The brighter ones need encouragement to go on to the gymnasium and must receive the preparation that will serve them in good stead there. Third, the teacher must train children to participate through song, recitation, and national dance in the various holiday celebrations and festivals that come along and at which the school makes an appearance. This serves a village purpose in that it encourages local traditions and provides some diversion in what many would consider the humdrum life of the villager. But there are few teachers in the national school system, unless they are in one of the specialized schools set up for the purpose, who undertake any adult education or even try to make the younger scholars look around at their village environment for ways in which it can be improved. Very often I got the impression that many teachers were even trying to make the villagers forget the present and its problems by focusing their attention on the past and its glories as a substitute for action today. 875 871 619 [873]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not
156 expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children
so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve
[212] glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read
and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way
places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is
[369] supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and
other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally
how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that
875 he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about
the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

The School Curriculum

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873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

[871] In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her childern how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[871]

ing nation, but rather it was to study the ancient Greek culture as a basis for the new state and to establish the new Greek state as an extension of the old." [9] A general view of the curriculum, however, may be seen in two tables, the first of which (Table 5) is for the six-year grammar school.[10]

TABLE 5. CURRICULUM FOR SIX-YEAR GRAMMAR SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						Total (per subject)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Religion	1	1	2	2	3	3	12
Greek language	8	9	9	9	9	9	53
History			1	2	2	2	7
Geography	3	3	2	2	2	2	14
Natural science			3	3	2	2	10
Physics, chemistry					2	2	4
Arithmetic	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Geometry					1	1	2
Drawing	1½	1½	2	2	2	2	17
Writing		2	2	2			
Handicrafts	1½	1½	2	2	2	2	11
Singing	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Physical education	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Total class hours (per week)	22	25	30	31	32	32	172

In the first two grades the pupils study religion, begin the reading and writing of the popular language (*demotike*), study some local geography and start arithmetic, and spend time on drawing, handicrafts, singing, and physical education. In the third grade history and biology are added, while in the fifth grade physics and chemistry and geometry are taken up. At this level such subjects have to be rudimentary, but at any rate they are begun so that in high school the teachers have a foundation on which to build in intensive fashion. The history courses are so planned that by the time the child has completed the sixth grade, he will have some knowledge of European history up to the sixteenth century.

Turning now to the high school, we find a very full curriculum indeed. For an illustration we can look at the boys' high school (Table 6), since it is customary in a few of the cities to separate the boys and girls at the time of secondary school.[11] The only differences between the curriculum for the boys and the girls are that the latter has three hours less of ancient Greek, no Latin, three hours less of mathematics, but one more hour of hygiene and a six-hour home-economics course.

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1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

879 The official purpose of the various courses included in the high-school curriculum shows intent if not actual accomplishment:

[771] *Religion.* To convey a clear understanding of the moral works of Christ and of the Orthodox Church; to instill a proper respect for these works and thus elevate the students' religious and moral spirit so that it will become the major factor in their individual and social life. (Twelve hours total over six years.)

TABLE 6. CURRICULUM FOR BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						Total (per subject)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Ancient Greek	8	8	8	9	9	9	51
Modern Greek	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Latin			3	3	3	3	12
French	4	3	3	3	2	2	17
History	3	3	3	3	2	4	18
Mathematics	3	4	3	3	4	5	22
Science	3	3	3	3	3	4	19
Geography	2	2	2	1	1		8
Hygiene					1		1
Handicrafts	2	2	1	1	1		7
Singing	2	2	1	1			6
Philosophy					2	2	4
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Total class hours (per week)	35	35	35	35	36	37	213

Ancient Greek. To familiarize the students with the writings of the ancient Greeks; teach them a reading knowledge and understanding of ancient Greek, as well as the ability to write in the Attic dialect. Give them an appreciation of ancient life and its thoughts in order to better understand modern Greek. Better to appreciate good writing by reading selected texts of ancient Greek authors. Study of ancient civilizations so as to better understand our own age. (Fifty-one hours.)

[619] *Modern Greek* (*katharevousa*). Spoken and written use of Greek language; improvement of the students' literary education; leads to a greater understanding of modern Greek civilization and enhances students' national awareness. (Eighteen hours.)

Latin. To learn the Latin language in order to understand the work and thought of ancient Latin writers; to understand and appreciate the Roman civilization. (Twelve hours.)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

French. To learn to speak, write, and understand French; to understand and appreciate French literature and through it modern French civilization. (Seventeen hours.) 873

As a sidelight, it is interesting to note that out of the 213 hours covered in high school, 98 are in languages. Twenty-five percent of the time is devoted to ancient Greek.

History. To study the way of life and thought of peoples. Comparison of ancient with modern times so as to allow the formation of an opinion which will help the student understand the influences of one historical period on another. History should lead to understanding of the Greek nation and civilization and their influence on contemporary religions, economies, science, arts, and morality. Teaching of patriotism and performance of the duties of citizens. (Eighteen hours.) [619]

Mathematics — Cosmography. To improve the ability of students in understanding arithmetic and geometry; in thinking clearly and precisely; to create the belief that mathematics is an important, independent science. Purpose of teaching cosmography: Learning about the celestial bodies, their relations, and the laws concerning their movements. (Twenty-two hours.)

Physical Sciences and Biology. Study of nature and importance of the physical sciences in life. Increase the students' love of nature. Application of science to industry and technology. Biology: Study of life and habitat of all living creatures in order to understand the uses of plants and animals in daily life. (Science: nineteen hours.)

Geography. Study of the surface of the earth, especially the area of Greece; influence of the land on human life; study of the people of Greece and the beauty of the land. (Eight hours.)

Hygiene. To improve the students' knowledge of hygienic conditions in life with relation to hygienic habits in personal and social life. For girls: Study of woman's body. Hygiene for babies and children. Hygiene of married and unmarried women; hygiene necessary for various ages of life. Nursing, elementary first aid. Use of drugs and medicine at home. (One hour for boys; two hours for girls.)

Philosophy is an introduction to psychology and logic, while handicrafts are taught not as manual training or shopwork but to further the "artistic education of students and to teach them to make small things with their hands."

And the curriculum guide correctly advises: "It is wise to create a musical life in the high school. The students will be better occupied during their recreational and relaxation time." Gymnastics consists of "physical exercises, games, swimming, dances, excursions, and several military (elementary) exercises for the boys and classic and folk dancing for the girls."

Such is the intellectual bill of fare for peasant boys attending the gymnasium in the nearest large village or town. There is, of course, no connec-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

873 tion between this curriculum and the requirements of farming in the village. The peasants recognize this, for they do not send the eldest son, who is to take over the farm, to such a school. Some completing the gymnasium will go on to get a university diploma and will therefore find this curriculum directly related to their needs in many university courses. Others [647] will go no further than the completion of high school, but this will be enough to open up certain government jobs to them.

874 But what of the eldest son who expects to farm? Is his education to stop at the sixth grade? In most cases it does, but there are about eight government agricultural high schools in Greece where boys can go to learn to be better farmers. Some of these government schools admit boys who have finished the fourth grade and others require the sixth grade, but all give those who complete the course through the eighth grade a certificate. [647] Here, again, the graduates are not so much interested in going back to their family's small farm as in going on to government jobs in the Ministry of Agriculture as technicians. In the school in Phlorina one can study horticulture and viticulture; in Kozane winemaking has recently been added to horticulture and viticulture; in Ioannina the emphasis is upon dairying and in Larissa upon cheesemaking and horticulture. The others, in the Peloponnesos and Crete, also stress horticulture and viticulture. In addition to the government schools, there are four private agricultural schools: [177] The American Farm School in Thessalonike,[12] and schools in Konitsa, Amaroussi, and the island of Chios. The two government Superior Schools of Agriculture are near Athens and Thessalonike and rank at the university level.

871 The lower agricultural schools as well as certain technical schools in carpentry, brickmaking, and the like, set up by the King's Institute, are [874] viewed by Greeks as training schools rather than as paths to becoming an educated man. In other words, education in Greece is utilitarian in that its pursuit helps one achieve life goals in the government bureaucracy and the social structure of the country; it is not utilitarian in the sense of preparing one for practical or vocational matters while absorbing at the same time general education from courses in language, history, mathematics, and the like. Greece, in this respect, follows the traditional European pattern.

871 Many Greeks are acutely aware of their educational problems. One 369 nomarch told of a move toward closing down some of the classical gymnasiums and putting young people into trade schools. "But this presents problems," he said, "because the boys who finish think they are carpenters or blacksmiths and don't want to go back to the village." He thought the attack upon the flight of the educated people to the cities must begin with the mothers, for it is they who say: "But, son, you have your education; you can't go work in the fields."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Language: Popular or Pure?

The Greek elementary school has been caught in the no-man's land of a controversy which makes the current educational debate between traditionalists and progressives in the United States seem pale by comparison. The epic struggle has involved the particular form of the Greek language to be used in this school. After the Greek savant has established the point that modern Greek is the same language as ancient Greek but that it has been modified over the past thirty centuries, he will then differentiate between the three representations of Greek.

197 [872]

First, of course, is the ancient Greek which was by no means a uniform language. There were four main classic dialects: the Ionic in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were originally written and which came to be identified with epic poetry; the Aeolian which was thought of chiefly in connection with lyric poetry; the Attic which was used for tragic poetry, oratorical art, and philosophical debate; and the Doric, used mainly by Spartans who wrote very little, and which therefore had no significant literary development. With the spread of Greek culture under Alexander the Great, another type of Greek, the Helleniki Koine, was used by many people speaking other languages but united under the same political ruler. It used only the commonest Greek words found in all of the Greek dialects; it also incorporated non-Hellenic words. It was the language in which the four Christian Gospels first appeared. The Koine, however, was not classical Greek and is not studied as such.[15]

Today one finds a popular form of Greek, again in a rich variety of dialects, which is called *demotike*, or the people's language. Just as the educated people in the Hellenistic period continued to use the Attic Greek when all the uneducated people were speaking Koine, so today many of the educated people frown upon the demotike as a vulgar form which is to be avoided.

In its place they would substitute a third form of Greek, the *katharevousa*, or purist language.[16] This is an artificial language, based as much as possible upon classic syntax and vocabulary, which became in effect the official language of the Greek state after the war of independence in 1821. The contrasts between demotike and katharevousa have been clearly explained by Kimon Friar in his discussion of modern Greek poetry:

197 538

> The purist is the official language used on all formal occasions by those in government, business, and university, although the same people speak demotic or some modification of it. By the time of the eleventh century the demotic had closely approximated its present form, which in grammar today varies but slightly from that spoken during the downfall of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century. The purist is condensed and synthetic; the demotic is periphrastic and analytic, rich in many concrete words and phrases but extremely

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

197 538

poor in those abstract words of the arts and sciences which were not the concern of the common people who kept it living. Today, this lack of abstract words is the despair of the modern poet who wishes to express a thought of any metaphysical nicety, and he is driven to paraphase or symbol.

Since the eighteenth century, when the demotic had crystallized in folk poetry, the battle between the use of purist and demotic in prose and poetry has raged, but the battle has finally been won by the demotic, Today the contemporary poet may hold his expression on a living language and borrow his vocabulary as he can from a rich tradition of three thousand years, from Ancient, Hellenistic, Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek and its many dialects, and especially from the purist itself.[15]

Not just poets but almost any literate Greek can construct a private language of his own, within limits to be sure, and use a vocabulary which others may understand and appreciate but which they themselves would never use under the same circumstances. A person is always on safe ground in criticizing the sentence structure, vocabulary, and idiom of a Greek writer, since he is criticizing what is of necessity a personalized [872] style. In other words, the Greek language is still evolving, which means that "the language question" has perennially plagued the school authorities.

197 872

Should, for example, the beginning pupils in the first grade start out learning to read and write the kind of Greek they speak at home (demotike), or should they start out studying a kind of Greek which they cannot understand but which they will have to learn to understand if they are to be considered educated? There seems to have been little disagreement [873] over the matter of teaching the purist Greek in the secondary school. That is an accepted fact. But what about the elementary school?

In the beginning of the new state in 1830, the purist language was supposed to be used throughout the whole school system, even with the beginning pupils. By 1911 people were suggesting that maybe it would be [665] best to use demotike in the elementary school but the Royalists, then a political opposition party, raised such a hue and cry that action was deferred. The Royalists were supported in their stand by some professional men "on the grounds of prestige, and from some teachers who only knew the grammar of the *katharevousa*." [16]

In 1917 Venizelos adopted the proposal, but when the Royalists came to power in 1920,

they forbade the use of *demotike* in schools and made a public bonfire of the new textbooks which had just been written in it. Chaos followed. Every change in government meant a change in the medium of primary education: in 1922 *demotike* was reintroduced by Plastiras; in 1925 Pangelos forbade its use; in 1928, it was restored by the Coalition government with the proviso that *katharevousa* should be taught four hours weekly in the two top forms; in 1932, *katharevousa* was to be taught in all forms; in 1933 the two top forms were to

1:Sanders Z-5,H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

be taught exclusively in *katharevousa;* and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17] 197 872

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level. 197 [554]

But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm," [18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medium over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words: 197 212 204 669 197

If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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XIV

Religion and the Greek Peasant

771 The Greek villager's religion, a special blend of classical Greek paganism and Christianity, illustrates the capacity of Greek culture to absorb a new religious force, early Christianity, in such a way as to preserve unbroken continuity. The discussion of "Orthodoxy and Greekness" which follows bears upon this point. Yet, despite its antiquity and the accretions of past ages, Greek religion, while imposing a certain discipline through fasts and obligatory ceremonies, always managed to avoid becoming simply a burdensome set of obligations. It did so by the typically Greek device of finding a light touch in the midst of solemnity. The village priest, whose role is described in some detail, has for many centuries furnished unwittingly the necessary comic relief, although often capable in times of extremity of providing inspiring leadership.

At the same time, Greek religion is also humane, responding to need and affliction through individual action rather than through organized charitable institutions. The section on "The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works" shows what one imaginative individual can do. Greek religion also reveals its practical side in its confrontation of death and calamity. The somber shades of war, pestilence, and oppression are not strangers to sunny Greece, and the Greek religion teaches people how to face such misfortunes stoically and with dignity.

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see. 771

Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church. 771 795 619 162

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2] 795 184 776 [346]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names 795 184

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

795 184 which are found throughout the Balkans, speaks of the rich texture of Christianity there, which came to the Balkan nations in the shape of Byzantine Orthodoxy and which meant a particular culture, comprising art, literature, and theology, in the service of the Church.[3]

One has only to review the brief description of the peasant and nature or the peasant approach to sickness and child care in earlier chapters to see how lively is the environment for any peasant who believes in the Evil Eye or the omens of spiders, birds in flight, or the hooting of an owl.[4] The peasant, instead of being made over into some sort of revolutionary Christian image, was able to take early Christianity and make it over into the even earlier Greek image. That is what survives in rural Greece today.

The educated Greek went through almost the same process, but on a much more sophisticated level. Instead of equating the sun god with St. Elijah, he equated Platonic teachings with the doctrines of St. Paul. Thanassis Aghnides sets forth this theme:

> As regards religious life, let us not forget that the New Testament was written in Greek, and most of the principles of Christianity are loans from Greek moral philosophy. Plato's ideas could find no better means of diffusion in the world than the New Testament.
>
> Thus a Greek never feels that the Christian religion is a Jewish gift to the world. When he reads the New Testament he is reminded of the highest precepts of the Greek classical period. Here again the modern Greek is not very conscious of the lines of demarcation between the high precepts of Christianity, and, let us say, those of Socrates. The latter's principles and those of the Galilean are derived from the same source. The modern Greek is confusedly aware of this. He may not say it in as many words but he feels the modern ethical standards of the Christian world as being part and parcel of his own heritage from his classical ancestors.[5]

In support of this point of view among the peasants, I can mention the consternation shown by some Greek village women when, for the first time, they learned that Christ was a Jew. They had always assumed that he was Greek and would not believe otherwise until they had gone to check with the priest.

795 619 659 Orthodoxy and Greekness are tied in together not only because of the continuity between ancient traditions and Christian doctrine; the Orthodox Church was also the vehicle through which Greekness was preserved under alien conquerors. Church and politics went hand in hand. The Greek Orthodox Church, which was the basic institution of the Byzantine Empire, continues as such within the modern Greek nation, and contemporary Greeks, like the Byzantines, find it hard to accept political ideas which do not assume the complete unification of church and state. Today the church is still an integral part of the Greek government, its affairs administered [793] within the Ministry of Education and Religion, the salaries of the clergy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religious belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interest and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[6]

Greeks view contemporary events in terms of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[7] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because these touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priest, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married and unmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmarried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks, can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a [423] few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from [441] the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usu- [571] ally lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest minimum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called [554] a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop [794] appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often ac- [428] quires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his children. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all qualified people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who discussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

793 In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop 465 (Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping [659] his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupation back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products from the parishioners. *Kondota,* or the subscription by families of so much wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round [794] figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

needed to pay the priests' salaries, with the difference coming from state revenue. Also, the local parishes have to pay an amount equal to 6 percent of their priest's salary to the bishop toward the retirement fund for the local priest.

For salary purposes, the priests are divided into four classes: those who have gone through the theological faculty of the university; those who have attended the seminary, perhaps one or two years beyond gymnasium; those who have no seminary but who have finished gymnasium; and those put in a miscellaneous category. There are apparently sufficient candidates for the priesthood now, and some effort is being made to fashion their curriculum to prepare them to serve village needs more effectively; even the older priests are encouraged to come back for periods of study. One member of the Holy Synod thought that the priests ought to know more about agriculture, economics, and first aid, so that they might play a more vital part in community life. His view of the priest's role was that "he is to help people with their problems of all kinds and settle any disputes among the villagers."

But what part does the village priest really play? As has already been indicated, the Greeks are ambivalent toward the priest.[9] "As an individual, he commands respect, and gives advice to those who seek it. However, he is also a figure of ridicule and of ill omen." [10] A great deal depends upon the personality of the priest himself. One informant told me that when he was a boy their village had had a wonderful priest who was very important. Today, even though the people are probably just as much attached to their religion, the present priest is not popular. In the course of an extended conversation with the people in a village near Volos, we asked what kind of priest they had. "Oh, our priest is from around Karpenesi. He has five children and is a good family man." He was not singled out for praise because of any priestly performance, but because of his conformity to basic village values. But children in that same village must have heard many, many times the local account of what happened to some monks who lived in a monastery not far from the village. This had been built in 1714 as an annex of a Mount Athos establishment, but in due course of time the monks became "naughty" in that they called to and teased the women who were on their way to work in the fields. Finally the villagers could stand this no longer, so the men took the monks to a rock overlooking the sea and told them to jump. The monks jumped and were never heard of again. The present priest, unlike the monks, is "a good family man."

Very persistent and widespread is the belief, already mentioned, that an encounter with the priest brings bad luck. If peasants starting on some new venture meet a priest, they will turn back home and not begin it on that day for fear of failure. Anyone who meets a priest, in addition to "giving" the bad luck to a companion by hitting him on the shoulder, can tie a knot

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will
[777] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repeats celebrating a christening, a namesday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest."[11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires
[754] was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, con-
794 sisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-
[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending can-
788 not help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross,
[346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome repre-
[778] senting heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*naos*),
[562] which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congregate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works

793 The contrast between an ordinary priest's home and the bishop's palace
794 in Kalamata is quite marked, for the latter was once the ornate building
[346] housing the local branch of the Bank of Greece. But the bishop's interest in the people of his diocese, both the city dwellers in Kalamata and the farmers in the surrounding villages, equaled that of any priest for his parishioners. The bishop, when visited in 1953, proved a friendly, jovial person, with an iron-gray beard, a dignified though rotund figure, and a very forward-looking social philosophy. It was this latter quality in particular that had made me seek him out after hearing from friends in Athens of his unusual achievements in the welfare field.

He began to talk about what he had done and hoped to do for his people: "I became interested when I saw their great needs, for, as a church leader, I am responsible for the welfare of whatever people are under me." But before he started on any specific projects after his arrival in this diocese, he had thought it best, as he phrased it, "to put myself at the disposal of the people." He gradually gained the confidence of the members of his diocese by making available to them for local use all of the church's funds derived from festivals. The people began to realize that this bishop was interested in them. Later on, when he began asking them to support the various projects which he started, they gladly cooperated.

793 His first project was a day nursery, which takes care of one hundred and
747 twenty children whose mothers are at work, started in 1947. Visiting this nursery in the afternoon when all of the children had gone home, we noted the cleanliness and the simple but adequate facilities. The success of this nursery prompted the bishop to start another one in Mycenae for one hundred children in 1948.

736 One perplexing problem was that of illegitimate children. In many cases
793 the mother would kill such a child or leave it with people who exploited it unmercifully. So he started a home for these children in 1947. Since then,
848 two hundred and fifty children have gone through the home, sixty of them
[597] have been adopted and fifty were there then. The equipment was simple
[847] and bare, but everything was spotless. When we entered, the children came up to the bishop with great pleasure, for he is a favorite with the young children. One of the nurses told us: "When we have a child that is lonesome, who won't eat, we ask the bishop to come feed the child. When he comes, the child always eats."

793 The bishop noticed, however, that many of the boy foundlings, but rela-
736 tively few of the girl foundlings, would be adopted. The boys who were not taken by foster parents by their fifth or sixth year would go into the National
[597] Boys' Orphanage of Kalamata, largely supported by the state, which had
[657] one hundred and fifty boys in 1953. Something had to be done for the girls.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs. 793 736 792 288 [175] [231]

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them. 793 734 [788]

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients. [164]

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably 783 788 [734]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave
788 them an emotional uplift.

793 But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in [737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a poly- [874] technic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous [177] November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more [743] activity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

793 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole
794 complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country,
457 especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of in-
794 mates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their [428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial [769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the [748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others.

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute.

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing." [13] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face).

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[14]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at Pieree College.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 Pierce College. It is hard for most Greeks, no matter how highly trained,
748 to bring into the social worker–client relationship an objectivity modeled on the doctor–patient relationship. The Greek social worker finds it difficult to think of the client as a case and almost immediately empathizes or scolds in a way that would be considered quite unprofessional by American standards. Psychiko, hardly the twentieth-century rationale for social welfare, continues strong in Greece today, and the Bishop of Messenia is doing much to keep it alive in his diocese, which seems much the better for it.

The Peasant Confronts Death

761 The peasant assumes that there is an afterlife and talks about doing kind
773 deeds "for the good of the soul." But these practical villagers do not talk much about death, although they do have some fixed beliefs and prescribed
775 customs which stand them in good stead when confronting it. For example, there is the matter of Charon who, according to the beliefs of ancient Rome, was the boatman transporting the dead across the River Styx. I shall never forget the sensation of riding along in the northern Peloponnesos between Kleitoria and Kalavryta, enjoying the bright May afternoon, when my interpreter pointed out a small and pleasant stream said to be the waters of the Styx.[17] Greek peasants do not assign the same role to Charon as did the Romans, for they think of Charon as death itself, or as the angel of death whom God sends down to bring back the soul of someone whose time on earth has run its course. There are many songs and stories about Charon, who is personified as one who wrestles with individuals for their lives or who uses craft to draw the soul out of the body. From time to time he is supposed to have displayed something akin to human sympathy:

> *God and Death:* Once upon a time God sent death to reap a soul but when death heard the lamentation of the relations and saw the beauty of the girl whose soul he was supposed to reap, he felt sorry and returned to heaven without accomplishing his mission. When God asked him why he didn't bring the soul, death replied that he couldn't stand the crying and despair that he had heard and seen. God got very angry and hit death so that he became deaf, blind, and lame. He made him deaf so that he couldn't hear the crying, blind so that he couldn't see whether the soul to be taken away belonged to an old person or a child, and lame so that he could not run away from the place where he was sent.[18]

761 Although church art, depicting the medieval Christian conception of
775 heaven and hell, has had some effect upon the view peasants take of "the next world," the people very often reveal a more basic belief in Hades as
[772] "a common meeting-place of all whose lives are ended, without distinction of merit. Death is a deprivation of the joys of life, which, with all its troubles and cares, is sweet. The old uneasy feeling that after death it is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

not well is ever present; and the dying man laments that he must see the sun no more, nor the light of the moon, the mountains, the shade of plane-trees, and the cool fountain because in Hades there breaks no dawn, and sings no bird, and no fountains of water flow." [19] 761 775

This same theme is brought out in the tradition which the villagers call the "water of forgetfulness."

Each person upon dying goes to the underworld. There he starts crying and is in despair because he died and had to leave the world which still seems so sweet to him. The other dead laugh at him. This happens for just one day because the other dead feel sorry for the newcomer, take him to a spring and tell him to drink some water. After he has had some he in his turn forgets the upper world and laughs at the newcomers who come later on. This happens to all who die.[20]

When a person is believed to be dying, a candle is lit, probably so the soul will be sure to have some light as it moves into the other world. If any of this candle remains after a person dies, according to some village people, for three successive days you must put water in a little coffee cup and light the candle for ten minutes after sunset. You then take the water and throw it outside where nobody will be apt to walk on it. You also cut a narrow piece from the shroud and tie three knots in it, placing it in front of the icon. For three days you untie one of the knots and then sew the piece of cloth in the shirt of one of the male members of the family, who wears this piece until the shirt wears out. In the Naupaktos area, after a person dies all windows and doors are closed so death cannot get out. One person of the household shouts, "Death, leave the old man [or whoever is dead]." This is repeated many times in the hope that death can hear. It is done, the people say, to keep death from coming again to take someone else from that home.[21] Such shouting is not the custom in all parts of Greece, however. 763 764

What one does find quite generally in the rural areas, however, is the *myriologion*, or funeral dirge, which the women of the household and those from the neighborhood begin to sing as soon as death has come. Some of these have been conventionalized to the point that several women may all know the same dirge for a husband, child, or mother, and sing parts of it in turn rocking back and forth; in some parts of Greece the women improvise dirges in keeping with the prescribed musical form. These songs, sung in the house before burial, at the grave at stated intervals after death, or even as a woman is passing by the cemetery, may consist of questions put to the dead: "Why did you leave us?" "Why did you go so soon?" "How do you think the house can get on without you?" [22] Those myriologia that have traditional content passed on from generation to generation are the source of many of the popular beliefs about the afterlife, and they illustrate as well as any aspect of Greek rural life the persistence of pre-Christian 764 533 [763] [769]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlach EH15.

G 764 533 [562] [369] traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myriologia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing, but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

G V 764 The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

G V [292] [562] As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

G V 764 152

G 764 775 In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person.[25]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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1. The Acropolis, its profile held unobstructed by city ordinance, shades the Athenian in legacy from the Golden Age.

[p 272-A]

Vlachs EH15
1:Sanders Z-5,¼ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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2. Kypariissia (Cypress Village) of Pelopponnesos, amid its pattern of mountain, and field, and cypress trees that hide a cemetery.

3. The square of Metsovo, Epirus, village of the shepherd Koutso-Vlachs; the children quieted while a vivid funeral procession passed along this road.

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[361]
[137]

[p.272 - B]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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4. The village of Valtetsi, near Tripolis, Peloponnesos, is abandoned for half the year as the shepherds follow pasturage. The walls remain broken, testimony of wartime guerrilla raiders.

[727]

5. A Peloponnesian home, walled from the road, hugs a rock slope near Megalopolis.

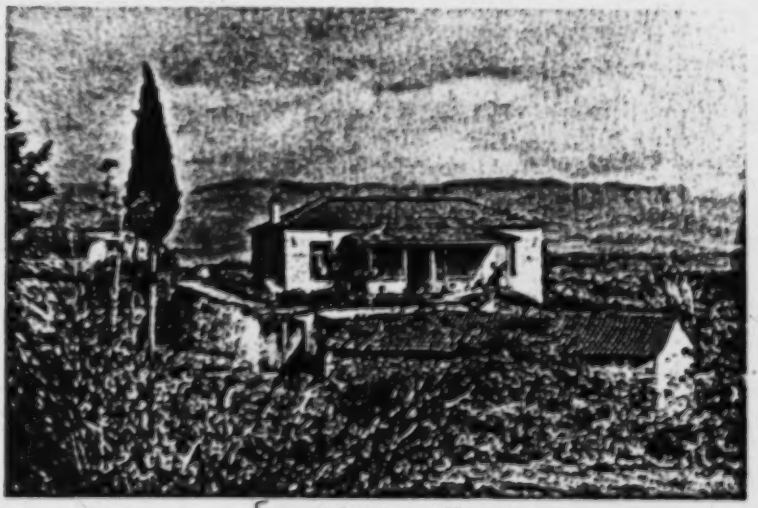

[p. 272-c]

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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6. Plowing an olive grove near Lechouia, Thessaly. The olive harvest will draw a crowd of young people to the grove to rake or beat or gather as their foreman orders.

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7. A wheat combine traces the plain of Thessaly, below Mount Parnassus.

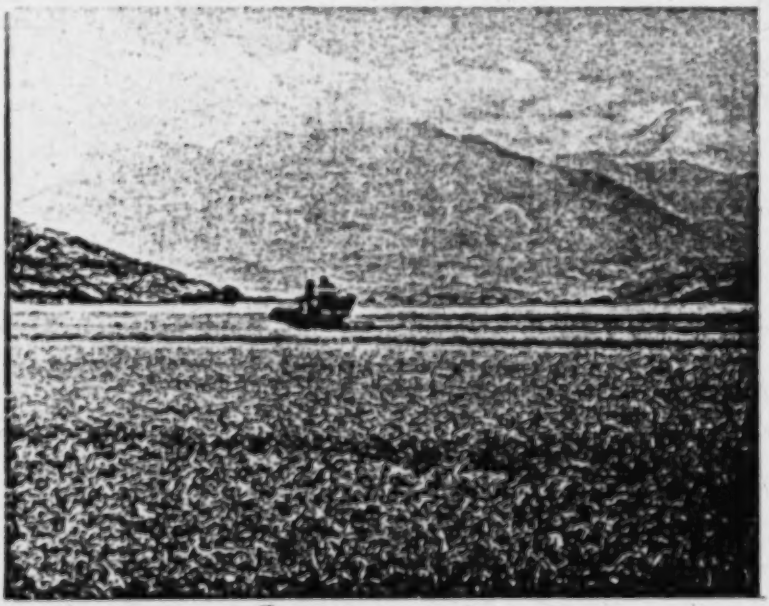

[p. 272-D]

1;Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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8. On the tenth day after transplanting, Macedonia; his hoe is said to be short-handled so that he can watch the fragile tobacco leaves as he moves.

[p. 272-E]

1:Sanders Z-5ɲ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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9. Our hosts in a Peloponnesian village: Xenos is the password for stranger and guest. Their hospitality was radiant; their posing was a serious project.

10. Mr. Papaspyropoulos and his wife. He wrote the account of Ano-Kleitoria, Peloponnesos.

[p. 272-F]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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11. To the oven for Sunday afternoon lamb and rice, Attica.

[p. 272-G]

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[765]

12. A widow at the loom, Salamis. For two years there must be no levity in her presence.

[p. 272-H]

1:Sanders Z-5ff (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakasa, Central Greece.

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[p. 272-I]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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15. The schoolmaster and his pupils by their century-old school, Kyparissia, Peloponnesos. Originally the school was privately endowed.

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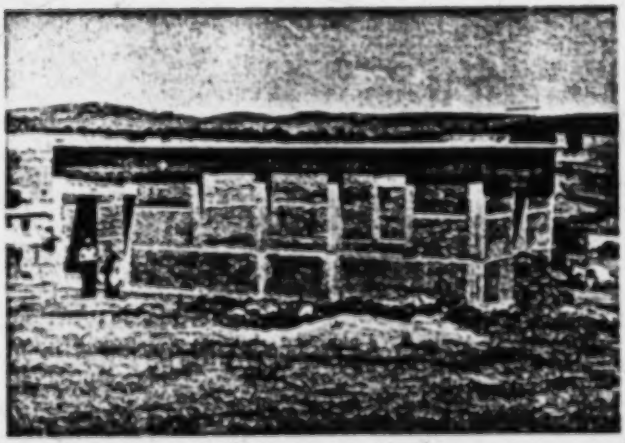

[177] 16. A school building under construction in Malakasa village, new promise for two dozen children. The Save the Children Federation provides the materials; Malakasa, the labor.

[p. 272-J]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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17. A monk on the ageless journey to Salamis with casks from his monastery to be filled or to sell.

18. Godparents hold the child before the priest for a controlled moment in the exuberance of a baptism, Macedonia.

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[p. 272-K]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

19. Porto Raphti, Attica, at the close of day.

[p. 272-L]

1:Sanders Z-5,√ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ."[14] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

1:Sanders Z-5.1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

346 Generally, in the old villages the church is in the outskirts. To the back of
361 the church is the cemetery, which is walled to keep out both wild predatory
764 animals and farm animals. For Greeks it is a sin to step on a grave. The church
may have a belltower, or the bell may be hung from the branch of an old tree.
[783] There is always a well in the churchyard and the cemetery of the old village.
It is used as drinking water and for the purification after a burial. The main
[312] church of the old village must be the tallest, the largest, and the best-constructed building of the village. This signifies respect for God; the past is not forgotten. This is very much after the pattern of the ancient Greeks who built their shrines as the best buildings while they themselves lived in huts. . . .

Both the church and the cemetery of the old village must be located in a landscape of natural beauty and scenery. Thus faith, worship, and death are in close relation with the natural scenery.[55]

[178] But Valassis adds a discordant note. The new churches are now being
[769] constructed in the center of the village, while the cemeteries remain on the outskirts. No longer, therefore, do the peasants, after a Mass or ceremony, go to the graveyard to pay respect to their ancestors.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 275]

[XV]

The Village Community

A Greek village has a much richer social texture than the casual visitor would imagine. As already indicated, it has its patterns of mutual aid, its church, school, local government, and coffeehouses — which often are the focal points for intense activity — but it also has its neighborhoods, kinship groups, and even a status system according to which people are sorted out by other villagers. Furthermore, if any villager "gets out of line," strong social sanctions can be brought to bear to make him conform. The village notables whom I met enjoyed telling how things got done in their communities and of the factions and cross-pressures at work. Many times, simply by watching them perform their official and unofficial roles in behalf of the community, I observed the community in action. A mother came to ask how she could get her son out of the army long enough to help with the spring plowing because her husband was disabled with a back injury; an official from the Ministry of Agriculture left some forms about crop production for the secretary to fill out; a man who had received a letter in English from a nephew in the United States wanted one of the notables — who had previously been in the States — to translate the contents. The variety of tasks seemed endless, but some village notable was usually able to rise to the occasion.

621 [554] [626]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Village Notables

554 Contrary to popular belief, one does not always find the village notables sitting around the coffeehouse. Most of them are usually busy people, working in their fields, around their houses, or in a shop. They do make at least brief appearances around the square some time during the day, most probably after supper. Loafers do not become notables in a Greek village. To learn who these notables were, I asked throughout mainland Greece: "Who are the most important people in your village? Why are they important?"

[622] I was struck by the fact that in 1955 and 1959 more people seemed to stress the high prestige of the community president than they had done in 1953. This impression, if fully verified, would indicate a growing importance of and a re-emphasis upon local government in the Greek scheme of things. One priest in the Peloponnesos attributed this shift to the fact that "interest in religion is not as great as twenty years ago and church attendance has declined." A few typical replies, many contradicting each other in some details, will convey the villager's view of the notables in his community. From Central Greece:

554 875 759 622 793

> The greatest honor in our village is to be president of the community. Those who are most respected are those with the most money. Anyone who has money receives a hearty "good morning"; without money he doesn't. This is because our people are not educated. In fact, the priest gets more respect than the teacher, which is not as it should be. The local doctor, too, is respected.

From another village in Central Greece we hear:

> The most important people are the most educated, either the doctor or the teacher who, thanks to his education, can solve a problem in which the people are interested. We have some clever people who try to overshadow the teacher in order to influence other villagers, but if they are to do this they must be respected. If an extremely clever person is immoral, he has no great prestige. Two things influence other people: to be just in his judgment and honorable. We respect a man more if he is honorable than if he is rich. Even an uneducated man who is a good farmer and has good judgment and is honorable can have influence.

[665] Party leaders in former times would have been included among the notables, according to a businessman from Thebes:

> In my childhood days the party leader would have ranked as most important, particularly if he belonged to the strongest party and would be able to help local people solve their problems. Nowadays in the village the president of the community would play a great part. The doctor, if there is one, has high position, provided that he is respected by the others. In the old days the priest and teacher were more respected than today. In my childhood when the teacher

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In my childhood when the teacher

or priest would pass through the village square people would stand up. The local merchants in the village have changed their status little, for their role in life is still to do commerce. 554 875

The extent to which the priest or the president of the local cooperative, where it exists, is considered important depends today very much upon the personalities of the individuals involved. One person said: 793 622 [474]

The role of the priest should be mentioned along with the teacher and doctor. He should lead because he represents the church and is more educated than the peasants. But there are some priests who play little part in community life. I know of one who drinks too much, shoots off his revolver, and is not respected.

The relative prestige of the village notables has been influenced by the practice of the central government in providing the teacher and the priest. Only the community president comes into office as the result of local initiative, but even his status, though gaining ground, is not what it used to be thirty or forty years ago:

The president of the village is usually a better man than the president of the cooperative because there is more tradition behind his office. But it does not always hold that the best man is picked as president. In Thessaly forty years ago when the president came into the coffeehouse all the men rose in deference to "their president." [474]

A man from a mountain village in Central Greece who is active in the cooperative movement contrasted the various statuses in his community:

I find that the teacher enjoyed more prestige formerly than now. Earlier there was a higher percentage of illiterates, but today many village sons have gone away for a higher education and so people are not so dependent upon the teacher. Since officials do not wish to undermine the position of the teacher, the agronom and other representatives of the nomarchia always consult the teacher when arriving in the village.

This man thought the secretary of the village more important than the president.

When I put the question of relative prestige of the notables to a group of students at the American Farm School in Salonica, I found the anticipated difference of opinion. The majority of the boys, all from villages, said that the president of the community was most important, but others said that the priest would be "if he is from the village itself and has a good reputation." They pointed out that the president of the community becomes involved in politics and is therefore apt to antagonize those who may differ with him politically. Of the twenty villages represented, fourteen had doctors. Only six of these were considered community leaders. These village boys also thought, for the most part, that the wealthy peasants were [759]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

554 875 799 622 [729] [561]

not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

554 167 177

I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

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Social Class in the Village

The notables just described constitute the village élite; they are at the top of the status system and represent the village's contact with the outside world. If they are originally from outside, they are supposed to possess the qualities that the peasants ascribe to the educated city person. Their reputation in turn is based largely on the traditional classical education which sets them apart from those less fortunate. As one commentator pointed out: "The civil servant or poor lawyer has little out of life other than his prestige. This takes the form of petty autocracy and the assumption of superiority over the nonprofessional classes." Such a person coming to live in the village feels it incumbent upon him to maintain something of a social gulf between him and the peasants, who also share this feeling. But this "assumption of superiority" is in itself not enough. It will wear thin after a while if the individual does not prove himself competent in his job or show an understanding of the problems that the villagers face. Even if he does it arrogantly, he nevertheless must produce some benefits for the villagers. There is a shrewd practicality in the Greek peasant with which any intellectual has to reckon.

Those notables who are from the village, whether educated or not, must also possess those qualities stressed locally. To some extent, they have to fit into the value systems of both the city and the village, not favoring one so much that they alienate those subscribing to the other.

Very few studies have been made of the status distinctions in Greek villages, with the result that we cannot prove or disprove the existence of regional differences in ascribing status. In a Greek community, as in an American one, people when asked about class differences will be apt to deny them, claiming, "everybody here is as good as everybody else. We have no class distinctions." But as the questioner probes, he learns that one part of the community is considered a very good residential area and another part very poor; some families are at the very top of the social scale for a variety of reasons, others are generally recognized to be at the bottom, and those in between can be sorted out in a loose way according to the criteria (or social values) prevailing in that place. John Photiadis lists the following as the factors for class distinction in the Macedonian village he studied: education; occupation; money; family name; approved achievement; community activities; origin (whether refugee or not); area of residence. On the basis of these he delineates three classes in a larger-than-average village:

The *upper class* consisting of professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers), tobacco merchants, larger storekeepers, and office managers.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

565 The *second class* consisting of small storekeepers, farm owners, and skilled workers.

The *third class* consisting of persons not quite acceptable by society.[3]

Although this scheme is not precise and is difficult to apply in its present form to other villages in Greece, it does tend to stress the economic and occupational factors which play an important part throughout the country. This is particularly borne out in the studies of the Near East Foundation, to which references have already been made in preceding chapters. In two of their villages there seemed to be no class differences, but in others these were recognized and explained as follows, with each paragraph applying to a different community:

The economic position of the person is all-important. Those who are well-to-do and willing to help another in time of need rank high. Family and education play little or no role.

There are no noticeable differences in the village, but the villager who is financially better off than his neighbor is accorded a somewhat higher place.

Although there are no obvious class distinctions, the farmers who are better off are honored if they are not too conservative, which most of them tend to be. The priest, community president, cooperative president and certain village councilmen form the highest social class due to their judgment, diplomacy, education and vision.

Wealth is the only determining factor in this village.

Economic factors are most significant. The richer have the higher position. Shopowners are higher than farmers. People value a person's ability to help others in time of need or to promote the interest of the village. Family background is minor.[4]

565 These statements show that in Greek villages it is possible for an individual who is honorable and good to gain recognition even though the
555 reputation of his family might not be very high. Without any doubt, what is most important is the financial ability of a family to afford education for its children which, in turn, provides them with a means for occupational advancement. The status of the family with several highly educated people is almost invariably higher than that of the family where no one has gone beyond grade school.

565 One must not assume, however, that the status system in the Greek village is something rigid or exclusively hereditary. It is unusually mobile.
554 This is borne out by Photiadis when he compares the pre- and postwar class structure of his village:

Social mobility became easier after the war except for the upper class. It became much more difficult to move to the upper class. The high prices of tobacco before the war gave a number of people the opportunity to be close to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423 427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

575 For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings
[474] are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion
575 of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant
571 of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

621 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life
182 as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is
578 perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed
665 leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These
669 can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search
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for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo*, or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

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Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

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> Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*. . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.[9]

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Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

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To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. . . .

621 156 577 182

One may well ask how this trait of self-esteem is related to a sense of community. The connection is twofold: first, the adult member of the community participates as a free agent and as an expression of his own individuality; he can cooperate because he feels free, and by the same token he can refuse to cooperate. But the second connection makes him think seriously before refusing to cooperate, for he would be shaming himself and others if he let his village down. Yet the sense of community need not be limited to formal cooperation; it can be a state of mind as well, a feeling of loyalty one carries about, and a deep psychological identification with the village where one was born and in which one grew up.

621 182

A common living space. One writer attributes the unity of the Greek village to the residents' dependence upon their physical environment:

[423]

First, the people are directly dependent on the land, hence their interests are all one. Second, the village owns grazing lands and meadows used in common by the farmers. Third, the people are highly interdependent in respect to water supply. Thus a sense of cooperation pervades the village. Fourth, the people of the village are limited in their actions by the very village's physical structure; the width of the streets, the pavement or lack of pavements, and degree of crookedness of same. Lastly, the whole physical lay-out is such that ceremonials and rituals as repeated year-in and year-out by slow processions, must change even if the ceremonials were to become mechanized.[8]

An earlier chapter on the village setting has discussed this factor, which must be taken into account in considering the identification people feel with their village. People develop a "sense of belonging" with those who walk the same village lanes, send their animals to the same community pastures, draw water from the same wells or fountains, and share the same living space. This propinquity does not necessarily produce a liking for everyone frequently encountered, but it calls for the recognition that these neighbors or fellow villagers must be dealt with in solving many of the ordinary affairs of life.

Shared institutions. Partly related to the physical pattern of the village are the church, the school, and the office of the local government, whose very structures are visible and concrete signs of the institutional complex which they embody. But these institutions are more than a material expression; they are also the focal points of the values which the people inherit and pass on to their children. On the basis of these, people ascribe rank to each other; on the basis of these, people make decisions relative to what activities are most worthy and which are least worthy. Community

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life, as well as individual life, has its evaluative mechanisms which are brought into play in problem solving. The local institutions, described so fully in previous chapters, either have certain kinds of problems which they are supposed to treat, or the institutional leaders are sometimes called in to help deal with situations too grave for any single institution to handle. Again, the sense of community which a Greek villager develops is based in part not only upon sharing with others the activities which these institutions perpetuate, but also in knowing that he and his family are dependent upon them for meeting many of life's basic needs and aspirations. 621 182

The introduction of formal organizations into the Greek village, although they may accomplish certain specific goals, can also have the net effect of introducing new cleavages. The local institutions as described have been inclusive in that almost everyone in the village who wanted to could participate in them, with some allowances made for sex and age differences. But organizations bring in the idea of members and nonmembers. Some belong; others do not. Where membership is interpreted as signifying that the member is superior to or better than the nonmember, it causes resentment within that village where organizations are relatively new and not much appreciated. This may even run counter to the local value system. Yet experience in other societies, and even in the urban sectors of Greek society, has shown that economic development — which many peasants ardently desire — is based on specialization. This, in turn, is promoted by organizations which encourage and sustain this specialization. Society, even in the village, becomes more heterogeneous as the level of living rises, as the number of alternative choices (occupational, recreational, and such) increase, and as greater reliance is placed upon the individual. 575 621 182

Therefore, in understanding the traditional sense of community one must see the countervailing tendency to organize along specialized lines and to promote individual rather than community interests. In an industrialized society this means that a new kind of solidarity, based on functional interdependence, replaces that solidarity based on homogeneity and a common view of world and work.[7] Very often in the shift from the traditional to the more complex type, individuals and communities experience disorganization which, in time, leads to a reorganization better adapted to new needs. Closely related to the degree and type of disorganization is the system of social control and how it operates.

Social control. In Greece, as elsewhere, the most effective social controls are built into the personality structure of a person as he grows up. He learns what his society considers to be morally right and wrong and, if "well brought up," does not question these standards and, more often than not, abides by them; he also learns what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior at given times and places; he knows, too, that in a particular situation some people (say, the oldest men present) behave differently from 577 626

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626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one
[577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life.
627 Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught
[685] stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in
[834] turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you." [8]

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

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The people speak against the person.
If a woman gossips, people ignore her.
If a man drinks too much, they beat him.
People give advice, for there are usually two or three older people who have the role of advisers and to whom people turn.
Sometimes the solution is by means of knives.
The village people threaten the person who does not conform and may drive him out of the village.
They may take the person to church and make him say special prayers.
They may take revenge on the person by injuring his animals, or by burning his house if his conduct is too much of a threat to the rest.

This last item illustrates that at times the people can behave cruelly to other villagers who threaten the safety, morality, or even reputation of the village. Individuals as individuals seek personal revenge, but much of the time such an action is collective, discussed by several leaders in advance, and carried out with dispatch by a group. [627]

Apparently, living in a Greek village is a great deal like living in a goldfish bowl. One writer comments of his village:

> Here in our village one has no secrets from the others. Someone asks about something and we reply. Even if we want to hide something we cannot. Everybody knows about it. . . . We say: "The whole world announces it with drums, while we think it's a secret." [9]

But the sense of community grows not only out of the acceptance of the same "thou shalt nots" but also is related to the systems of rewards held out by the community to those who conform. This is the positive side of social control. To have the esteem of the villagers is to enhance one's own self-esteem, to win an election because others think well of you, to be sought out when others need advice, to have your sons or daughters considered as good "catches" for marriage, all indicate that one has conformed to the code of accepted behavior. It may also mean that one has used individual initiative in behalf of the community when situations arose for which the code gave no specific prescription.

One villager summarized the sense of community well when he pointed out that people were loyal to their village because they lived there and their interests were connected with it, adding, "one is loyal to whatever is close to one's birth certificate and death certificate." 621

Although the life of the villager centers in most details upon the settlement where he lives, his range of interests may go far beyond it. True enough, he is apt to be loyal to his village; but he is also loyal to his region. Those who come from Arcadia, whether they are residing in Athens or in 619 [575]

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619 the United States, feel a close bond with the others who come from Arcadia.
[575] They form societies to continue this association and to give an opportunity to dance and sing the folk arts of that region.

A Greek villager is, moreover, a Greek. Villages can be uprooted and destroyed, their families dispersed, but Greece goes on as a living spirit and as a mighty cultural heritage. The fact that so many Greek families have
[602] relatives living in other parts of the country, including Athens, means that they keep in fairly close touch with the body politic. They are not merely dependent upon what some village notable or visiting politician tells them; they can hear directly from their relatives just what the state of affairs really
[203] is. This means that kinship plays a part in the communication network on which the national community rests. In conclusion, it is important to look
178 briefly at the role of the villager in the total society, taking our eyes from
619 the village scene and viewing the larger picture. This is necessary if one is to understand the Greek village of the next few years — the one which is emerging — because the changes being introduced come for the most part from outside the village. They are promoted to a considerable degree by national authorities or impersonal forces over which the peasants have relatively little control.

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Part Five

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Change

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XVI

Social Change in Rural Greece

The Greek social spectrum, the rainbow in the rock, is losing some of its hues today. This occurs as regions of Greece, despite their traditional social differences, adjust to common changes engulfing the whole country. The fact of change is accepted by all, but the evaluation of specific kinds of change (in family life, economic development, political trends) varies with the position of the person passing judgment. For most villagers, changes — at least those they want — are not occurring fast enough. When I had sorted out and studied their comments, which usually dealt with some facet of change, past or present, I found that the experiences they related could be grouped under three general types: the *cataclysmic* change caused by some great social or natural upheaval; the changes resulting from *social drift*, or the slower spread of unplanned change as new ways moved from town to village; and the *planned* change, most frequently sponsored by government agencies in an effort to raise the level of living in the villages.[1] 178

Cataclysmic Change

Almost every generation of Greeks has experienced some social dislocation accompanying a war or, at least, armed encounters. The present adult population has had more than its share. While the country was busy with the tasks of assimilating the northern provinces, wrested from Turkey in 178 648 727

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178 the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World
648 War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied
727 an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed
[728] to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as
[167] a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [8] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

178 In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appre-
167 ciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national
727 life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[9] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encompass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder
[177] the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

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tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

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178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance
669 for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
166 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did [657] not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the [369] city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes follow-
[302] ing the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay [657] the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

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Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

> As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

Social Drift

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

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178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time
178 by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has
511 been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discus-
369 sion of religion, observed:

> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have
[454] stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

178 A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during
433 April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the con-
464 nection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change. The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce
241 tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transitional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

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part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

178 433 464 241

In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income. When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

[166]

The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's economic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire.

178 434 [162]

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
[435] the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first
time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other
young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no
serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually
themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a
start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to con-
tinue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are in-
volved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary
before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the
practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the
fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort
have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may
even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there
is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that
much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

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observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

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178 what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to
[628] those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective
178 change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others.
562 They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage.
666 Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local
[626 twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women,
593] for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

178 This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance
185 of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration
727 of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and
[736] seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

177 Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at
178 the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

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tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned. 177 178 177 178 874 242

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities. [185]

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments. 178 474 185 242

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II. 178 185 654

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev- 177 464 653

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177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
653 It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias*, often translated "welfare through employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
207 to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
491 Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
178 mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
[241] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these
[654] and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

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increased economic activity and not become a disturbing political force. A further fact is the peasant's chronic tendency to assume that he is not getting a square deal, or everything that is due him, because throughout his memory and that of his forebears he has been used to what he considers exploitation by a government or those from the city who would take advantage of him. No aid program can ever create a contented peasantry. Yet it is fair to ask what is being done in Greece today to help the individual villager solve the problems of immediate interest to him. The brightest hope, and one recognized by Munkman, is the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service, so organized as to take advantage of the long American experience in this field, the lessons learned by the Near East Foundation in Greece, and the application by dedicated Greeks of these lessons to contemporary conditions. A comparison between what is now available to the farmer and what was available before the war shows a tremendous gain in his behalf. To be sure, the peasant does not apply all that he is taught by the extension worker, and now and then administrative decrees (such as cutting from the budget the transportation item) limit the effectiveness of the extension worker. But in every part of Greece trained personnel are visiting the villagers and, as never before, showing an interest in their welfare and helping them think through their economic problems. Home-economics workers, working with the farm women, are also making considerable headway.

When I investigated social changes occurring between 1952-53 and 1959, those whose knowledge of Greek village life I have found to be most accurate said, "Certainly the greatest change you will find is the development of the agricultural-extension program and the service it is rendering." In other words, the central government is sending "change agents"[10] throughout Greece to help initiate improvements in farming and homemaking, and it is not waiting for the peasants to journey to Athens for answers to their problems. There are limits to what any professional staff can do, but to the extent that these extension workers, both men and women, receive necessary support, to that extent one will find rapid change in the countryside.

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 15, of the organizations being set up in Greek villages by the extension service as well as by the Queen's Fund. This fund concentrates primarily upon Northern Greece and through its village welfare centers seeks to raise the educational, cultural, and economic level of the villages. The King's Fund is interested in the villager. In September 1959 I visited near Athens the handsome Community Development Training Center, financed by this fund, where I met with a group of about fifty teachers who had been invited there, with all expenses paid, to study how teachers can be agents of community improvement. When I joined the group, they were listening to a lecture on scientific beekeeping so that they could talk intelligently on this subject to their pupils and the pupils' parents.

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177 178 653 During this same September 1959 visit I had occasion to review, as on a previous occasion, the community-development program of the Save the Children Federation, an American organization. It contributes its funds, set aside for community development, only if the adults of the community agree to make contributions of their own (labor, materials, money) to the construction of a better school, the installation of a public water supply, the planting of a school orchard, or the construction of a dock to bring economic advantages to an otherwise bypassed coastal village.

177 178 [65] Anyone trying to cover completely the numerous programs designed to change village life for the better would find them springing up in a variety of places. The official government programs, each under one of the ministries, cover a wide range of activities. Agriculture is more adequately represented than health, education more than social welfare, and economic programs more than recreational programs. But this emphasis is not unexpected in a rural setting. All official American programs, being governmental, work through the Greek ministries and agencies. Next, in drawing up a comprehensive list, one could chronicle the quasi-governmental programs such as those embodied in the King's Fund and the Queen's Fund, the Volunteer Nursing Corps, and similar bodies. In addition to these, there are numerous groups started and managed by public-spirited Greek citizens interested in rural improvement. These range from agricultural education to reforestation to preservation of the folk arts. To those already found could be added the programs of a variety of international agencies, such as UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, and the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as the very active International Red Cross. Finally, one could include a large assortment of private efforts sponsored by organizations from several European countries as well as Canada and the United States. Such organizations might be religious in nature, strictly welfare, or a combination of both.

No wonder, then, that the Greek villager becomes confused about who promises what and fails to deliver, or whom to thank for a bundle of clothes received in the mail. No wonder that he sometimes is nonplussed about what government official to wait upon. If he is a community president, he will probably visit his nomarch, but the chances are that the nomarch is not altogether versed in the number of programs intent upon effecting change in the villages under his supervision.

178 More than ever before, the Greek villager's way of life has become a target of change. In this sense, he typifies efforts being made in other countries and on other continents to move people from an archaic to a modern style of life, and to help them realize expectations and hopes of which they are only now becoming aware.

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XVII

Social Consequences of Foreign Aid

This excursion through the Greek countryside should have shown that all change, whether in the guise of foreign aid or not, has definite social consequences. Social relationships as well as economic sectors are affected. Nor are these social consequences simply political in character; they go much deeper into the social structure. This should not seem mysterious, although it is often overlooked, for any program of economic development or political reconstruction has to work through people, through their social organization as it exists or as it is being fashioned anew. Despite this truism, and the fact that the economic and political aspects of foreign aid have been dramatically debated and ably analyzed by competent scholars, the social consequences are still *terra incognita* to many American specialists abroad. Furthermore, foreign aid, by its very nature, is designed not to maintain the status quo but to promote social change.

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Foreign Aid Means Social Change

For anyone who is thinking through a philosophy of social change, the Greek experience is significant. It was a battleground between Western and Communist ideology and between conflicting loyalties. Here, through the Truman Doctrine, the United States intervened to influence the outcome, and succeeded. But the military defeat of the Communist-led guerrilla forces

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177 648 was not enough: American dollars and American specialists came into the country — one might almost say they inundated the country — to improve health programs, statistical services, transportation routes, agriculture, homemaking, educational facilities, social welfare, foreign trade, and industry. Some idea of the extent of the financial cost is gained from a simple calculation: if Greece had received one million dollars a year since the time of Alexander the Great, the amount received would not quite equal the approximately two and one-half billion dollars received since World War II. Greece is often cited as the prize exhibit of the United States in the cold-war struggle. While such a presentation often overlooks the great contribution that the Greek people themselves made to their own recovery, as well as the help received from Britain and numerous international agencies and organizations, Americans were indubitably the chief agents of change in the sense of providing specialized knowledge about many facets of life. From Greece, many of these same specialists went on to Taiwan, Viet Nam, and other underdeveloped, or formerly colonial, areas where American technical assistance was in demand.

000 This is not surprising, nor was it entirely a matter of choice. The United States and other Western societies are forced into being agents of change by at least two major features of our way of life: one is our dynamic Western economy, which can no more operate effectively within a political boundary than spilled water can be contained by lines drawn on a table; the other feature is the explosive quality of the political and social ideas which we have inherited from our founding fathers and which we have implemented sufficiently to show the great promise which their further realization would bring. Around the world, words such as democracy, equality, freedom, brotherhood, progress are magic symbols to peoples awaking from centuries of life in a traditional mold and now part of the great "revolution of rising expectations." Our businessmen, financiers, and industrialists are developing world-wide economic perspectives, not because they necessarily want to but because they have to. They also know that in their foreign operations whatever location they choose, what they manufacture or extract from the earth, how they organize the activity, training, and benefits they give their workers, how much they contribute in taxes to local governments — all of these considerations and many more make them agents of change and, in that sense, constitute interference.

As for the revolutionary ideas now spreading to many shores, we can identify many of them as American or Western and should be deeply concerned with the interpretations that they receive. These interpretations go back to a foreign society's immediate experience with our armed forces abroad, the older teachings and examples of Western missionaries, the educational and cultural exchanges which expose future leaders of other countries, often while immature, to the good and bad points of our way of life.

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Abroad, our movies, international radio transmissions, and printed material also contribute to the interpretation given to democracy, our economic system, and our social institutions. These facts alone indicate the deep involvement of the United States in the problem of change; but the urgency for a careful reconsideration and a more effective discharge of this involvement is driven home hard by the alternatives for change which the Soviet bloc offers to the new countries grappling with the problems of becoming part of the modern world.

In the face of this challenge, we of the Western world are coming more and more to recognize that the task of our generation is to serve as agents of international social change. Even though as individuals we stay at home, we still play some part in initiating change in many parts of the world through our government and the many private organizations which we support. For Americans this is inevitable, whether or not we like it. It is hard to see that we are all responsible for great changes in Asia or Africa; yet this is grim reality. In a sense, this is what people from many countries mean when they say that the United States must assume more actively its role of world leadership, for they are suggesting that this nation fit itself and assert itself more fully to guide and, at times, even set in motion social, economic, and political change among many peoples. Those urging this position, if one listens carefully, usually qualify their comments by pointing out that there are "right and wrong" ways of exercising this leadership, mistakes to be avoided, and a strong possibility that such a channeling of energies will not necessarily help the United States win a popularity contest, though it may greatly increase respect for this country.

Such a call to leadership is sufficient to make many Americans recoil in horror at the thought of playing the role of some global master-minder, Santa Claus, or do-gooder. And as they pull back, they drop the rational approach with which they face certain aspects of their lives and fall into a much more comfortable emotionalism absolving them from some of the disagreeable consequences of facing facts in today's world. They, as well as the rest of us, need to think through some philosophy of change compatible with democratic ideals and more in keeping with a world moving fast toward the twenty-first century. One of the first requirements is to accept change, rapid and dislocating as it often is, as one of the paramount traits of our times.

The Greek village, chiefly on the receiving end of change, can provide us some clues as to what happens when comparatively isolated villages begin to swing in the orbit of a town or city, or when archaic agricultural practices give way to modern farming. Statistics can tell about the increases in production, but one will have to rely on general observations to discern what such changes bring to social life. We are responsible as American citizens for helping bring about this social redesign in Greek life. What have

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177 369 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so urbanized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

From Peasant to Farmer

184 241 [178] In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 241 511 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

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commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

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184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern
454 farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
241 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
594 but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away
184 from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
184 to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

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or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [65] [29]

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178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
369 better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
665 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
829 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some countries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
178 peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
82 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
184 growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
156 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

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 178 184 [156]

when public opinion has been structured to favor a course of action, it is hard for recalcitrant individuals to hold out for long.

A third attitudinal shift might be characterized as that from the sacred to the secular. In social science, these terms have their specialized meanings. A sacred society, such as an extreme peasant type is supposed to be, relies almost entirely on custom and tradition as the guide to what is right and wrong, proper and improper. The elders are respected, for they are the repositories of wisdom from the past and can interpret to others what should be done, whether in the family circle or in communal affairs. The modern farmer, on the other hand, lives in a secular society in the sense that the rational, scientific test is applied to his economic choices. He does not ask at what stage of the moon's cycle he is supposed to put seed potatoes in the ground, but uses other criteria for determining this. Furthermore, if a young man knows more than an older man about a matter of concern to him, the older man will listen just as eagerly to the young man.

Finally, the peasant's feeling of security, based almost entirely on kinship and the mutual aid of neighbors, gives way to the farmer's reliance on his own efforts plus an organized system of crop and fire insurance, governmental pension plans, and membership in associations and cooperatives of various types which help him weather whatever economic storms he encounters. This leads to much greater social interdependence, which carries with it possibilities both for good and for difficulty. Once there is any breakdown in the social network, the price mechanism, or the system of delivery of which the farmer is a part, he is at the mercy of forces which he as an individual cannot control. At the same time, when these forces do work well, he is assured of a level of living far beyond the peasant's fondest dreams and a sense of participation in an ever-expanding social universe.

Anyone who has read through the book thus far is familiar with the wide range which different regions of Greece represent on this peasant-farmer continuum. Even more important, the following of any single Greek villager through his daily rounds would indicate that no villager holds to these peasant traits in their entirety, nor have any of them moved to commercial farming to the extent represented by much of American agriculture. One thing is certain: those that have been primarily of the peasant mold are moving from many of these traits into those more closely approximating the modern farmer. This movement goes on at an uneven rate and points up much inconsistency in village behavior. But social change inevitably works itself out at this uneven tempo, and planning from on high in Athens seems to do little to smooth out the jagged course of modernization. Recent trips to Greece reinforce my earlier impressions that farming in the Greek countryside is becoming much more scientific because of the very successful programs of planned change previously described, as well as because of the dynamic quality of the Greek villager himself. The Greek

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178 184 peasant is rapidly becoming a farmer. But what about those who leave the village, displaced by the machine or attracted by opportunities elsewhere? What transformation do they have to go through if they are to adjust to urban and industrial life?

From Villager to Urbanite

369 Although this study of Greek life has concentrated upon the village, some observations about villagers transplanted to the city have relevance to foreign aid as a force for change. If farm workers are displaced by the machine, they tend to gravitate toward population centers where they hope to find work as general laborers or to follow some small skill they may have acquired. The coming of factories usually means some migration of labor, much of it frequently stemming from the rural areas. In fact, in the Western sense, to industrialize means to de-ruralize.

Any foreign-aid program, therefore, which creates new urban centers or leads to the movement of rural people to older centers in search of jobs is introducing not only a type but a tempo of change that must be taken into account in the allocation of economic resources. Some funds will undoubtedly have to be used to ease the transition for those making the move if they are not to become a discontented proletariat. This becomes more evident when we see what happens when a villager becomes an urbanite.

One of the first effects is for the villager to find himself immersed in a much more heterogeneous society. Occupations are more numerous, specialization is greater, and social extremes — the rich and the very poor — are more pronounced than anything he had experienced in the village. There is an intoxicating excitement in the possibilities that seemingly lie before him, although he realizes early in his stay that lack of training and insufficient income limit the realization of many of the more desirable alternatives. He comes face to face with people deriving from different cultural backgrounds, encounters different religious and ethnic groupings, and can participate in recreational pursuits not known in his native village. This richness, this complexity of urban life often calls for living techniques not acquired in the village. As a substitute, therefore, those recently arrived from rural areas may live with others of their kind in a semifolk environment in parts of cities where they are to some degree insulated from the total impact that the city might make upon them.

A second effect of migration to the city is that life becomes job-focused. One's fortune rests not only on the kind of job one has but frequently upon the mere fact of having a job or not. As a peasant back on the farm he had many tasks to perform, but these varied with the season and could often be done at a time of his choosing, within limits. But as an employee, whether a general laborer on a construction project or a worker in a factory, he moves into a different way of life. He must subscribe to a new type

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of authority — the boss. With some of the younger migrants, the boss may become a father-surrogate; for others, he may represent a challenge to their independence. 369

Furthermore, a job-focused life means a regimented routine, particularly if fellow workers in an assembly line are dependent upon one's own performance. In such cases, others make decisions which one has to carry out. Along with this, a time consciousness, not necessarily present in the village, has to develop, particularly if factory managers are Western-trained. To live by the clock instead of by the sun calls for a major psychological orientation for many villagers.

Also inherent in this arrangement is the fact that the individual and not the family becomes the economic unit. To be sure, different family members may bring their earnings to a common family purse, but they each must go out to tasks over which the family as a group has no control. And as the individual becomes economically more prominent in his environment, he finds his security increasingly in the skills which he possesses. Industrialization and urbanization, therefore, work out part of their changes simply because jobs loom large and life becomes focused on them.

The villager while changing into an urbanite may need welfare and housing programs, largely governmental in origin. He may try to maintain connections with others in the city who have come from his same area; he may have relatives nearby upon whom he can depend in times of emergency; he may never completely cut off his ties with his home village; but he quite often stands in need of unemployment compensation, his wife may need maternity care in a government-run maternity home, and his children may need shots to protect them from diseases. A foreign-aid program which finances factories but gives little consideration to the welfare needs of the people moving into these factories is overlooking an important social dimension. The developing countries also need help in learning effective welfare and health practices as well as in mastering machine technology at the management level.

For the transplanted villager mass organizations may possess some attraction. He may be persuaded to join a labor union without fully realizing what membership involves; he may be talked into participating in a political-action group with no knowledge of the ideology behind the action; or he may content himself simply with belonging to some regional association made up of people from his own native area. One can safely predict that most villagers will not actively seek out the mass organizations but that many of them will get caught up in them with no clear picture of their nature. Should they find the leaders of these groups voicing their own aspirations or resentments, then the new urbanites gain a sense of belonging in an otherwise alien world. Although not touched upon in preceding pages, the work of the labor specialists in the American Mission to Greece de- [177] [467]

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369 [177] [467] serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

From Subject to Citizen

641 [648] Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

[177] One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

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bound by any loyalty greater than that to their family and their village. 641
Whether through a highly virulent nationalism or a growing sense of participation in a multinational state, the individual — to change from a subject to a citizen — must expand his circle of loyalties to encompass the larger political unit of which he supposedly is a first-class citizen.

A second condition, tied in with the first, is the growing sense on the part of the villager that the central government is concerned with his welfare. Without this, the necessary loyalty will not develop. Villagers need both physical manifestations of governmental activity in their behalf (new schools, roads, bridges) and expanding economic opportunities. To some extent, foreign-aid programs can help in this area, particularly in seeing that the benefits are not all concentrated in the cities and mushrooming towns but that even remote sections gain some sense of benefit.

A third corollary is the necessity for widespread education. In the developing countries, the young people with the most education are often viewed as the troublemakers, so much so that some observers may even question the assumption that stable democratic government depends on a highly literate and educated electorate and point out that some of the most educated people, such as the Germans, have moved on occasion whole heartedly into totalitarianism. They argue that a little education is a dangerous thing politically. But it seems clear that the alternative of holding back educational programs is fraught with even more political danger if truly democratic regimes are to become established. Since every regime has to think about ways and means of staying in power, it is all too tempting to promote only that kind of education which most benefits the regime and to forget future needs. Studies of the experiences of many new nations would probably show that education and economic opportunity need to go hand in hand if serious dislocations are to be avoided. Increased income among the uneducated is socially unproductive, and an educated segment with no suitable employment possibilities leads to political discontent. It is also true that a people lacking the basic reading and mathematical skills cannot achieve modern economic development. Thus, if a subject is to become a citizen, he needs to receive an education that fits him not only to perform as an economic producer but also to play his part in the political process.

Since democratic governments depend upon active political organizations — such as parties — the villager must learn how to participate in [665]
formal organizations. As pointed out in Chapter 10, the Greek villager does not think in terms of formal organizations to the same extent as the Western European or American. He uses the direct personal approach rather than relying upon organized joint action to gain his goals. In this sense, the rural Greek is much like villagers throughout the world. To take part in a democratic government, therefore, he must gain experience in

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641 organizational behavior which will keep him from being merely manipulated and through which he can make many of his own wishes known. From a sociological standpoint, this lack of organizational skill is a crucial variable in the failure of democratic forms to emerge and maintain themselves. The subject who becomes a citizen can learn how to deal with political parties as he gains experience in other large-scale organizations, such as the cooperative movement, labor unions, and in some cases religious groups. One might draw the analogy that a true citizen of a political unit is much the same as the active member of a large organization. Neither is indifferent or uninformed, and each knows the organizational mechanics open to him to checkrein activities of which he does not approve.

A further condition required for the shift from a subject to a citizen is [177] a growing tradition of efficient public administration. Many of our foreign-aid programs have dealt with the need for training local people in systems of taxation, public financing, more streamlined bureaucratic procedures. Connected with these changes in practices, there must be an accompanying shift in attitudes on the part of the officials toward the people they are paid to serve. If the representatives of the central government continue to treat villagers like subjects, the villagers will continue to act like subjects; if they are treated as citizens, with dignity and fairness, then the villagers can much more easily make the shift to true citizenship. Local officialdom is apt to present one of the greatest difficulties, and any foreign-aid program which fails to change traditional official attitudes is probably making only a small contribution toward political stability.

To draw up a complete list of the attributes of an ideal citizen would move far beyond the possibilities that can currently be realized in most developing countries. Enough of the conditions for the citizenship role have been mentioned to show the connection between foreign-aid programs and this kind of social change. It is only reasonable that one test of any program in which the United States has invested is to ask to what extent this program advances and encourages, and even makes possible, the shift from a subject to a citizen.

Social Dimensions of Aid

177 Anyone familiar with the Greece of the early 1950s (or with the Viet Nam or Laos of the early 1960s) knows what it is like to have hundreds of Americans, civilian technicians and military specialists, busily carrying out their official duties. These hundreds quickly grow into thousands as dependents arrive from the States, and the equivalent of an American suburb springs full blown with all of its attendant recreational facilities, transportation service, food-distribution system, and educational program. Such an occurrence is inevitable when Americans become involved in any program of foreign aid sponsored by our government; nor would we expect

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it to be otherwise. We are committed to giving our technical knowledge, through the use of specialists, even ranking this in importance with providing capital funds; nevertheless, American specialists will not absent themselves for long from their families, for our pioneering heritage depended upon moving in family groups even before the days of the covered wagon; nor will any American specialist want to see what he considers the health or educational progress of his children jeopardized by insufficient provision. Furthermore, under some circumstances, wives and children can prove effective agents of social change along with the specialists.

But perhaps the most significant aspect of the whole problem of aid to Greece, or elsewhere, is not the fact of introducing change but, rather, the way in which it is introduced and carried out. At times, but certainly not always, careful planning can help cushion the shock of certain kinds of change. We know, for instance, that mechanization in agriculture will affect the labor supply and we can even predict what kinds of workers will be displaced. Making provisions for them early in the process can cut down much human wear and tear. Our foreign-aid programs, to the extent that they represent the genius of American traditions, should always keep sight of the human element in change; those administering these programs should continue to remind themselves and the local leaders that these changes are designed to help people and that people do not exist merely to carry out changes. Unless the sense of individual worth is reinforced by the aid programs, they will prove poor seed beds for the democratic types of government which many expect to grow to full bloom in the countries receiving aid. Foreign aid that is impersonal, merely materialistic and gauged in readily obtained statistics, can frequently play into the hands of calculating leaders whose interest lies in self-perpetuation in power rather than in promoting the general welfare of the people subject to them.

Heavy investments in programs of foreign aid call for comprehensive evaluation, such as that represented by the various studies commissioned from time to time by our own Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The study of Greek village life, as well as evidence from many countries elsewhere, indicates that the evaluation of social consequences, especially for rural people, receives scant attention. This is due in part to the preoccupation with the pressing military and political considerations which have a direct, immediate bearing upon national safety; it is also due to the fact that specialists who make the evaluations do so in terms of their own specialties, which seldom include the sociological viewpoint. An even greater difficulty is presented by the methodological problems of evaluating intangibles for which no simple social yardsticks can be devised. This is no place to work through such methodological considerations, but one can assert that the social-science techniques are rapidly developing to the point that an increasing number of "intangibles" are being subjected to a kind of

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measurement which — if not altogether exact — certainly is more useful to those responsible for foreign aid than the guesswork or impressions which often underlie much policy formation. Most of us accept as a goal the idea of "open societies." Do our representatives and specialists abroad know what are the processes and structures, forces and tensions in any society? How can we move toward a world of open societies if we make no effort to understand? It is like saying that we want good health for all people without stopping to ask if the profession of medicine exists to help.

Since any society is complex, it is possible to draw up an almost unlimited number of social dimensions. But for the purposes of examining the ways in which foreign-aid programs may be serving the goals which are prompting these programs, we might look at three such dimensions, remembering that these are illustrative and not necessarily the most important under all conditions.

Changes in the class system. Certainly, if we are to try through foreign aid to assist in the development of newly emerging nations, one of our purposes should be to try to reduce the disparities between the élite and the average people. In essence, this is saying that foreign-aid programs should be concerned with the kind of class system which they are helping to create. If all of the money channeled into a country goes into the hands of the élite and is used by them to entrench themselves, then their political loyalty may be bought for a time, but the social conditions for sound development are not being laid. An effective test of this social dimension is to ask whether or not a middle class is coming into existence and to what kind of an ideology it subscribes. The purpose of furthering the growth of such a middle class is not merely an imitation of our own social system, but because in the world in which we want to live we find that a middle class, firmly rooted, is a safeguard of social stability. Aristotle pointed out that the states consisting of the very rich and the very poor are the most unstable.

Implementing such aims immediately involves one in crucial choices, but they are choices which should be made. In some countries a land-reform program would be indicated if foreign aid is to prove helpful, but this is not an invariable rule. Other factors, such as capacity to service and educate those peasants who get their own land, must be present if this is to be a sound move. A further question revolves around the effect upon the landholding élite. The Communists simply eliminate them as a social class, even though they may spare their lives. But Western nations, which work within a different political and moral framework, must see to what an extent such an élite — or members from it — can provide the transitional leadership in a period of such drastic change. What must be avoided where possible is the creation of a social vacuum as in Cuba, into which can flow revolutionary movements, commanded by a small well-organized cadre,

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resulting in the substitution of one élite for another with little thought of moving the general populace along the road to political freedom and economic stability.

In several countries, such as Japan or India, perhaps, there already exists what seems to be an oversupply of intellectuals, university graduates whose training has not fitted them for the kind of work (technological, financial, developmental) which is most needed in their country. A foreign-aid program should take into account the contributions or handicaps that such an unassimilated social segment can introduce.

When a foreign-policy administrator asks himself, "what impact is my program having upon the class structure of the host country?" he is dealing with an important social dimension. He finds that he also needs to know the extent to which the program contributes to social mobility, an essential ingredient in the kind of economy and society that is compatible with the assumptions on which the Western world is based. Can those of low birth rise through individual merit and initiative to a higher social status? Is the foreign-aid program tending to close the avenues rather than to open them? Part of the answer to this question lies in the type of concentration of economic and political power which the aid program by its very nature is supporting or changing. Certainly, if the whole Marxist ideology is based on a theory of the class struggle, it is mandatory that any program designed to counterbalance such an ideology seriously examine its own impact upon the class system. Otherwise, it might unwittingly be furthering the Marxian hypotheses by bringing into being just those conditions which Marxists predict will occur when those engaged in a free-enterprise approach involve themselves in the development of non-Western countries. One might win the economic battle, as represented by increased income and production statistics, and yet lose the social battle — which really means losing out in the political struggle. This social battle is the one most overlooked in Latin America.

Potentiality for orderly social change. A second dimension also calls for an over-all look at the social system brought into being and particularly at its potentiality for orderly social change. In many parts of the world, the traditional way to effect change of a planned sort is through a *coup d'état*. The net effect of this is often to crush or eliminate much of the progress made up to that point simply because the progress is associated with the ruling group that is thrown out of power. The essence of orderly social change is its cumulative quality, so that the gains of one generation can be passed on to another generation for adaptation to the new conditions which arise.

Any social system at a given time possesses overt or latent conflicts which may be stimulating certain kinds of change while holding back programs of planned change. (The drive for civil rights and racial integra-

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tion in the United States is a good illustration close at home.) These points of conflict for a given society should be well known to those responsible for the general outlines of an aid program. In order to accomplish certain desired results, it may be necessary to exacerbate certain types of conflict since there is no altogether placid way of initiating and carrying through social change; yet some foreknowledge of what the sore points are apt to be helps one deal with them in as constructive a manner as possible. The conflicts alluded to here may be generational (parents and youths), religious (Hindu and Moslem), social class (élite and *fellahin*), political (subversive groups), and economic (agriculturists and industrialists). Many others could be cited, but those considered significant should be viewed in the light of changes to be promoted by the foreign-aid program.

To ask that one gauge the contribution a foreign-aid program is making to the development of potentiality for orderly social change is to require an analysis of the dominant social institutions of a country and to relate various phases of the aid program to the institutions affected by it. If the religious bodies have been the main force in keeping change orderly and cumulative, how does the building up of the nonreligious sectors of the society (economic and political) affect the hold of religion? Is this why the youth of Japan is inclined to extremes? If the grip of religion weakens because of the increasing secularization of life which attends industrialization, are other ways being found for building into the growing institutions the techniques of adapting to changing conditions?

This view suggests that what the foreign-aid program should impart to leaders of a given country is not a rigid blueprint to follow but rather a set of operating principles, consonant with the social realities or possibilities which they face, and of the type that enhance human dignity, respect for law and justice, and an appreciation of the capability for liberating man inherent in mechanization, where the machine is used to serve man.

Changes in social values. A third dimension is attitudinal and deals with the value system of a society. Every society that is reasonably integrated possesses a set of values about which its members have a fair degree of consensus. These serve as social cement, for people understand that they are important and need to be supported. These values vary from country to country. Those of Burma differ in many ways from those of Greece; those of Ghana from those of Argentina. One of the most far-reaching effects of any foreign-aid program is the attitudinal change it brings about toward what have been the traditional values of the society. For a hard-headed administrator to deny this is softheaded thinking; for a person intent on changing the economic system to disclaim any responsibility for changing values is to overlook some of the more obvious cause-and-effect relationships of our time.

Many projects which are integral parts of aid programs inevitably affect

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the changing status of women, as the Greek village will attest. This leads to shifts in family relationships with the attendant modifications of values and behavior. A glance back through American history from the days of the Industrial Revolution on down shows how economic change has wrought changes in social values. Yet many host countries hope to telescope into a relatively few years all of the economic changes which have extended over two centuries in the West. Anyone interested in foreign aid might well ask whether there is the recognition that the people will have to change their value systems just as rapidly if serious social dislocation is to be avoided. This is not to deny that such shifts are possible, but rather to urge that changes in values be taken into account in assessing the impacts of a foreign-aid program. Again, there are social-science techniques which can give an approximate picture of the changes in values which have occurred or which are under way.

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But why are values important? The ultimate aim of conscientious foreign-aid programs should be to help developing countries move toward full participation in a world order based on law. Law, whether international or domestic, is a set of values which have been enunciated and codified. Those values which contribute most to an international order, however, are in "the process of becoming" since most nations, including the Western powers, still think primarily in national rather than international terms. Whether the developing countries will have to pass through a national period before they can behave internationally is still a moot question; but certainly they will move toward contributing to the international sphere if their people have strengthened those inherent values which lead to world order and if foreign-aid programs unwittingly do not obliterate these basic values by stressing shallower ones.

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Epilogue

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What of the Greek villager and his relation to the social changes that foreign aid introduces? There in his village lanes, on his way to the fields, he is the object of foreign aid. It is his way of farming, of caring for children, of thinking about his government, that foreign-aid programs invariably affect. New textile factories produce fabrics which he can buy more cheaply and may even provide employment for his son or daughter; new highways bring a bus to his village for the first time and help him get perishable goods to market; radio programs make his wife urge him to do something about getting running water in the home; and the agricultural-extension agent urges him to stop raising so many sheep and shift to dairy cattle. To the extent that we keep the villager in focus, to that extent we emphasize the human element in foreign aid, not in a maudlin, sentimental fashion, but in the concrete, hardheaded analysis of the relative effects of various alternative programs upon his way of life. The analysis should move, if the Greek villager has anything to teach, from the economic effects to the political and social effects. Do these expensive undertakings really lead toward the kinds of regimes ready to cooperate in a world order based on law? Much of that answer is found not merely in the diagnosis of political institutions themselves, but in the larger question of the degree to which social stability is brought about or undermined. Any widespread technological development, as we have seen in the case of the spread of tractors and combines in Greece, calls for social readjustment. When this occurs, social policies, carefully developed, can prevent large numbers of villagers from being cut adrift from their past or forced from their farms to search unsuccessfully for urban employment, with political alienation the net result. If their children have a chance to get educated and rise in the social scale, if one segment of the society is not seemingly fattening itself with aid funds at the expense of the rest, if locally acceptable services become established in the rural areas to assist villagers in achieving common goals — then the peasants will have hope for the future.

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To most of the Greek villagers, foreign aid was intervention, but welcomed intervention. It changed the face of the countryside and the ways of many villages in a short period of time. It brought social consequences, many unanticipated, with which the villagers are having to learn to live. How they evaluate and what they do about these social effects, whether in the village or at the national political level, is the real final test of the American program of aid to Greece. 177

Each age creates its own mythology and writes its own legends, even rewriting the legend of the Rainbow in the Rock. The version of the first half of the twentieth century would tell of the rise of modern man, fit for the times in which we live. His activity would be centered upon the Rock, for it is tangible, specific, and its secrets point to a mastery of nature. Things and knowledge of things have accumulated in keeping with man's belief that they lead to health, comfort, and happiness. If pure water, abundant crops, attractive schoolbooks, well-paying jobs, and adequate housing came into being, then mankind would come into his rightful heritage. 000

But contemporary man is being rudely awakened to the fact that the Rock is never sufficient without the Rainbow. Things, and programs for things, in themselves are sterile, neutral, cold, and hard. It is as people give them use, clothe them with meaning, and fit them into humane purposes that they contribute to man's happiness.

This story of rural Greece has shown that village people can be as durable as the Rock itself. It has shown, too, that programs of aid must take into account the invisible but omnipresent qualities of the Rainbow as well as the visible realities of the Rock.

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The works below relate to mainland Greece and not to the islands. They deal with some aspect of rural life, though not exclusively. Omitted are many interesting travelers' accounts from the past century, as well as all publications in Greek. Where such sources have been used in a direct way, however, they have been cited in the notes. 1

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Notes

Chapter I. The People of Greece

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1. This version of the legend was told by an old shepherd to a hunting party which had taken refuge in his hut from a storm brewing over Lake Stymphalia in the northern Peloponnesos. Mrs. Bessie Adossides, who served as my interpreter, had been in the party and told the story to me. For a less colorful version, see A. W. Gomme, *Greece* (London, 1945), p. 11. [124]

2. A prominent subgrouping running through these three divisions is that of the Asia Minor and other refugees who were settled in Greece in the 1920s. Also, divisions among the city Greeks appeared following the French Revolution, when commercial opportunities opened up, creating a new merchant bourgeoisie in contrast to the "old patriarchal class whose members were the political administrators of the Sublime Porte and whose strength lay in landed wealth and special prerogatives." See S. G. Chaconas, *Adamantios Koraïs: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York, 1942), p. 38. [563] [441] [565]

3. S. Manolas, in a personal conversation, pointed out three factors accounting for the settlement in cities of Greeks coming to America: as "late" immigrants, there was little land available to them for homesteading; they came over individually — not as families — and could not run a farm; they were not here to work the land, for Greece was still their home. They wanted to make money and go back, staying on here to take care of "one more dowry, one more acre to buy." For many, time ran out and they did not go back. To these one might also add the Greek's unfamiliarity with the mechanized agriculture found in the United States and the greater ease with which he found employment in the cities.

4. This point of view is borne out in an article by Anton-Hermann Chroust, "Treason and Patriotism in Ancient Greece," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April 1954: "The democrats, like the oligarchs, bore their native city a quite strange kind of love: the desire to dominate it completely and, if necessary, to exterminate their political antagonists. . . . It would be difficult, indeed, to find a prominent Athenian politician, irrespective of his political persuasion, whose public actions were not motivated by partisanship or loyalty to some faction or club within the city rather than by true patriotism," p. 287.

5. The books dealing with the history of Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania usually discuss the role of the Greek clergy in the spread of Greek culture. As one example, see N. Forbes and others, *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford, 1915).

6. A good characterization of the city Greek by Dorothy Lee appears in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 79: "The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. [114]

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000 They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture."

W. Miller, in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), gives a penetrating description of Greek urban life fifty years ago.

7. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited* (Athens, 1954), p. 35.

8. Bruce Lansdale, director of the American Farm School of Salonica, maintains in a letter that the qualities I have set forth for the city Greek hold for the villages as well: "Almost any villager can give you some very sound ideas on how the Greek government should be run as well as how the American, the Russian, the British, and any government in the world should be run. I remember hearing from villagers at the time of the Dewey-Truman election campaign that they were quite sure that Truman would win the election, which in fact he did. I would furthermore say that the intellectual curiosity of the villager is every bit as great if not greater than that of the urban Greek. This is in part because he does not have the pseudo-sophistication of the urban Greek."

9. For an anecdote illustrating the Athenian attitude toward the peasant, see H. D. F. Kitto, *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), pp. 138–139.

[511] 10. One Greek friend, well known for his frankness and objectivity, reacted to my characterization of the city Greeks as follows: "I, as a Greek knowing my Greeks, would add that he is a spendthrift, since a great percentage of the Athens families are living beyond their income; he is an individualist; he is suffering, and has since his appearance, from megalomania which pushes him into starting to build marvelous things without funds."

11. For further information about the islanders, see Andreas Adossides, "Fishermen of the Aegean," *Geographical Magazine* (London), XIV (1941), 86–91. One of the most complete studies in English of the folklore of any Greek island is that by Philip P. Argenti, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949). See also J. Theodore Bent, "On Insular Greek Customs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XV (1885–1886); and Nikolas G. Chaliotes, *Hydreika Leographika* (Concerning the Folklore of the Island of Hydra (Hydra, 1931), chiefly a collection of customs surrounding the engagement, wedding, pregnancy and childbirth, death, the church, holidays, the sea, and the building of a house. Peter Gray's *The People of Poros* (New York, 1942) is a highly entertaining account of a sojourn just prior to World War II on this attractive island southeast of the Peloponnesos. See also Osbert Lancaster, "The Island Greeks," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXII (1948), 59–64; and H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean* (London, 1890).

12. Of course, many areas and even villages on the mainland have special characteristics for which they are noted and which have developed through long years of relative isolation. The Maniates from Mani in the southern Peloponnesos afford one such example. See P. L. Fermor, *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (New York, 1958).

[127] 13. By far the most helpful book on Greek peasant life was written by Rennell Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892). It has proven a bench-mark against which to gauge my own impressions sixty years later.

Jacques Ancel is one of the few historians writing about the Balkans who takes the peasant into account. See his *Peuples et nations des Balkans* (Paris, 1926), pp. 107–114. Considerable insight into the nonmaterial culture of the mountain people of Thessaly is gained from A. Hadjigakis, *T 'Aspropotamo Pindou* (The Village of Aspropotamo in the Pindus Mountains), 3 vols. (Trikkala, 1946–1950). See also V. Valaoras, "To Helleniko Chorio" (The Greek Village), *Ellin-Ellinitha* [*sic*] (Hellenic-American Monthly Review), VII (1956).

[114] 14. No purpose would be served in a book of this sort in trying to trace the controversy and weigh the arguments for and against the Greek claims of direct descent from the ancient Hellenes. On the one hand, we have the extreme (and today unaccepted) view of Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer that Slavic invaders from the north

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completely replaced any Hellenic stock. His *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea Während des Mittelalters* (History of the Peninsula of Morea in the Middle Ages) (1830) is one of his important works. This has been refuted by Karl Hopf, who claimed that Fallmerayer used documentary evidence which was proven false. 000 [114]

Other works dealing with this question are those by George Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, 7 vols. (London, 1877); Rodd, *Customs and Lore;* and J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910).

A detailed analysis of the problems would involve two separate investigations: (1) that from the standpoint of physical anthropology to determine the biological resemblances of the modern Greeks to those living in classic times; and (2) the survival of the cultural traditions, including the Greek language, from the days of early Grecian greatness to the present. After these investigations have been made there remains the even more difficult — and perhaps impossible — task of relating point one — the biological — to point two — the cultural. But the reader is entitled to the interpretation given by educated Greeks to the presence in Greece of different-language-speaking groups. According to Ph. Annino Cavalierato, former Counsellor of the Royal Greek Embassy in Washington and now in the Foreign Office in Athens: 829 197

"The Albanian and the Vlach dialects, spoken in some areas, denote a foreign influence on a segment of the Greek people rather than the existence of a racial minority. The same could be said about the Heptanesian dialect, a blend of Greek and Venetian Italian. These dialects, Albanian, Vlach, Heptanesian, tend to disappear, and this is another proof of their superficial character: had they been truly the national feature of a minority, they would be perpetuated by education and culture. Being, instead, a passing historical accident, people care little about them and allow them slowly to disappear.

"As for the 'Macedonian' dialect, it should be noted that a 'Macedonian' dialect and a 'Macedonian' nation are both a fairly recent political invention. According to most linguists, 'Macedonian' is just a Bulgarian patois. During the days of the Ottoman Empire, the province of Macedonia was inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, the three latter ethnic elements being denser in areas closer to the respective countries. At the outcome of the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and of World War I (1914–18), this province was distributed among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A wide exchange of populations followed, as a result of which each individual was free to resettle in the country he considered his own. It is reasonable to assume, then, that those who remained in each country consider themselves as nationals of that particular country. There is only one explanation for the fact that Bulgarian is still spoken by some Greeks of Western Macedonia, while Greek, that was widely spoken in Southern Bulgaria, for example, has completely disappeared from that area. The reader will easily find explanation for this. [167]

"Turkish is the only foreign language spoken in Greece by a minority in the true sense of the word. This Muslim minority, living mainly in Western Thrace, was not exchanged in 1923, as were other Turks living in Greece, because the Greek minority of Constantinople was also allowed to remain in their homes." [167]

Chapter II. Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

1. The artist is Mrs. Maria Alexandrakes, who has also been connected with the Local Government Division of the American Mission. She helped us gain many revealing insights into Greek Life. 000 [115]

2. For two Greek sources on the habitat, see George Megas, *Geographia tes Ellados* (Geography of Greece) (Athens, 1958); and George Kolias, *Historike Geographia tou Hellenikou Chorou* (Historical Geography of the Greek People) (Athens, 1948). For especially useful sources in English, see *A Handbook of Greece* (London,

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000 the British Admiralty, 1930); and M. L. Newbigin, *Southern Europe: A Regional and Economic Geography of the Mediterranean Lands* (3rd ed., London, 1949).

3. One still finds many similarities between the peasants of Hesiod's time (see his "Works and Days") and those of today.

4. Many allusions to nature are found in the passionate novel about the Communist guerrilla war by Panos D. Bardis, *Ivan and Artemis* (New York, 1957).

5. "The Holy Virgin's Hand" is mentioned on p. 123 of G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903). This book gives a number of examples of the peasants' use of and adaptation to nature.

6. For a delightful essay on the flowers of Greece, see "Flowers of Ancient Greece," *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 23, 1954.

7. For an earlier account of peasant cosmological beliefs, see the article by N. G. Politis in *Attikon Emerologion* (1882); also G. Kapsalis, "Meteorologikes paroimiakes Phraseis" (Meteorological Proverbial Phrases), *Laographia*, XIII (1950).

8. One of the most authentic documents on Greek village life came into my hands through a mutual acquaintance of T. K. Papaspyropoulos, the author. This account is in Greek typescript, from which the passages used in my book have been translated with the permission of the author. Mr. Papaspyropoulos teaches singing in one of Athens' secondary schools and has specialized in folk music. I accompanied him on a visit to his village, where I had a chance to observe at first hand many of the sights he so colorfully describes.

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9. A very common phrase among the peasants is *Ean thell o Theos* (If God is willing), to which one replies *Vevea, prota o Theos* (Yes, of course, first God).

10. Interesting observations on the use in Homer of the ancient Greek terms *até* (divine temptation or infatuation, cause of irrational actions) and *moira* (portion or lot) are found in E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951).

11. The facts and figures used in this section are taken in large part from *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, 1947), and *Story of the American Marshall Plan in Greece, July 1, 1948 to Jan. 1, 1952*, Press Release No. 1300, MSA (Athens, July 20, 1952).

12. For the problem of soil erosion, see Constantine I. Nevros, "Soil Erosion in Greece," *Soil Conservation, VI* (1940), and F. G. Renner, "Erosion, Trojan Horse of Greece," *National Geographic*, December 1947. For forestry, see W. Miller, *Greek Town and Country Life* (London, 1905), pp. 229–232.

13. E. G. Mariolopoulos and A. N. Livathinos, in *Atlas climatique de la Grèce* (Athens, 1935), give a good description of the Greek climate.

14. For two views on the sun (Helios) and St. Elias, see the articles by N. G. Politis in *Laographika Symmikta B'* (1921), and E. Rein, "Zu der Verehrung des Propheten Elias bei den Neugriechen," *Ofversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, XLVII (1904–1905).

15. Percy F. Martin, *Greece of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1913), pp. 267–68, discusses the company-tenant relations worked out at Lake Kopais as of 1913.

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16. One friend wrote in 1959: "Fresh fish has always been expensive. Earlier this winter there was a sudden 50 percent price rise. We ourselves cannot afford fresh fish and buy frozen fish brought in by Greek boats from the Atlantic, which is now available in many parts of Greece. It is a scandal that abundant fresh fish at reasonable prices is not available to the Greeks."

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17. This gorgon is really a sea nymph or mermaid (*gorgona* in modern Greek) and not one of the classical gorgons of terrifying aspect (Medusa and her sisters).

18. Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, trans. from the Greek by E. D. Scott-Kilvert (London, 1949), p. 94.

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Chapter III. The Village Setting

1. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900), p. 333.

2. In a village of Central Greece (Schematari), for instance, where the people number about 1800, I found in 1953 four small grocery stores, four coffeehouses (any one of which might also serve as a tavern), one bakery, one post office, one elementary school and one secondary school, one church, one motor-driven mill for grinding corn and wheat. There is one telephone, no electricity, four or five battery radios.

3. Numerous references are made throughout this book to information taken from thirteen Greek village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The studies were made in 1951 and 1952 and issued in Athens in mimeographed form, first in Greek and later in English. The first seven were directed by William J. Tudor and the last six by E. J. Kilpatrick. A general summary of content and complete bibliographical data may be found in my article, "Village Social Organization in Greece," *Rural Sociology*, December 1953, pp. 366–375. In most cases this series will be referred to here collectively as "village studies," but the individual titles are as follows: "A Village in Central Greece" (19 pp.), "A Village in the Arta Plains" (8 pp.), "A Macedonian Village" (14 pp.), "A Village in the Agrinion Area" (16 pp.), "A 'Control' Village of the Mesolongi Area" (12 pp.), "A 'Control' Village in Macedonia" (14 pp.), "A Village in the Serres Plain" (9 pp.), "A Mountain Village, Grammos Area" (16 pp.), "A Mesolongi Village (Irrigated)" (19 pp.), "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos" (17 pp.), "A Mountain Village, Lamia Area" (13 pp.), "A Livestock One-Half-Irrigated Village" (15 pp.), and "A Village in the Plain of Veria" (14 pp.).

4. T. K. Papaspyropoulos, "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished ms., no date.

5. UNNRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp. 9–10.

6. Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, 1929).

7. H. D. F. Kitto before World War II commented on the peasant's strong desire for good roads: "The village of Proussos is large, but not prosperous, in spite of the fertility of the soil. The only shop contains next to nothing; even the lemons were scraggy. Time after time we were told: 'If only we had a road! Then we could send our stuff away.' Eight hours by mule — transport is slow and expensive, and for the fruit which Proussos produces in profusion, nearly useless." From *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), p. 43.

In 1952 Pierce College students working in their adopted village in Northern Greece invited the Presidents of ten nearby village councils to come to a meeting in the adopted village. They arrived with difficulty, and most complained because their villages were off the road where people didn't see them.

8. *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, revised by Public Health Division, Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece (Athens, June 1952), mimeographed, pp. 12–13.

9. A report prepared by an American engineering firm for the Greek government on a proposed hydroelectric project points out: "The rural villages obtain their water from artesian wells, drilled or driven tube wells, springs and streams. In most of the villages the water supply is both inadequate and subject to contamination. As none of the villages have standard pressure distribution systems, much time and labor is expended in carrying water from wells and springs. Most of the rural homes are small and poorly lighted, and sanitary facilities are primitive."

10. *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, p. 25.

11. Useful works on the Greek house are: K. Doxiades and others, *Dodekanesos: to oikistiko kai plastiko provlema* (The Dodecanese: The Problem of Housing from the Point of Design) (Athens, 1950); D. Loukopoulos, *Aitolikai oikesseis, skeve kai trophai* (Aetolian Housing, Tools, and Food) (Athens, 1926); D. E. Kalitsounakes,

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"Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412–413; and Angelike Chatzemichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826–827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

Chapter IV. Land as a Birthright

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece*, Oct.–Nov. 1947 (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166–167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

[186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

[245] [185] [583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugee from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

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owners, even having the power to keep the peasants off the land they formerly owned. In Epirus, land redistribution in the 1920s involved finding out who the former Greek owners had been or still were, once the land had been appropriated from the Turks with an indemnity payment. In Thessaly, however, there were no former Greek peasant owners to locate, so the large Turkish-owned estates were merely redistributed to peasants who had worked them as hired workers or tenants.

7. The quotation about the sixth century B.C. comes from *The Cambridge Ancient History*, V, 12.

8. Most of the information on which the description of land tenure in Attica is based comes from P. J. Iliopoulos, *L'Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951).

9. For a discussion of agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages, see the chapter by that title in *The Cambridge Economic History*, I.

10. See K. D. Karavidas, *Agrotika* (Athens, 1931), whose sections on the *tsiflikia* and *kephalochoria* proved particularly helpful in an effort to gain a proper background. In a private conversation, Mr. Karavidas pointed out that some acute problems arose when the tsiflikia were broken up and distributed to the former tenants. Under the landlord, the workers were forced to keep irrigation ditches clear, but when redistribution occurred in 1923 nobody worried about the maintenance of such ditches. Trees fell into them and they became stopped up.

11. *L'Attique*, p. 115.

12. One of the best short descriptions of land ownership in Greece is an article by that title in *Foreign Agriculture*, August 1950. The article is adapted from the book by A. Varvaressos, *The Fulfilment of the Agrarian Reform* (Athens, 1949). Another useful account of land reform in Greece is found in W. E. Moore, *Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe*, appendix 3. D. K. Wogasli wrote extensively on questions of land reform, publishing in 1919 a work entitled *La Solution de la question agraire en Grèce* (Athens, 1919). He also wrote a work in Greek on the agrarian question in Thessaly and especially in the prefecture of Trikkala.

It is interesting to contrast Thessaly of today with that described by Leon Heuzey, *Excursion dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858*. Of the village of Vloko, he writes: "Là, je me renseigne comme à l'ordinaire, sur la condition des paysans. Le propriétaire, Hassan-bey, les déplace à sa volonté, bien que lui-même, à l'heure actuelle, tienne un homme en prison pour avoir cherché à quitter son tchiflik. Malgré les nouvelles lois, le régime de la glèbe existe encore, mais ce n'est pas toujours dans les conditions d'équité qui pourraient le rendre tolerable pour le cultivateur" (p. 76).

13. A common practice on the part of a landlord was to transfer title to various parts of the estate to close relatives, who permitted him to continue to operate the farm as one unit.

14. The Agricultural Section of the United States Mission to Greece and officials of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture have given much study to the problem of consolidation of scattered strips. The great amount of time required for surveying even one village for this purpose is hard to believe. At least twenty villages have been surveyed by Dr. Kypriades and attractive picture displays prepared to show what can be done when consolidation is carried out.

15. For more on the domka system, see O. S. Morgan, ed., *Agricultural Systems of Middle Europe* (New York, 1933), chapter by Georges Servakis and C. Pertountzi entitled "The Agricultural Policy of Greece." On the problem of scattered strips, see the *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1947), in which Recommendation 71 deals with consolidation and land redistribution.

16. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 9.

17. Frederick Strong, *Greece as a Kingdom* (London, 1842), pp. 163–164. But in 1914 Lucy M. J. Garnett, in *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), wrote as follows: "It is . . . foreign emigration that is robbing Hellas of her hardy peasantry, and this constitutes one of the most serious problems with which the Hellenic Gov-

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[167] [464] ernment is at the present confronted. For Greece *has no surplus population*, and, if the country is to prosper, the services of every able-bodied man and boy are needed for the proper development of its natural resources. Weekly emigrant steamers carry large numbers to Western lands and bring but few back . . . with the consequence that many agricultural districts are left without labourers to till the soil" (p. 133).

For more on this emigration, see Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America: The Story of the Re-Patriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956); and Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, 1911).

18. The figures used in this presentation of land use are taken from *Greece Today* (August 1954); from Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954); and from data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. In these three sources the years differ, as do some of the categories of land use, but the details prove interesting.

19. The study on idle lands made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece appeared in mimeographed form in 1952 and was based on detailed reports turned in by the field representatives of the Civil Government Division of the Mission. The report was issued by William M. Tait, who was then deputy director for field service. Other informants point out that in Epirus, and probably elsewhere, thousands of acres are owned by Greek-Americans in the United States, and Greek villagers do not feel free to make use of such idle lands.

20. For a discussion of these exports, see E. J. Bell, "Greece, Exporter of Farm Products," *Foreign Agriculture*, March 1958, pp. 5–6.

[428] 21. The use of lots in dividing up a patrimony among brothers in a Boeotian village is described in an article by Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXVII (1956).

Chapter V. The Peasant at Work

[127] 1. The unpublished manuscript from which this comes is "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria).

2. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 8.

3. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited*, p. 14.

[874] [407] [492] 4. Dr. Charles House, former director of the American Farm School in Salonica, played a great part in preparing the way for mechanization in Northern Greece, since the students at this school were taught how to operate and repair tractors long before they began to appear in so many villages. He said that one argument for the use of the tractor in preference to the draft animal was the fact that the animals ate up too much of the farm produce.

5. For the full World War II picture, see C. S. Stephanides, "Agricultural Machinery in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (November 1948), 250–253.

6. Supplementary labor is an important element in the economy of many families and even whole villages. In the Peloponnesos people from the mountain villages can harvest olives and help with the pressing of the oil, receiving pay in kind. When they help with the vineyards they are paid in money, as they are in Macedonia when they help plant tobacco. Near Ioannina there are villages specializing in certain crafts from which many men go during the winter to ply their trades.

[465] [438]

[127] 7. "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," (1952, mimeographed), prepared by A. Argyropoulos. One of the village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The following comment about this village (Dafnon) by John D. Photiadis is helpful: "I have served as a county agent in that area and I think that Dafnon is not a representative village. It is considered the poorest village in the area and the most stricken by the reduction of prices of Turkish tobacco. This is because

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tobacco is the only product they can raise due to the lack of additional land. I think this is the reason why the Mission sent somebody to do a study of the village in 1952" (personal communication). [127]

Chapter VI. The Changing Life of the Shepherd

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1. It is of interest to note the breakdown by products on a percentage basis for the total income from sheep. Figures for Greece are taken from C. S. Stephanides, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (July 1948), 153–155, as is the quotation about the characteristics of the Greek sheep used in the text of this chapter. Kentucky figures are from C. D. Phillips and J. L. Pearson of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture. [234] [433] [236] [281]

	Greece	*Kentucky*
Milk and milk products	45.10	
Mutton	14.26	
Lamb	24.77	84.00
Wool	8.68	16.00
Hides	7.19	
	100.00%	100.00%

2. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the human factors in the small livestock industry, the table below will give some basic information for those interested in livestock numbers and products. These data are based on official Greek Ministry of Agriculture figures.

Total Number of Sheep and Goats, Greece (In Thousands)

Period	Sheep	Goats
1935–38 (average)	8,304	5,111
1938	8,139	4,356
1945	6,262	3,066
1946	7,228	3,462
1949	6,785	3,629
1954	8,738	4,643
1957 (estimate)	9,300	4,900

3. See P. J. Iliopoulos, *L' Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951). Three other studies that deal with sheep production are: P. H. Kontos, *Dase kai ktenotrophia eis ten Hellada apo oikonomikes kai politikes apopseus* (Forestry and Livestock Production in Greece from the Economic and Political Aspect) (Thessalonike, 1932); G. D. Kyriakos, *E Ktenotrophia mas* (Our Livestock Industry) (Athens, 1941); V. Handziolos, *To Provlema tes ktenotrophias en Helladi* (The Problem of the Livestock Industry in Greece) (Athens, 1941).

4. The description of the three systems of grazing practices (Vlachs, village ranchers, and village farmers) is taken from the American Embassy, Athens, Report No. 1056 (February 29, 1952), p. 13.

5. The study of transhumance as a habitat adjustment is almost a field in itself and will not be tackled here. Suffice it to say that I recognize the difference geographers make between transhumance and nomadism. Nevertheless, in the next section on the "nomads" of Epirus, I have followed conventional practice in thus alluding to these people, although most of them may actually be practicing transhumance rather than nomadism. V [101] [221]

6. An interesting source in this connection is Jovan Cvijic's *La Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918). This was published in French before it G [114]

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appeared in Serbo-Croatian, the author's mother tongue. In 1922 the first volume entitled *Balkansko Poluostrvo i Južnoslovenske Zemlje: Osnove Antropogeografije* (418 pp.) appeared in Belgrade. Volume two (254 pp.) appeared in 1931 with the subtitle *Psihičke Osobine Južnih Slovena* (Psychic Characteristics of the South Slavs). The connection between Cvijic's work and the present study is the interesting map facing p. 282 of volume one, which shows the migration patterns of the various shepherd groups throughout the Balkans. Any thorough study of shifting migration habits would have to take Cvijic's work as a starting point at least, although this would not imply accepting all of his generalizations about the effect of the physical environment upon social life.

7. Although no attempt has been made to cover the literature dealing with sheep production in the Peloponnesos, I have noted in passing that Z. Duckett Ferriman, in *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), tells of the pastoral pursuits of those living near the site of ancient Sparta early in this century: "Pastoral occupations become a necessity where tillage is impossible, and in every land the wildest districts are the domain of the shepherd, who is the most uncultured element of the population, and also the hardiest. The youths of Sparta were not kept in the valley, but sent up into Taygetus to acquire the training which they turned to account against the Messenians of the plain. . . . And so, today, the Arcadian mountaineers are noted for their strength and hardihood, and are perforce shepherds. Every cottage has its flock, tended during the day by children, elusive, faun-like beings, who manifest neither pleasure nor discontent nor surprise at the presence of the stranger, so unlike in this to the inquisitive, obtrusive Greek child of the towns and villages of the lowlands. At sunset they are relieved of their task by their fathers, who keep watch by night against wolf and robber. At the end of October all the livestock is moved to the plains, marching in solid phalanx, goats in front, sheep in the middle, mules and donkeys behind, the well-armed shepherds and their fierce dogs on either flank" (pp. 28–29).

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Another interesting source is volume one of *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), by William Martin Leake. Interesting information about sheepraising in the western Peloponnesos is found in K. N. Eliopoulos, "Poimenika tes Eleias" (Pastoral Life in Elis), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 253–285.

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8. Many travelers to the Balkans come into contact with these nomads and write about them. M. E. Picot, *Les Roumains de la Macédoine* (Paris, 1875), analyzes all of the source material available to him, and prior works need not be cited here. Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), devotes a few pages to pastoral life, stressing particularly the appearance of a Vlach encampment and the authority of the Vlach chieftains. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900) makes this interesting comment on the Vlachs in Macedonia: "They remind one of those ingenious pictures in which an animal or a human face is concealed so as not to be obvious on first inspection, though when once seen it appears to be the principal feature of the drawing. In the same way, one may live and travel in the Balkan lands without seeing or hearing anything of the Vlachs, until one's eyes are opened. Then one runs the risk of going to the opposite extreme and thinking, like Roumanian patriots, that most of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Vlachs in disguise" (p. 409).

Andreas Adossides, "The Shepherds of Greece," *Geographical Magazine*, September 1943, pp. 217–225, gives a vividly written account.

Jovan Cvijic, "The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples," *The Geographical Review*, V (June 1918), 470–482, estimates the number of Arumani (or Vlachs) at about 150,000 to 160,000 scattered individuals. He points out that during the Middle Ages they were very numerous and constituted the majority of the population in Thessaly and in Aetolia, two areas respectively called Great and Little Vlachia.

V. T. Vikas, "Ethima para Vlahophonois," (Customs of the Vlach-Speaking People), *Laographia*, VI (1917), 169–188, is chiefly a description of holidays and recreation.

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G. F. Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* (London, 1903), gives evidence of the degree of Hellenization of the Vlachs fifty years ago.

H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future* (London, 1906), devotes a whole chapter to the Vlachs, beginning with the description of Pisoderi, which he considers a typical village. He also, contrary to Abbott above, foresees a weakening of connection between the Vlachs and the Greeks.

Rennell Rodd traces the derivations of the word Vlach and provides some historical background in his book *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892).

9. This is a thoroughgoing study of their migration practices, costumes, birth, marriage, burial customs, intervillage relationships, the distribution of the Vlachs, the Vlach language, and the history and origin of the Balkan Vlachs. Full citation is: A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans: An Account of Life and Customs Among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* (London, 1914).

Without attempting to cover the references to the Vlachs in other Balkan languages, I might mention one in Serbo-Croatian, entitled *O Cincarima* (Concerning the Cincari), by D. J. Popovic (Beograd, 1937). These Tsintsars are Serbized Vlachs, who have also become urbanized. Th. Capidan, himself a Koutso-Vlach who studied and lived in Roumania, has written very extensively about these Balkan nomads, primarily with the purpose of showing that all of them, even the Greek-speaking Sarakatsani, were originally Koutso-Vlachs. See his *Les Macédo-roumains. Esquisse historique et descriptive des populations roumaines* (Bucarest, 1937).

10. See Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans, une tribe grecque* (Paris, 1925), for an excellent linguistic study. D. J. Georgacas, in his "Peri tes katagoges ton Sarakatsanaion kai tou Onomatos Auton" (Concerning the Origin of the Sarakatsani and Their Name), *Archeion Thrakikou Glossikou kai Laographikou Thesaurou*, XIV (1948–49), 193–270, argues against Höeg's theory that the Sarakatsani derive from an ancient nomadic tribe and claims that they did not become nomadic until the late Middle Ages.

11. This work of Demosthenes Sirakes is the best Greek source on the nomads. It discusses almost every possible aspect of their life, particularly in the economic sphere, and tries to indicate how the nomadic livestock producers can best be settled. Although the figures quoted here are old, they are probably as reliable as most estimates would be today. Full citation of the article is: "Orismos nomadikes, monimou kai georgikes ktenotrophias e e nomadike ktenotrophia en Helladi," *Georgikon Deltion tes Hellenikes Georgikes Etaireias* (Agricultural Bullétin of the Greek Agricultural Society), XII (1925), 651–777.

12. Z. Duckett Ferriman, mentioned in note 7 above, has even more to say about the undesirable qualities of the nomads (see pp. 45–54). He calls the reader's attention to the shepherds' dogs as follows: "We are apt to associate the name of sheep dog with collie. That graceful and sympathetic member of the canine family is far removed from the savage cerberi who guard the folds of Greece. Huge and powerful mastiffs, with heavy jowls and ensanguined eyes, they are no doubt valuable auxiliaries in the presence of marauding wolves. But, like their master, they are of low intelligence, and they take everyone except their masters for a wolf" (p. 52).

13. The work by K. Koukkides, *To pnevma tou synergatismou ton neoteron hellenon kai t'Ambelakia, o protos synetairismos tou kosmou* (Athens, 1948), is a splendid source for the study of patterns of mutual aid.

14. It is of historic interest to note that many of these chief shepherds became important klephts during the days of Turkish rule over Epirus and Northern Greece. If the klepht was friendly to you, he was known as a guerrilla leader; if he opposed you, he was a bandit. It was ever thus in the Balkans.

15. For a scholarly treatment in Greek of the tselingata, one should consult K. Karavides, *Agrotika* (Concerning Rural Life) (Athens, 1931). He analyzes for the rural Balkans as a whole four major forms of economic organization: the tselingata, the feudal tsifliki (estate), the patriarchal family which he associates with the zadruga, and the kephalochoria, or independent village where the peasants were their

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Ross, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

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For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Eubolas* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pellonitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Eubolas* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

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[548] [589] prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

[184] [197] 4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

[186] 3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a volume in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou choriou mou: Perista, Navpaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessalonike, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in [171] Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith.

9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

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lore (Cambridge, Eng., 1903), pp. 73–76; Anthony, *Meet the Greeks*, pp. 135–39; A. Triantaphyllidis, "Christmas Customs and Folklore," *Hellenia*, III (December 1948), 2–3; and Kyriakidis, "Erotimata."

Chapter X. Mutual Aid and Cooperatives in Rural Greece

1. One article has been particularly helpful in providing details to supplement actual field observations. It was written by D. A. Petropoulos under the title, "Ethima synergasias kai allelovoetheias tou hellenikou laou" (Customs of Collaboration and Mutual Aid of the Greek people), *Epeteris laographikou archeiou* (1943–44), pp. 59–85. Anyone wishing to find out the actual Greek terms for various kinds of arrangements in different regions of the country should consult this article. Petropoulos also quotes many of the proverbs in full and is the source of those used here as well as the statement on the nychteria.

2. This is taken from "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished manuscript by T. K. Papaspyropoulos.

3. For a detailed account of Ambelakia, see Elias P. Georgios, *Historia kai synetairismos ton Ambelakion* (History and Association of Ambelakia) (Athens, 1951). In 1875, François Boulanger published a book, *Ambelakia ou les Associations et les Municipalités Helléniques* . . . (Paris). F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, according to his *Voyage de la Grèce* (2nd ed., Paris, 1826), found in the early nineteenth century that the town consisted of 460 families. The people were proud of their past, but had little to show for it. E. S. Forster mentions Ambelakia in his *A Short History of Modern Greece, 1821–1940* (London, 1941), p. 6.

4. See Civil Affairs Handbook, "Greece" (Section 7: Agriculture), *Army Service Forces Manual* (Washington, D.C., November 16, 1943), pp. 48–51. For the pre-World-War-II situation, see also Banque Agricole de Grèce, *Statistique des Associations Cooperatives Agricoles de Grèce* (Athens, 1937).

5. See Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954), p. 142. Sweet-Escott also calls attention to the ILO report on *Labour Problems in Greece* and writes: "In addition, the principle of the consumers' cooperative has been applied extensively since the war, especially in the towns. By October 1947 no less than 5,390 urban cooperatives had been registered, including cooperatives formed by small tradesmen for production, for example, of furniture, and many consumers' cooperatives."

6. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, D.C., March 1947), pp. 46–51.

7. Robert Hewlett, "Agricultural Cooperation in Greece," *World Agriculture*, October 1954, writes: "There is nowhere any binding engagement on the farmer-member to deal with his cooperative, or on the local cooperative to deal with its regional or central organization. Such an obligation would be contrary to Greek law. It may be argued that this is a severe handicap to cooperative development. It is certainly true that the element of compulsion in business relations between member and society is found in a number of countries where farmer cooperation is most advanced, and that many leaders in those countries consider it has been decisive, even if it no longer is so important today. It seems unlikely, however, that the mere inclusion of a compulsory delivery clause in the agreement between the farmer and his marketing cooperative of itself achieves very much. Such clauses are often difficult to enforce at law and no cooperative relishes the prospect of a series of legal actions, even if successful. What gives the contractual obligation real binding force is the climate of opinion among the members."

8. Memorandum from A. W. Willis to Brice M. Mace, Jr., "1953–54 Marketing and Distribution Analysis and Justification," Mutual Security Administration in Greece, May 22, 1953.

9. These figures are from the *1958 Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, p. 209.

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10. Priat Hudson, *1952 Agricultural Report — Greece* (American Embassy, Athens, Dispatch No. 771, January 3, 1953), comments: "The foundation of the cooperative movement is the 8,700 village cooperatives (including fishing and forestry as well as farm coops). The total membership was 684,000 at the beginning of 1952. In each Nomos is found a Union of the Cooperatives of that region. This organization supplies the village cooperative with production credit obtained from the Agricultural Bank. In some districts more than one Union may be found, with the total for Greece being over one hundred. Most of the Unions belong to the Panhellenic Confederation of Unions of Agricultural Cooperatives with headquarters in Athens. Those in control of this Federation so centralize and direct the program of Agricultural cooperatives that it often works to the disadvantage of the movement by eliminating farmer participation. . . ." In addition to the geographical organization of the cooperatives, described above, there are several commodity cooperative associations. These include:

1. *KYDEP*. The Central Organization for the Administration of Indigenous Products. It collects quite a number of products under the Government's price support program. During 1952 it collected only wheat and rye.
2. *SEKE*. The Association of Tobacco Growers' Cooperative Unions, Ltd.
3. *KSOS*. The Union of Sultana Growers' Cooperatives. In 1952 this organization collected nearly 7,000 tons of sultanas (grapes).
4. *ELAIOURGIKE*. The Central Union of Olive Oil Producers.

It often happens that the village cooperatives indicate a certain degree of dissatisfaction with the commodity associations, particularly because of their high costs in handling the products.

Chapter XI. The Village Coffeehouse

1. Near East Foundation, *et al.*, mimeographed village studies, "A Village in the Arta Plain" (Athens, Spring 1951).
2. *Idem*, "A Mountain Village, Grammos Area" (Athens, March 1952).
3. *Idem*, "A Village in the Serres Plains" (Athens, December 1951).
4. *Idem*, "A Macedonian Village" (Athens, May 1951).
5. Chester Bowles, *Ideas, People and Peace* (New York, 1958), p. 86.
6. John Democritos Photiadis, "The Coffee House and Its Role in Stavroupolis, Greece" (unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University, 1956).
7. Near East Foundation, *et al.*, "A 'Control' Village in Macedonia" (Athens, November 1951).
8. *Idem*, "A Village in the Agrinion Area" (Athens, October 1951).

Chapter XII. Local Government

1. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, Civil Government Division, *Facts on Greek Local Government: A Preliminary Outline* (Athens, December 15, 1950), p. 2 (mimeographed).
2. K. Koukkidi, *To Pnevma tou Synergatismou ton Neoteron Hellenon kai t'Ambelakia, o Protos Synetairismos tou Kosmou* (The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greeks and Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World) (Athens, 1948).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
4. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, *Facts*, p. 7.
5. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, *Revitalizing Greek Local Government: Special Supplement*, Report 67, p. 3 (mimeographed).
6. Frank Smothers, William Hardy McNeill, Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill, *Report on the Greeks: Findings of a Twentieth Century Fund Team Which Surveyed*

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Conditions in Greece in 1947 (New York, 1948), p. 111. For a report done ten years later for the same sponsor by one of the earlier authors, see William Hardy McNeill, *Greece: American Aid in Action: 1947–1956* (New York, 1957).

7. See the mimeographed village studies done by the Near East Foundation, *et al.*, "A 'Control' Village of the Mesolongi Area" (Athens, October 1951).

8. John D. Photiadis, "The Coffee House and its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece," p. 25.

9. United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on Greek Local Government, 1952* (Athens, Civil Government Division, 1952), pp. 16–17 (mimeographed).

10. An excellent statement of the problem is found in United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on the Decentralization of Greek Government Services* (Athens, Civil Government Division, June 1953), mimeographed.

11. C. A. Munkman, *American Aid to Greece: A Report on the First Ten Years* (New York, 1958), p. 254. Munkman served for four years as chief of a unit in the United States Economic Mission to Greece which had the responsibility for investigating the effectiveness of expenditures in our aid program.

12. Photiadis, "The Coffee House."

13. Three documents which proved particularly helpful were prepared by O. F. Traylor, Local Tax Specialist, United States Mission: Economic Cooperation Administration, *The Financing of Greek Local Government: Special Supplement*, Report 70 (mimeographed, n.d.); *Summary Analysis of New Interim Local Finance Law* (E. L. 1910/1951, Official Gazette 221), memorandum to Director, FP Division (typed), August 10, 1951, 14 pp.; *Significance of Survey of Turkish Local Finance . . . for Financing Greek Local Units of Government*, memorandum to Joel W. C. Harper, Chief, Public Finance Section, FP Division (mimeographed), September 12, 1951, 18 pp.

14. One of the most penetrating analyses of Greek governmental administration and its problems was made by a Greek at the request of the Greek government: *Report on the Greek Economic Problem*, by Kyriakos Varvaressos (English translation, Washington, D.C., February 12, 1952, mimeographed). He cites five characteristics of the administration: excessive number of employees, particularly in the center; indifference to public interest; lowered standards through appointments of unqualified personnel; narrow bureaucratic spirit; total incapacity and willingness to meet responsibilities imposed on it by the granting of foreign aid. In fairness to all concerned, however, it should be pointed out that this was written in 1952, when Greece was trying to recover from the wounds of war.

15. These are excerpts appearing in the *Athens News*, September 17, 1952. For those preferring a happier note, the following *New York Times* item, December 12, 1955, will prove of interest:

Athens, Dec. 11. Premier Constantin Karamanlis has announced a plan by which free medicines will be made available to 4,000,000 Greek peasants. The plan is expected to become effective at once.

Mr. Karamanlis also announced that his Government had decided to compensate peasants whose beasts of burden had been requisitioned by the State for war purposes since 1942.

The Premier said 120,000,000 drachmas ($4,000,000) had been earmarked in the 1955–56 budget for this ambitious welfare plan. Other Government decisions announced were to increase allocations for land improvement projects; to put aside larger amounts for middle-term loans to the peasantry; and to install a cotton press in Salonika.

16. An account in *Harper's Magazine* in 1872 on "Political Characteristics of Modern Greeks" has a most up-to-date ring. Charles Cheston, in his *Greece in 1887* (London, 1887), points out traits which survive to the present, as does William Miller in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905). Especially appropriate are the comments by Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, 1929), in the section on "The Greatness of the Greeks."

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Chapter XIII. The Village School

1. See Dorothy Lee's section on Greece in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953).
2. "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished manuscript.
3. A. H. Sassani, "Education in Greece," *College and University*, XXVII (1952), 295.
4. *Athens News*, October 10, 1952.
5. United States Mission to Greece, Field Service Report 601, July 7, 1952, Athens (typescript).
6. These 1956–57 figures are from the *Americana 1958 Annual*.
7. See Archie W. Johnston, "Plan for Depressed Villages," Mission Field Services, Report 70, to William M. Tait, January 22, 1953.
8. From Near East Foundation, *et al.*, village studies (Athens, 1951–52).
9. Kristine Konold, "Brief Survey of Elementary and Educational Institutions in Greece," November 18, 1952, United States Information Service (typescript).
10. *Programmata Analytika kai Orologia ton Demotikon Scholeion* (Program Analysis and Horaria of the Public Schools) (Athens, 1946), p. 1.
11. Accompaniments to K. Konold report. See note 9 above.
12. More information about this and other American educational institutions in Greece is contained in various chapters of this book. Anatolia College in Thessalonike, like others mentioned, has a program of village community service. Athens College students also contribute time and money to such endeavors.
13. Adapted from a paper entitled "Classic and Modern Greek," by Ph. Annino Cavallerato, given at the Foreign Language Conference, University of Kentucky, 1954.
14. The word "pure" is not an accurate translation of *katharevousa*, since *kathara* means "pure." *Katharevousa* implies a certain striving, a certain effort toward the pure, or "purist."
15. Kimon Friar, "New Greek Poets, An Anthology and Commentary," *Poetry*, LXXVIII (1951), p. 151.
16. *Greece: Geographical Handbook* (Naval Intelligence Division, British Admiralty), I, 297.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Floyd A. Spencer, *War and Postwar Greece: An Analysis Based on Greek Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1952), p. 154. This is an excellent treatment of Greek works dealing with educational problems.
19. Friar, "New Greek Poets," p. 152.

Chapter XIV. Religion and the Greek Peasant

1. See a classic work on the subject by John C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910).
2. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 73.
3. Marcu Beza, *Heritage of Byzantium* (London, 1947), p. 89.
4. See also B. P. D'Estournelles, "The Superstitions of Modern Greece," *The Nineteenth Century*, no. 62 (April 1882).
5. Thanassis Aghnides, "What Ancient Greece Means to the Modern Greek," *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, XXVII (1943), 263–64.
6. Harold F. Alderfer, "Greece and the West Today," ECA Memorandum, Athens, April 13, 1951, p. 8. Also see Alderfer's *I Like Greece* (State College, Pa., 1956), chap. 10, "The Church Is the Foundation."
7. Floyd A. Spencer, *War and Postwar Greece: An Analysis Based on Greek Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1952), p. 153.

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8. Alderfer, "Greece and the West Today," p. 8.

9. For observations on the village clergy, see Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1908), and H. D. F. Kitto, *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), p. 16. 000

10. See Dorothy D. Lee, "Greek Tales of Priest and Priestwife," *Journal of American Folklore*, April–June 1947, p. 163. This article contains nine stories about the priest and his wife, some of them Chaucerian in tone. He is either interested in an attractive parishioner whose husband eventually deals drastically with him, or his wife is involved with a lover whom the priest may or may not outwit.

11. Angelike Chatzemichale made this observation.

12. The material for this whole paragraph is adapted from Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), pp. 37–41.

13. D. Lee, "Greece," *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, p. 84.

14. One of the most vivid accounts in English of the prominent role of the priest is found in Nikos Kazantzakis, *The Greek Passion* (New York, 1954), a fictionalized account of what happened in an Asia Minor Greek community when some of its characters in a passion play began to play their roles seriously in real life.

15. D. A. Petropoulos, "Ethima synergasias kai allelovoedeias tou hellenikou laou" (Customs of Collaboration and Mutual Aid of the Greek people), *Epeteris Laographikou Archeiou* (Yearbook of the Folklore Archives), 1943–1944, p. 71.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

17. See W. M. Leake's account of his explorations for the River Styx in chap. 26 (vol. 3) of his *Travels in the Morea*, 3 vols. (London, 1930).

18. From D. Kontogannis, *Sylloge demotikon paradosseon* (Collection of Popular Traditions) (Athens, 1920), p. 60.

19. Rennell Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892), p. 120.

20. Kontogannis, *Sylloge*, p. 60.

21. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmeikta laographika en Aitolias," *Laographia*, XII (1938), 20–21.

22. Rennell Rodd, *Customs and Lore*, p. 129. See also Baron P. D'Estournelles, "The Superstitions of Modern Greece," *The Nineteenth Century*, no. 62 (1882), p. 590, who points out quite correctly that these dirge singers are frequently professionals employed to render this service. Lady Verney in an article on "Songs and Legends of Modern Greece," *The Contemporary Review* (1875), describes funeral customs which survive today: "The myriologia, or funeral songs, are always sung and composed by women . . . and are uttered first immediately after the death takes place. Next, when the body is laid on a bier, dressed in its best clothes, the face uncovered, turned to the east, the arms closed over the breast, the nearest relation begins her lamentation, and is followed by the more distant in blood; then the friends and the neighbors. Often messages are sent to those who have died previously; flowers and small presents for them are thrown on the body, which is entreated to carry them to the next world. . . . Hired mourners are often brought in to sing to the honour of the dead, as in the funeral of Hector, when Achilles has given up the body to his father." [767] [775] [767]

23. Loukopoulos, "Symmeikta," p. 20.

24. G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903), p. 208. He has an excellent chapter on funeral rites.

25. V. T. Valassis, "The Living Past and Technical Change" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1956), pp. 13–14.

Chapter XV. The Village Community

1. The best study of these Greek-American returnees is found in Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956). H. D. F. Kitto,

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000 in his *In the Mountains of Greece*, has mentioned that he found only one village in the Peloponnesos which did not produce an English-speaking inhabitant.

2. These references are to John D. Photiadis, "The Coffee House and Its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece," (unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University, 1956) p. 41.

3. See Near East Foundation, *et al.*, village studies (Athens, 1951–52).

4. Photiadis, p. 42.

5. This description by Dorothy Lee will be found in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), pp. 60–61 (Mentor edition).

6. V. T. Valassis, "The Living Past and Technical Change," (unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1956), p. 16.

7. The reader familiar with contemporary social theory will quickly note the extent to which these observations derive from Emile Durkheim and those sociologists who work in his tradition.

8. Photiadis, p. 84.

9. From the village study by T. K. Papaspyropoulos, "Ts Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished manuscript.

Chapter XVI. Social Change in Rural Greece

1. The three types of social change used here are adapted from N. F. Washburne, *Interpreting Social Change in America* (Garden City, 1954).

2. See Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities; Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey* (New York, 1939).

[124] 3. In almost every one of my hundreds of interviews during an eleven-month period in Greece, I touched on the topic of social change. In a country such as Greece, one cannot understand the present without a knowledge of what has changed. A summarizing chapter such as this cannot fully convey the deep emotional overtones surrounding the discussion of what it was like to flee as a child from Asia Minor, to have one's village occupied by an Axis army, or to experience the fury of Communist guerrillas on the run.

4. A. C. de Vooys and J. J. C. Piket, "A Geographical Analysis of Two Villages in the Peloponnesos," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, LXXV (1958), 44–45.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

6. This figure is much more favorable to the villagers than that prevailing between the two world wars. In the Balkans generally during that time, the proportion of peasants was higher and their share of the total national income lower than the figures here cited in the text.

7. Ernestine Friedl, "The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece," *The American Anthropologist*, LXI (1959), 31.

8. An excellent though brief description of some of the most important programs of planned social change in rural Greece through the 1950s is found in the mimeographed paper entitled "Community Development Programs and Policies in Greece," prepared for the Eastern Mediterranean Study Tour on Community Development (Athens, 1955). Among other things, it tells of the merger into a Small Common [65] Utility Projects program of four previous programs: the Agricultural Land Improvement Program, the Small Sanitary Projects Program, the Relief through Employment Program (under the Ministry of Welfare), and the Small Community Projects Program (under the Ministry of Interior). The third program particularly has created much international interest. See Glen Leet, "Greece Finds One Key to Development," *United Nations Bulletin*, X (1951); Paul H. Guenault and Howard W. Beers, *Community Development Programmes in Greece with Special Consideration of Welfare Through Employment* (New York, United Nations, 1953).

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9. A. C. Munkman, *American Aid to Greece* (New York, 1958).

10. The term "change agent" is employed by Western students of social change to designate those professionals whose primary efforts are directed toward the initiation and implementation of planned change. See Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson, and Bruce Westley, *Planned Change: A Comparative Study of Principles and Techniques* (New York, 1958).

Chapter XVII. Social Consequences of Foreign Aid

1. Fortunately, many studies are appearing which seek to explain what happens to an agrarian society when it moves toward industrialization. One of the best single sources for the study of this kind of change is *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, a periodical now in its tenth volume, published at the University of Chicago. See also Charles P. Loomis, *Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change* (Princeton, 1960).

2. See Irwin T. Sanders, "Characteristics of Peasant Societies" (chap. 4) and Carle C. Zimmerman, "Euro-American Rural Society" (chap. 10) in E. deS. Brunner, Irwin T. Sanders, and Douglas Ensminger, *Farmers of the World* (New York, 1945). See also Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago, 1956).

3. A. T. Mosher, "Interrelationships Among Agricultural Development, Social Organization, and Personal Attitudes and Values," in Irwin T. Sanders, ed., *Interprofessional Training Goals for Technical Assistance Personnel Abroad* (New York, 1959).

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architselingas - the chief shepherd of the tselingata
demotike - the common form of Greek spoken by the people as a whole (the people's language)
kapheneion - the coffee house
katharevousa - an artificial form of Greek based as much as possible on classic syntax and vocabulary, which became in effect the official language of Greece after the war of independence in 1821 (the "purist" language)
koumbaros - a sponsor at a wedding or godparent at baptism
kouvenda - conversation without any particular purpose
nomarch - the head of the nomos or "province"
ouzo - an alcoholic beverage
philotimo - ultra-sensitive self-esteem
plateia - the village square
psychiko - good works done for the salvation of the soul
tselingata - a shepherds' cooperative organization found among the nomads

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/For information on Agricultural Cooperatives see category 474./

426,654

/For information on the granting of loans by the Agricultural Bank see category 652./

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/Information on cooperative credit unions will be found in category 474. For information on the extension of credit by the Agricultural Bank see category 652./

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/For additional information on leisure time activities see the discussions of the coffeehouse in category 275./

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/Since engagement and wedding festivities may involve the whole village, reference should be made to categories 584 and 585 for additional information on holiday activities./

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/Information on the coffeehouse and its social function will be found in category 275./

·621

/For information on the "tselingata," a cooperative organization of the Vlach nomads, see category 474./

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Vasilika

CASE STUDIES IN
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

GENERAL EDITORS
George and Louise Spindler
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

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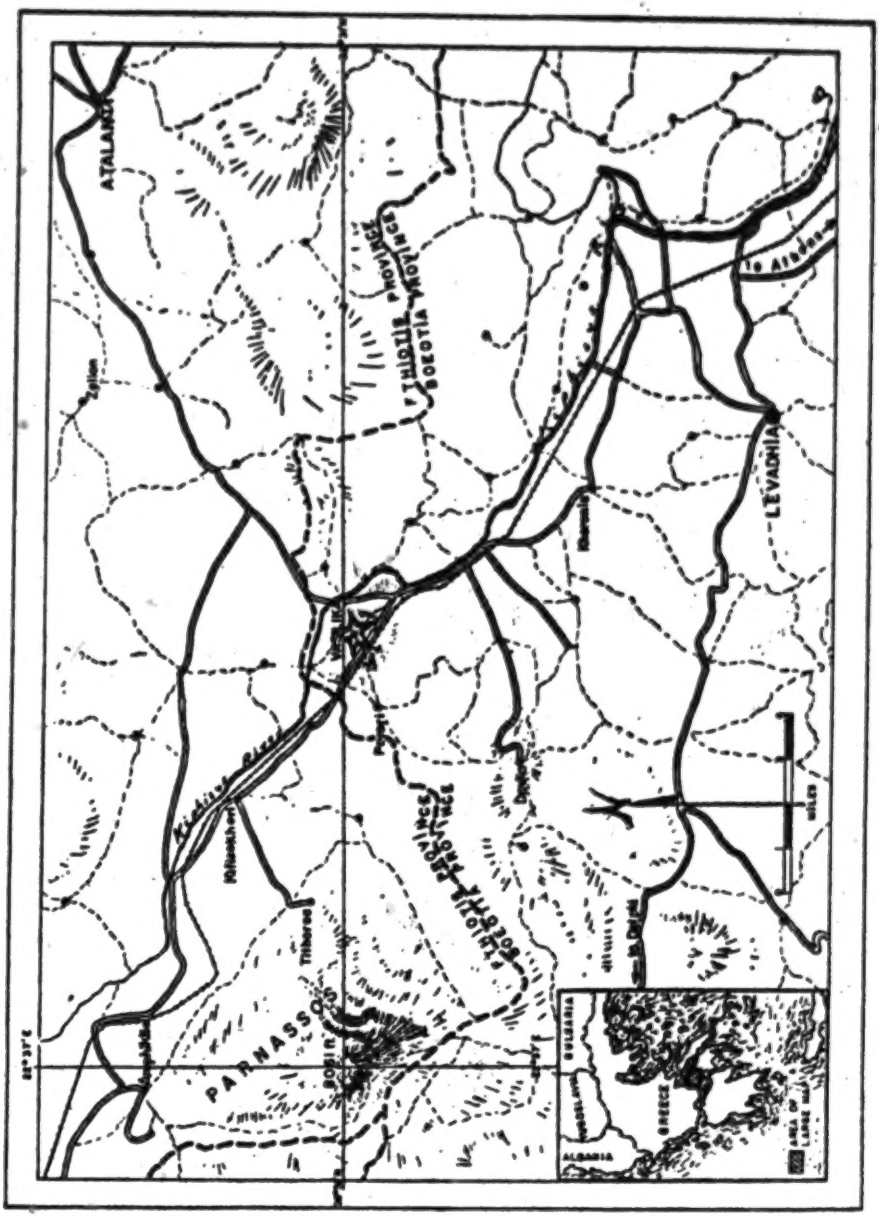
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PARNASSOS
Kifissos River
Thisbe
Delphi
Amphissa
Lamia
Chalkis
Thermopylae
Lake Copais
Levadhia
LEVADHIA
To Athens
Thebes
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VASILIKA

A Village in Modern Greece

BY

ERNESTINE FRIEDL

Queens College

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Friedl

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Στοὺς ἀξέχαστούς μας φίλους,
τοὺς κατοίκους τῶν Βασιλικῶν,
μὲ ἀγάπη καὶ ἐκτίμηση.

To our unforgettable friends,
the residents of Vasilika,
with affection and esteem.

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About the Series

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THESE CASE studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

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Ernestine Friedl is associate professor of anthropology and sociology at Queens College in New York. She holds the Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University. Before coming to Queens, she taught at Wellesley College and at Brooklyn College. She has done field work among the Chippewa Indians of northern Wisconsin, and has published material on that tribe. Her field work in Greece was done in 1955-1956 and has resulted in several articles for professional journals as well as this book. Dr. Friedl has served as secretary-treasurer of the American Ethnological Society and is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

About the Book

Life in Vasilika has a flavor of its own. As Dr. Friedl points out in the introduction, one has two reactions in viewing this way of life for the first time—a strong sense of its familiarity and a surprised awareness of its strangeness. In the exploitation of these two dimensions, she has given us a compelling and intellectually satisfying analysis of a village in a contemporary national society that has ancient historic roots.

In this book the author makes one concrete part of life flow into another—from land resources to cotton cultivation, division of labor, concepts of cleanliness and order, the furnishing of homes, the dowry system, the ceremonies and festivities. And everywhere the evaluations that the people of Vasilika place upon these parts of life are made clear. In this way a patterned way of life as a whole emerges, and the reader learns about what the people do, and with what resources, at the same time he is learning about what the people think and feel about what they do.

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We acquire insight into the quality of interpersonal relationships in Vasilika, which are like those between man and nature. Both are characterized by constant struggle. The individual is sustained and revitalized for this struggle within the family, and the struggle itself is a means of maintaining the identity of the self and of society.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Stanford, California
1962

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Preface and Acknowledgments

THE FIELD WORK on which this book is based was conducted largely in 1955-1956 under a Fulbright grant, with supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I am very grateful for this assistance. Return visits were made to the village for several weeks in the summer of 1959, and for two days in July 1961.

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E. F.

New York City
1962

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Vasilika with Parori and Mt. Parnassos in the background.

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A woman of the village.

A young girl of the village.

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Introduction

THE WAY OF LIFE of a rural village in modern Greece exists in a setting significantly different from that of the cultures and societies anthropologists have been accustomed to study. Cultural and social anthropologists traditionally have concentrated their professional interests on what are usually called the primitive peoples of the world. These include the Indians of North and South America, the Eskimo, the indigenous populations of Africa south of the Sahara, of Australia, and of the islands of the Pacific. What all these peoples had in common was not crudeness or inferiority; nor were they necessarily at the beginning stages of human cultural evolution, as the Latin root of the word "primitive" would suggest. 121

By the fifteenth century, when European explorations began in earnest, many of these primitive peoples had long since developed assured food supplies through the domestication of plants and animals, and had densely populated, complex stratified societies with sophisticated cosmologies and art styles. The Maya of Yucatan had conceived the mathematical concept of the zero, and both they and the Aztecs of Mexico had a rudimentary system of writing. But whether the primitive people were simple hunting and gathering populations who depended on wild foods, or whether they were pastoralists using their flocks for subsistence and for products to trade, or whether they were the sophisticated West Africans or Incas, the characteristic that they all had in common and that lay at the base of what was called their "primitiveness" was the fact that the cultures of these peoples had received no significant recent influences from either of the two early centers of cultural development on the Eurasiatic continent.

One of these centers was the Near East, where it appears that seed grasses such as wheat and barley were first domesticated, and where sheep, goats, and cattle were first controlled by men. The techniques for raising and cultivating these plants and animals spread south to Egypt, east to India, and west to Europe, where they furnished the original subsistence base for the development of the Egyptian, Hindu, and ancient Greek and Roman cultures. North China

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121 was a second center where similar plants and animals were domesticated. Whether the Chinese subsistence base diffused directly from the Near East, or whether it is at least partly a separate development is not yet clear from the archeological evidence. In any case, the new techniques served as the subsistence base for the development of Far Eastern civilization. Some four thousand years ago systems of writing were invented in both these centers: the alphabet in the Near East and the logograph in the Far East. These systems spread in different directions but had not yet reached the American Indians, the Eskimo, the Africans south of the Sahara, the Australians, or the Pacific islanders by the time of the first European explorations.

For many primitive societies, then, the subsistence base was different from that of the Old World. In the New World, the more complex societies depended on different groups of domesticated plants and animals, on maize rather than wheat, for example, and on the llama and the alpaca, rather than cattle. Further, with the exception of the Maya and the Aztecs, the primitive peoples had developed no writing systems of their own. Nor did these peoples participate in the major world religions that had developed in the course of the last four thousand years of Eurasiatic history and that eventually depended upon sacred and semisacred written texts. With few exceptions the religions of the primitive peoples were derived neither from the Judaeo-Christian and Islamic traditions nor from the Hindu-Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucian.

Because European and American scholars were deeply steeped in the origins, history, and contemporary patterns of their own cultures, for them the main value of the study of the primitive peoples lay in the contrasts they provided with the ancient and modern variations of the way of life derived from the Near East.

The different historical provenience of the cultures of the American Indians, the Polynesians, and the rest made them exotic and interesting and, at the same time, gave to European scholars a natural laboratory of human cultural variation in which to test generalizations and hypotheses largely derived from analyzing the written records of their own tradition. Whenever cultural forms or social structures among the primitive peoples were similar to those known in the European tradition, some form of explanation other than similar historical derivation had to be found. In addition, the efforts to reconstruct the history of primitive societies and cultures and to analyze their contemporary functioning led to the formulation of new hypotheses concerning the history and evolution of cultures and societies in general, and concerning the nature of man himself.

In the last two decades many cultural anthropologists have turned to the study of societies whose cultures are in the main line of Near Eastern tradition. They have done so because of a conviction that the techniques and insights developed through the study of primitive societies are useful for the description and analysis of all societies. Although some anthropologists have ventured into the study of groups in urban centers, the majority of those interested in learning the ways of life of the co-heirs of their own civilization have concentrated on what have been called "folk" or "peasant" societies, or, to phrase it more descriptively, the rural populations of modern nations. Application of anthropological tech-

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niques to such groups has raised some new problems in method and interpretation. 121

The customary discussion of these new problems includes questions concerning the appropriateness of delineating a small rural village as the unit for observation when, as in Latin America and in Europe, such villages may not be economically, socially, politically, or culturally isolated from the larger societies of which they are a part. Awareness of this problem has led to special emphasis on the analysis of types of association between the territorially based group which is the main focus of the study, and similar neighboring communities, towns, and cities, and also on the analysis of the way in which national economic, religious, educational, and political institutions impinge on the life of the small unit. Such information and discussion are inherent parts of this study.

Another significant question is the extent to which the village chosen can be considered typical either of similar neighboring communities or of the culture of the entire nation, or of both. When national cultures cover large areas of varied terrain and have huge populations distributed in villages, towns, and cities, it is likely that there will be some regional and community variation in culture and social structure. It is therefore sensible to ask whether in describing the ways of life in the Greek village of Vasilika one also succeeds in describing the essential culture of other farm settlements and the values and attitudes of all Greeks now living in Greece. When we give lectures on Vasilika either to professional or to lay groups, someone always asks, "How did you choose your village?"

Anthropologists have concerned themselves with the methods of choosing communities for study in such a way as to guarantee some degree of representativeness. One solution to the problem has been to compare certain features of the village with the numerical and percentage distribution of those features in the nation as a whole. One might compare the age and sex distribution of the village population with that of the entire nation, or the age at marriage, or the size of families, or the proportion of farmers to shepherds, or the average real income, and the like, and conclude that if the village resembled the nation in these respects, it had some claim to representativeness.

Another solution, the one used in this study, is to choose a settlement which seems from my reading, my observation, and my discussion with Greeks to have frequently recurring features of rural villages, even if such features are not necessarily characteristic of all such settlements. One hopes that intensive study of such a community will be a contribution to the understanding of rural culture and social structure in the nation, and that some values and attitudes of the people observed will be shared by the total population. The discovery of which of the values and attitudes are shared and the more general question of typicality can be postponed until similar studies are done of rural communities in different regions and of town and urban populations of different occupations and social positions (cf. Sanders 1962).

We chose Vasilika in Boeotia for special study both because it exhibits 121
some of the features just mentioned, and also because it is suitable for the appli- 105
cation of anthropological field work techniques. Its common Greek plains village

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121 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

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mist—these specialties already exist and their practitioners can be consulted. Nor 121
does the anthropologist have to discover the structure of the language for himself, nor is his vocabulary limited to what he can learn directly from the people he studies. An anthropologist working in old national cultures is able to concentrate his energies in the field on that aspect of his profession for which he is specifically trained and best fitted: the observation of the behavior of those he lives with for the purpose of discovering its regularities, its range of variation, its internal interrelationships, and its association or articulation with the culture of the nation of which the village community is a part.

There are, however, some unexpected mental hazards in doing anthropological field work in a society whose culture is a contemporary variation on one's own basic tradition. We had two opposite reactions to the way of life of the village; one was a strong sense of its familiarity, and the other was a surprised awareness of its strangeness. The sense of familarity grows out of the similarity of so many cultural elements with those one knows from home; the sense of strangeness partially from the often slight variation in the form of the elements, but more particularly from the way the elements are combined, from the new patterns created by a different organization of the items and by the different contexts in which they appear.

A trivial example may illustrate the point. If the cultural element under 121
discussion is adult footwear, we are immediately conscious of familiar elements. 291
Shoes and slippers are purchased, not manufactured by each family; men and 292
women do not wear the same types; the man's shoe is a standard low oxford tie, [43]
and the women wear leather pumps with medium high heels, or cloth slippers. The shoes, pumps, and slippers are within the range of styles for such items available in the United States. But the contexts in which the Greek villagers wear their shoes and slippers provide surprises. Men in Vasilika wear ordinary oxfords for work in the fields, for walking in mud, rain, and even snow during the winter—with no other foot protection. When the fields are flooded for irrigation, men remove their shoes and work barefoot. Within their houses, men do not change into slippers; they do not own any. Women, on the other hand, wear cloth slippers both indoors and outdoors, around the house and in the fields, in all weathers and in all seasons. Their leather pumps are saved for church, for holidays, and for journeys. On such occasions women wear pumps regardless of the weather. They daintily pick their way through muddy, unpaved village paths and stand for hours in unsubstantial pumps on the stone floor of the unheated church each Sunday throughout the cold, rainy winter.

Ways in which the same cultural elements are differently combined in 121
the Greek village from the way they are in the United States will be noticed as family organization, values, and the like are discussed. The hazard this kind of situation creates for the anthropological field worker is that he may not even become aware of certain characteristics of village culture because their superficial familiarity leads him to take them for granted. For example, once I learned [343]
that farm animals and stores of farm produce were not kept in the houses, I assumed they must be maintained in buildings of distinctive design. Although

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121 this turned out to be partially true, it was not entirely so, and many of the stone
343 structures I had labeled as homes, because they had the same form as houses, were actually stables and storehouses.

128 The material presented in this book has been selected and organized in such a way as to emphasize the major interests and preoccupations of the villagers, rather than to demonstrate explicitly the ways in which knowledge about the village can be helpful for the solution of general anthropological problems of theoretical import. I am using the data on which this brief ethnography is based in connection with such problems elsewhere.

A final note is in order. In describing the people of Vasilika I have avoided using the term "peasant" for two reasons. First, the layman's concept of the peasant often includes the traits of stupidity and stubborn resistance to change that are by no means characteristic of the people of Vasilika. And second, social scientists have not yet arrived at a definition of the term that is generally accepted among them. References to the current discussion of this latter problem appear in the reading list.

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1

The Village: As a Setting

THE VILLAGE OF VASILIKA lies almost at the foot of Mt. Parnassos on the Boeotian plain. The oldest of its fifty-odd houses were built in the late nineteenth century by the grandfathers of some of the now adult villagers. Most of them came from the village of Parori two miles to the northeast. Until 1933, when Vasilika sued for and won separate status, the two settlements were classified by the central government as one community (*kinotis*). The parent village still has the larger population, with some 700 inhabitants, while Vasilika, in 1955–1956, had 216.

Both Vasilika and Parori have come to be called by these names only since 1955. During the Turkish occupation, and for more than a century after the liberation of the region, the Boeotian villages used the names the Turks had assigned to them. Parori was Biskeni Aghas; Vasilika was Kravasaras. But in the last decade, patriotic considerations have led to a change from the old names to ones based on Greek roots. *Parori,* in Greek, means "near a mountain" and is an appropriate name for a village which rests in the foothills of Parnassos. *Vasilika* means "royal" and was the name of a hill in the region where a famous battle against the Turks was fought. In some cases, the names by which the villages were known in classical Greek times were restored. Drachmani, for example, once again became Elatia.

Most of the villagers of Vasilika, in 1961, still called the village "Kravasaras." Indeed, the new sign pointing to the dirt road which leads into the settlement reads *Kravasaras,* in spite of the designation of the village in the provincial records as *Vasilika.* This type of double nomenclature is common in the entire region. The wives of Vasilika, most of whom come from the surrounding Boeotian villages, frequently refer to their former houses by their older Turkish names. These are the names which evoke for them the emotions associated with "my village." Their husbands, on the other hand, often refer to their wives' home villages by the newly given names. An outsider must resign himself to learning the double nomenclature if he is to avoid utter confusion.

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The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are
[621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to
361 the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of
[423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the
[133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece,
[134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting
[312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently,
[134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton
241 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural under-
312 ground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere
[406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for
[363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not
621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider-
361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen,
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the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

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49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.
484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their
443 homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the
484 like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's
484 accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation. But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding
49 hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of
[205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and com-
484 munities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built,
[49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-
[346] tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959,
[245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and another of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the
[764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

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west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

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361 church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

621 The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village [361] is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand [443] there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's [527] men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians [533] come to the *aghora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighbor- [535] ing settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora*, and, 621 indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is 562 conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, 437 and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

594 The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's [423] married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The 342 structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. [178] The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, [343] and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents. 342 [178]

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls. 333 [514] 351

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the 361 [342] [823] [343] [351] 363 361

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361 houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

621 156 Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with [594] the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore [484] does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

621 484 494 To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settlement, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore, never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *aghora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the [512] spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

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equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, 512
whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs
most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just
before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 484
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 512
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming 621
around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light
of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the
end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat
bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 512
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 241
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora,* one sees, first, a man going 805
by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its
saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same
direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go
past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a
horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no
movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people
involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home
one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the
following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the
timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the
situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

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245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
574 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two
574 or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and
796 strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

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such as electrification and the provision of a reservoir for water to be piped to the houses. But the village is neither the moral center of the life of the villagers, nor is it, as an entity in its own right, one of their dominant interests.

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Starting an ethnography with a chapter called "The Setting" is a common practice among anthropological writers. By implication, what will follow is a kind of play for which the "setting" provides the scene. Such a beginning is particularly appropriate to Vasilika, because the village has, for its inhabitants, as well as for the observer, some of the quality of a stage-set. The people of Vasilika seem to think of their fellow villagers as acting the role of the chorus in ancient Greek drama (it is the chorus which comments on the action). The main action of the "play" in the village lies in the life of the family. We have heard villagers exclaim in connection with some intense family situation, *"Ti dhrama!"* "What a tragedy!"

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From an anthropological point of view, the family in Vasilika is significant not only as the focus of interest for the villagers, but also as a separable unit of the social structure of the settlement. In cultural terms, the patterns in which families participate as a unit form a large part of the culture of the entire community. The next three chapters are therefore devoted to the activities of the village families.

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2

The Family: Economic Activities

594 THE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES of the family as the most significant social unit in Vasilika will become clearer in the ensuing discussions. For the present, the family in the village may be defined as what has variously been called the "elementary," "nuclear," or "conjugal" family; that is, a husband and wife and their children. It is the welfare of his own family as a corporate entity which motivates the actions of the villager; and the family is the group whose members work in cooperation to try to maintain or to improve [554] their common position. The villagers measure prestige and honor by the degree to which a family succeeds in fulfilling its obligations. From their point of view, 594 the essential family obligation is to maintain a ratio between property and children such as to enable each child, when the property is divided in equal shares 556 among all the children, to maintain, in turn, a decent standard of living for his 428 family. This goal commonly requires not only an effort to conserve the wealth received from previous generations, but also, if possible, to increase it. The villagers act as if they conceive of the family as a kin group which conserves, accumulates, and transmits wealth from one generation to the next. The ability to transmit wealth is especially important. The villagers consider a man who is rich in lands but has no children an object of pity; the man's wife is considered [593] even more unfortunate. This is because the contemplation of the success of their children gives the life of a married couple a large part of its meaning. In the [583] operation of the inheritance and dowry systems in the region, a son may be given his share of the patrimony in the form of an education and a daughter given hers as her dowry at marriage. An educated son who has a civil service job in a town, or a daughter whose dowry was large enough for her parents to have found a schoolteacher husband for her, can give to the parents lasting inner 593 satisfaction and the joy of being able to tell of their child's exploits. To be able to sit and watch such adult children, or even an industrious farming son, as they talk to visitors of their adventures, or as, on a feast day, they eat the food their

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parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire 592
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 804
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have 273
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 252
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are 147
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 461
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling 412
motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the 462
earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

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 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[465] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[461] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
[558] do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[571] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[461] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[492] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
[445] is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
[465] or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314] trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

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427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

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steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Unquestionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families' bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced. As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food supply.

The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II, British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment. Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The
292 weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
512 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and
464 his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them.
312 Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

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period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465]
net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804]
per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461]
serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. [451]
Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [465]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use [231]
the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. [443]
The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

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248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

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and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another, at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

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249 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
[433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
[434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
241 what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat,
454 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
652 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are
[583] exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac-
[556] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household
[433] and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions,
[417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

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ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

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242 178 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to plant on the highway near the village.

[245] [875] [435] [244] [434] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the techniques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with 492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of 231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaouboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and [865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, [434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt 262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' 233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in [272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but [574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a 236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun 283 into thread at home by the women.

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into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

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231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered [552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents [865] permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of [178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the [373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing 511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small 592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to [422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever, [464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for [422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac- 511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

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the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit. 434 511 [231] [235] [443] [438]

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings. [445]

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households. [294] [463]

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in. 793 463 [434] [796] [846]

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily. 463 [794] [624] [434]

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here. [433]

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Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
[166 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
463 shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
434] settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They aug-
ment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
[464 women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
262] shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
342 in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly
built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
563 have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
621 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
555 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
871 he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
[641 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under
the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
435] shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more for-
mal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shep-
herd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a
year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm
families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous
in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in
the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people
of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident car-
penters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very
existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time
to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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Vasilika's inhabitants and some of the congruent attitudes. The householders of Vasilika take it for granted that they will use part of their produce, in kind or in cash, to pay for the services of various specialists. They rarely make repairs on their houses or on their equipment; they rarely make shelves or simple pieces of furniture. In short, they do not have the habit of pottering and tinkering about the farms either from necessity or because they enjoy it. Vasilika's farmers and shepherds consider themselves specialists; they view themselves with pride as experts in farming and sheepherding, and assign the same dignity to the expertness of others. To say of a man, *"Kseri ti dhulya tu,"* "He knows his work," is a compliment, and the villagers use the phrase often. They do not expect a man to know how to do anyone else's work. One specialty is considered enough.

Such a point of view means that a farmer, if his saddle strap breaks, does without a saddle or borrows someone else's until the saddle-maker comes by, even if it means several weeks of inconvenience. In one of Vasilika's households, the stone wall of one side of an oven was accidentally broken by a tractor plow one day in April of 1956. At the end of July, the wall had still not been repaired —even temporarily—because the stonemason with whom the farmer was accustomed to deal had not yet had time to come to fix it. In the meantime, the women baked their bread in a neighbor's oven. We learned later that the entire oven was finally rebuilt in the spring of the next year.

When a farmer wants to cover his earth floor with cement, or when he wants the walls of his house whitewashed for Easter, he often pays to have these jobs done by a "master." On one occasion, a stonemason was persuaded to put screens on the windows of the house we lived in, but he went to a carpenter to have wooden frame pieces cut to the proper length. A final illustration indicates not only the existence of this point of view, but also the way in which those in Vasilika might greet a different one. The village house in which we lived had several broken windowpanes when we moved into it. Since the winter rains were due, we thought it imperative to get new glass in. My husband went to Levadhia, purchased glass and putty, and replaced the broken panes. The farmer who owned the house watched my husband work. He kept making the sign of the cross and repeated again and again in awed tones, "A professor who is also a master glazier!" The farmer himself had never thought of repairing his own windows, and for anyone in as exalted a position, from Vasilika's point of view, as that of "professor," to make such a repair had for the farmer a touch of the quality of a miracle.

With the increasing use of machinery on the farms, the villagers may be forced into learning mechanical skills; but the emerging pattern seems to be one in which the tractor operators and a village man who learned mechanics in the Greek Air Force have enough skill to make minor repairs and are called on by other farmers when they need help with their pumps. Major repairs must still await a mechanic from Levadhia. For the Vasilika farmers, however, the inconvenience of having to wait for expert personnel to repair machinery is not a source of special irritation. American farmers, who have been accustomed to acting as their own mechanics, are now beginning to deal with machinery so complex as to require expert repairs. Such dependence is new and annoying for

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445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

[433] The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had [178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the 262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is 438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have 178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro- 511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a 517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care 356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on 463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the 626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations 183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter 241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five 433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

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fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

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3

The Family: Consumption Habits

511 594 [454] INCREASED INCOME resulting from technological advances in Vasilika has given the present generation in the village a wider choice of alternatives for allotting their resources than that enjoyed by their predecessors. The first call upon the family's income, after the needs of subsistence, is felt to be the accumulation of a dowry for the daughters and (since there is rarely land enough for all) the provision of an education or apprentice-training for all the sons except the one or two who could eventually be provided with enough land to farm profitably. The process by which these obligations are fulfilled is the subject of the next chapter. Here, our concern is with the goods and services used by the villagers, with particular emphasis on the overtones of meaning that accompany them.

[574] [556] The differences among the households of Vasilika in furnishings, foods, clothing, and hospitality patterns are not great on an absolute scale, but the small differences have, on the local scale, as much significance to the people of Vasilika as the corresponding differences do in any middle-class suburb in the United States. Family self-respect is maintained, and family rivalries are carried on in the village partly by demonstrating levels of taste through consumption habits.

511 369 What the villagers admire and try to emulate are standards of living and of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities. Their knowledge of these standards is acquired through the first-hand information brought back by their town relatives and by what they themselves notice on their own visits to urban centers.

The base to which the new standards are adapted, or for which they are substituted, is a set of patterns for rural living customary in the Boeotian countryside.

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Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [594]

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342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to en-
[356] tertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the
room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living
away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greet-
ing cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed
[583] along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth.
These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets,
pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They
also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the
house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every
housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur
which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items
on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead
owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns
a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also
decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the
photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families
have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like
[354] fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on
wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its
edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending 247
innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would 511
be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of 312
watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both 178
for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering
to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of
it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far 151
more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. 828
The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality
and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is
properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined
in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of
Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and
also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances.
The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive
to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners [354]
disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking,
and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major 511
respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settle- 183
ment to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people
of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type
since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their
old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various 511
types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, 342
in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. [231]
Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the
village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room
is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third,
an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One
end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the [354]
saloni has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, [574]
since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of
the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, 353
has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. 511
The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often [178]
included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the
house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the [585]
crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on [354]
the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of
electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which [178]
is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that
the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

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353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a neces-
594 sary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the
ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanotbikan akoma?"* "Have
[585] they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still
[584] merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, sym-
bolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an
expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That
[782] the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the
[778] problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burn-
ing before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea
for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is
594 further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a
778 new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the
house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is sig-
nificant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family
whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's
hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for
511 sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small
wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style
toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and
rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper.
There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over
which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate struc-
tures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope
toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in
which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement floor-
[369] ing. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued be-
[626] cause they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives
have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house
[462] in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill
with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some sat-
isfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the success-
ful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good
housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy
on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order
356 in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt.
353 We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white
cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the
[296] clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an
[515]

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impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of 356
garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses 353
or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the [296]
all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth.

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, 356
and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away 515
from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness [574]
consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanli- [751]
ness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for [264]
example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping.

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing 356
household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes 512
from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, [264]
other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters.

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Clothing

178 291 [511] [292] [427] Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most important item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is clothing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their childhood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 [177] [369] [626] [292] Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter overcoats are also of standard European style. [177] The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 [184] [511] There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth. They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay. [302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the [765] colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the [554] outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

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Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [177] [302] [178] [305] [445]

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 [178] [855]

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291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
[286] to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

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sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, 511
as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige. [556]

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to 454
dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the 433
cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible 178
to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated 511
process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers' produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the next chapter.

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4

The Family: Dowry and Inheritance; Formal Structure[1]

182 428 583 THE DOWRY AND INHERITANCE SYSTEM in Vasilika is primarily a mechanism by which property is transferred from one generation to the next. It is this kind of mechanism, but it is also more. By reason of the context of values in which they operate and because of their specific characteristics, dowry and inheritance patterns as they function in Vasilika have ramifications not only for the Boeotian countryside but also for Greece as a whole.

Inheritance by Sons

428 583 [671] [594] Both the Greek laws of inheritance and village custom require that property be divided equally among all the children, sons and daughters alike. Some receive their shares through inheritance or by gifts while the parents are still alive, but the daughters of a family are entitled to their share at marriage in the form of a dowry. Since, from the standpoint of the villagers, a man's most compelling obligation is to arrange for the successful marriage of his daughters, and since no girl in Vasilika can normally expect to marry without at least a token dowry, the girls have first lien on the family's property. For most of [423] Vasilika's families, land holdings are the most valuable assets, and dowries are, therefore, calculated ordinarily as a transfer of a share of the land from parents to a daughter and through her to the jurisdiction of her husband. However, if a family's land holdings are such that it is obvious that by giving daughters their

[1] Portions of this chapter were presented as a paper at a conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean held at Burg Wartenstein in July 1959, and will appear in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, scheduled for publication in 1962.

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share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *paniyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

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the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

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871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
594 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.

[554] Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

[166] The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[369] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the his-
594 tory of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However,
[123] emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inherit-
369 ance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
428 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown
511 up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school 369
and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy 428
of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is trans- 511
ferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

182
The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which 583
daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social [584]
mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses 582
outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with [591]
her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on 582
both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village 621
with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the [608]
ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental [795]
relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to 584
have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' inter- [583]
ests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

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584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, 423 but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

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mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made?
Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success
with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether
the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454]
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for
using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father
and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best
income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he
had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married
his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one
day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The
implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final des-
tiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his
daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they
want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the [584]
fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-
in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of
marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the
independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and
by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped
arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the
management and control of movable and personal property that he received with
his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his
wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent state-
ment from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416
and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the stand- [606]
point of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control
over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

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581 over his daughter-in-law's land or money.) From the groom's point of view, an
583 industrious young girl also has high value, and if she is healthy, good-looking, modest, virtuous, and amiable as well, she is of still additional worth. Therefore, an ugly older girl with a bad reputation would have to bring a large dowry to compensate for her personal deficiencies. Conversely, an attractive, healthy, virtuous young girl might be able to marry a slightly wealthier man than her dowry
[533] would normally be expected to command. Greek folk songs often lament the story of a young girl who attracted a wealthy older suitor to whom her family married her because he was willing to take a smaller dowry. The songs, in this instance, reflect actual situations known on the Boeotian countryside, although they do not occur with any great frequency.

Negotiations, Courtship, and Marriage

584 For the families involved, the marriage negotiations have the quality of participation in a kind of ritualized contest. A young man may have been recommended to a girl's father; the father sends an intermediary with information as to how much dowry he is willing to give; the intermediary then goes off to the groom and his father, to whom he exaggerates the size of the dowry and the qualities of the girl. The villagers assume he will also exaggerate the qualities of the groom to the girl's family. The enjoyment of the game lies in each group's efforts indirectly to get accurate information about the other side. This is done by making inquiries among one's own relatives living in the prospective spouse's village and by asking questions of others who know the family. Secrecy about the very existence of the negotiations is helpful at this point, because the villagers do not believe they can get accurate information if anyone knows they have a direct interest in the matter. Many times a sister in another village will act as informal intermediary for her brother and try to find out how much of a dowry some of the better young men are asking for. Tentative questions of this sort may be asked for years before a serious negotiation is finally fully launched. These tentative steps may be terminated at any time without loss of honor on either side if the young man informs the intermediary that the dowry is not quite enough, or if the girl's father uses the excuse that his daughter is not yet
[583] ready to marry because she has not accumulated sufficient *rukha*. In fact, the grooms are not interested in the *rukha*. As one villager phrased it, "It is land and money they burn for around here."

In Vasilika, both in the previous generations and at present, it has been possible for a young man and woman never to have seen each other until the first formal occasion for meeting. However, a young man may have seen an attractive girl at a *paniyiri* or other festival, and may have asked his father to
[834] investigate her situation. But, since unmarried village boys and girls do not talk to each other in public unless they are related, the chances are that he has never talked to her. A young girl may, in her turn, know a great deal about the young men in the surrounding villages and may also have had opportunities to see them at the local festivities, but may never have talked to any of them. In any case, it

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is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment. 584 [581]

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come. [574]

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lires*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years. [836] [626]

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father. 178 585 [6-1]

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 583 585

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583 wedding to take the *rukba* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukba*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
[431] table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
[534] and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[8] But even among farmers these customs are
[178] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[8] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm holdings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income [434]
from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 523
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

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596 mother, and any additional properties acquired by their father in the course of
428 his lifetime.

Division of the Patrimony

The division of the property is always a dramatic event in the lives of the villagers. They believe that the separation of brothers is necessitated more by human than by economic considerations. They explain that brothers should be able to get along with each other and work together under the supervision of the eldest. Harmonious relations between brothers are highly approved in the village, and their maintenance is considered a moral obligation. But, the villagers will add, "What can you do?" When the wives and children of several brothers are part of the same household, inevitably they quarrel. One wife complains that her children's shoes are all worn out while her nieces and nephews are wearing new shoes. The matter of the work contributions to the joint household causes dissension; each wife tries to convince her husband that he works harder than the others. The children of one brother may cry at night and keep another brother and his wife from getting proper sleep. There also may be some envy if the dowry received by one brother is larger than that of the others.

The decision to divide the property may be delayed in spite of considerable disharmony in the household for several reasons. First, division implies a kind of moral defeat. Second, there are economic factors which favor the maintenance of a joint household. It cuts down on the consumption expenditures for each of the families; more women are released for work in the fields because the young children may be cared for at home by the grandmother or by only one of the wives; and the amount invested in farm animals and equipment can be held down because they are cooperatively used. Then, too, as one farmer puts it, before brothers divide the patrimony, it seems as if they have a lot of land and are earning a good living, but once the property is divided, each brother has little and then one sees that the family was not so wealthy after all. Appearances
[554] are important to the villagers, and a group of brothers may be reluctant to reveal the details of their economic condition. But the most important impediment to the separation of the brothers is the house itself. For the house is part of the patrimony, and if the brothers separate, the housing must also somehow be divided among them. There are several ways in which the villagers have solved this last problem.

342 When there are only two brothers involved, the house may be physically
596 divided simply by building a wall between two sets of rooms both upstairs and
428 downstairs. The brothers work together to improve both parts of the house so that each is of equal value and then draw lots to determine which brother gets which part (Levy 1956). Such houses are thenceforth called *dhipla* (double houses), and two or more families live in them as in entirely different establishments. Once the households are separated, a brother who has received cash in his wife's dowry is now able to make further improvements in his side of the house without regard for the other. There were four double houses in Vasilika in 1961.

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None were then occupied by brothers; their occupants were second and third generation descendants of the brothers who had originally put in the wall. The houses showed the effects of the long separation. In one of the houses, one side has been inhabited by a branch of the family that is losing its lands; that side has no additions and is in poor repair. The descendants of the other brother have prospered and have added some rooms and a terrace to their side of the house. In another case, both parts of the house have been expanded and modernized but in different ways. 342 596 428

Vasilika's houses are not ordinarily large enough to be divided into more than two parts. If there are more than two brothers, or if the paternal house is small, another solution to the housing problem exists. Here, the brothers agree to refurnish the ancestral house which one of them will continue to inhabit, and to build, in addition, new houses to the number of the remaining farmer brothers. The significance of the agreement is that the cost of the new houses and the repair and modernization of the old will be borne by the patrimony. Moreover, the brothers do not decide in advance which one is to have which house. That decision is made by drawing lots after the new houses are habitable and the old one has been improved. In a sense, the brothers agree jointly to improve the father's estate before they take their shares. The process is not different from that involved when the men in a joint household buy land which is added to the estate and is eventually divided among them. The process of building the new houses takes years (in one case where two new houses were built, the actual work took seven years) and during that time the brothers and their wives watch carefully to make sure that no one house is less well equipped than any other; for no man knows which of the houses it will fall to his lot to own.

The drawing of lots and thereby the division of the property does not have to await the completion of the new houses. As in the towns and cities in Greece, a dwelling is considered habitable at what to an American view is an early stage in its construction. Villagers will live in a house in which the ground-level rooms still have earthen floors, in which there is no ceiling to hide the rafters and to exclude the earth and dust that the wind sends through the roof, in which only the outer stone walls have been completed and the inner walls have not yet been plastered or stuccoed. Even at that, the cost of labor and materials for the basic stone or brick shell of a two-story house in Vasilika can absorb the surplus cash from joint holding of some eighty *stremata* for two or three years. [435]

Once it is agreed that the new houses are ready for occupancy and that the old house has been sufficiently improved, the moment for the separation has come. The farmers are then joined by any town brothers they may have and they sit down together to evaluate the patrimonial property. No women participate in the deliberations. First, the men examine their land resources and make up sets of holdings of equal value. For example, if there are three farming brothers, virtually all the patrimonial land will be divided into three parcels; one parcel may have an extra *stremata* of vineyard as compared to the other two parcels, but that will make up for the fact that the second and third parcels consist of cotton lands which are slightly more fertile than those assigned to the 596 428

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596 428 first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as [736] possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata*, are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings,and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the [736] mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a babytender were needed.

596 594 428 When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of [476] dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neigh- [426] bors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the [607] village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

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tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw. 596 594 428

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision. 577 777 428 596

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist- 596 594 178 [162] [582]

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596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at mar-
[421] riage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
425 further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

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369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
471

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
594 unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called *vasana*, a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi*," "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika*, the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that
[593] their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from
594 dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes,
511 return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

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management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[8] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[8] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

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583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

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583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of
182 family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

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aunt, uncle, niece, and nephew are directly translatable into the English words, 601
except that the linguistic forms vary for males and females, and that, in fact, 171
the villagers refer to distinctions between first and second cousins more frequently than Americans do.[4] Like ours, the system is characterized by the distinctness of elementary family terms, the separation of generations, and the equal consideration of both father's and mother's line of descent in the terms for all consanguineal (blood) relatives. So far the Greek terms are also entirely congruent with the actual functioning distinctiveness of the elementary family and the existing bilateral descent in the country. There is special interest for us, [581]
however, in the Greek terms for affinal relatives (that is, relatives by marriage) which, in some instances, differ from those in English and are, in turn, congruent with the particular significance of marriage in Greek social structure.

Petheros (masculine) and *pethera* (feminine) are equivalent to English 601
father-in-law and mother-in-law, but there is an additional, reciprocal Greek 581
term which two sets of in-laws use in referring to each other: *simpetheros* and *simpethera*. In English these must be rendered as "my son's or daughter's father- or mother-in-law." The Greek terms, then, group together the parents of a husband and wife with a term of reference roughly translatable as "co-in-laws." The Greek word for son-in-law, *ghambros*, is also used to mean groom, and that for daughter-in-law, *nifi*, is also used for bride. Moreover, all the members of a man's elementary family, not only his parents, but also his brothers and sisters, all refer to his wife as their *nifi*, and all the members of a woman's elementary family refer to her husband as their *ghambros*. The terms *nifi* and *ghambros*, then, are not equivalent to any English kin terms, but must be translated as "that man or woman who has married a member of my elementary family." At least two generations, that of parents and their children, use the same terms to refer to people normally in the younger generation. In other words, the generational distinctiveness characteristic of terms for blood relatives is replaced by the status designation for a person who has married into an elementary family. This disregard of generation is not reciprocated, however, by the spouses of one's children or by one's brothers and sisters. As we have seen, mother and father of one's spouse are called *petheros* and *pethera;* now we can add that brothers and sister of one's spouse are referred to as *kunyadhos* and *kunyadha*, that is brother- and sister-in-law.

The status category of marriage into a particular elementary family appears again, however, in the existence of distinct terms by which men who have married two sisters refer to each other, *badzanakidhes*, and by which women who have married two brothers refer to each other, *sinifadhes*. Men who have married sisters and women who have married brothers have to deal with the same sets of in-laws and this constitutes a common bond which is signalized by the terms just given. Another way of saying this is that those women who are referred to as *nifi* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *sinifadha*, and those men who are referred to as *ghambros* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *badzanakis*.

[4] See Andromedas (1957) for a complete list of modern Greek kinship terms.

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601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are
608 those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's
585 spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same exten-
608 sions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage pro-
851 hibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* sys-
608 tem in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the
557 people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they [581] try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types [582] of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since [612] the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be [369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals
608 who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)
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relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least; it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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476 first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among
369 these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board
while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant
602 to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and
608 so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those po-
557 tentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one
person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not
be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to an-
[574] other individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways,
for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospi-
tality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls
from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a
farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and
his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these
extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts
to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

[609] What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct
relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the
network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

571 In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects
602 to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from
each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to him-
608 self, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not
identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied rela-
tionships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary con-
nections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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Human Relations[1]

Attitudes Toward Man and Nature

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If it were necessary to describe the nature of the villagers' feelings with respect to each other and the world in one word, that word would be "tension." Indeed, in the first chapter, the metaphor of Vasilika as a setting for a series of family dramas was used. The metaphor has a special aptness because it hints at the essential quality of drama—tension created by some kind of struggle. John Peristiany speaks of the agonistic quality of relationships among the Cypriot villagers he knows—agonistic in the sense of the ancient Greek word *agon* (match or struggle). This word is equally useful for Vasilika, although the contests do not appear to have quite the intensity of those described for Cyprus. Nevertheless, in Vasilika, when one walks through the fields and asks how the work is going, the common response is *"Palevume,"* "We are wrestling." Such an answer is not a cliché in which the literal meaning is lost. The villagers can amplify with further comments on their perpetual contest with soil, weather, and machinery. Man does not always win, in their view, but he is obligated to do his best and to use skill in the struggle. In contemporary Vasilika, the skill involves knowledge of naturally efficient means, and anyone who does not do his best in this sense is unintelligent and deserves to lose the battle. Those who try may still fail, and then the villagers turn to fate or to God's will as an explanation. But an appeal to fate or to God is never an excuse for neglecting actions which are humanly possible, and sometimes this is overtly expressed. For example, one farmer, at a time of unseasonable drought, remarked as he looked at his tobacco fields, "I won't make the sign of the cross, I'll bring my pump over here and irrigate the field." His intent was not blasphemous; he was not an irreligious man from the standpoint of village beliefs and practices. Rather, the farmer was expressing an explicit attitude in

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[1] Lee (1953) is especially relevant to this chapter, and is strongly recommended for further discussion.

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82 777 village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

156 578 621 In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within [593] the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

156 828 571 578 What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the [558] contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only [777] if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksebazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

156 828 867 858 This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

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committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man 156
will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since 828
they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits in- 867
herently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where
the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is 858
capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is
both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and
also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own
gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of 156
their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and 828
shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held 867
down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The
result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and 854
his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protec-
tion of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They [856]
also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be
able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the [751]
sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the
swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times
toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead
that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process
of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces 156
of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magi- 828
cal forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are con- 867
sidered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in
the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. 852
They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother
and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the 771
church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years [846]
old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through
the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the
young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of
an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or com- [754]
plaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects
of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing
to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its 156
permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace con- 828
tinue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may
add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services 771
less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal 867
requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

156 hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and
828 some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but
771 God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes
867 affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an
[776] omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God
[821] has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

855 Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There
854 are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

855 Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

[865] In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed
[654] them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government
[232] agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

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the child that he would have the agent inject him just as if he were a chicken. The child started to cry, and after two or three minutes, his father righted the child and comforted him. 855 [654] [232]

Sometimes adults use similar methods to discipline a child. On one occasion, a group of women were discussing the coming Easter festivities, and the two-year-old niece of one of them kept climbing on and off her aunt's lap. The child was told several times to sit still but ignored the request. Finally, her aunt laid the child on its back across her knees and laughingly told her they would kill her like the Easter lamb. The woman ran the edge of her hand over the child's throat to demonstrate the slitting of the lamb's throat. The others laughed and added vivid details. The child's eyes showed panic; she struggled up out of her aunt's lap and sat quietly on a stool for about fifteen minutes until they both left. We heard the aunt speaking gently and endearingly to the child as they departed. 865 861

As the foregoing examples indicate, when adults deliberately frighten children or even stimulate milder forms of distress, they do not abandon the child to his misery but try to relieve the anxiety by physical affection and soothing words. In spite of this, however, a three-year-old child will often try to hit a parent or elder brother or sister who is causing distress. He is laughed at for his futile efforts by those watching the scene. Four- and five-year-old children respond to the teasing by walking away or by maintaining stolid expressions. Once they do this, the severity and frequency of the teasing by elders decreases, and the pattern continues mostly among the children themselves in their relations with each other. Practical jokes continue on into adolescence. From the adults' point of view, the teasing is no longer amusing or valuable for discipline because the child has gained enough knowledge, enough intelligence to know that the process is a kind of game and has acquired the skill with which to handle his side of it. Mentally retarded individuals never learn, and they are baited and teased for the amusement of the watchers all their lives. From the child's point of view, the constant reassurance he receives after the pain may teach him that there is no real or permanent danger in the adult actions except that of ridicule, and that is what he learns to try to avoid. [855] [732]

Just as the teasing leads to a recognition that other people's actions and words should not be taken at face value, so does another common pattern of dealing with children—the pattern of deliberately lying to them. Usually, parents or older brothers and sisters lie to a child to get him to do what he does not want to do. For example, a three-year-old child may be asked to go into another room to fetch something. The child does not respond to several requests; his mother then tells him his father is in the other room and will give him candy if he goes. The child thinks he remembers that his father left for the fields early in the morning, and therefore is not likely to be in the next room; he makes a comment to this effect; his mother seriously reassures him that his father is really in the next room; he becomes uncertain and, finally, cautiously goes to the door, opens it slowly and looks inside. At this point his mother and anyone else around laugh at his look of chagrin. 855 [867]

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855 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways
865 as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders.
867 However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in [593] accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

577 Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and
867 falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies, *psemata*, is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a
156 milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end [578] of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"ponyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly
577 one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village.
578 An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict. [577] [578]

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion. [571]

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard. 521 571 867 868 [827] [865]

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the 521 571 867 [851]

521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point
461 of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before,
512 is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
521 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
571 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala*," "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

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Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts. 571 867

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone. 521 [868] [196]

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity. 521 571 156 828 [748]

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kuvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other. 521 156 828 571

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha*," "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their

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521 156 methods is to ask the same questions in different ways at different times, and an outsider is often struck by the persistence with which such questioning on the 828 same issue is carried on over many months. Not to succeed in gathering a choice 571 bit of knowledge is no disgrace—the villagers keep trying and every man stays on the alert to guard his secrets.

521 There are some kinds of verbal communication that are outside the realm of agonistic relationships and in a sense provide a respite from them. These are 156 the ritual phrases, which constitute proper responses to frequently recurring com- 571 mon life situations.

576 Village manners require the use of a wide variety of greetings at meeting and at parting. In addition to these, there are a large number of appropriate set phrases for life crisis situations, large and small. For example, one says *"Kali eleftherya,"* "Good deliverance," to a pregnant woman, "May they live for you" to a parent showing you a picture of his children, "May it pass for you" to an ill person or to any member of his family, "To your health" to a person wearing new clothes, and so on. "Many years" is the wish expressed to everyone on saints' days. This list is far from complete, but illustrates the point that although the phrases are formulaic and are most often used without conscious awareness of their literal meanings, they are apotropaic in feeling. In other words, the villagers have a vague sense that the phrases, which are good wishes, may succeed in warding off evil. Certainly the formulas also serve as an immediate expression of the good intentions of the speaker toward another in a potentially stressful situation.

Transmission of Values

156 Some of the weapons used in agonistic relationships in the village and 828 some of the processes by which children acquire the necessary skills to use them 867 have been considered. It remains to complete the discussion of the kinds of values and attitudes inculcated in children and to show the relationship of all the foregoing to the question: Who are the actors in the contests of Vasilika, and what are the social alignments which form the structural base of these human relationships in the village?

156 If, as we have seen, obedience to elders is not a virtue which parents 828 stress to regulate the behavior of children, and if affection is interspersed with 867 ridicule so that children cannot depend completely on the parents' support, by 858 what mechanism do the villagers' children acquire the prevailing standards of 152 behavior? It has already been suggested that the villagers act as if they believed that human beings, by virtue of their humanity, have brains. It may now be added that they also believe that inherent in every child is a sense of integrity which, in English, is best translated as shame. Parents do not feel that they have to implant these traits in their children but expect to bring them to the surface and to put to use qualities which the child already has within himself.[3] Each child is believed to have rudimentary intelligence which will develop into rational

[3] I am indebted to Popie Mohring for this phrasing.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dben gneri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dben echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi*, are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

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A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them. *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

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Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

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152 156 828 867 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

875 861 When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 828 867 577 562 574 Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 828 577 777 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 828 574 571 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms.

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece.

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction.

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground, although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo*

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156 is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by
828 overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individ-
571 ual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its mem-
594 bers, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

571 Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not
578 between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

571 Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly
561 as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they
88 have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference
561 toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior
576 among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older
888 men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in
[593] front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the
[276] age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and
[521] older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the
[793] family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Gligbora!, gligbora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [561] 594 596

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562]
different from each other for that.

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000 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and
562 women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in
521 the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves,
829 women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the
[834] village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the
[576] kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi-
[594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of
[577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear,
[828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but
[834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working
[594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in
593 the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

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wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality.

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification.

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages.

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized.

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter.

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6

The Village: As a Community

The Village Government

621 IN THE FIRST CHAPTER the village was described as a setting for the life of families, which are the most significant social groups in the settlement. It now becomes possible to consider the functions of the village itself as an entity in its own right. First, the formal organization of village-wide activities and responsibilities will be discussed, and second, the attitudes of the inhabitants toward Vasilika in contrast with their attitudes toward the family and the nation.

[631] The Greek government classifies Vasilika as a *kinotis* for administrative purposes despite its small population. A *kinotis* is legally a populated center with at least 300 inhabitants and a school, and constitutes one of the four kinds of administrative subdivisions in each of the nomes (provinces) of Greece.

622 The formal governmental activities of the *kinotis* are the responsibility of
623 a locally elected president and council. A community the size of Vasilika is
665 entitled to a council of five members elected for a four-year term. Voting must
666 be done along party lines; and voters select five names from among those listed by the party of their choice. Vasilika had only two political parties in its local elections in 1956. Under the system of proportional representation then operating, the four men with the most votes from the party which itself had the majority of votes were elected to the council. The fifth member should have been the man with the most votes in the minority party. At the last Vasilika election, however, the man in this position preferred not to act as a minority representative and the second man on the list became the council member. The five representatives then elect a president and a vice-president from among their number, usually for two-year terms. The council and community are served by an addi-
624 tional official, the secretary of the *kinotis*. The secretary is not elected and has no
[634] vote on the council. He is appointed by the nomarch (governor) of the province upon nomination from the village council. His salary varies with the income of

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the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant. [647]

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget. 65 [622] [623] [217]

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset. 653 [634] [652] [651] [491]

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road. 653 491 [494] [634]

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition. [461] [369]

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653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis.* The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had
628 been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
692 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
233 no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had
[622] been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis,* was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis.* Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

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The village council also has initial jurisdiction over monies which are not derived from the taxes already mentioned. There is a levy amounting to two percent a year of the value of the cotton and wheat produced by each farmer, three percent of the value of any inheritance, and three percent of the value of money and property given as a dowry for any village girl. The proceeds of these taxes are deposited in the village account in Amphiklia. A tax on tobacco production is paid to the national government. The amount collected from the tobacco tax is redistributed to all communities in Greece on a per capita basis for schools, roads, and the like. Tobacco-growing villages like Vasilika receive an additional sum in proportion to the quantity of tobacco produced in the community. 651 [623] 652

Initial jurisdiction in the disposal of all monies belonging to the *kinotis* consists in the preparation of the village budget by the council. The task is done under the close supervision of the nomarch's office. Printed forms for village budgets are available at stationery stores and must be purchased and used. The form includes a list of items for which the community may be expected to spend its money and another list of items from which income is derived. It is the secretary's work actually to fill in the form in quadruplicate. He does so at a meeting of village secretaries called by the nomarch and held in Levadhia. The forms are then checked by the nomarch's office and some changes may be imposed. The expenses listed on the form include the secretary's salary, the salaries of the two village policemen, the salary of an assistant treasurer in Amphiklia, whatever is due the tax collector (who seemed in 1956 to be getting six percent of the amount collected), rent to the church for office space, several newspapers brought by train from Athens each day, books for the school (but not for individual students), road repairs, and the like. The completed document becomes, in fact, a theoretical model for appropriate village income and expenditure rather than a reasonable estimate of future financial transactions. Some of the income actually will be deposited in the account of the village and some of the expenditures will be made, but most will not, and even those transactions that do occur may not be made in the sums designated in the budget. 652 623 634 624 652

Let us consider income first. The collection of taxes from the farmers is not carried out regularly. When no collector comes to the village, the farmers are supposed to go to Amphiklia to pay their taxes, but few do so. During our stay in the village, a new collector came to Vasilika and sat in the *aghora* for an entire day accepting money from the farmers. They paid only part of their previous year's assessment, and so remained a year in arrears. The interest charge on late tax payments is only sporadically collected from the farmers. Just as the collection of monies is irregular, so is the payment of salaries and the expenditure of other funds. For example, the secretary at one point had not received his monthly salary of 350 drachmas for several months. The use of monies for other purposes depends on the interest of the villagers in village projects, and for the most part such interest is lacking. The village governing body and the secretary fulfill the formal responsibilities placed upon them by the national government, but do not seem to feel that the forms must reflect reality. [651] [465] [623] [624]

It is clear from the foregoing that in the formal political organization of Greece the village council has little power even over affairs for which it has some 623

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623 responsibility. The collection of its monies is undertaken by the central government's financial officers directed from Amphiklia, and the expenditure of its monies is supervised and controlled by the officers of the *nomarchia* centered in Levadhia. Moreover, the council has neither responsibility nor power over other village-wide activities. Law enforcement and the operation of the village school and of the village churches are administered separately both from the council and each from the others. Before turning to these activities, some mention of the council's role in Vasilika apart from the formal expectations is appropriate.

[829] [622] It is indicative of the village attitude toward the council, in contrast with that toward the president, that at no time during our stay in the village was any man pointed out to us as having the status of council member or as having had it in the past. When, accompanied by several villagers, we visited the former schoolteacher of Vasilika, he asked us who was currently the president but did not ask about the council members. The president has an important role to play 622 in the minds of the villagers. He is expected to act as liaison between them and 829 other governmental units and to further the interests of Vasilika in whatever situations may develop. For example, there was some criticism of the president for not arranging more rapidly for the bus to come through the village. In 731 early April 1956, an unexpected and heavy rain flooded the fields and threatened 312 to destroy the wheat if the waters did not drain off quickly. Most of the vil- 208 lagers (not all, however) were agitated, and in the early morning groups of men 521 climbed the hill and looked out over the fields shaking their heads and lamenting, "*Katastrofes*!" "Catastrophy!" Then came the discussion of why the fields were not draining properly. All day, in the coffeehouse, the men inveighed against the English company which had owned the former Lake Copais land for setting up a drainage system that did not go beyond those lands; against the Greeks who took over the company for continuing a system that, the men insisted, not only did not drain the lands of Vasilika, but even made it subject to flooding; against the government for not having built a proposed dam that would have protected the region; and against the village president for not immediately calling on the nomarch's engineers to suggest remedies for the present situation. For days after, there were rumors that the nomarch's technical staff would meet with the president and councils of Parori and Vasilika to arrange a public works program of low dams to protect the area from possible future disasters from the same cause. The meeting never took place. Some villagers 731 blamed the situation on the unwillingness of the farmers to work together to 312 build their own small dams. One man had earlier tried to protect his own 208 fields by building low earthen dikes around them, but his work was wasted because the surrounding fields were not so protected. The morning after the storm some of the men had quickly built up a two-foot dam at an obviously vulnerable spot near the cemetery. But a villager pointed out that if the water had risen just a little further, the placement of the dam would have made the situation worse rather than better. There was no more rain; the waters gradually receded; each man watched for his own fields to dry out. Those who were left with one or two small plots that were so badly flooded as to be useless for

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planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic
[292] poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast
[541] of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and
[536] by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets, which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

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watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *aghora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

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been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday, but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos, sirtos,* and *tsamikos,* danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village, the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast, after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival

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with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796 [484]

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

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[Good Friday]

796 morning, small boys went from house to house crying, *"Mavros in o uranos,"* [778] "The sky is black," and they were given money or eggs. Meanwhile, the girls of the village worked inside the church covering with wild flowers the sedan- [788] chairlike wooden frame in which an oil painting of Jesus on his bier was to be carried around the village that night. The frame and the icon together are called the *epitafios*. The girls seemed thoroughly to enjoy the morning's work, and they 796 laughed, giggled, jostled each other, and called out orders. Occasionally they 562 sang as they worked. It appeared also as if they were taking particular joy in being inside the church with no men to restrain them. They took turns sprawling over the stalls in which, as females, they rarely sat during a service. They also went up to the chanters' stand and recited some of the cantilations which were to be sung that night—the girls can follow the liturgy only silently during the [778] course of the actual service. Some of the younger girls even dared each other to go behind the panel to the altar, a place forbidden to females, but none actually did. They seemed uneasy and were even frightened at the suggestion.

796 The church bell rang at 2:20 that afternoon. The priest, with one of the 788 chanters and his son, performed the service in the course of which he brought the icon from behind the altar, covered it with a white cloth and placed it in its bower. In accordance with the symbolic re-enactment of the event, only the women and girls (and a few schoolboys) were in the church at the time. Once the icon was in place and strewn with flowers, the priest and then the children [764] went up to kiss it. The priest explained that it should be done slowly and deliberately, exactly as it was done for the dead in the village funeral rituals.

Good Friday services began that night at 9:00. At 11:00 the *epitafios* was carried out of the church by four boys. These marched in procession with the *epitafios* behind boys carrying the *lavara* (standards). Behind the *epitafios* walked the priest and the chanters. The rest of the villagers followed holding candles to light the way as the *epitafios* was carried around the entire village. As the bells of the three village churches pealed, and the children chanted *"Enas ine o theos"* and *"Panayia dhespina,"* "God is one" and "Our Lady, the All Holy One," the villagers picked their way carefully over the stones and ruts as they climbed the hillside, circled the whole settlement, and climbed down again on the other side. When the procession reached the church door once more, the boys held the bier high so that the returning congregation passed into the church under it. The service was over shortly after midnight.

796 On Holy Saturday, sweet Easter breads with red eggs inside were displayed, other eggs were dyed red, last minute finishing touches were given to [262] Easter clothes and last house-cleaning chores were completed. Some people slaughtered the Easter lamb on Saturday, others waited until Sunday. In the [461] meantime, field chores went on as usual. Everyone rested for a few hours, from about 9:00 Saturday night until the Easter Sunday services began shortly after midnight. These lasted until 4:00 in the morning, with two periods of climax. [788] The first occurred when all the lights in the church were put out and the priest [787] kindled the new light. The boys rushed up to see who could be the first to light his own candle from that of the priest's. They said the winner would be the first of the boys to be married. The rest of the congregation then lit its

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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, "*Khristos anesti,*" "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

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621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the
476 interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the
571 life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha,* that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni,* people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages, and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,
123 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
685 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were
621 thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
000 to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

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621
Evidence suggests that 186
an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609
they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574
thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577]
petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828]
expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always [685]
raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at [521]
a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually [522]
in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers [183]
began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621
identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it 186
must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156
reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride 828
in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 476
and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594]
family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464]
daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663]
official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554]
his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he [185]
does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619
for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829
as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is [621]
profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181]
with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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619 to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient
829 Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the
181 refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the [776] family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities [173] and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classi- [185] cal Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and [173] although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete, the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proödhos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

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Glossary

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Greek terms given below are transliterated approximately according to the system used by Kahane, Kahane, and Ward, 1945, which is also employed throughout the text, except for certain geographical names.

AGHORA: Market place, central square

DHIMOTIKI: Demotic, the popular spoken form of the modern Greek language

DROPI: Shame

FILOTIMO: Sense of honor, amour-propre

GHAMBROS: Son-in-law; a man who has married into the speaker's family

GLIGHORA: Quickly

KHORTA: Green plants, growing wild, and used as vegetables

KINOTIS: A community as a governmental unit

KSENOS (plural, KSENI): Stranger; foreigner, outlander

KUMBAROS: Godparent at baptism; sponsor at marriage

LIRA (plural, LIRES): Gold sovereign; coined gold

NIFI: Daughter-in-law; a woman who has married into the speaker's family

OKA (plural, OKADHES): A weight equal to 2.8 pounds

PANIYIRI: An annual festival at which a village or town celebrates its patron saint's day

PATRIDHA: Native country; place of birth

PITA: Kind of pie

PRIKA: Dowry

RETSINA: Resinated wine

RUKHA: Clothing; trousseau

SALONI: Parlor, ceremonial room

SOGHAMBROS: A man who has come to live in the house of his wife's family

STREMA (plural, STREMATA): A quarter-acre

VASANO (usually plural, VASANA): Trial, tribulation, trouble

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Recommended Reading

113

Most of the items among the references cited can be considered as recommended reading as well.

On Greece

DURRELL, LAWRENCE, 1957, *Bitter Lemons*. New York: Dutton.
Comments of a sensitive writer on the Cyprus issue just before the independence of the island.

FORSTER, EDWARD S., 1941, *A Short History of Modern Greece 1821–1941*. London: Methuen.
One of the few works of this kind available in English.

LEE, DOROTHY D., 1953, Greece. In *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, edited by Margaret Mead, Unesco, pp. 77-114.
A full and perceptive discussion of Greek attitudes and values.

MCNEILL, WILLIAM HARDY, 1957, *Greece: American Aid in Action 1947–1956*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund.
An excellent analysis which includes much material on Greek social and economic conditions.

MEGAS, GEORGE A., 1958, *Greek Calendar Customs*. Athens: Press and Information Department, Prime Minister's Office.
A useful, generalized description of customs associated with feasts and festivals.

SANDERS, IRWIN T., 1962, *Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
An indispensable general description of a kind not previously available.

SWEET-ESCOTT, BICKHAM, 1954, *Greece, a Political and Economic Survey 1939–1953*. New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs.
Fine analysis of World War II period.

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Of the many books by foreign travelers or residents in Greece in recent times, the following, although essentially accounts of personal reactions to the country, include valuable descriptions of the land and the people.

ANDREWS, KEVIN, 1959, *The Flight of Ikaros*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

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On the Concept of the Peasant

FITCHEN, JANET MATHEWS, 1961, Peasantry as a Social Type. In *Proceedings of the 1961 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, edited by Viola E. Garfield. Seattle: University of Washington Press, pp. 114–119.

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FOSTER, GEORGE M., et al., 1960–61, Interpersonal Relations in Peasant Society. *Human Organization*, 19: 174-184.

A lively debate on how best to describe peasant personality.

REDFIELD, ROBERT, 1956, *Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

This book has rapidly become a classic and is indispensable reading for students of peasant cultures.

WOLF, ERIC R., 1955, Types of Latin American Peasantry. *American Anthropologist*, 57: 452-471.

A provocative classification of peasant communities the usefulness of which is by no means limited to Latin America.

The following two articles attempt to define some characteristics of the emerging industrial societies in which a large proportion of the population still has rural occupations.

CASAGRANDE, JOSEPH B., 1959, Some Observations on the Study of Intermediate Societies. In *Intermediate Societies, Social Mobility, and Communication*, edited by Verne F. Ray, Seattle: University of Washington Press, pp. 1-10. (See also comments by A. Lesser in the volume.)

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[For information on the sacred corner of a house, see category 353.]

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The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece[1]

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Queens College

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FOR some time anthropologists have been trying to refine their understandings of the relationships of peasant communities to the nations of which they are a part. Pioneer acculturation studies in Latin America pointed up the significantly different possibilities in this regard between physically isolated communities and those with access to roads and bus service and the like. The stress here was on analysis of the selectivity with which rural populations took over and adapted culture traits encountered in the cities (Redfield 1930:218–223; Beals 1951:5).

In a recent article Eric Wolf emphasizes the contrast between economically isolated rural communities producing primarily for subsistence and those which, because they produce cash crops, must maintain credit and market connections outside the local communities. Wolf stresses the cultural and social ramifications in the local community which he believes develop from the degree of its economic dependence on the town and its representatives (Wolf 1955:461–466). In a later article, Wolf describes as "a web of group relations" the actual mechanism by which peasant communities are connected to the towns (Wolf 1956:1066). In Wolf's discussion, the groups participating include not only the peasant and his economic mediator or "broker," as Wolf calls him, but also the political functionaries who act as intermediaries between the rural community and the national controls centered in the cities.

Redfield, in his most recent summary and analysis of the literature on peasant communities, characterizes these communities as societies ". . . in which there are long-established relations with an elite whose culture is that of the peasant carried to another level of development" (Redfield 1956:60). This elite he conceptualizes with a cultural rather than a structural emphasis. He defines it not primarily in terms of its economic and political power, but rather as the group of educated people who interpret to the villagers both urban customs and the great national literary and artistic traditions, and who also manage those affairs of peasants which are connected with the national institutions (Redfield 1956:60–65, 101–102). Both Wolf and Redfield make the point that the mediating groups need not be outsiders in the physical sense. Wolf notes that economically successful peasants who remain in the local community have become "brokers" (Wolf 1956:1075). Redfield mentions the "intelligentsia" who may live in the villages although they consider themselves among the urban educated classes (Redfield 1956:61–62). He also mentions that the elite may be relatives of the peasants (Redfield 1956:134). Wolf, by contrast, in his description of the characteristics of open peasant communities, suggests that the accumulation of wealth and the necessity for display which presumably

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lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57). 121 369

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations. 114 369 602

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all. 369 602 554 [571] [571]

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 369 554 433 000

369 However, Vasilika is an open community in
still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
463 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
871 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
[873] gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who
wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the
[166] age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six
years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son
may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office
employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an
employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a
neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent
[702] years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in
the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation un-
doubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too
early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the
[873] town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash out-
lay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent
farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land
resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his
sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of
land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of
the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
554 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is al-
58 most impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future
social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the
dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or
city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either
train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they
have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a
dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to
engage in these occupations.[3] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual,
therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of
602 his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a taxi-driver, to

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have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions. 369 602

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators. 369 602 554

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences. 571 602 369 593 [425]

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction. [574]

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the 571 583 425 593

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sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

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ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

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369 602 554 [574] 171 369 602 554 [619]

in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepozatlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918:Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it. 369

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956). 602 554 [121

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957. 114

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955–56, supported by a grant made under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. My husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the field work.

[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinos, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia. 463

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[Title Page]

Letter to the Editor

Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use

Sir:

114 As a graduate student in anthropology and a person of Greek descent, I
197 would like to correct the inaccuracy, both as to words used and their modern
601 forms, of the Modern Greek kinship terms in Edmonson's "Kinship Terms and Kinship Concepts" (AA 59:393–433). The inaccuracy does not affect the thesis or conclusions of the paper, nor is it the fault of the author but rather of the vexed language problem of Greece. The terms given by Edmonson are not the everyday terms of the Modern Greek spoken language (*demotike*), but the revived Ancient Greek (more or less) terms of the artificially created literary language (*katharevousa*). Indeed, Pernot found it necessary to treat the two as separate languages in his *Grammaire du Grec Moderne*.

This is not the place to go into the bitter language controversy; suffice it to say that any dictionary written by a Greek is to a greater or lesser degree an unreliable index to what is actually said by the people. Edmonson's procedure of checking his Greek dictionary data with a native speaker was of course correct but unfortunately to no avail, as most Greeks of any sophistication will feel called upon to give the "right" or dictionary word if asked, especially to a professor. However, this is not to say that the *katharevousa* terms are never used in speech, but their frequency is low and the number of speakers is limited.

601 Since the actual kinship terminology of Modern Greek has, to my knowl-
[114] edge, not yet been published, I am submitting the kin terms used by my rela-
[104] tives and compatriots in America and in Laconia in the hope that they may be made available for use by interested researchers. (The system of transliteration is roughly that of Kahane and Ward.)

Modern Greek Kinship Terminology

father	patéras, babás
mother	mitéra, mamá, mána
parents	ghonís
brother	adherfós
sister	adherfí
siblings	adhérfia (n. pl.)
son	yos
daughter	kóri
child	pedhí (n.)
parent's father	papús
parent's mother	yáya
parent's parent's father	prospápu
parent's parent's mother	prósyaya
child's son	ángonas
child's daughter	angóna

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Collateral consanguineal relatives of ascending generations and their spouses: thios, thia (uncle, aunt); bárbas (uncle, a familiar term.). 601

Collateral consanguineal relatives of descending generations and their spouses: anepsyós, anepsyá (newphew, niece).

Collateral consanguineal relatives of the same generation and their spouses: (e)xádherfos, (e)xadhérfi (cousin); protoxádherfos (first cousin); xadhérfia (cousinhood, cousinry).

The older collateral relative is presumed to be of an ascending generation, but the technicality can be insisted upon for precision or humor (as when a woman inisted on several occasions that her three-year-old daughter was my aunt). Then, too, fully descriptive phrases can be used in reference, e.g., my uncle, the first cousin of my father. [522]

Member of a family related by marriage: simpétheros, simpethéra (co-father-in-law, co-mother-in-law)

father of spouse	pentherós
mother of spouse	pentherá
brother of spouse	kunyádhos
sister of spouse	kunyádha

For other relatives of spouse, the same terms as spouse uses.

wife of son	nífi (bride)
wife of brother	nífi
husband of sister	ghambrós (groom)
husband of daughter	ghambrós
wife	yinéka (woman), kiría (Mrs.)
husband	ándras(man), kírios (Mr.)
spouse	sízighos
husband of wife's sister	batzanákis
wife of husband's brother	sinifádha (co-bride)
godfather	nonós
godmother	noná
godson	vaftistikós
goddaughter	vaftistiká

Members of families related by godparenthood: kumbáros, kumbára. [608]

wedding sponsor and spouse	kumbáros, kumbára

Members of families related by wedding-sponsorship: kumbáros, -a.

When a woman marries she customarily takes not only her husband's last name but his first as well, plus a suffix, -ena or -u, depending on the number of syllables and the accentuation of the name; e.g., Dhimítrios-Dhimítrena, Dhiamandís-Dhiamandú. This is not grammatical gender; the suffix means "wife of," and can be added even to nicknames. The given name is still used by the family of procreation and others. The suffix -ítsa added to a woman's maiden name indicates née so-and-so. Family names can form the plural of their respective declensions or add the suffix -éi (ancient *atoi*, "natives of"), 193 551 [553]

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193 indicating the members and partisans of a family or clan; e.g., Tsavaléi, Andro-
551 midhéi, Kolokotronéi, Petimezéi (Cf. Pernot, vol. I, p. 86).

Of the Modern Greek kinship terms listed above, most existed with the
177 same or much the same meaning in Ancient Greek. However, the latter had a
601 much richer and more varied vocabulary in the totality of its literature, and the reduction has been considerable. It included many non-Indo-European loan words of which *theîos* and *anepsiós*, among others, survive today. The modern loan words are kunyádhos, bárbas, yáya, and batzanákis, from Romance, Turkish, etc. The bulk of borrowings and replacements of common Indo-European kin terms had occurred already in ancient times. For instance, *adelphós*, *-é* (modern *adherfós*), literally "co-uterine" (from *delphýs*, womb, a word of uncertain origin), became the sibling terms in place of **phrâter* and
[113] **eór* which dropped out before Homer. The full roster of classic and Homeric kin terms can be found in Miller's "Greek Kinship Terminology."

JOHN ANDROMEDAS, *Columbia University*

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

CCC

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE GREEK CHURCH

by
PETER HAMMOND

And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter. . . . And he cried unto the Lord, and the Lord showed him a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters were made sweet.

Exodus XV, 23

[Title Page]

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II

SOME UNFAMILIAR PERSPECTIVES

"And who", quoth the Patriarch . . . "Who is the Archbishop of Canterbury?"
"What?" said I, a little astonished at the question.
"Who", said he, "is this Archbishop?"
"Why, the Archbishop of Canterbury."
"Archbishop of what?" said the Patriarch.
"Canterbury", said I.
"Oh", said the Patriarch. "Ah! Yes! and who is he?"

THE HON. ROBERT CURZON, JR.
Visits to Monasteries in the Levant, London, 1849

THE western Christian who would enter with understanding into the spirit of the Greek Church must be prepared to approach with a certain childlike simplicity a strange world that will not be forced into the mould of familiar categories; a world in which traditional western controversies become meaningless, where the Pope is regarded as the arch-Protestant and the Christian Scientist as an eccentric Roman Catholic.

What is the western Christian to make of a Church, so manifestly conservative and hierarchical in its whole ordering, which yet accords to the laity so prominent—even, some might say, obtrusive—a place in its public worship; in which laymen preach and teach while the clergy meekly attend; a Church which detects in the western Protestant's refusal to use incense a sign of popery; which honours the monastic vocation and refuses to tolerate the unmarried parish priest? What of the Greek country parson: a peasant-farmer, unlettered and, by western standards, virtually untrained, administering the *mysteries* of initiation and communion in his village church and labouring at his patch of stony ground, the servant of the community?

Let the western Christian see something of the liturgical life of the Greek Church, and he will tell you of gorgeous pageantry and ceremonial and of services which never end; of bishops and metropolitans in

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jewelled mitres and vestments of gold, assisted by priests and deacons whose "Garments and Accoutrements", in the words of a seventeenth-century divine, "are very Glorious and different"; of richly decorated churches where lamps burn day and night before the eikons of the saints. But let him go also to a house which stands beside the great basilica of St. Demetrius at Salonica and he will find himself in a gathering of students and professional men, the atmosphere of which recalls a nonconformist prayer-meeting; and to the adjoining hall where children shout the vernacular hymns of the catechetical schools, or where a young woman expounds a chapter of the Greek New Testament to an audience of housewives.

Christendom and the course of church history take on a very different aspect when one's vantage point lies to the eastward of the Adriatic: whether it be Constantinople or Jerusalem, Mount Athos or Alexandria. For the Greek Christian the visible fold of the Church is made up of the four ancient patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, together with the patriarchate of Moscow and certain autocephalous churches. Beyond the frontiers of the Orthodox Church all is obscure and uncertain: to be committed to the boundless mercy of God, and approached (when circumstances require it) with wariness and circumspection. "As for the English Liturgy", runs the *Answer of the Orthodox of the East to the proposals sent from Britain for an union and agreement with the Oriental Church*, "we are unacquainted with it, having never either seen or read it; but we have some suspicion of it, because many and various Heresies, Schisms and Sects have arisen up in those parts, lest the hereticks should have introduced into it any corruption or deviation from the right Faith. Upon this account it is necessary we should both see and read it. . . ."

Within this outer darkness of heresy and schism the Greek is not given to nice distinctions, and strange confusions, baffling to the western mind, are common. A friend of mine was catechised at some length as to who it was who commemorated the Pope in the liturgy, by an old monk of Athos who was equally prepared to attribute this weighty offence to the Lutherans or to the Methodists! The persisting error of the patriarch of the west is seen in the same light as those of the reformers, as a hankering after innovation and new-fangled ways:

> Some time since [write the eastern patriarchs to "the Remnant of Primitive Piety"] the Pope of Rome, being deceived by the

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malice of the Devil and falling into strange novel doctrines, revolted from the unity of the Holy Church, and was cut off; and is now like a tattered rag of the sail of the spiritual vessel of the Church, which formerly consisted and was made up of five parts, four of which continue in the same state of unity and concord, and by these we easily and calmly sail through the ocean of this life, and without difficulty pass over the waves of heresy till we arrive within the haven of salvation. But he who is the fifth part, being separated from the entire sail . . . is unable to perform his voyage, and therefore we behold him at a distance, tossed with constant waves and tempest till he return to our catholic, apostolic, oriental and immaculate faith, and be reinstated in the sail from whence he was torn off: for this will make him secure and able to weather the spiritual storms and tempests that beset him. . . .

Gregory, by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Oecumenical Patriarch, writes on September 26th, 1869, to "the most holy Archbishop, the Metropolitan of Canterbury, and Exarch of the Christians of the Anglican Confession in Great Britain, the Lord Archibald Campbell," to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the English Book of Common Prayer which that dignitary had caused to be sent him. After having examined the said book to "ascertain how far it inclines to or diverges from genuine evangelical and catholic teaching" the Patriarch reluctantly confesses that it contains statements which appear "to savour too much of novelty"; these statements, he concludes, "throw us into suspense, so that we doubt what we are to judge of the rule of Anglican orthodoxy".

These passages are characteristic of the Greek view of Christendom. While the Orthodox Church faithfully preserves the tradition of the undivided Church—"neither adding anything, or taking anything from it"—the western world, encouraged by the evil example of its chief bishop, has confounded the faith once delivered to the saints with "strange, novel doctrines", the fruit of human reasoning; and when holy tradition has once been set at naught there can be no certainty and no "right worship": the saving truth of God is henceforth mingled with the vain imaginings of sinful men.

[123] In the spring of 1950 I made an expedition to the westward of Siatista with a small escort of local militia. The leader of the party questioned me as to the state of Christianity in England.

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SOME UNFAMILIAR PERSPECTIVES

"The English," he demanded, "are Catholics?" 795

"No," said I, "though there is in England a Catholic minority far larger than in Greece." 798

"The English are *diamartyromenoi* (Protestants), then?"

"Indeed, no," said I, knowing something of the associations of the term for the Greek mind; "the English are not Protestants."

The *kapetanios* was perplexed; and then, after a moment's reflection he suddenly exclaimed with enormous satisfaction:

"So, then, the English are simple Christians!"

Needless to say, where the prevailing ignorance is so abysmal much can depend—for good or ill—upon chance encounters and odd scraps of information. There are those whose knowledge of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* would seem to be limited to the fact that she is divided as irrevocably as Caesar's Gaul into three parts, high, low and broad: though the significance of these mysterious divisions eludes their comprehension. Others know her only through the widely publicised activities of certain of the more idiorrhythmic of her dignitaries. Occasionally, however, a happier encounter affords the suspicious Greek ecclesiastic a glimpse of something which he can recognise as familiar amid the obscurity in which the west is veiled: which may even prompt him to inform his wondering flock, when he preaches to them the following Sunday, that in the mysterious providence of the *Pantocrator*, though all the territories of the patriarch of the west have fallen into heresy, some remnant of primitive orthodoxy has been preserved in those islands whence came Byron and Codrington and the *Kyrios* Churchill.

It was my custom when travelling in Greece to carry with me 123
several copies of a Greek translation of the Scottish Communion 795
Office. The recipients of this work included the abbot of a certain 798
monastery, whose hospitality I had enjoyed: a rigorist who regarded all that lay beyond the pale of Orthodox Christendom as unrelieved darkness and heresy. It was some months before I stayed at the monastery again, and my visit coincided with a festival. After the liturgy the abbot invited several of those who had been present in church to the guest-chamber, where coffee and cognac were served by a deacon. The inevitable catechism ensued:

"The *Kyrios* is not a Greek?"

"No, he is a stranger."

"From what country?"

"He comes from England."

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123 "Ah! from England."
795 "Yes, he is a *theologos* from Oxford."
798 "He is Orthodox?"

At this point another of the visitors, a high-school teacher from Cyprus, rashly asserted in a loud voice that the English were all Luthero-Calvinists. "It is evident, Sir Professor," said the abbot, "that you are ill-informed in regard to the belief of the English Christians. *I*, however, have closely studied the liturgy of the British nation which, it is beyond doubt, is no other than that of St. James, the Lord's brother. The Christians who have such a liturgy are evidently orthodox in faith, even though their canonical status, owing to their remoteness and isolation, is somewhat irregular."

795 It is perhaps only fair to add that other travellers have on occasion
798 met with a less encouraging response to their efforts to diffuse a more exact knowledge of our own liturgical life. Dr. Hunt, for example, who visited Mount Athos at the end of the eighteenth century, and who relates that: "In conversation with their prelates and well educated caloyers [from *kalogeros*—literally, 'good old man'—a common word for a monk], I so often found what I judged to be religious moderation, that I was once induced to show them a Greek version of the English liturgy; but when they saw that we kept Easter at the time fixed by the Gregorian or Romish calendar, and that we laid down no precise rules about the mode of fasting . . . I saw such a disposition for controversy arise, that I ever afterwards abstained from all allusion to similar subjects." Times have changed but little on the holy mountain, and the traveller may still encounter monks who, when topics such as fasting on Saturday are in question, will yield nothing in polemical ardour to the most celebrated patterns of orthodoxy who flourished in Byzantine days.

795 Now it is surely evident that the Greek Christian's conception of Christendom differs radically from any that prevails in the west: not least from that of the English churchman who, if he looks beyond the bounds of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, finds his view blocked by the leviathan of Old Rome on the one hand and Protestant Nonconformity on the other. All that the Greek has in mind when he speaks of the Church lies unseen and forgotten beneath the horizon of this shrunken world. Vanished is that more spacious Christendom wherein the one faith was confessed and the one eucharist offered from Malabar to the misty

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shores of Albion and the territories of the "pope of another world". 795
For the Greek, as for the western Christian, the horizon has contracted, and it is only by a considerable effort of the imagination that we can hope to comprehend an outlook that is unfamiliar to the point of fantasy.

One is sometimes asked what are the main points of difference between eastern and western Christendom, in terms which make it quite clear that one's questioner is thinking of particular doctrinal propositions. It can hardly be too strongly emphasised, however, that the manifest cleavage which now exists between the Orthodox and other Christians is less a matter of disagreement on specific issues than of two widely divergent attitudes and approaches. This is not to deny the reality and importance of certain dogmatic questions (such as that concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, for example), but merely to assert that it is not there that the primary differences are to be sought. The truth of this contention is borne out by certain recent developments in western Europe, where the influence of what is commonly known as the liturgical movement has brought about in some very diverse quarters a radically changed attitude toward the Christian mystery: an attitude which—though there is nothing peculiarly *eastern* about it—has at times seemed to come very close to that which has ever been characteristic of the Orthodox world. Where this change of attitude has shown itself it has gone far towards creating a genuine *rapprochement* between theologians of east and west: much farther, I would add, than any amount of discussion of specific points of doctrine where no such common approach exists.

A generation of ecumenical conversation has revealed something of the difficulties of discussion amongst western Christians of different traditions: yet in the west, at least, most of the basic assumptions are held in common. Some affirm and some deny but all set out from the same premises—all speak what is virtually the same language. The crucial difficulty in relations between the Orthodox and western Christians lies in the decay of a common tongue. As the Russian lay theologian A. S. Khomiakov puts it: "All Protestants are crypto-papists . . . all the west knows but one datum *a*; whether it be preceded by the positive sign +, as with the Romanists, or with the negative — as with the Protestants, the *a* remains the same. . . . A passage to Orthodoxy is a rushing into a new and unknown world."

It is significant that it is the restoration of the liturgy to its rightful [788]

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place in the Church's life which, more than anything else, has brought about a partial reassertion of orthodoxy in the west during recent years, for orthodoxy is not so much a matter of 'right opinion' as of 'right worship'. The surest path to a real understanding of the Orthodox Church is through her liturgical life. There is, with all its naïvety, much to be learned from the legend, which has come down to us in a mediaeval Russian chronicle, concerning the envoys of the Prince of Kiev. That monarch, so the story runs, wishing to make Christianity the religion of his people but doubtful as to which of its several forms was authentic, sent envoys to distant lands that they might judge for themselves. The envoys went first to the heretical Bulgars. They observed the way in which the people worshipped; how they bowed themselves to the ground and gazed hither and thither like men possessed. But, alas! "There is no joy among them," they reported upon their return to Kiev, "but only sadness and a frightful smell!" Next, they visited the Germans; but the worship of Latin Christendom left them unmoved. Thence, however, they journeyed to Byzantium, and were present at the divine liturgy of our father among the saints, John Chrysostom, in the great church of the holy wisdom; and there, they afterwards related, "we did not know if we were on earth or in heaven; for there is no such splendour to be found anywhere upon earth. Describe it we cannot: we know only that it is there that God dwells among men."

For the Greek Christian, as for the Russian, the humblest village church is always *heaven upon earth*: the place where men and women, according to their capacity and desire, are caught up into the adoring worship of the redeemed cosmos; where dogmas are no barren abstractions but hymns of exulting praise, and the saving acts of the divine compassion—the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day and the ascension into the heavenly places—are made present and actual through the operation of the Holy Spirit who "ever was, and is and shall be; having neither beginning nor ending, but for ever joined to and numbered with the Father and the Son . . . through whom the Father is known, and the Son is glorified, and by all acknowledged, one power, one worship and one order of the Holy Trinity."

It is important to grasp this essentially liturgical approach, for it provides the key to much else; to the Greek Christian's understanding of scripture, to personal piety, and to the preservation of the faith during the centuries of oppression. Orthodox Christendom has never undergone

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an upheaval comparable to that which shattered the unity of the western world in the sixteenth century, not on account of the glacier of Turkish dominion which descended upon it a hundred years earlier, but because it had never known that separation of theology and mysticism, liturgy and personal devotion, which—when all is said as to the influence of political and economic factors—is required to explain the all-engulfing cataclysm of the Reformation. 795 788

In the next chapter I propose to consider certain features of the long history of the Greek Church in so far as they exercise a lively influence upon the contemporary scene; for in Greece it is peculiarly difficult to disentangle past and present, and historical memory is remarkably tenacious. In the remotest mountain villages of Epirus or the Peloponnese one may meet with small children who do not merely know far more about Lord Byron than one can reasonably expect of the majority of his countrymen—*that*, after a little time in Greece, one takes for granted—but who can sometimes relate strange apocryphal stories of Admiral Codrington or Sir Richard Church; and, in the imagination of the monks of Athos, Pope Innocent III occupies a position similar to that which Oliver Cromwell holds amongst the peasant farmers of Ireland. 795 178 173

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THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught.

ST. PAUL to the church in Thessalonica

795
178 IT IS no use beginning one's study of that in many ways anachronistic, yet persistently lively institution, the Church of England, at the sixteenth century: not so can one hope to comprehend the anomalies of her parochial organisation and system of patronage, or to fathom the element of uncertainty that attaches to every archdeacon's prospects [793] of eternal felicity. No more can the student of the Greek Church expect to enter into the spirit of this venerable institution if he looks no farther than the reading of the *Synodical Tome* whereby, in the year 1850, her autocephalous status was first accorded official recognition.

795 One cannot spend many hours in Greece without being struck by the
178 extraordinary continuity of her history. The girl who shepherds one through the customs at the airport may well rejoice in the name of
551 Andromache or Ismene; it is startling to hear a ragged stevedore, one of "that unpolished plebeian race always employed in the hardest labours of the ports and which in every country represents the least noble aspect of a people", being hailed by a passing boatman at the Piraeus as Menelaus or Agamemnon. The traveller arriving at nightfall in a mountain village of Thessaly or the Peloponnese is questioned in terms which have scarcely altered since the prince of swineherds examined the re urned Odysseus: "Who are you and whence do you come? What is your city and your family? Aboard what vessel came you to Ithaca?" New Demetrius often proves to be but old Demeter, and in the country dioceses there linger on observances of immemorial antiquity: local rites connected with birth and death which carry one back to an age infinitely remote from the Lord's coming in human flesh.

178 Though the Greek that is heard to-day in the streets of Athens is
197 scarcely that of Aristotle or Pericles, the continuity of language is

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nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios*!" 178 197

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language in which they were written. 178 793 795 178 788 795 198

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the triumphant *Christos anesti*! Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is risen*! As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they 178 788 795 178 795 576

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178 795 576 Embrace one another, and join mutually the side of the Mouth or Cheek to the other . . . and since the Resurrection of Christ is the Miracle of Miracles, and the main Pillar of our Christian Faith and Hope, I am much perswaded that this might be the very manner and way of giving the Holy Kiss amongst the Primitive Christians."

178 795 788 [771] Nor is all this a matter of mere outward forms. Through all the vicissitudes of her history the Greek Church has been enabled to preserve something of the very spirit of the first age of Christianity. Her liturgy still enshrines that element of sheer joy in the resurrection of the Lord that we find in so many of the early Christian writings. The spirit of the ancient fathers of the Church lives on in the liturgy and in the piety of the ordinary Greek Christian. To enter into the spirit of the eastern liturgies is to comprehend as is possible in no other way the characteristic notes of Orthodox spirituality.

This is true above all of the liturgy of Holy Week and Eastertide; here one is perhaps most acutely conscious of the revolution that has been wrought in post-mediaeval western piety. It is a far cry from the Byzantine liturgy of the holy passion to that preoccupation with the sufferings of Christ with which we are familiar. Even in the darkness of the holy and great Friday the note of joy is sounded; the narrative of the passion is interspersed with the divine praises: it is the record of the triumph of the King, and Christ the Victor reigns in royal purple from His throne on Calvary.

[539]

To-day is hanged upon the Tree
He who hanged the earth free in the midst of the waters.
A crown of thorns crowns Him who is King of the angels.
He who wraps the heavens in clouds
    is wrapt about with the purple of mockery;
He who freed Adam in Jordan
    is smote with hands;
He who is the Bridegroom of the Church
    is transfixed with nails;
He who is the Son of the Virgin
    is pierced with a spear.
We worship Thy Passion, O Christ;
Show us also Thy glorious Resurrection!

[771] It is because her life is rooted so completely in the liturgy that the

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Orthodox Church has been able to preserve in all its integrity the faith once delivered to the saints. Ecclesiastical organisation has never in eastern Christendom been looked upon as having an importance such as, at any rate from the eleventh century onwards, it assumed in the west. Provided only that he is free to participate fully in the liturgical life of his local church, the Greek or Russian Christian is prepared to sit curiously lightly to matters of jurisdiction and the machinery of ecclesiastical government and administration. Even when, as in the U.S.S.R. to-day, the Church is subject to every imaginable restriction save this bare permission to celebrate the divine mysteries, she can yet contrive to hold fast to her traditions with a tenacity which must often strike the western Christian as little short of miraculous: "the stable perseverance in these our days of the *Greek* Church", wrote Rycaut in the seventeenth century, "notwithstanding the Oppression and Contempt put upon it by the *Turk* . . . is a Confirmation no less convincing than the Miracles and Power which attended its first beginnings."

So, throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Greek Church held fast the traditions which enshrined the saving truths of the divine economy. The Gospel was preached less by means of homilies and sermons than through the regular cycle of feast and fast; though Christian schools were maintained, often with great heroism in the face of overwhelming difficulties, the children of Hellas relied even more upon the visible catechism of the Church's liturgy. So it was that the faith was preserved as a royal treasure: the life of the mystical body burned on in secret, though the royal priesthood might be "expelled their Churches and those converted into Moschs; the Mysteries of the Altar conceal'd in secret and dark places . . ."

It is in remote townships like Kastoria that one can best enter into the spirit of the Greek Church under the Turkish yoke. To the traveller who approaches the ancient city of Diocletian from the southward there is little to suggest the presence of some seventy-two churches. Kastoria reveals its secrets only to those who are prepared to spend several days scrambling up and down the stony paths below the nineteenth-century metropolis, where tiny churches are set obscurely amidst the high, fortress-like domestic architecture of a later age. A great number of these churches date from Byzantine days, for from about the seventh century onwards this mountain township served as a place of exile for many whose presence at Constantinople was, for one reason or another, considered undesirable. Many more were built during the

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178 795 346 centuries of Turkish dominion. Outwardly they are scarcely distinguishable from the cottages which surround them: only the shallow apse at the east end proclaims the church.

[532] Within, however, one finds oneself in another world. Walls unpierced by windows are covered with paintings which set forth the whole story of creation and redemption. Patriarchs and prophets mingle with the saints of the new dispensation; Elias is caught up to heaven in a chariot of fire and Jonah goes down to the bottoms of the mountains with the weeds wrapped about his head; those whose names are honoured throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, Athanasius, Basil and Gregory the Divine, rub shoulders with local saints like St. George of Iannina and the Neo-Martyrs; the Lord Christ is baptised in Jordan, He changes the water into wine and reigns in triumph from the tree of Calvary; the Holy Spirit descends in tongues of fire upon the apostles. Here in these little chapels—"rather like Vaults or Sepulchres than Churches, having their Roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgency of structure should be accused for triumph of Religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the *Mahometan* Moschs"—the mysterious life of the local church was nourished throughout the dark days of oppression; the saints which were in Kastoria, like their brethren at Thessalonica, obeyed the apostolic injunction to hold fast the traditions which they had been taught.

178 795 788 771 Not infrequently, it must be confessed, zeal for the preservation of the faith in the midst of an alien environment gave rise to a certain lack of discrimination. The pure gold of the apostolic tradition has not been handed down from generation to generation without gathering to itself certain accretions of doubtful worth, and the simple Christian is not always able to distinguish the one from the other or prepared even to admit the possibility of such intermingling.

> This Reverence to the Church [observes one of the old writers] produces a firm belief and strict adherence to the Articles of it, and to all the Ceremonies and matters the most minute and indifferent, not suffering the least change or alteration in them. For although they are sensible (as many of their Priests have confessed to me) of the inconvenient length of their Liturgies . . . and of many superstitious Customs and Ceremonies derived to them from the times of *Gentilism*, which are now ingrafted into, and as it were grown up

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with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaioemerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places?

The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness (already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

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the effect of the Turkish dominion was to foster—perhaps to excess—an attitude which was already discernible in Byzantine days and which always made for a certain liveliness in ecclesiastical affairs.

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During the last few years it has been becoming increasingly clear that the episode which may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to as '1054 and all that' has gained a far more important place in our text-books of European history than it justly merits. No longer is it possible to regard the schism of Cerularius as marking the decisive breach between eastern Christendom and the west. A date which seemed to hold out to the struggling schoolboy a refuge no less secure than that of the Conqueror's triumph at Hastings has been swept away, to leave him floundering in the troubled waters of speculation and surmise. But whatever the immediate causes of the disastrous breach which was to divide Christendom into warring factions, and which underlies all our western divisions, there can be little question that far the greatest factor in the hardening of the schism was the invasion of the Levant by the crusading Franks, the sack of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. These unhappy events made an impression upon the Greek mind that the passing of eight centuries has not effaced.

The legend of Frankish aggression—unhistorical and confused though it be—lives on in our own day especially amongst the monks. Pope Innocent III, Michael Palaeologus, the Patriarch Bekkos, the Catalans who established themselves in the Kassandra peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Pope Eugenius IV, who flourished more than a century later, are all confounded in a wild farrago of monkish imagination and prejudice. The Pope, attended by Frankish soldiers and executioners, presides over the martyrdom of the twenty-six monks of Zographou, and terrible stories are still to be heard on the holy mountain of the gruesome fate that befell the renegade monks who took part in the Latin mass at the Lavra. In a painting at the Serbian convent of Chilandari the Pope appears in the company of Mahomet and the arch-heretic Arius, and the earth opens and swallows them up together.

The traveller in monastic Greece must not, therefore, be surprised to find that an unwary allusion to the Pope can still conjure up in the imagination of a Greek monk a nightmare figure far surpassing the inventions of the most rabid Protestant. I recall one such reference to

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the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism. 795 798 173 [797]

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate. 619 795 178

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles 619 795 722

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of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God". Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood paintings of the *Averoff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as compared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potentialities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping: conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians, the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for Christendom as a whole.

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IV

THE ORGANIC BODY

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Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

THERE is an old story, still to be heard in the mountain villages, which tells how God fashioned the dry land; how He put all the earth through the mesh of His sieve: here a pile of fine rich soil, the granary of Africa, and there another which was Sicily. When all was done there remained within the sieve a heap of stones and dross: God threw them over His shoulder, and there was Greece. *Tout ce pays*, remarks an old traveller, *est plein de hautes montagnes.* 773

It is important to bear in mind the physical characteristics of the setting within which the Greek Church carries out her work of reconciliation and renewal. Greece is a land of high mountains and narrow coastal plains; of few towns and wretched communications. The majority of her people live, as they have lived from time immemorial, in small rural communities widely dispersed among the mountains, winning a laborious subsistence from the parched and stony soil which scarcely covers her rocky skeleton. More than half of the whole area of Greece is utterly barren; much of what remains consists of forest and poor pasture; less than one-fifth is under cultivation. Greece and poverty, the saying runs, have ever been sisters. 133 361 [311]

At the time of the last census approximately one-seventh of the total population of Greece dwelt in the Athens-Piraeus region, the phenomenal growth of which during the last 100 years has set it strangely apart from the rest of the country—even though "the equipages of Athens", as the Abbé de St. Michon observed, "have not quite the freshness nor the elegance of those seen in the Champs Elysées". Salonica had a population which was approaching 300,000; the next largest town, however, was Patras with less than 80,000 inhabitants. Most of the remaining towns, a large proportion of which are situated in the fertile plains of Macedonia and Thrace, are market towns and centres of rural industries but little more. 162 369

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369 Thus, despite a certain drift from the villages to the towns during the last few years, the average Greek is still a countryman. Even the Athenian, if one delves into his personal history, is generally found to have his roots in some mountain village of the Peloponnese or in one of the islands. The generality of the Greek bishops are charged with the 795 pastoral care of a flock dispersed in village communities among the 793 mountains; a single market town or *comopolis* forming the centre of the ecclesiastical as of the civil administration.

The Church of Greece, from the point of view of outward organisation, consists of sixty-seven dioceses: thirty-four belonging to Old Greece and the remainder to the territories annexed to the Greek kingdom after the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the first world war. These latter dioceses, though formally subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, are at present placed under that of the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy, which is presided over by the Archbishop of Athens and of all Greece. This body, which is made up of the metropolitans of the sixty-seven dioceses, assembles every three years and may be summoned on other occasions if need arise. Extraordinary business apart, however, the affairs of the Church are administered by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, which is composed of twelve bishops under the presidency of the Archbishop. All the bishops are called in turn to serve on this body, and during the greater part of their year as *synodikoi* (which normally recurs about once every five years), they reside in Athens, going home to their dioceses only during the heat of the summer and for the great festivals.

795 In Greece the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church has not been replaced by 'the Churches'. According to the figures of the 1940 census, 162 out of a total population of 7,344,860 persons, no less than 7,090,192 were Orthodox, while the non-Orthodox Christians amounted to a bare 51,851. This small minority consists of Roman Catholics and a few [797] so-called 'evangelicals' who came to Greece in the early 'twenties from Asia Minor and owe their origin to the proselytising zeal of American missionaries. All of them are confined to the islands and to a few towns on the mainland: in the country districts a Dissenter would be a curiosity indeed.

[793] The Greek diocese is, by English standards, very small and sparsely populated; in some respects more akin to a rural deanery than to our overgrown dioceses. Its average population—if we leave on one side the

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Athens-Piraeus region—is no more than about 85,000 souls. In terms of parishes there is considerable disparity between different dioceses: that of Ioannina, in Epirus, one of the largest, includes 230 parishes—many of them mere hamlets of forty or fifty families—while that of Nevrokopi, on the frontier of eastern Macedonia, has only fifteen. The average number is rather less than 100. If we take the twenty-four dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace, for example, we find that the average works out at seventy-eight parishes to the diocese, while the metropolitans of Philippi and Neapolis, Xanthi, Nevrokopi, Eleftheroupolis, Nea Zichni, Alexandroupolis and Hierissos all have less than sixty communities committed to their care, and only five bishops—the metropolitans of Salonica, Drama, Kilkis, Serres and Florina—more than 100.

As against this comparatively low average population and number of parishes one has, of course, to set in the balance the extremely primitive nature of the communications which the Greek bishop can command. To this day the majority of the villages of northern Greece are inaccessible to wheeled transport, at any rate during the winter months; and while the truly remarkable achievements of the last few years—the repair of the shattered railways, and the construction of roads and air-strips—have given Greece a very fair system of long-distance communications, the facilities which most bishops enjoy for travel within their own dioceses remain much as they have been since apostolic days. The metropolitan of a country diocese will think nothing of long journeys by mule or mountain pony across appallingly difficult terrain, his episcopal vestments slung from the high wooden saddle; of fording torrents swollen by the melting snows, and negotiating precipitous slopes where the path seems scarcely to afford adequate foothold for a goat—much less for an elderly ecclesiastic. It is little wonder that many mountain villages saw their father in God but seldom, even in the days before the natural hazards which confronted the traveller had been supplemented by mines and wandering bands of *katsapliades*, as the Communists were styled in the villages.

When we turn to the internal organisation of the dioceses we find many features which cannot but seem strange to most western Christians. We have come to take for granted the fact that a bishop, charged with the pastoral care of a vast and unmanageable diocese, inevitably delegates most of his priestly functions to his parish clergy. In the small country dioceses of Greece, however, the bishop retains a far greater measure of

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793 direct personal responsibility, and delegates comparatively little to his
[795] curates. The ministry of the word, for example, is always the work of the bishop: the most that the parish priest is permitted to do is to read a homily sent him by his diocesan. In some dioceses the metropolitan alone preaches, and the country people hear sermons only when he is
793 able to visit their villages. As a rule, however, the bishop will be assisted by a *hierokryx* or 'sacred herald'—'preacher' seems a miserably inadequate
794 translation of such a splendid word—who is normally a priest-monk (though he may sometimes be a lay theologian), and lives in the metropolis. Often, too, the bishop and his *hierokryx* will be assisted by several lay preachers who go out into the villages Sunday by Sunday to preach at the liturgy.

Thus, at Siderokastro (the 'Iron Castle'), close to the Bulgarian frontier, the Metropolitan, the Lord Basil, finding himself, when the refugees began to return to their villages in the summer of 1949, with only one priest qualified to assist him in the ministry of the word, formed a little society of lay preachers known as the Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment, which included the headmaster of the local high school and one of his assistant masters, as well as the doctor and the dentist of the town and two or three other educated laymen, several of whom now go out to preach in the surrounding villages every Sunday.

A friend who visited the diocese of Chalkis during the 'thirties has told me of the ancient Fiat which used to leave the metropolis at daybreak every Sunday and scatter monkish theologians among the hamlets of Euboea. At Kozani, in western Macedonia, no sooner were the roads reasonably clear of mines in the summer of 1949 than the Metropolitan started to send out every Saturday afternoon an army truck laden with young catechists who would spend the week-end preaching and teaching in remote villages of the diocese and return to their work or their school on Monday morning.

793 What is true of preaching applies also to the sacrament of penance;
783 it is to the bishop, not to his parish priest, that the villager who is oppressed with the consciousness of grave sin will turn for the benefits of absolution and ghostly counsel. The Greek priest is not allowed to act as a confessor without the express authorisation of his bishop. "As for Confession", says Covel, "it is not to be made to every ordinary Priest, but only to such Confessors . . . who are chosen out of monasteries, and are solemnly appointed and authorised to this Office . . . so that a regular or secular Priest not thus qualified, durst not attempt to

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take it." In the *Great Euchologion*, or Prayer Book, of the Greek Church 783
the order for confession is in fact immediately preceded by a short office for the making of a *pneumatikos*, or spiritual father, in which the bishop, after he has read the Gospel containing our Lord's words: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained", addresses the would-be *pneumatikos* (who must, needless to say, be in priests' orders) as follows:

"Our mediocrity, through the grace of the all-holy and divine Spirit, promotes thee, the most pious N. *Pneumatikos*, to the ministry of spiritual fatherhood, etc."

Covel quotes ancient canons to the effect that "if any one without the Mandate of the Bishop of the place shall dare to receive . . . spiritual [688]
accounts and Confessions, such a one shall be Canonically punished as a Transgressor of the Divine Canons; because he hath not only destroy'd himself, but all they also who have been Confessed by him are still unconfessed, and whatever things he hath Bound or Loosed, are yet uncorrected". And again: "Let all the Priest-Monks, who take Confessions, or Bind and Loose know that our Holy Fathers will not suffer any Priests to reconcile Penitents without the Archbishop's Order". According to an old canonist "a Bishop may . . . according to his Judgment, give this Right or Power of receiving Confessions to a secular Priest, but this is to be done discreetly, to some choice or well approved Persons only, and upon some extraordinary occasions".

Professor Bratsiotes, in the introduction which he contributed to the English translation of the life of the Archimandrite Eusebius Matthopoulos, observed that "unhappily there are very few confessors, because it is much more difficult to develop confessors than to train preachers; and it requires much individual genius and great maturity in virtue and experience to be a proper confessor". At the time when these words [794]
were written only eight members of the Zoë Confraternity—all trained theologians as they are—were licensed as confessors. In the country dioceses to-day the only clergy who are permitted to assist the bishop as *pneumatikoi* are the priest-monks attached to the metropolis; married priests who are authorised to hear confessions are rare indeed.

What then of the parish clergy? There is no parallel in Greece to the 793
country parson who has "read the Fathers also and the Schoolmen and the later writers", and who has been one of the fairest ornaments of the English Church these many centuries. The Greek country parson is a [463]

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793 peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who
[463] exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

793 The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age,
465 and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one
[874] of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the
[589] fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of
[659] his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General
792 Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic
[423] property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

793 Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in
[795] work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece.
[589] There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

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793 garrison, it makes no difference—bow to kiss the hand of their father
[576] in God and greet him with the word *proskyno*, 'I worship': with that same *proskynesis* which is offered to the eikons of the saints, and which is not to be confounded with the *latreia* which we accord to the Three Persons of the consubstantial Trinity alone.

For the Greek bishop is not merely 'the Despot'. He is moreover 'the Saint'. Thus, one may frequently hear the country people refer to their metropolitan as *ὁ ἅγιος Ἐδέσσης, ὁ ἅγιος Ἐλευθερουπόλεως*, 'the Saint of Edessa, the Saint of Eleftheroupolis', etc., in recognition of the objective sanctity which attaches to the episcopal office, quite independently of the moral character of him who occupies it. If the bishop is the despot, tracing his ancestry back to those local potentates who flourished during the last days of the Byzantine Empire, he is also the successor of the apostles, the bearer of more than temporal power; binding and loosing and wielding an anathema which can arrest the normal processes of dissolution to which the body is subject after death; a father in God to whom the humblest member of his scattered flock can turn in need or perplexity, for ghostly counsel or for material aid.

For all the dignity attaching to his high office the Greek bishop is commonly the most approachable of men; the sheer accessibility of the generality of the bishops of the country dioceses is a matter for wonder and rejoicing in a world fallen beneath the curse of an impersonal
[794] and irresponsible bureaucracy. Every morning, his liturgy fulfilled, the metropolitan takes his seat in his office and all the world comes to see him: Papa Iannis, who needs a new cassock, and Papa Athanasi who wants to go to the recently established seminary, although he forsook the scholars' bench to look after his father's sheep while he was yet in the second class of his village school; an elderly widow whose son requires medical attention comes to ask for help from the Fund for the Poor.

[438] Go almost any forenoon to the metropolis at Salonica, a few yards from the windy quays where gaily painted caiques discharge their cargoes of charcoal and resinated wine, timber from the slopes of Athos, and lemons and pottery from the islands of the Aegean, and observe the crowds who throng the steps awaiting an opportunity to dart into the office of 'the Saint of Myra', who sits at his desk beneath an eikon of the Pantocrator, questioning, counselling, reproving and writing letters of commendation, while a stalwart archimandrite leans against the door with outstretched arm to keep the multitude without at bay.

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Dr. Holland, who was travelling about Greece in the year of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, relates that when he visited the Archbishop of Larissa the metropolis was filled, both in the morning and also after dinner, with people approaching the Archbishop, either as petitioners or to obtain an adjustment of differences; and describes how "on entering the apartment, each person knelt before him, kissed his hand, and frequently after rising repeated this ceremony a second time". The Archbishop's manner, in fulfilling this part of his pastoral office, was, he says, "mild and ingratiating, without any loss of dignity proper to his station". 793 [576]

The bishop, though he must be unmarried, need never have lived as a member of a religious community in the technical sense. The great majority of the Greek metropolitans are chosen from the archimandrites attached, in one capacity or another, to episcopal households. The title of archimandrite was originally confined to the superior of a monastery—the literal meaning of the word is 'ruler of a fold' (*mandra*)—nowadays, however, it is commonly conferred upon any priest-theologian. The Greek archimandrite is almost invariably a graduate either of the theological faculty of the University of Athens or of the Academy at Halki (the theological school at Salonica has been in existence only a few years). He may have taken the monastic habit on Mount Athos, or elsewhere, when scarcely more than a boy, and, showing promise of more than the average ability, have been sent to the university by his monastic superiors as a young deacon. Alternatively, he may have come to the theological faculty after completing the ordinary course at a *gymnasium* or hieratic school, in which case he will not, in all probability, be ordained deacon until he has finished his studies. 793 792 [874]

After taking his degree he will normally pass to the household of a bishop, whom he will serve either as personal deacon or as chaplain and *hierokeryx* of the metropolis. He will doubtless become an archimandrite and will be addressed not merely as 'Reverend Sir' but as 'Altogether-most-blessed'! (*Panosiologiotate!*) In due course he may be called to take charge of a large parish in Athens, to undertake administrative work of some kind, or to serve as a secretary to the Holy Synod. It is from this category of the clergy that most of the bishops are chosen —though a monk may be summoned from his community to be consecrated, and an unmarried lay theologian or professor is also eligible for election to the episcopate. 793

A small minority of the present metropolitans of the Church of [874]

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793 Greece have studied in western Europe or America after completing
[874] their course at Athens or at the Academy of Halki, near Constantinople. Of those who go abroad for post-graduate theological studies far the greater number marry and become lay theologians, and it is to the latter rather than the episcopate that the Greek layman looks for academic learning. The metropolitan of scholarly interests, though far from unknown, is somewhat exceptional in these days. Happily, however, it is not necessary to burn midnight oil at Halle or Tübingen in order to learn to love our Lord with great fervour and simplicity and to feed His flock, and among the bishops of the Church of Greece there are many devoted pastors and fathers in God tending their scattered flocks in the obscurity of the war-ravaged mountain dioceses with a zeal not unworthy of the successor of the apostles.

The office of deacon has, so far as the west is concerned, long since ceased to be a reality. In Greece, however, it is otherwise. The diaconate is not, as in this country, a mere step to the priesthood; a kind of noviciate which the ordinand must needs serve before being admitted into priests' orders. In the Greek Church a man who has been ordained deacon may well remain in the diaconate for the rest of his days. The function of the deacon is essentially different from that of the presbyter. His liturgical rôle is of the utmost importance, and one of the chief qualifications in the candidate for the diaconate is the possession of a powerful and resonant voice. It is the deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation from the space before the royal doors—"a body standing before men, but a mind knocking at the gates of heaven through prayer"—in the vivid image of the sixth-century ascetic and master of the spiritual life, St. John of the Ladder; it is he who sings the Gospel from the *ambon*, or pulpit, high on the north side of the church.

[252] In the monasteries the deacons are responsible for baking the *prosphora*, the loaves used at the eucharist. Thus Covel remarks somewhere in his Athonite journals that: "The priests and deacons do no work but what is in ye church or immediately belonging to it . . . ye deacons bake ye *προσφορά*, and may sometimes be sent of an errand, but nothing else. Ye priests do nothing at all. All laborious work wtever out of ye church else is done by *καλόγ*. or hired labourers." And elsewhere: "The *προσφορά* is baked by ye deacons, ye other bread by ye *καλόγ*. aforesaid."

In Athens and its suburbs, and in Salonica, there are a few married

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deacons attached to parish churches. More often, however, the deacon is a monk and belongs to the *familia* of a bishop, whom he serves as personal attendant and factotum. Outside the larger towns one never finds a deacon attached to a parish but always on the staff of the metropolis and retaining his close connexion with the bishop. In the two university towns there is always a sprinkling of young deacons who have been sent by their monastic superiors to study at the theological schools and who are attached to a parish church during their four years at the university. Many of these student-deacons are also permitted to preach. It may be noted in passing that in the Orthodox world an archdeacon is in fact, and not merely in name, a deacon, and is, moreover, a person of some consequence. 793 [874]

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The English churchman, even when faced with the present acute and continuing shortage of clergy, is with difficulty persuaded that the laity are called to play an active part in the evangelistic work of the Church. Everywhere in the west the lay theologian is something of a phenomenon. A young man does not read theology at Oxford or Cambridge unless he intends to be a parson: theology is surely the concern of the clergy? It is well, therefore, that we should realise that in Greece (and throughout Orthodox Christendom for that matter), very different notions as to the active ministry of the laity prevail. The lay catechist, theologian and preacher fulfil a ministry that is scarcely less essential to the life of the Greek Church than that proper to bishop, priest and deacon respectively. How varied and important this lay ministry can be, will, I hope, become clearer when we come to consider the work of a movement such as the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë and the organisations connected with it. A very large share of the responsibility for the great spiritual upheaval of recent years must be assigned to lay men and women: the majority of the voluntary movements and associations are predominantly lay in character. 794

If I may venture upon a generalisation, I would assert that among ordinary Orthodox Christians one commonly finds a greater sense of responsibility for the Church than can be looked for in western Christendom to-day. The Church does not tend, as it does so often in the west, to be identified in the thought of ordinary men and women with the clergy; nor is it said of a young man who offers himself for ordination

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794 that he is 'going into the Church'. For the Orthodox, every Christian is in some sense called to be a theologian: to verify in his own life and experience the truths which are set forth in scripture and tradition; and although the bishop has, in virtue of his office, a peculiar responsibility for bearing witness to the *paradosis* which enshrines the saving truth of the Gospel, it is a responsibility that is shared by every lively member of the Church—by the laity no less than by the ordained ministry which is called to perform a particular function within the [792] one body. In this connexion it may be remarked that monasticism, among the Orthodox, has never developed into a predominantly clerical institution. As in the early days of Benedictine monachism, the majority of Greek monks are peasants of little education; very few are in orders —a community of forty or fifty *kalogeroi* may well include only two or three priests or deacons.

From about 1936 onwards the voluntary religious movements, which had already obtained widespread recognition in the Athens-Piraeus region, as well as in several provincial centres of Old Greece, began to take an important place within the normal diocesan and parochial system but in some measure as supplementary to it. To-day their influence has spread to the remotest corners of the Kingdom of the Hellenes, and no balanced account of the organisation of the Church of Greece can fail to give a prominent place to these predominantly lay movements which (under the general supervision of the hierarchy and with full episcopal approval) now play so vital a part in almost every aspect of the Church's life and evangelistic work.

The more one sees of these movements and of their widespread influence, the more one realises how different might have been the present condition of the Church of England had the Methodists not been forced to go into schism at the end of the eighteenth century. There is indeed a striking analogy between the situation in Greece to-day and that of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* as it might have been had the Methodists remained within her fold and continued to receive the sacraments of the one body at the hands of their parish clergy while exercising, under the general control and supervision of the episcopate, a lay apostolate of their own. The tragic character of that schism cannot but be brought home to anyone who has lived and worshipped among Greek Christians during recent years, has seen the apostolic labours of lay men and women as theologians, preachers and catechists, and has realised that this Church—at first sight so rigidly hierarchical—is in

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fact in no merely superficial sense the Church of the laity: a Church whose every member, whether clerk or layman, is called to exercise an active apostolate appropriate to his status and vocation—"for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ". 794

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V

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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

> If any Art or Polity can be said to have place over the affection of the People, none seems more efficacious than the strict observation of the Fasts and Feasts of their Church, by which the people are taught as in a visible *Catechism* . . . more (I dare say) than by their ill-composed Sermons, or repetition of the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue; for being severely imposed, and observed with much solemnity, they affect the Vulgar with an awe of something divine and extraordinary in them.
>
> PAUL RYCAUT

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A FEW years after the restoration of the house of Stuart to the English throne, the Archbishop of Larissa, in Thessaly, received an unexpected visitor: a certain Père Robert, *Capucin de Saint-Jaques à Paris, et Aumonier de l'Ambassadeur de France*. This reverend personage chancing to be in Larissa during Holy Week (according to the western reckoning), he attended a celebration of what, despite a certain confusedness in his account, was manifestly the liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. Describing this in the journal which was his constant travelling companion during the period 1665-69, he observes that the Archbishop, when he had delivered his sermon, "went in procession about the church, accompanied by nine bishops, his suffragans". To-day, though the traveller may but rarely and with great good fortune chance upon such a mitred assembly as that which Père Robert describes, the divine liturgy is still celebrated, even in the smallest and poorest village of the Greek mountain dioceses, with something of its traditional splendour, and in such fashion as to impress upon the mind of the least sensitive of worshippers that he is a participant in no work of man's devising but in the very worship of heaven; in the praises of those who sing without ceasing to the glory of the holy and consubstantial and life-giving and undivided Trinity.

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The festival which is observed on August 15th is described in the service-books as that of the Dormition, or Falling Asleep (*Koimesis*), "of our most holy, glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin

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Mary". To the simple Greek, however, it is *the* feast of the *Panaghia*, which not the Marys only but also the men and boys named Panaghiotis keep as their name-day: a very much more important occasion in Greece than the mere commemoration of one's birth after the flesh. The importance of the festival is emphasised by a fast of two weeks' duration immediately preceding it.[1] The other liturgical commemorations of the *Theotokos* centre on particular events. March 25th, for example, apart from the national associations which have made it one of the greatest days of the year among Greeks, is essentially the memorial of the Annunciation: "To-day," runs the dismissal hymn, "is the chapter-head of our salvation and the revelation of the eternal mystery. The Son of God becomes the Son of the Virgin, and Gabriel brings the good news of grace". So with the other evangelical commemorations. The liturgy of August 15th, on the other hand, seems to sum up the whole work in the pattern of man's redemption of her who contained Him whom the heavens cannot contain, and who, through the mysterious operation of the life-giving Spirit, herself became the dwelling of the infinite Creator.

796 [527] [785]

All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured;
Both the assembly of the angels and the race of men.
O hallowed temple and logical paradise, the boast of virgins,
From whom God took flesh and became a little child,
Who is from all eternity our God.
For He made thy womb His throne
And fashioned thy body broader than the heavens.
All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured:
Glory to thee!

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On August 13th, 1949, furnished with a document wherein the officer commanding the Drama gendarmerie called upon all whom I should encounter in my travels to give me all conceivable manner of assistance, I embarked in the antique vehicle which then connected the village of Kato Nevrokopi with the rest of Christendom (it was blown up by a Communist mine a few months later). During the early stages of our somewhat wayward progress through the narrow streets of Drama it became evident, from the sounds which came from overhead that, in addition to the forty-four Greek passengers who occupied the

494 [123] [669]

[1] [i.e. before Aug. 15th 41 - ANALYST]

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494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight
[726] of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[521] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver-headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis.

The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
[162] about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
722 whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
166 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward. When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
[736] in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[346] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away, which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
[493] before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood 796
of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells [793]
jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on [778]
the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I
was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon
of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re- [782]
decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the [531]
interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the
contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the
squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who [361]
had followed us up the stony path from the *mesochori*, or village-square, [782]
crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of [769]
our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ
conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of
relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated
at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers 796
and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office 788
(the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon [782]
the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured [852]
carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the
church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by 796
the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who 794
had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion, 533
overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

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796 confidence in the familiar chants, had had a hand clapped precisely
794 to his mouth when he rashly ventured upon the uncharted depths of one
533 less familiar, and little by little had attained to his present mastery of his art. This is the universal method for training singers: the Greeks know nothing of the prolonged agony of choir-practices. As a boy gains confidence he will occasionally be permitted to sing the Epistle at the liturgy: it is by no means unusual, even in a big urban parish, to see such a 'reader'—perhaps not more than twelve or thirteen years of age.

796 The Gospel was sung from the throne—not from the pulpit—by the parish priest, and, as is customary, was followed immediately by the sermon. The men and boys parted to allow the Bishop to reach his throne, and then closed in solidly around him: a sea of intent faces stretching from the doors of the sanctuary out through the shadowed narthex into the fierce glare of sunlight beyond. The sermon, as befitted the occasion, was homely both in language and illustration. The Bishop took his text from the Gospel appointed for the feast: "Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it". He pictured the two sisters: Martha, "cumbered about much serving" (a pungent sipasng reference to certain absent members of his flock who were so preoccupied with their chaffering that they could ill spare an hour or two to come to church), and Mary, who "sat at Jesus' feet and heard His word". It was well that we should hearken to the divine word; that we should come to church and hear the holy Gospels read Sunday by Sunday. It was still more to the point, however, that we should be not mere hearers of the word but doers also; that we should not only *hear* the word of God but *keep* it. Therein lay the true holiness of that other Mary, the Mother of the Word. It was on account of her entire conformity to the divine will that we venerated her, the fiery chariot of the word, the bush burning and yet unconsumed, above every creature: above the bodiless powers and the choirs of archangels, above the cherubim and seraphim who veil their faces before the unapproachable glory.

"For us too, my children", the Bishop went on, "this is the sure way of salvation. There are no bounds to the creative energy of the word in the life of the Christian who surrenders himself in simplicity to its power". A series of illustrations followed: the eunuch of Queen Candace, hearing the divine word and straightway being baptised; the converting power of the word as revealed in the life of St. Augustine —a father who figures so infrequently in the discourses of Greek prelates

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as to lead me to suspect the offering of a discreet compliment to western Christendom; the fruits of the word, love, joy and peace, made manifest in the life and death of the blessed Polycarp. 796

"And you boys", said the Bishop, with 'a diligent and busy cast of his eye' toward certain of the more youthful of his auditors; "you who steal eggs and fruit and take other people's food out of the communal oven: there is no reason why you—if you keep the word of God faithfully—should not be as great as St. Peter or St. Paul, or why at the end of your lives you should not be able to echo those ever-memorable words of Polycarp: 'These eighty and six years have I been His servant' . . ."

Looking round that crowded church, my mind went to the Whitsuntide hymn: "Blessed art thou, O Christ our God, who hast made the fishermen wise by the sending down upon them of the Holy Spirit, and through them hast drawn the world into thy net."

The sermon ended, the singers took up the solemn chant of the Hymn of the Cherubim, and a hush fell upon the congregation as the ministers with their attendants emerged from the prothesis chapel and made their slow circuit of the church, the veiled oblations borne aloft, to the accompaniment of that all-embracing appeal: [533]

> May the Lord God be mindful of us all
> in His kingdom, always, now and for ever,
> and unto the ages of ages.

The holy gifts were carried up within the sanctuary and laid upon the altar. The singers resumed their interrupted hymn; the atmosphere was heavy with incense—which, say the commentators, is here an emblem of the *mixture of myrrh and aloes which Nicodemus* brought for the entombment of the Lord: [782]

> Lo, Christ is crucified, the Life is buried,
> the tomb is made fast, the stone is sealed.

Two shallow alms-baskets piled high with tattered notes were passed slowly round the church, while the sacristan sprinkled perfume from a pewter vessel into the outstretched hands of the more accessible among the male members of the congregation. [794]

The long drawn-out alleluias died away into silence as the parish [788]

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796 priest resumed his place before the doors and took up anew the litanies
788 which properly pertain to the deacon's liturgy:

> For the precious gifts which have been offered,
> For this holy temple, and for those who enter it in
> faith, reverence and the fear of God . . .

while the reiterated *Kyrie eleison* of the singers rose and fell and we commended "ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God".

At the cry: "The doors, the doors!" all became suddenly alert, and a young girl—one of those celebrating their name-day—pushed through the crowd of women and children who filled the space between the lectern of the singers and the eikonostasis on the north side of the church and, standing before the eikon of the Mother of God, read the Nicene Creed. The Bishop commenced the great eucharistic prayer and the climax of the liturgy drew near. After the loaves that remained over from
796 the consecrated bread had been blessed, the Bishop sent me, by the hand
778 of his assistant, a portion bearing the seal IC . XC . NI . KA: how many a
262 holy custom have we forfeited in exchanging the *artos* of scripture and primitive tradition for the *azymes* which bear no evident relation to the
788 common bread which one bakes and breaks at home, or to the daily toil of ordinary men and women. In Greece the bread and the wine
[793] that are brought to the altar are the very same as those which are eaten and drunk at home, and such loaves as remain over after the distribution of the blessed bread—the *antidoron* (literally, 'instead of the gift')—go to the parish priest; so, we may recall, the English Prayer Book requires that: "the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten. . . . And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated the Curate shall have it to his own use."

Came the solemn pronouncement of the Lord's words: "This is my body. . . . This is my blood", and the great cry "Thine of thine own we offer to thee . . ." and then the Bishop knelt before the holy table and called upon God to "send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit", while the singers softly intoned their hymn of adoring praise, and the holy people of God stood with bowed heads in the pools of sunlight, veiled by the slowly spiralling haze of incense.

796 In some parts of Greece where movements such as the Brotherhood
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of Life have been most active, there have, as we shall see in a later chapter, been certain changes in liturgical practice during recent years: very often now the celebrant reads in an audible voice the whole of the *anaphora*, or great eucharistic prayer, which the rubric directs him to say *mystikos*—mystically, or secretly—and the whole congregation kneels at the invocation of the Holy Spirit. None of these influences had as yet reached this remote corner of New Greece, however, and the liturgy was still celebrated at Dasoto after the fashion which caused Robert de Dreux, in the seventeenth century, to observe that "it is not easy to see all that they do when they say mass, because the celebrant is hidden by a screen which shuts off the altar, and only shows himself three or four times". This, however, is a topic to which we shall have occasion to return. 796 788 178

The Lord's Prayer (like the Creed) was recited by a girl, and there were some thirty communicants including several children borne in the arms of their mothers—a familiar sight this in every Greek parish church. When the liturgy was ended, and the Bishop had distributed the blessed bread to the whole congregation, I observed some twenty of those who had communicated kneel before the royal doors while their father in God read a brief prayer of absolution. I have referred elsewhere to contemporary Greek practice in regard to the use of the mystery of confession. In the country districts at least, where confessors are rare, this is by no means as uniform as some are apt to suppose, or as might be inferred from the customs which obtain among the Russians of the diaspora, in Paris and elsewhere, with whom the sacrament has tended in recent times to become an obligatory part of the preparation for holy communion. 796 782 852 788 783 796

When one has fasted as a Christian one feasts as a Christian—in Greece at least. 796 [785]

> Then for their Festivals [says Dr. Covel] . . . there is not one that appears there but will contribute something, as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at our old Whitsun-Ales, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival; and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the Virgin Mary, or any other

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796 peculiar Saint, especially those to whom they are particularly devoted. These jolly Easterlings, when they hear . . . that the Christians pretending to be Reformed in the West, do utterly hate and abjure all such Practices as *Heathenish* and *Prophane*, must think them all the vilest Miscreants living.

796 When the last of the *antidoron* had been distributed, Anargyri had
793 replaced the mitre in its brass box, and the Metropolitan had concluded
574 a long conversation with the churchwardens about the best method of shoring up the roof—a section of which was sagging ominously—we left the church and made our way to the dwelling of the parish priest where a vast table had been erected in the shade of a vine. There we feasted until it was high afternoon: the Lord Agathangellos, the president of the community, the *kapetanios* of the militia, the *papas*, the schoolmaster, Anargyri, the churchwardens, the singers and several officers from the garrison of Nevrokopi who had accompanied us to Dasoto that morning.

796 It was not by any means my first experience of a village festival: a
574 few months earlier I might well have been deceived into thinking that the bowls of eggs, goat's milk cheese, olives, and finely-shredded
262 vegetables soaked in oil and lemon which appeared with the *ouzo*
273 constituted the substance of the feast and not a mere *hors d'oeuvre*. Now I knew better, and I was not surprised when the clearing of the table by the *papadia* and her daughters after forty minutes proved to be no more than a prelude to a banquet of an altogether more serious character.

As the dishes came and went and the dark wine flowed freely, I recalled Dr. Covel's description of another such festival at the great Athonite house of Iveron: "The best monkish fare that could be gotten was provided, excellent fish (severall ways), oyl, salet, beanes, hortechockes, beets . . . chees, onions, garlick, olives, cavcor, Pyes of herbs, φακαὶς, κτωπόδι; pepper, salt, saffron in all. At last conserved little oranges, most exquisite, good wine (a sort of small claret), and we alwayes drank most plentifully. . . . He is no Greek that cannot drink twenty or thirty plump glasses at a setting."

[535] After the feast there was dancing, and the sun was low in the west when we drove back to Nevrokopi. The day drew to a close amongst the eikons of those who had finished their course, with those yet in the way of salvation joining with one voice in the ancient canticle, *Hail! Gladdening Light*, to the praise and glory of the Holy Trinity.

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VI

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

> Let the Christian consider well when he enters the church that he is entering into another heaven. That same majesty of God which is in heaven is also in His church, and on this account the Christian must needs enter with reverence and fear.
>
> From a *Synopsis* printed at Venice in 1857

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DR. COVEL, it must be confessed, looked with a somewhat jaundiced eye upon the liturgical performances of the Greeks of Constantinople—the "jolly Easterlings," as he styles them. Not for him the wondering awe of the emissaries of the Prince of Kiev who, seven centuries before his advent as chaplain to King Charles' ambassador at the Sublime Porte, had been present at a celebration of the divine liturgy of our father among the saints, John Chrysostom, in the great church of the Emperor Justinian, and had not known whether they were yet on earth or in heaven by reason of its surpassing splendour.

"A miserable Jumble, or patcht Piece of Service", says Covel, "so confused and so tedious, as it takes away all Devotion"; not to be compared with the chaste dignity of that incomparable liturgy whose compilers "with wonderful Prudence and sound Judgment did distinguish, or rather . . . garble the Offices of Greeks and Latins: and retaining and adding only such things as might promote true Piety and primitive Devotion, did cast away all the rest."

The good Doctor was plainly subject to the prejudices which are characteristic of most Frankish divines and travellers of his generation; and yet, making due allowance for a certain lack of sympathy in the face of an unfamiliar liturgical tradition, we must admit the substantial truth of his assertion that "the greatest part of the Easterlings' Oeconomy and discipline, especially of the Greeks, consist first in their Pomp and amusing Ceremonies at their Liturgies and other Offices . . . and in celebrating their Fasts and Feasts."

Nobody who has lived and worshipped amongst Greek Christians for any length of time but has sensed in some measure the extraordinary hold which the recurring cycle of the Church's liturgy has upon the piety of the common people. Nobody who has kept the great lent with 788 796 [771]

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788 the Greek Church, who has shared in the fast which lies heavy upon
796 the whole nation for forty days; who had stood for long hours, one of an innumerable multitude who crowd the tiny Byzantine churches of Athens and overflow into the streets, while the familiar pattern of God's saving economy towards man is re-presented in psalm and prophecy, in lections from the Gospel, and the matchless poetry of the canons; who has known the desolation of the holy and great Friday, when every bell in Greece tolls its lament and the body of the Saviour lies shrouded in flowers in all the village churches throughout the land; who has been present at the kindling of the new fire and tasted of the joy of a world released from the bondage of sin and death—none can have lived through all this and not have realised that for the Greek Christian the Gospel is inseparably linked with the liturgy that is unfolded week by week in his parish church. Not among the Greeks only but throughout Orthodox Christendom the liturgy has remained at the very heart of the Church's life.

What the west knows as the liturgical movement bears witness to a very different state of affairs. Throughout western Christendom we can trace the growth of a spirit profoundly alien to that which characterises the Orthodox Christian's approach to the mysteries of the faith. The prayer of the Church no longer shapes and controls the piety of ordinary men and women as it did in former days. Liturgy has as it were become separated from dogma and then, inevitably, from spirituality also. The holy eucharist—the corporate action wherein every member of the organic body has its appropriate *liturgy* to perform—has become clericalised; has come to be thought of as the act of one member acting on behalf of the whole body.

Many who reverence the Bible as the word of God forget that the treasures of the divine scriptures are fully revealed only to the worshipping *ekklesia*, in whose liturgy they are embedded as in a precious frame. Every fragment of a shattered Christendom has its private *lex orandi*, born of isolation and bearing the marks of controversies which are in their turn the legacy of schism and partial vision; while personal devotion—no longer fully subject to the control of the liturgy—has brought forth strange fruit; and a theology divorced from worship and banished to the schools has come to be regarded as a barren science of the intellect: a necessary discipline for scholars and specialists, but utterly irrelevant to the life of the ordinary Christian doing daily battle against the threefold enemy.

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The liturgical movement in the west is nothing less than a reassertion of the true nature of the liturgy and of its place in the life of the Church, springing from a recovered vision of the nature of the Christian mystery, and from the realisation that dogma and scripture can never be isolated from the living liturgical tradition of the worshipping community without serious impoverishment and distortion. Its scope embraces a far wider field than the province of the liturgiologist, and though it is commonly associated with such 'ecclesiastical' matters as the purifying of the traditional chant and the reform of ceremonial, it is ultimately concerned with fundamental theological realities. Herein lies the secret of the widespread influence of the movement—an influence which although it has been most profound within the bounds of the Roman communion has yet extended in some measure to German Lutherans, French and Scottish Calvinists and others scarcely less remote from Old Rome. The movement is inextricably bound up with the return, now manifest in many different quarters, to a truly theological approach to biblical exegesis, and a recovered awareness that the ancient fathers are not so dead as some would have them be. 788

Dom Olivier Rousseau (whose *Histoire du Mouvement liturgique* affords an admirable survey of the origins and later development of the movement throughout western Christendom) has justly observed that so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned there can be no question of a liturgical movement, for her piety has never deviated from her worship.

I have already had occasion to refer to certain reforming tendencies which are exercising a growing influence upon the liturgical life of the Greek Church at the present time. Father Eusebius Matthopoulos never wearied of expounding the significance of the divine liturgy to the multitudes who flocked to hear him in every city of Old Greece, and one of the primary aims of the Brotherhood which this great preacher and evangelist founded at the beginning of the present century has always been the reverent celebration of the holy mysteries. One has but to compare the manner in which the holy eucharist is celebrated at the Metropolis in Athens, or the little chapel dedicated to St. Catherine above the outer harbour at the Piraeus, with the use which still obtains in the average Macedonian village church, to realise something of the progress that has been made within a generation. 788 178 [794]

While, however, one may in a certain sense speak of a liturgical movement within the Greek Church to-day, it is important to recognise how restricted is its scope when compared with recent developments

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788 in western Christendom. The very limitations of this Greek 'liturgical
178 movement' illustrate the Roman Catholic historian's contention that the Orthodox Church has never lost her hold upon certain important truths which we in the west are only now, after long centuries of neglect, beginning to recover and make our own.

788 The word *leitourgia* had in classical Greek the meaning of a public
796 service or duty—it might be building a wall or fitting out a hollow ship
[192] for a naval expedition. Despite the specifically religious associations which the word has acquired through later usage, it is still sometimes employed in this quite general sense. I remember, for example, being told on one occasion in a small provincial town of northern Greece that the municipal school was not *liturgising* that morning: was not performing its liturgy, or service.

For the Christian, likewise, the liturgy which he fulfils every Sunday in his parish church is a public service; an action performed on behalf not of any terrestrial *polis* but of that city which, as Augustine puts it, is Christ's body of which Christ is the head. The holy eucharist in particular, the service to which the Greek Christian commonly refers as 'the divine liturgy', and upon which the whole of the liturgy, in the wider sense of that word, centres, is supremely the characteristic act of the Church: a corporate action in which every member of the one body takes part. Nor is it those now on earth who alone participate in the eucharistic liturgy. It is not merely the bishop, priest, deacon and reader who, with the remainder of the *laos*—the holy people of God—have their peculiar service to offer within the setting of the one oblation. The saints and the angels, the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, no less than the earthly ministers of Christ's body have each their several liturgy to perform; the whole company of the heavenly Sion is present and active in every village church or hilltop chapel where the holy and ineffable mysteries are fulfilled and where the King of kings and Lord of lords comes forth to be sacrificed and given for food to the faithful.

For many centuries now, so far as the west is concerned, this aspect of the eucharist as the characteristic action of the whole Christian community has tended to be obscured. The passing of the austere Latin of the ancient liturgies as a language "understanded of the people" and the banishing of theology to the schools gradually brought about the virtual exclusion of the laity from any active participation in the

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celebration of the divine mysteries. The liturgy was no longer thought of as a corporate action in which the whole congregation—the laity no less than the clerks—had an essential part to play. Slowly but surely the mass came to be regarded rather in the light of a marvellous rite, fraught indeed with inexpressible wonder and mystery, performed by the sacred ministers: as something *said* rather than *done*. The common people, capable no longer of entering into the full meaning of the prayer of the Church, came to church to hear the mass and to occupy themselves with 'private' devotions bearing little relation to the action which was taking place within the sanctuary, where the sacred ministers performed their liturgy on behalf of the whole body. The ceremonies which from about the thirteenth century onwards gathered about the elevation of the holy gifts belong to an age which had already acquiesced in the growth of a popular piety no longer effectively subject to the control of the prayer of the Church. 788 796

The English Prayer Book attempted to restore to the laity their rightful liturgy. The mass was again sung that the people might hear it and in a language which they could understand. But the reformers themselves were too much subject to mediaeval assumptions: the real roots of the trouble still lay hid. An emphasis on audibility was not enough and congregational worship was not necessarily *corporate* worship. For the common people the new vernacular mass was still something said rather than done; metrical psalms and the congregational hymns which gradually superseded them, had no more organic connexion with the eucharistic action than the older vernacular devotions wherewith our forefathers had occupied themselves while the priest, aloof and apart, performed his mysterious acts at God's board.

The expression 'to hear mass' has no parallel in Greek. The Greek Christian goes to his parish church not so much to *hear* a service as to play his part in a corporate action in which all the different orders of the Church are actively involved. The very arrangement of the church emphasises this fact; the sacred ministers are not, as is now usual in the west, separated from the people by a long quire or chancel. The holy table stands not against the east wall of the apse but clear in the midst of the *altar*, or sanctuary as we should say. The average Greek church, it should also be borne in mind, is by western standards very tiny—even the great basilicas of Salonica are dwarfed by the cathedrals of the gothic north—and since the space which separates the holy table from 788 796 346

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788 the eikonostasis is commonly no greater than suffices to permit of the
796 prostrations of the celebrant, and, in a parish church, the laity occupy
346 the greater part of the space beneath the dome, and press against the great screen which bears the eikons, many of the congregation are thus within two or three yards of the holy table itself.

But what, the reader may ask, of the eikonostasis? Does not this solid screen, pierced only by three doors, extending right across the whole width of the church, cut off the laity from all effective participation in the action taking place within the sanctuary quite as much as mere physical remoteness? Does it not tend, as has been asserted by Dom Gregory Dix, to force "upon the eastern liturgies the character of two simultaneous services, the one proceeding outside the screen for the people, conducted chiefly by the deacon; the other—the real liturgical action—proceeding inside the screen conducted by the celebrant"?

788 That there is an element of truth in such contentions may be ad-
796 mitted: witness a tendency which is steadily gaining ground in Greece
346 to-day. In many town churches (with the exception of a few provincial cathedrals liturgical reform has as yet made little headway in the
178 country districts), the curtain which could be drawn across the space above the double doors in the centre of the eikonostasis has now fallen into disuse—at any rate so far as the eucharistic liturgy is concerned. The doors themselves are as a rule only about three feet in height, and it has long been customary to draw these curtains (thus screening the sanctuary completely from the view of the people) at two points during the divine liturgy, at both of which there is much coming and going about the holy table; at the placing of the holy gifts upon the altar immediately after the Great Entrance; and again during the communion of the ministers. This custom has now been abandoned in many places. In a few churches the doors themselves have been removed as, for instance, at Aghia Katerini, Piraeus (where the liturgy is celebrated with a reverence and propriety unsurpassed in all Greece), and, I am told, in the chapel of the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople.

788 When all is said, however, the effects of the eikonostasis have been
796 grossly exaggerated by western writers, too many of whom have been
346 content to reiterate *ad nauseam* the strictures of their predecessors in the field of controversy: strictures grounded not infrequently upon the most superficial acquaintance with the liturgical practice of eastern Christendom. The divisive properties of the eikonostasis are most marked in a large church when the space before the royal doors normally

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occupied by the laity is railed off and reserved for the singers and distinguished visitors. Such an arrangement, so far as Greece is concerned, will be found only in certain churches of Athens and Salonica. It would, I fancy, be generally acknowledged by all who have worshipped among Greek Christians as well as in the churches of the Latins that as an instrument for creating a sense of separation between ministers and people the eikonostasis of the Easterlings is vastly inferior to the Frankish quire or chancel. An Orthodox priest who has celebrated the liturgy in more than 200 western churches (most of them Anglican) has remarked that he finds himself far more cut off from his congregation in an English parish church—without an eikonostasis of course, but with a long chancel, often having a screen at its *western* end—than in an Orthodox church where the screen is never further away than four feet from the altar.

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It needs also to be borne in mind how great a part of the eucharistic action is enacted *outside* the eikonostasis in the midst of the congregation. Thus the deacon, whose normal place is immediately beneath the eikon of the Pantocrator in the dome, acts as a constant link between all the various orders of the church. The bishop's throne, which forms part of the ordinary furnishing of every Greek church—a constant reminder that the parish priest 'liturgises' only as the deputy of the diocesan—also stands outside the screen, on the south side of the space beneath the dome, so that the bishop is often completely surrounded by his flock. At the solemn entries which occur during the course of the divine liturgy—the lesser, with the book of the Gospels, the greater, with the holy gifts veiled and borne aloft—the sacred ministers descend into the body of the church and make a slow circuit of the whole building. Outside the eucharistic liturgy itself, some of the most memorable events of the liturgical year—the great blessing of the waters at Epiphany (the Feast of Lights, as it is popularly known), the solemn kneeling at the second vespers of Whit-Sunday and the adoration of the holy cross on September 14th, as well as many of the profoundly moving ceremonies of Holy Week and Eastertide—are celebrated not within the sanctuary but in the midst of the congregation.

This would naturally be impossible if the Greek church were encumbered with chairs or pews. In fact, the only seating consists of a few stalls, with crutch-like supports for the arms, against the walls of the church. Standing—not kneeling—is, as it has always been, the normal attitude for prayer. At one of the great festivals the people will stand for hours wedged so tightly together that it is impossible even to cross

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788 oneself. All other considerations apart, such a setting is hardly favourable to
796 the growth of certain individualistic types of piety which flourish amongst
[346] the Franks, who worship their Creator in strange and novel ways, each isolated from his fellow and entrenched within the citadel of his own pew.

In Greece there is but one celebration of the liturgy on a Sunday or holy day in any one church. This is a rule which is waived only in cases
[346] of extreme necessity and then only when a *parekklesion*, or side-chapel, is available so that it is not necessary to use the same altar twice (most
[793] Greek churches have only one altar). A priest may celebrate only once on any given day.

In Greece the times of services are never announced and questions on this score are invariably met with evasive if not actually misleading replies. Services commence earlier in summer than in winter. An hour or two after sunrise the bells will be rung and the priest and a couple of readers will begin to sing the morning offices—*mesonyktikon* (which should, as the name indicates, be read at midnight, as it is in the monastic use), and *ortbros*, or lauds, the office of the dawn. Towards the end of the latter service—perhaps an hour or more after the village's first awakening—the bells will be rung a second time. Still the church is comparatively empty. The holy eucharist follows *ortbros* without a break about nine o'clock, and by the time that the thrice-holy hymn is sung (when the bells summon the faithful for the third and last time) the congregation will have begun to swell, until, at the great entry with the holy gifts, the greater part of the village will be packed within the walls of the church, the men to the right, the women to the left, the air by this time heavy with incense.

788 The whole service is invariably sung. What the west knows as a low
533 mass, the 'early service' or 'eight o'clock', dear to so many English churchmen, is unknown to the Greeks. The traditional Byzantine chant is still more or less universal and is always sung without instrumental accompaniment; only in certain urban parishes has it been partially displaced of recent years by that bastard child of strangely-matched parents, the so-called European chant. In its pure form the traditional plainsong can be quite ravishing in its unearthly beauty. Never shall I forget the singing of the monks of Moni Petraki who gather morning by morning in their tiny church, while Athens lies in darkness and before the first tramcar has gone clanging down the tree-lined avenue of the *Basilissa* Sophia towards the outer suburbs.

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"Nowhere, either in Greece or the East," observes the Abbé de St. Michon, "do men sing as loud as we do. It is an usage that we owe to the barbarism of our fathers. The oriental psalmody is sweet, low and without effort." Alas! it is not always so. "Their singing", says Thomas Smith, "is very mean and pitifull, without figure and the relishes of art, and is at best but a kind of harsh Plain-song." "We heard the Greek Vespers", wrote Sir George Wheler in 1675, "worse sung than *Hopkins* Psalms used to be in some of our Country Churches." All too frequently the beauty of the traditional chant has been overlaid by accretions and adornment from alien sources; and its delivery, as the Abbé justly remarks, "with nasal sounds which weary European ears". Much of the "tedious and indiscreet length of liturgies" whereof so many Frankish travellers have complained, is due not to any inner necessity of the rite itself but solely to the elaboration of the chant. The restoration of the oriental plainchant to something of its earlier simplicity and directness has therefore become an imperative need in circles where the holy mysteries are celebrated frequently: one cannot expect the laity to spend the greater part of every morning in church. There are churches in Greece to-day where the liturgy is celebrated with great reverence in an hour and a quarter, even when many of the secret prayers are read aloud. 788 533

Concelebration—which has all but disappeared from the west—is still very much a reality in Greece, and is an important factor in enabling the Greek Church to retain the ancient rule of a single eucharist attended by the whole church in each several locality. On a Sunday morning at an important parish church, such as St. Panteleimon, Acharnon (in the suburbs of Athens), one may see five or six priests attended by a deacon concelebrating at the great square altar, often with a bishop (one of the suffragans of the Archbishop, or a provincial metropolitan serving his term of duty as a member of the synod) presiding over the whole assembly. The Greek bishop or priest who finds himself away from his own diocese on the Lord's day does not take his place amongst the laity in the body of the church but joins the other ministers gathered around the holy table and there fulfils his proper liturgy. 788 793

Now there are those who, while recognising that the Orthodox Church has in many respects faithfully preserved the liturgical tradition of the first centuries of our era, would yet ask whether the liturgy of the laity has not—within the bounds of the *oikoumene* no less than in the 788 796

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788 west—been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Is not the Greek
796 Christian for all practical purposes a mere passive onlooker at a gorgeous spectacle performed by the resplendent ministers: even though the sacred participants in the divine drama sometimes descend from their apron stage and mingle with the audience?

It must be admitted that the average Greek layman communicates very rarely, often only once or twice a year; outside the immediate sphere of influence of the movements, hardly ever more than four times. This reluctance of the laity to communicate frequently is a phenomenon which has been common to east and west from a very early period—though in the west (among Orthodox of the diaspora as well as amongst western Christians) there has been a widespread return to something more nearly approaching primitive practice. Its causes are complex and, to a great extent, a matter for speculation. One factor which is peculiar to the east is the place which the *antidoron* has come to occupy. It would be an over-simplification to say that the blessed bread which the Greek Christian is accustomed to receive at the end of every liturgy is consciously looked upon as a substitute for the holy communion; nevertheless, the *antidoron* has a deep significance for the Greek layman —more, perhaps, than in other parts of the Orthodox world.

The reluctance to communicate frequently does not, as we can see from the history of certain movements within western Christendom, necessarily spring from carelessness and sloth; often it is due to a sense of unworthiness which is none the less real though it be considered misguided. Even in reforming circles in Greece to-day one discovers great wariness on the part of the clergy in recommending frequent, let alone daily, communion to their people. This is not, it is held, a matter
[783] to be undertaken lightly, or without the advice and approval of an experienced confessor; and few priests will permit their penitents to communicate as often as once a month unless they are satisfied that the desire goes hand in hand with a real determination to follow Christ in their daily life. To communicate every Sunday is regarded as an inestimable privilege, but one which is hardly for all men.

[782] Then we must not ignore the part played by the ordinary Christian
[769] in the offertory. In the country districts of Greece the housewife who bakes her bread on Saturday will set aside one loaf upon which she has
[369] stamped with a wooden seal a traditional design wherein the words "Jesus Christ conquers"—abbreviated to I(HCOY)C . X(PICTO)C . NI . KA—constitute the most prominent feature. Early on Sunday

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morning she will set out for the parish church with her loaf, and arriving whilst the singers are still chanting the morning psalms, and taking it to the door of the chapel where the elements are prepared, she will hand it to the priest together with a vessel of wine, the family diptychs —or lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated by name at the holy eucharist—and perhaps a flask of oil for the lamps and a few grains of incense. Even in an urban parish church the faithful may purchase a sealed loaf at the counter in the narthex where candles are sold, and send it to the celebrant with their diptychs.

It is frequently asserted that the offering of the people disappeared from the eastern liturgies at an early date. One can only marvel at the number of eminent scholars who have been led astray in this matter through failure to distinguish clearly between the offertory procession of the Roman rite and the offering itself. The procession never found a place in the Byzantine rite, which retained the older practice of presenting the bread and wine informally before the commencement of the eucharistic liturgy. So widely-used a liturgical handbook as the late Dr. Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy* asserts that "the offerings of the people, which consisted partly of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the eucharist were taken, and partly of alms . . . continued in the west longer than in the east".[1] In actual fact the offering of the people has never disappeared from the Byzantine liturgy and may still be witnessed in any Greek village church on the Lord's day.

But even though it be admitted that the offering of the bread and wine makes the ordinary people something more than mere passive spectators at a gorgeous pageant, it may yet be said that from very early times the rightful liturgy of the laity has in practice been transferred to the choir: the common people hardly open their mouths from one end of the eucharistic liturgy to the other. Now it is true that congregational singing as practised in the west is so rare among the Greeks as to be almost unknown. Only on one of the great festivals of the Church's year will the whole congregation take up the melody of some ancient hymn: the paschal anthem *Christ is risen from the dead*, for example, or the dismissal hymn at the Epiphany. Normally those parts of the liturgy which properly belong to the laity are in fact sung by the *psaltai* or trained singers —and this applies even to the responses to the petitions of the litanies.

[1] 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1949, p. 127. Dom Gregory Dix and Professor Burkitt have already been taken to task on this issue by the Archimandrite Alexis van der Mensbrugghe.

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788 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat,
796 almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy
533 as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary
[782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear
[292] lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an
[369] *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the
788 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way
796 for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the
[175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

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welcome to his dominions the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus with a following which included several Greek ecclesiastics, both bishops and priests.[1] These unwonted guests remained in London until the end of February following. The Greek services were celebrated daily, many English churchmen being present, and several contemporary accounts of the impression created by these unfamiliar rites have been preserved. More than one chronicler notes with surprise that laymen as well as clerks took an active part in the services which, to quote Adam of Usk, "were joined in as well by soldiers as by priests; for they chanted them without distinction in their native tongue". 788 796 [175]

One last word in connexion with the liturgy of the laity. A contemporary of King Henry IV relates that the Emperor's chaplains were catechised by certain English churchmen who had been present at the Greeks' services as to whether "the common people and the ignorant in their country did indeed understand the scriptures and the divine words which they recited together with the learned." Is the 'old school-Greek' whereof Covel and others speak, sufficiently understanded of the people? 788 796 198

Let us hear another voice from the fifteenth century: "The Grekis", says John Purvey, "wiche ben nobel men, han al this in ther owne langage. But yet adversaries of trewith seien, wane men rehersen that Grekis . . . han al in ther owne langage, the clerkis of hem speiken grammaticalliche and the puple understondith it not."

It should be remarked that the Orthodox Church has never opposed the translation of the scriptures or the liturgy into new tongues when such translation has been necessary for the furtherance of her missionary and pastoral work. On the contrary, the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is probably celebrated in more languages than any other of the historic rites of Christendom. I have myself been present at celebrations at which old Slavonic, Greek, English, French and Arabic have all been used during the course of the liturgy, and W. J. Birkbeck mentions a committee he encountered at St. Petersburg in 1889 which was engaged in translating the liturgy for a small tribe in the north-east of Siberia, numbering less than 5,000 souls and whose language contained scarcely 788 797 198

[1] The story of this Byzantine Emperor's fruitless expedition to the west in quest of military aid against the Turk, and of his sojourn in Paris and London—one of the most diverting episodes in fifteenth-century history—is related in some detail in Schlumberger's *Byzance et Croisades* (Paris, 1927), pp. 87-147: "Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres."

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more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

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consider the family prayers and personal devotions of the Greek laity. These are made up wholly of prayers, psalms and hymns drawn from the liturgy: scarcely ever (save in certain circles influenced by the new movements) do they include vernacular prayers. The *Hiera Synopsis*—the laity's manual of prayers—consists entirely of extracts from the Church's liturgy. The form of evening prayer commonly used in a Greek household is simply a shortened version of the Little Compline which closes the day in every monastery.

The 'liturgical' approach to the Bible has, it must be confessed, certain limitations. If the laity were present at *all* the services of the Church they would indeed acquire a working knowledge of the greater part of the holy scriptures. In practice, however, they will normally hear only those portions of the Old and New Testaments which are read on Sundays and holy days at the eucharistic liturgy and (depending on the regularity of their attendance) at mattins and evensong. Since 'Bible-reading' is little practised outside the new movements (where, indeed, it is universal) this inevitably means that the majority of the Greek laity, being wholly dependent upon the lections which occur in the course of the regular liturgical cycle, are unfamiliar with considerable portions of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament.

It is, moreover, almost certainly true that the common people understand very imperfectly some of the elaborate 'canons' which recur only once every year (and then generally at mattins when few of the laity are present in church). But, as W. J. Birkbeck remarks not inappositely of the Russian muzhiks of his day: "I myself have heard a great many more quotations (and intelligent quotations too) made from the canons . . . of St. Cosmas and St. John Damascene than I have ever heard from the Norfolk peasantry, amongst whom I have lived all my life, from the Hebrew prophets, which are read, or ought to be read, in all our churches throughout the months of September and October!"

While many a Greek Christian's familiarity with the Bible will extend only to those passages which are read during the course of the liturgy, his *theological* understanding of the scriptures is commonly far deeper than that of the, often better-informed, English churchman. Unlike so many an earnest student of the Bible, he realises—however obscurely—that the divine history is related at every point to what goes on week by week in his parish church: that it is only to those who are baptised into Christ's saving death, who are living in the mystery revealed in the Church, that the full meaning of the scriptures is laid bare.

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VII

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A THESSALIAN THEBAID

It seems a place of such stupendious solitude, as if the situation thereof had been designed for the retirement of Monks or the Cells of Anchorites.

PAUL RYCAUT

For the Quiet and innocency of their Life, the natural Beauty of the Place, the Rocks, Mountains, Streams, Woods, and curious Plants, joyn'd with the Harmonious Notes of Nightingales, and other Birds, in whole Quires, celebrating, and as it were, welcoming the forward Spring, to speak the truth, so charmed my melancholick Fancy for a time, that I had almost made a Resolution never to part with so great a Happiness, for whatever the rest of the World could present me with. But, in conclusion, it prov'd too hard a Task for me, so soon to wean myself from the World.

GEORGE WHELER
A Journey into Greece, 1682.

133
361
792
346

THE traveller who follows the shallow streams of Peneios beyond Trikkala, with its Byzantine citadel, towards Kalambaka at the head of the Thessalian plain, will observe, long before the ruined cottages and hastily improvised dwellings of that oft-destroyed township come into view, a singular group of fantastically shaped rocks rising abruptly from the plain. As he draws nearer and the mountains close in on either hand he will distinguish what appear to be human habitations occupying seemingly inaccessible sites among these monstrous crags and pinnacles. Above Kalambaka itself the limestone cliffs tower toward heaven, "asperous, craggy, and barren"; a few monasteries and hermitages clinging as it seems miraculously to the very brink of the abyss, in defiance alike of the violence of the elements and of the laws of gravity. These are the Meteora monasteries, so extraordinary in their situation that one is disposed to accept the local belief that God formed

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these strange rocks for the peculiar benefit of the communities of 133
stylites who, in the fulness of time, were to build their chapels and 361
hermitages upon their barren summits. Assuredly, there are few places 792
on earth so admirably fitted to serve as a refuge for those who are called
to the solitary life and to the labour of the angels as this rocky wilderness 346
above Kalambaka.

The early history of the monasteries is lost in obscurity. We cannot 175
say at what period the first solitaries found their way to this remote 792
corner of Thessaly. It seems clear, however, that certainly before the 346
end of the thirteenth century, and perhaps considerably earlier, there were many hermits scattered about this wild region. *Staghi* (as Kalambaka, the ancient Aeginion, was known in the Middle Ages), seems to be a contraction of *eis tous aghious*—the name is still preserved in the official title of the Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi. It may have been many years before the unorganised eremitical life crystallised into anything in the nature of regular communities. Many of the monasteries trace their origins to the troubled epoch during the latter part of the fourteenth century when the Emperor of the Serbs carried on an intermittent campaign against the successors of Constantine from his base at Trikkala, a few miles further down the valley of the Peneios, and the desert of the solitaries was invaded by armed bands and by men whose warfare was not with principalities and powers. The hermits took refuge among the high rocks. How they first succeeded in establishing themselves on some of the apparently unscalable heights which are now surmounted by the crumbling ruins of their cells is one of the unfathomed mysteries of monastic history—though there are explanations to be heard in the mountain villages of Pindos.

Between 1356 and 1372 there came to Staghi a monk trained in the great coenobia of Mount Athos, Athanasius by name, who founded [133]
on the summit of the Platys Lithos—the vast mass of rock which towers to a height of more than 1,800 feet to the north of Kastraki—the monastery dedicated in honour of the Transfiguration of our Lord and Saviour which has ever since been known as the Great Meteoron. As darkness descended upon the glories of New Rome, and the church of the Holy Wisdom—"the most fayr Chirche and the most noble of alle the world"—fell into the hands of the infidel, the desert blossomed and a flourishing group of monasteries sprang up among the barren rocks. The Great Meteoron prospered and served as a model for other foundations, thanks to the wisdom of its founder and to the benefactions of

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175 the wife of the Despot of Ioannina, whose brother, Ioasaph, had come to
792 Staghi as a postulant in 1388. By the sixteenth century there would
seem to have been as many as twenty-four communities scattered about
346 the rocks.

The convent of St. Stephen, built on the site of a hermitage founded in 1312, lies on the farther side of a chasm spanned by a drawbridge. [406] In order to gain access to most of the monasteries, however, it was necessary to be hoisted in a net lowered from the gate-house of the monastery (commonly situated some 150 feet above the farthest point [417] to which the traveller could attain by his own unaided efforts), or to clamber up ladders somewhat imperfectly secured by long wooden pegs to the face of the precipice. Travellers' accounts abound in references to the perils of either means of ascent: to frayed ropes which were replaced only after a catastrophe had actually occurred, and to the horrors of ladders hung perpendicularly upon the face of the cliff, below which, as Curzon relates: "the precipice went sheer down to so tremendous a depth, that my head turned when I surveyed the distant valley over which I was hanging in the air like a fly on a wall." It was not until 1925 that, as the result of the construction of some rough tunnels and steps, it became possible to reach the four monasteries then inhabited without considerable hazard to life and limb. The alterations then effected are bitterly lamented by the present *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron, the Archimandrite Callinicos, as a misguided concession to episcopal infirmity on the part of his predecessor. It seemed very [406] doubtful, however, whether the combined energies of the few remaining monks would suffice to operate their ancient windlass at all effectively. Curzon (who visited the Meteora in 1834) speaks of the ten or twelve monks at Aghia Trias who pulled him up to their monastery with a rope thirty-two fathoms long, and of the like number of reverend stevedores who assembled at the bars of the capstan at St. Barlaam, and whose efforts had the somewhat disconcerting effect of lifting him off the floor in his net and launching him "out of the door right into the sky, with an impetus which kept me swinging backwards and forwards at a fearful rate". To-day, the largest community can muster no more than half a dozen monks, of whom two are well advanced in years.

A great transformation has indeed come about since the days of prosperity vividly depicted in an old print which hangs in the sadly dilapidated guest-chamber of the Great Meteoron. More than twenty

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monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

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175 792 [162] monks still further reduced to twenty-one. A decade of war has added a catastrophic chapter to this melancholy tale of gradual decline, for it was not possible that the monks should remain aloof from the calamities which have befallen their native land during those terrible years. The day was long since flown when the monks could look down from the security of their rocky retreats upon scenes of slaughter and pillage as armies came and went on the plain below; and, turning away with the sign of the cross and a *Kyrie eleison*, go back to their labours. The unscalable heights were impregnable no longer.

792 129 [491] I spent several days at the monasteries in January 1950, accompanied by a young theologian from the Russian Academy in Paris. Heavy falls of snow had blocked the Metsovo pass—the one road that leads north-westwards from Kalambaka across the heights of Pindos, connecting the plain of Thessaly with Ioannina and Epirus—and the cold was intense. We had slept the previous night at Trikkala, where the Metropolitan had shown us a number of charred manuscripts which had been salvaged from the monasteries. Our first concern upon reaching Kalambaka the following morning was to seek out the curate of the place, Father Christos Benda, whom we discovered wrapped in a blanket at his fireside. He was not a little startled at the sudden apparition of two Frankish visitors in the doorway of his cottage, and regarded somewhat gloomily our proposal to sleep at the monasteries for the duration of our stay, assuring us (not without reason, as we subsequently discovered), that the monks had little enough bedding to protect their own persons from the bitter winds which swept the exposed summits. He promised, nevertheless, to come with us to look for the *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron who was said to have descended from his airy retreat that morning in order to deal with some piece of monastic business. First, however, we were taken to see the fourteenth-century basilica with its remarkable marble *ambon*, and to visit the school, where we found classes of 150 children overflowing the one available building (which had perforce to serve as primary school in the forenoon and as high school for the rest of the day), and packed into two small chapels which had been furnished with desks. The children were delighted at the diversion caused by the appearance of the *xenoi*. Papa Christos carried us off in search of the abbot who was finally run to earth in a tavern where, monastic business satisfactorily despatched, he was disposing of a dish of vegetables.

[346] [87.1]

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An hour or so later we were scrambling up the chasm which separates the Platys Lithos from the adjacent massif of Drakospelaia. Hundreds of feet above us the walls of the monastery of St. Barlaam stood out, a ragged fringe of ivory, against the sky. The *Igoumenos* reined in his pony and pointed out to us the site of the monastic prisons, high in the towering cliffs above Kastraki. 792 [346]

"Your names once again, that I may remember them?"

"Boris and Petros."

"Boris and Petros", repeated Father Callinicos, readjusting the bundles of leeks which festooned his saddle, "*na eisthe kala!*"

"The *Kyrios* Boris", he went on, as we relapsed into single file, "is from Paris, and yet, you say is Orthodox?"

"He is indeed Orthodox, O *Igoumenos*."

"But the Christians of Paris are of another dogma, are they not? Are they not Catholics?"

My exposition of the state of the Christians of Paris and of the condition of the erring patriarch of the west was cut short as the gatehouse of the Great Meteoron came into view in breath-taking perspective. We gained the narrow platform of rock at the head of the gully, immediately below the monastery, and Gregorios threw back his head and sent cries of *Agathangelle!* echoing and re-echoing among the high rocks. 346 792

Having reached the foot of the precipice, says Curzon, we stopped in the middle of this dark chasm and fired a gun . . . which was intended to answer the same purpose as knocking at the door in more civilised places; and we all strained our necks in looking up at the monastery to see whether any answer would be made to our call. Presently we were hailed by some one in the sky, whose voice came down to us like the cry of a bird; and we saw the face and grey beard of an old monk some hundred feet above us peering out of a kind of window or door. . . . Presently, after a careful reconnoitring from several long-bearded monks, a rope with a net at the end of it came slowly down to us, a distance of about twenty-five fathoms; and being bundled into the net, I was slowly drawn up into the monastery, where I was lugged in at the window by two of the strongest of the brethren, and after having been dragged along the floor and unpacked, I was presented to the admiring gaze of the whole reverend community, who were assembled round the capstan.

THE WATERS OF MARAH

346 *Autres temps, autres moeurs.* "Unhappily", said Father Callinicos, as
792 we waited at the foot of the precipice and Gregorios unsaddled the
pony, "there have been regrettable changes; formerly there was great
[406] security." The windlass, it appeared, was now used only for hauling
up firewood and victuals. We took a last look at the leeks, now
100 feet above our heads, and entered the dark passage which gives
access to the steps leading to the monastery. Agathangellos was awaiting
us outside the now disused refectory: a youngish monk, clad in a
tattered grey cassock and soft cap, who had come to the Meteora, we
subsequently discovered, in 1939. He carried us off to the guest-
chamber (little used in these days) and left us among the faded memorials
of former splendour while he went in search of refreshment. A few
[796] minutes later the insistent clamour of the *semandron* summoned us to
vespers in the fine *catholicon*, dating from the middle of the sixteenth
century, where Athanasius the Athonite, clad in the habit of a western
monk, looks down from the apse—a fragment of an earlier church on the
same site, built by Ioasaph in 1388. A frugal supper of vegetables,
[262] goats' milk cheese and bread followed, and afterwards we sat on
[352] wooden stools round a fire of brushwood and talked to the *Igoumenos*
[372] and the other members of his little family, while Agathangellos busied
himself in the kitchens, where cats as lean as the stylite saints depicted
792 in the frescoes of the narthex lurked in the shadows. Father Callinicos,
we discovered, had been at the Great Meteoron for nearly forty years.
There was one other priest in the community: a Father Theophylaktos
who had lived in the Athonite house of Xeropotamou for several years
as a simple monk before he was ordained and came to Thessaly in 1935.
Another monk—also named Callinicos—had been carried off by the
Italians and had died in exile. Apart from Father Agathangellos, the
only remaining member of the community was a very ancient personage
named Paul who appeared to lead the life of a solitary, and whom we
but dimly discerned amidst the shadows of the church. Gregorios, who
had accompanied us from Kalambaka, was no monk but a married man
with a wife and several children, lately returned to their village in the
mountains to the west of Trikkala. We encountered him again some
ten days later, breasting a snow-covered ridge among the foothills of
Pindos with a couple of heavily-laden pack-animals, and accompanied
by a little troop of refugees on their way home after three years in
Kalambaka.

[796] Shortly after eight o'clock Father Agathangellos reappeared with a
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huge iron lantern, to lead the way along rickety galleries and past rows of long-abandoned cells to the church. We shivered in our stalls while compline was shrilly chanted, without book and by the light of a single guttering candle, in the narthex. "They are so expert and ready therein", says Rycaut, "that they can run from the beginning to the ending without stop or hesitation, and gallop it over at that rate, that one must have a good ear and some skill in the Greek language, to distinguish the different sound of the words which they utter." As the monastic day ended, the monks emerged from the shadows of the narthex, and, one by one, filed past the *Igoumenos* to ask his forgiveness and blessing, and he theirs:

"Your blessing, holy father, and forgive me, a sinner."

"May God forgive you, holy father."

At the Great Meteoron, despite the gloomy prophecies of those who had tried to dissuade us from staying at the monasteries, there were plenty of blankets, and we slept soundly till, long before the dawn, the *semandron* recalled us to church for mattins and lauds. We groped our way towards the door of the narthex, slipping and stumbling on the ice-bound rocks and mindful of Father Agathangellos' parting exhortation to "avoid the edge of the abyss". The whole world seemed wrapt in an unfathomable silence—infinitely remote there floated up out of the vast emptiness at our feet the faint clink of a chain, where a mule moved restlessly in the camp at Kalambaka. We crept into the church with the unearthly chant rising and falling in our ears. Agathangellos, a candle held between his fingers, swayed back and forth at his lectern, a solitary pool of yellow light in the universal blackness; an occasional movement from the remoter recesses of the darkened church betrayed the presence of other members of the community. With the first pale light of dawn mattins gave place to lauds, and as a shaft of dusty sunlight pierced the darkness, picking out the gold and crimson of antique frescoes and bringing new life to limbs rigid with the cold, Father Callinicos, from within the sanctuary, took up the ancient hymn: "Glory to Thee who hast shown us the light . . ."

When the office was ended and we had drunk a cup of coffee and a thimbleful of *ouzo*, we spent a little time exploring the monastery, now stripped of all its movable treasures. Then, after taking leave of our kind hosts, we made our way to Aghios Barlaam where we were welcomed by the Archimandrite Ambrose and a young deacon named Bessarion. The *Igoumenos* was below in Kalambaka but would be back

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later in the day. There was, alas! no bedding at the monastery, said Father Ambrose: everything had been carried off by the Communists, to equip a field-hospital which they had established in the mountains to the northward; "What is to be done? But we will find something for you when you return this evening."

We spent the rest of the day scrambling about the rocks and visiting long-abandoned monasteries and hermitages. At St. Nicolas—fast falling into ruin, and where one must tread with circumspection—we found a few paintings remaining in the two chapels and the refectory, as well as an iron chest containing liturgical books and an eikon of the Forerunner; elsewhere, nothing save slowly crumbling masonry and the all-enveloping silence. We paid a fleeting visit to Kalambaka and returned to St. Barlaam a little before sunset laden with cognac and cigarettes. Like the Great Meteoron, this monastery, which crowns the towering cliffs of Drakospelaia, was until quite recent times inaccessible save by net and windlass. It is a sixteenth-century foundation, having been built about 1517 by two brothers from Ioannina—Nektarios and Theophanes—on the site of the fourteenth-century hermitage founded by the solitary from whom the monastery takes its name. In 1950 it was inhabited by six monks. The *Igoumenos*, Father Christopher, told us he had been at the monastery for twenty-one years, and for another twenty years at a convent to the westward of Trikkala. He was seventy-seven—twelve years older than Father Ambrose, an Athenian who was ordained many years ago at Moni Petraki in the shadow of Lykavettos. This was the only one of the monasteries where we came across any novices. Father Bessarion (who came from a village near Larissa and who had seen service with the British army in the Middle East), had been received only five months earlier, as had another young deacon, a native of Chios. There were in addition two simple monks, one of them more than ninety years old.

That night it snowed heavily. Father Bessarion produced a threadbare carpet which, folded double, afforded us a little protection against the bitter cold; and he and a shepherd from Kalambaka, who was living at the monastery, kindled a huge fire which blazed on the open hearth of our cell until morning, while the wind howled along the deserted galleries, the ancient timbers groaned and shivered, and it seemed that an exceptionally heavy squall would send the whole monastery with its domed chapels and its frail scaffolding of cells and domestic buildings spinning off into the abyss. When daylight came we seemed to be sus-

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pended in the void, without visible contact with the world which we had revisited the previous afternoon. We returned to the *Igoumenos'* cell and sat and talked around a brazier filled with glowing charcoal, while we waited for the weather to moderate. Father Christopher told us of his own experiences during the troubled years of war; how he had been thrown into prison at Trikkala by the Italians and had escaped by jumping from a window; how several years later he had been carried off by the Communists in company with some 300 men, women and children from Kalambaka, and had been in the mountains for six days before his release; he told us too of the great monastery where he had taken the monastic habit, and of its 366 cells. Father Ambrose joined our little circle and catechised us as to our age, our families, were our parents living, were we married or *agamos*: "Certainly marriage is of God; a soldier from England and a *koritsi* from Piraeus, and God joins them. Truly, this is a great mystery, as says the apostle."

So the morning passed and at midday Father Bessarion reappeared with bean soup and bread for our lunch. By one o'clock the snow had somewhat abated, and since the visibility had increased sufficiently to enable us to see the monastery of Rosani, 500 yards distant, we decided to set out for St. Stephen where we were expected that evening. The *Igoumenos* and Father Ambrose advised us to take the easier, though less direct, path by way of Kalambaka; but being reluctant to add two miles or more to our journey in such weather we insisted on following the path which keeps to the high ground. Father Bessarion accompanied us a little way, and then, since the weather seemed to be improving, he left us after giving us precise directions as to our route.

All went well for a time, despite the fact that the path was entirely obscured beneath the drifting snow, and Rosani (formerly the dwelling of an aged female solitary) gradually faded from our view. Shortly afterwards, however, the mist thickened until visibility was but a few yards, and it was not long before we were in difficulties. For a time we crept along the edge of the abyss, edging our way cautiously across expanses of bare rock scoured by the wind, a thin coating of ice affording none save the most precarious foothold, until it seemed that we must be within a stone's throw of Aghia Trias. Alas! there were no monks left to answer our shouts; no slight thinning of the mist afforded us a momentary glimpse of the encompassing heights such as would have sufficed to give us our bearings. For three hours we wandered in an unfamiliar world until, an hour before dark, the mist lifted somewhat,

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574 and we found ourselves clear of the rocky wilderness, among low hills covered with dwarf oaks, and detected the distant barking of a dog. We struck down the bed of a torrent in the direction of the sound and came, after some forty minutes, upon a fold of muddy sheep guarded by two shepherd-lads, who, startled though they were at our sudden appearance, directed us to the nearby hamlet of Kopraina. In the gathering darkness, and as men with long-barrelled guns converged upon us from all sides, we entered the village, and bursting in upon an astonished assembly in the tavern called for the president. Ten minutes later, elated by several draughts of raw spirits, we were reclining on the presidential hearth, while the maidens of the household unlaced our boots, and our sodden outer garments steamed before a huge fire. The parish priest arrived in breathless haste to welcome the strangers, and the whole village buzzed with the news of our unlooked-for advent.

That night we enjoyed the hospitality of the village president, who had fought with Zervas in the mountains of Epirus, and who slept like a good soldier with a greatcoat for pillow and a loaded rifle beside him on the hearth. Earlier that evening he had told us of the English officer who had once come to the village, during the long years of the occupation, and who had snatched a few hours sleep in that same room where we supped, before slipping away to the mountains at daybreak. [346] Our own visit to Kopraina was more prolonged: we were taken to see the church, the chapel in the cemetery on the hillside above the village, and the school, where a geography lesson was in progress.

The parish priest excused himself and retired to supervise the preparations which, we gathered, were even then in hand for a festal lunch. [291] At high noon the *kapetanios* reappeared and led the way to the half-finished parsonage, where we found the parish priest drawing water from the well, his flocks and herds all about him, while his two sturdy daughters laboured excitedly in the kitchen and clattered to and fro in their wooden shoes. "*Kalos orisete*, welcome!" exclaimed Father Apostolos, setting down his bucket in great haste and rubbing his hands on the skirt of his cassock; "Come, all is ready, let us eat! Some wine, [352] O *Papadia*!" He led the way indoors and we took our places at the festal board—a section sawn from the trunk of a great oak. It was a merry gathering, and as we feasted in this country parsonage and the children listened wide-eyed to our tales of the strange and marvellous ways of the Franks, that other world from which we had so lately descended took on a curious, dream-like quality. It was hard to realise

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that before nightfall we should be back on the windswept heights above Kalambaka and amongst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. 574

A little before three o'clock Father Apostolos and the village president bade us *kalo taxidi*, after accompanying us as far as the outskirts of the village, and we set out for Aghios Stephanos with a guide. The sun had vanished beneath the jagged rim of Pindos when we at last worked our way gingerly across the icy rocks above the deserted monastery of the Holy Trinity and came suddenly upon Aghios Stephanos, four-square upon its rock like the heavenly Jerusalem, and found the whole of Thessaly lying at our feet. 792 346

Vespers was drawing to a close in the church of St. Charalambos, which stands so close to the brink of the precipice that one could, it seemed, empty the contents of a thurible into Father Christos' chicken-run below in Kalambaka. We spent two nights at this monastery before setting out for the mountain villages of Pindos, and I returned alone for a final visit some ten days later.

Of all the monasteries now inhabited St. Stephen had, it seemed evident, sustained far the greatest calamities as the result of war. Sacked first by the Italians and later by the Communists, it was a mere shell of a building, its unglazed windows affording little protection—as we learned by bitter experience—against wind or snow. Its former guest-rooms were crammed with wrecked furniture and empty ammunition boxes, while the eikons in the smaller of the two churches (the chapel dedicated to St. Stephen) had been wantonly defaced. Almost everything of value had been carried off when the monastery was pillaged: vestments and plate, an ancient gold cross from Mount Athos, five horses and mules, 130 sheep, provisions and fodder, beds and bedding, pots and pans, crockery and cutlery, carpets, even the bee hives, and—needless to add—the excellent wine for which the monastery was renowned in former days. The few surviving monks lacked the barest necessities of life and it was hardly surprising that sickness should have taken a heavy toll of this and the other communities during the winter months. The *Igoumenos* of St. Stephen's was the Deacon Anthimos, who came to the Meteora between the wars from the great Athonite house of Vatopedi—"a good house and garden . . . snakes very big and long in it", notes Dr. Covel. There were also living at St. Stephen three simple monks—lay-brothers, as they would be called in the west—Ephrem, who had been a monk for twenty years, Eusebius, who was formerly a policeman, and Cyril. Whilst we were staying at the 792 727 346 792

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792 monastery there arrived from Trikkala a certain Papa Iannis, an octogenarian with three married daughters. He had obtained his bishop's permission to come and share the life of the monks (there being no other priest in the community). Finally, there was Basil, a layman of sixty-five, who, after spending his boyhood in America, had returned to his native Thessaly to serve more than one monastery as a resourceful factotum; and there were the inevitable stylite cats. The *Igoumenos* was plainly a sick man—it was little wonder, considering what he had been through during the last few years and the rigours of the life at St. Stephen's—and the morning we left the monastery there was not a monk capable of getting to his place in church for *mesonyktikon* and *ortbros*.

792 796 Life at the Meteora to-day is hard indeed, and under such conditions as prevail it is hardly astonishing that the liturgical life of the monasteries should exhibit but little of the dignity and splendour which one rightly looks for in a large and well-ordered community. We were none the less deeply impressed by the efforts which are made to maintain the regular course of the *opus Dei*. Night after night, while Kalambaka sleeps, the few remaining ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi gather in the dimly-lighted chapels among the high rocks to perform what for the monk must always be his primary liturgy; morning by morning as the sun touches the heights of Pindos with new fire and the flickering candles grow pale in the first light of dawn, the great trinitarian doxology banishes the shades of night and unites heaven and earth, angels and archangels, sinful men and those whose warfare is accomplished, in a single bond of adoration:

Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace, goodwill towards men.
We praise Thee,
We bless Thee,
We worship Thee,
We glorify Thee,
We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory.
O Lord King,
O God of Heaven,
Father Almighty;
O Lord, Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ,
And O Holy Spirit.

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VIII

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

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> There is no village or city . . . which is not surrounded by monasteries as if by walls, and the inhabitants are supported by their prayers as if resting upon God.
>
> *Historia Monachorum*

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THE importance of the monastic life for the whole of the Orthodox world can scarcely be exaggerated. From the days when rumour of the heroic exploits of the hermits of the Egyptian deserts first moved men to forsake home and family and friends, and to go forth to do battle with the demons in those very regions which were held to be peculiarly their own, the ascetic life has never ceased to exercise its compelling attraction. The Orthodox Christian has always had the greatest veneration for the monastic ideal: it is only in quite recent times that the traditional view of the function of the monk and of his importance for the life and health of the whole body of the Church has been widely challenged. The great historic centres of Orthodox monasticism—the deserts of Egypt and the Judaean wilderness, the holy mountains of Sinai and Athos, the monastery of Studium, at the very heart of *oikoumene*, and the great *lavras* of Kiev and Moscow beyond its farthest confines—all these have exercised an incalculable influence upon the life of eastern Christendom.

Orthodox monasticism, though it has many different forms, does not consist of a multiplicity of distinct orders and congregations, each with its peculiar characteristics and sphere of activity. The western Christian who feels the call to the religious life may decide to test his vocation as a Carthusian, as a Benedictine, or as a member of an 'active' order such as the Jesuits or the Franciscans. The Greek simply becomes a monk. There are no 'orders' in eastern Christendom: no Order of St. Basil, as so many writers have mistakenly supposed. Thus Père Robert de Dreux remarks that all the Greek metropolitans and patriarchs "are chosen from among the religious of St. Basil, of whom there are a great number in that country", and speaks of Mount Athos as "inhabited

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792 by a great number of the monks of St. Basil, who dwell there in great austerity". So too (to quote a more recent instance of the same error) Bardenhewer asserts that "the Basilians are the one great Order of the East", while the reverend author of *Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church* speaks of "the ancient unity of the Order of St. Basil, which has subsisted since his time with its original simplicity".

Such expressions as these rest upon a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of eastern monachism. Antony, the hermit of the Egyptian desert—not Basil—is the patriarch of eastern monks. Western writers have all too frequently been led astray by the supposition that the rules of St. Basil have exercised, within the context of eastern monachism, an influence comparable to that of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* in the west.

In actual fact this supposed analogy is without foundation. The writings of the great Cappadocian have, it is true, exercised a considerable influence upon the development of coenobitic monachism in the east: though for the working out of much that was latent in the original rules we have to look to the work of Theodore of Studium (759-826). There is, however, no one document which has moulded the growth of eastern monachism as the Rule of St. Benedict has shaped the religious life of the west. The essential character of eastern monachism does not depend upon the writings attributed to St. Basil, nor indeed upon any written rule, but upon a traditional observance which was slowly hammered out in the great centres of eastern spirituality and which was spread abroad throughout the Orthodox world from Sinai to Siberia.

The Basilian monk is a Frankish invention. The Orthodox Church knows no *Order of St. Basil*—only the order of monks: the whole company of those who have sought to follow the Lord Christ in poverty and nakedness and in the spirit of the evangelical counsels; those who wage war incessantly on the ramparts of the city to guard the Christian polity against the assaults of the enemy without.

In a certain sense one may say that all Orthodox monks and nuns are contemplatives: though it has to be recognised that western categories such as 'contemplative', 'active', 'mixed', etc., are not really applicable to eastern monachism, which knows of only one *activity* proper to the monk—the unremitting struggle of prayer and the ascetic life. The Orthodox Christian who takes the monastic habit does so that he may renounce the life of this present world and abandon himself to the

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labour of the angels. A great part of the day and night he will henceforth devote to the *opus Dei*: the chanting of the divine office. For the rest, he will practise the prayer of Jesus and will be nourished upon the Gospels and the Psalter, the *Philokalia* (a collection of the writings of many of the great ascetics and fathers of the Church), and certain classic works of monastic spirituality—notably the *Ladder of Perfection* of St. John the Scholastic, Abbot of Sinai, which is read in every Orthodox monastery during the great lent. 792 [779]

Within this traditional framework there exist considerable variations suited to differences of personal vocation. Though the *coenobium*, or monastery of the common life (that form of eastern monachism which owes the greatest debt to the legislation of St. Basil and St. Theodore of Studium), has commanded the greatest influence, the coenobitic life is only one among several traditional patterns of asceticism which lie open to the Orthodox monk. Side by side with the regular discipline of the community there exist other forms of the monastic life which trace their origin not to Cappadocia but to the primitive hermits of the desert; and despite St. Basil's admiration for the coenobitic life it can scarcely be questioned that, amongst the generality of Orthodox Christians, it has commonly been the solitary who has been accorded the greatest veneration and respect.

To this day, a large coenobium (such as one finds on Mount Athos, for example) will as a rule possess several small, dependent *sketai*, where two or three monks pursue a manner of life that has seen but little change during the course of 1,500 years, and may have in addition one or two anchorites nesting in inaccessible caves amongst the rocks and following an observance of incredible austerity; these are the *μεγαλόσχημοι*—monks of the great or angelic habit—of whom Covel observes that they "never eat at most above three times in a week; whence they are emaciated to meer Skin and Bones before they quite leave this world; this extravagant Fasting being counted the very heighth of an Aschetick Life."

Such extremes of asceticism, needless to say, are not for all men. Towards the end of the fourteenth century there made its appearance on the holy mountain a somewhat relaxed form of the monastic life known as the idiorrhythmic. The idiorrhythmic monk is literally one who follows his own rhythm. He owns personal property and takes his meals (prepared, if he be well-to-do, in his own kitchen by a monkish servant), not in the refectory but in the privacy of his own rooms. The

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government of the idiorrhythmic convent is normally vested in an assembly of senior monks presided over by two *epitropoi*. Such a system as this, although in certain of its features it recalls the loosely organised settlements of hermits of pre-coenobitic monachism, has in practice prospered chiefly in times of decadence. The true contemporary parallel to the settlements of the desert is not the idiorrhythmic monastery but the *skete*, or group of ascetic cottages, where the living traditions of Orthodox spirituality are preserved in all their integrity.

The great age of the idiorrhythmic monastery extended from the end of the fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth and was followed by a widespread reversion to the coenobitic pattern. Nine of the twenty ruling monasteries of Athos are now idiorrhythmic. There are, moreover, many Athonite monks who, though wearing the monastic habit, live after a fashion differing but little from that of the ordinary Greek peasant or fisherman. Many of them own their *kellia*, or 'cells'. A Greek prelate who wishes to retire to the holy mountain may purchase the lease of a cottage (commonly known as a *kathisma*, or 'seat') where he will pass the last years of his life with a monk or two to minister to his needs.

Between these two extremes lies the coenobium, the life and organisation of which differ but little in substance from the pattern laid down by St. Benedict. It should, however, be remarked that the Orthodox convent has never become a community of clerks: the overwhelming majority of Orthodox monks are to this day what we should call lay brothers; it is not even essential that the abbot should be in orders—though if he is not a *hieromonachos* he cannot claim the title of archimandrite but only of *hegoumenos*.

There can be little question that the ordinary regimen of the Orthodox coenobium, to say nothing of that which obtains in the *sketai*, is of a rigour which the average Frankish monk would find insupportable. A visitor from the Belgian priory of Chevetogne remarked, after a short stay at the celebrated convent of Mar Sabbas, that the diet was such that that of La Trappe would seem quite relaxed by comparison. Much, however, that western Christendom would now consider intolerably rigorous, the Greek peasant-monk takes for granted. "The contempt of food and drink and of a soft bed", as Chrysostom observes, "is a matter of no effort to many persons, especially if they have led a rustic life, and been brought up to these hardships from their infancy."

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As of Orthodox Christendom in general, so of the Church of Greece 792
in particular, it may be said that the monastic life has been of quite unique importance in shaping her life and piety. This is no less true of the long centuries of the captivity than of the earlier and more formative ages of her history. Even to-day, when the monasteries are subject to widespread criticism, the ancient traditions of monastic spirituality persist and sometimes reveal themselves most unmistakably in precisely those circles where hostility toward the existing institutions—especially in their more idiorrhythmic forms—is most evident and outspoken. It needs to be remembered that the first stirrings of the new missionary [794]
spirit, which has had so notable an effect upon the Greek Church within the space of the last 100 years, centre upon the great monastery of Megaspelaion in the Peloponnese, and that Eusebius Matthopoulos, the founder of the Brotherhood of Life, was himself a monk of this convent, steeped in the ascetic traditions of his Church.

"There is no place where the *Greek* Religion is professed", says Rycaut, "so famous for Monasteries as that of Mount *Athos*; and indeed if we consider the number of them, and of the Religious belonging thereunto, it is not to be parallel'd in all the world . . . the grand Conservatory of the Christian Religion in *Greece*, and ancient austerity of living, and therefore not unaptly stiled by them *Ἅγιον ὄρος*, or the *Holy Mountain* . . . the high Pique or Peer whereof . . . is uneven, craggy, and as horrid as Caucasus."

Athos remains, after more than 1,000 years, the heart of Greek monasticism. Isolated and aloof, the life of the holy mountain moves to a slow rhythm which is as little susceptible of change or alteration as the constant surge of the waters about the rocky promontory, in whose narrow clefts and ledges the anchorites roost like wild sea fowl. In Greece one can never wholly escape from the all-pervading influence of Athos. One is always dimly aware of the holy mountain, brooding over the dark waters of the Aegean, its head wrapped in the clouds. At the very heart of fashionable Athens one may encounter a student-deacon from the *sketai* of St. Anne, or a stately *epitropos* in silken gown bound for the offices of the Holy Synod.

Thanks to its isolation, Athos suffered comparatively little from the [727]
ravages of war—though many monks endured imprisonment and ill-treatment, and considerable damage was done to monastic properties scattered about the mainland of northern Greece. The Communist [648]
revolution in Russia and the subsequent division of Europe into two

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792 hostile camps have, however, already gone far towards transforming the
648 holy mountain into a purely Hellenic preserve, and threaten wholly to deprive it of the pan-Orthodox character which it yet retains, despite the fact that for many years now every monk has been required to adopt Greek nationality. Three of the twenty ruling monasteries—St. Panteleimon, Zographou and Chilandari—are non-Hellenic convents, being Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian respectively. In former days these monasteries were amongst the wealthiest on the mountain; St. Panteleimon, in particular, with its numerous dependencies—some of the latter far larger than any other ruling monastery—could boast of more monks than were to be found in all the other convents together. All these alien monasteries, however, were dependent mainly upon the produce of lands which now lie behind the iron curtain, and to-day, cut off as they are from their sources both of supply and of recruitment, they are in a most melancholy condition.

Of all the thousands of Russian monks who once inhabited the holy mountain scarcely 300 remain. The majority of these are aged and infirm: many of them physically incapable of cultivating the vegetables, olives and vineyards which now form the monastery's only means of support. It is now more than thirty-five years since the monks have been cut off from their own land. A certain amount of assistance continued to reach Athos from the Russian community in Jerusalem, but this also has ceased since the property became subject to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate. With the passing of the years the position of the alien monasteries becomes more and more desperate, as the list of invalids grows longer, and fewer and fewer hands are available for the support of those who can no longer work; and greatly as one may regret the fact, the day seems not far distant when Athos will become a purely Hellenic community.

792 Mount Athos apart, the organised religious life has come very near
727 to complete suppression in northern and central Greece during the last few years. I have already said something of the sufferings of the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. The fortunes of two or three other important monasteries are not without a certain melancholy interest.

Take, for example, the ancient convent of Eikosiphoinisses, which
[361] traces its foundation to the second decade of the sixth century: a vast walled enclosure on the wooded slopes of Mount Pangaion, accessible only by mule-tracks winding high above the marshes of Philippi. It is said that there were some fifty monks inhabiting the convent at the

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beginning of this century. Eikosiphoinisses suffered grievously at the hands of the Bulgars in 1913 and again five years later. All its flocks and herds were driven off and the monastery was looted of most of its treasures—precious manuscripts, vestments, holy vessels and reliquaries. There could, therefore, be little room for doubt as to the fate in store for it when the Bulgars again swarmed into Greece in the wake of the German forces in the summer of 1941. 792 727

The history of the convent from this time down till its destruction three years later is obscure. The pillage of its remaining property seems to have commenced about two months after the Bulgars had descended upon Drama and expelled the Greek clergy; a certain Botseph, Bulgarian *protosyngellos* of the metropolis, celebrated the festival of the Dormition of the Mother of God by stealing from the monastery a mitre, an ancient chalice, six silver crosses such as are used for the blessing of the waters at Epiphany, sundry liturgical vestments and ten manuscripts on parchment from the library. Some six weeks later several Bulgarian officers were moved to emulate the pious labours of this worthy ecclesiastic. They returned from their expedition to the heights of Pangaion driving before them a train of asses laden with clothing, furniture and other tangible fruits of their pilgrimage.

Another Bulgar, Sophronios Natseph, the *epitropos*, makes a fleeting and discreditable appearance upon the stage of Greek history on June 20th, 1943, on which day he despoiled Eikosiphoinisses of seventeen carpets, ninety-eight goats and as much bedding as he and his accomplices were able to bear away with them down the rocky paths.

The final chapter in this catalogue of infamy was written a little more than a year after this episode when, on July 13th, 1944—a few months before they fled from the scene of their barbarous crimes—the Bulgars set fire to the monastery and destroyed it utterly. Only the *catholicon* (which stood somewhat apart in the centre of the great courtyard) and a single block of cells survived the conflagration; the rest of the convent, including a three-storied edifice said to contain 300 cells, the bakery and the refectory (dating from the eleventh century), and all the stables and outbuildings were gutted. Before setting fire to the monastery the Bulgars looted it of everything of value and drove off all the live-stock. The library, which contained some 1,500 volumes, was reduced to ashes. [346]

All the monks of this monastery endured great hardship and privation. One was executed by the Bulgars; another died as the result of the treatment which he suffered at their hands. The former was the *monachos*

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792 Daniel—a native of Thasos, who had taken refuge in the village of
727 Palaiochori, on the lower slopes of Pangaion, when the district was invaded by the Bulgars. He was tortured before being put to death. The other monk who perished was the *hieromonachos* Sophronios, carried off as a hostage to Bulgaria. The *igoumenos* of the monastery, Gregorios Katsivakes, fled with several other monks to the village of Nikesiani, a few miles to the northward. There he fell into the hands of the Bulgars and was carried off into exile in northern Bulgaria. After six terrible months he was allowed to return, broken in health, to Nikesiani where he remained supported by the alms of the people.

When the occupation was over, Mount Pangaion—together with the
[669] heights of Chalkidiki (with which it enjoys easy communications)—became a stronghold of the *katsapliades*. The coastal road between Cavalla and Salonica was closed to traffic after it had been mined repeatedly, and all vehicles had to make a long detour to the north of Pangaion by way of Drama and Serres. The ruins of Eikosiphoinisses remained uninhabited. Only recently have a handful of monks gone back to the monastery which lies desolate like the city of the Philippians amidst the marshes far below.

A few miles to the north-west of Eikosiphoinisses and close to the town of Serres stands another historic convent, that of St. John the Forerunner. This, too, has fallen a prey on more than one occasion to the rapacity of the Bulgars. In 1918 the conventual library was looted and its chief treasures carried off to the Bulgarian monastery of Rila. Thence, in due course, they were returned to the Greek government, and (with a view to their greater security), distributed amongst the libraries of Athens. The cataloguing of the library of this Macedonian convent had, incidentally, been carried out some years before this calamity by one who was subsequently to become a well-known figure throughout western Christendom: the late Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos.

In 1941 the monastery was sacked by the Bulgars. The monks joined the innumerable host of refugees. Several are said to have died of starvation in the streets of occupied Serres. Others escaped to Nigrita, Salonica and Athens. Seven of them came back in 1945 and were
[669] joined by two novices. It was not long, however, before the monastery was again attacked and pillaged—this time by the Communists. Every scrap of food and clothing was carried off to sustain the democratic warriors of the mountains. In view of the constant threat of further

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raids, the Metropolitan of Serres arranged for rations to be sent daily to the monastery, and this state of affairs endured down till the summer of 1949, when it was considered safe to lay in stores once again. In the spring of 1950 only three monks were living in the convent: one of them a priest who could celebrate the divine mysteries. The other monks had been sent by the Metropolitan to serve in parishes of the diocese, where (owing to the very high proportion of casualties amongst the village clergy), the shortage of clergy was peculiarly grave. 792 727

All over northern Greece the same tragic history has been re-enacted time and time again. The monastery of Aghios Nikanor, Zavordas, lies at the heart of a barren and desolate region to the southward of Kozani, and within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Grevena. Like so many Greek monasteries its situation is remarkable: the summit of a high rock set amidst the swirling waters of the Aliakmon. The remoteness of its site, far from the lines of communication, brought this convent through the years of occupation unscathed; isolation, however, afforded little protection against the Communists. The monastery was attacked and looted; everything of the slightest value was borne off to the mountains together with the convent's pack-animals and its 300 sheep and goats. The abbot, Father Gabriel Balayiannes, and an older monk named Gerasimos Stathopoulos were murdered, and the survivors fled to the village of Palaiochori (some four hours' journey from the monastery) where they were still living when I visited this region in the spring of 1950. [361] [669]

Southwards, over the pass which skirts snow-capped Olympus and connects western Macedonia with the broad plains of Thessaly, stands the ancient monastery of Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elassona. This, too, was pillaged, the monks driven out, the abbot severely beaten, imprisoned and sent into exile. In almost every diocese of Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus the few surviving monasteries and their inhabitants have suffered a like fate.

The Abbé de St. Michon observes that in his day the Greek monk was a patriot who fought for the independence of his country, and who was loved for virtues which belong more to the soldier than to the man of prayer. The cannon of Megaspelaion were indeed used to some purpose against the Turk during the war of independence, and Urquhart gives a vivid description of his arrival at the monastery of Lezini, in the guise of a "goul or spirit of the marsh", with twenty muskets and a nine-pounder full of grape trained upon him. Alas! the monkish batteries

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792 have been allowed to rust these many years, and armed resistance,
727 however effective it may have been a century ago against a lightly armed assailant, could have availed the monks but little in the face of an enemy equipped with modern artillery. The monasteries lay at the mercy of the *barbarvi*: an easy prey, holding out a tempting prospect of plunder.

Elsewhere in Greece the destruction and pillage of religious houses has been less universal than in the isolated dioceses of the north. The ascetic life still flourishes in many communities scattered amongst the islands and in the Peloponnese; one may still find convents where the unrelenting battle with the powers of darkness is waged with something of its ancient ardour and where the monk is still manifestly the guardian of the walls; but such houses, it must be confessed, are now few and far between.

792 It must not, however, be supposed that the present decline of Greek
178 monasticism is wholly attributable to the effects of a decade of war.
659 Long before the storm burst upon them in 1940 the Greek monasteries had, with few exceptions, been reduced to a sorry plight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century many convents were very wealthy. Since then the foundations of their economy have been undermined by the loss of their properties situated in Rumania, the Caucasus and elsewhere, and as the result of a series of confiscations by the Hellenic government dating from 1833 onwards. Although a portion of the wealth made available by these confiscations has gone to swell the General Ecclesiastical Fund, and so to benefit the work of the Church, this anti-monastic legislation continues to arouse acrimonious controversy not only among the monks but (for rather different reasons) among churchmen in general.

There are, nevertheless, few laymen who would oppose the diversion of monastic property to the furtherance of social and educational projects and the improvement of the condition of the parochial ministry.
792 The contemplative life has few champions outside the *skitai* of the holy
178 mountain. There are many who value the monasteries for their former contribution to the life of the nation, for their traditions of hospitality, and for their archaeological interest, but few indeed who now regard them as centres of spiritual power. The traditional monasticism has come to be looked upon—at any rate in the towns—as an out-of-date phenomenon, quite irrelevant to the needs of the present time.

This is true not least of many of the leaders of the new movements,

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many of whom are outspoken critics of the monks. Everywhere the demand is for *activity* (in the western sense of that word): for training preachers, confessors and catechists, and for raising the standards of clerical education. The monks are looked upon as idle drones who make no contribution to the life of the whole body. Inevitably, such views (which are widespread to-day) have had a marked effect upon monastic recruitment, and postulants are but few. All over Greece the monasteries lie abandoned and falling into ruin; rambling buildings in remote mountain sites visited only by shepherds, or inhabited by a solitary *kalogeros*, more farmer than monk, tending his vineyards and his olive groves and watching over his flocks and herds. 792 178

It would, nevertheless, be rash to assert that the new movements which have sprung up and taken root within the last two generations are anti-monastic in character, however hostile they may seem to be towards the traditional forms of the monastic life. It is tempting to compare a society such as the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë, for example, to the friars who made their appearance in western Europe more than seven centuries ago and who were frequently no more sympathetic towards the old monasticism than is the Greek theologian of the present time. I shall have occasion to describe this brotherhood in some detail in a later chapter; here I would but remind my reader of the fact that its founder was himself a monk of Megaspelaion, grounded in the traditional observance of that monastery, and that its members (though they do not bind themselves by permanent vows) are celibate priests or laymen, living under a common rule. Despite its novel constitution and organisation the movement retains much of the spirit of the old asceticism, and, in some respects at least, has more of the nature of a reassertion of the fundamental demands of the ascetic life in a form appropriate to the needs of the present time than a denial of their abiding value. 792 794 178

Soon after my arrival in Salonica in 1948, I was warned of the errors of the Zoë brothers and their sympathisers by a very idiorrhythmic monk, who assured me that these unhappy innovators were seeking to persuade men that the path that led to salvation was strait and the gateway narrow: such language seemed to have a familiar ring!

If we confine our view to the relics of the old monasticism it must be confessed that the prospect for the future is melancholy in the extreme. Everywhere the old order is passing away; amidst the crumbling walls a few survivors linger on as aliens in an unfamiliar world. But what of

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the new wine that is to be found in abundance within the religious societies? Is a new monasticism seeking forms appropriate to a changed environment? It is too early as yet to speak with any confidence, and yet there are signs that out of the present ferment may come something not so very far removed from the traditional patterns of the ascetic life.

Assuredly the passion for activity will have an end. It is but one aspect of that fascination which the feverish culture of the west holds for the modern Greek. Even now there are close personal links between the Zoë Brotherhood and certain convents in Old Greece and the islands where the ancient warfare is still waged with something of its first fiery ardour, and these may well prove to be of great importance for the future of Greek monasticism. We may be certain that the apostolic zeal and devotion which is so abundantly manifest within the religious societies will in time bring about a new awakening to the continuing need for men and women who will give themselves wholly to prayer. Then, indeed, we may hope to see a widespread revival of the monastic life that will people the ancient convents which now lie desolate and abandoned, and bring again the anchorites to the barren heights of Staghi.

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IX

A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION 000

> It is not enough to understand the extremity of the affliction that has been endured, although if this is not understood, nothing has been understood.
>
> F. A. VOIGT
> *The Greek Sedition*

SINCE a measure of security was restored to Greece, the ecclesiastical authorities have had little respite from urgent practical problems clamouring for solution. To the most cursory reader of a periodical such as *Ekklesia* (the official journal of the Greek Church), it must have been apparent that during the years which followed the collapse of the Communist sedition the bishops were constantly preoccupied with questions of material welfare and relief. Scarcely an issue but contained some reference to the resettlement of refugees, plans for the rebuilding of destroyed churches or the provision of clothing for the clergy; while the *Paidoupolis*, the *Paidikos Stathmos* and the P.I.K.P.A. clinic and food-distribution centre had, it would seem, become permanent features of the diocesan organisation in many parts of Greece. 727 794 [204]

It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to assume that the Church of Greece was forced by her preoccupation with these overwhelming material needs to neglect what must always be her primary task. Quite the contrary is true. That concern for the poor, the prisoners, the homeless and the oppressed which one looks for in a Church which pays peculiar reverence to St. John Chrysostom, went hand in hand with a missionary activity which, all else apart, would have sufficed to make the decade from 1940 to 1950 a memorable one in the annals of the Greek Church. Greece, as a theologian of the Zoë Brotherhood wrote to me in 1949, "issued from the war completely ruined—materially. Nothing was left to her of her national wealth. Her houses, villages, fields, factories, communications, and economy were all utterly destroyed. Spiritually, nevertheless, she emerged from the chaos of war reborn."

It is only against this background of suffering and devastation, of

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727 foreign occupation and armed sedition, that it is possible to grasp the
794 full significance of the spiritual ferment which marked these ten years, or to understand the magnitude of the task which the Church faces at the present time. For this reason I make no apology for dwelling at some length on the extent of the all-engulfing catastrophe which overwhelmed the Greek nation from the time of the Italian invasion of 1940 down to the decisive defeat of the Communists in the campaigns of 1949.

722 Much has already been written concerning the sufferings of the
727 people of Greece during these terrible years: about the horrors of the occupation, the burning and pillage of undefended villages, the famine which carried off more than 300,000 men, women and children, and the multitude of the homeless approaching in number the population of Athens and the Piraeus. Long before the end of the struggle with the Communists was in sight the destruction had become so manifest, so universal, that after a time one no longer marvelled. One came to accept the long lines of shattered rolling-stock stretching westwards from the walls of Salonica across the plain towards the muddy waters of the Vardar; the rusting carriages which lay strewn around the fair shores of Salamis. It was impossible to travel for any distance without encountering a dynamited bridge, a recently filled mine-crater, or the blackened ruins of an abandoned village. Every town of northern Greece was crowded with refugees, and even the suburbs of Salonica were liable to nocturnal bombardment.

722 Little attention, however, has as yet been given to the effect of ten
727 years of all but unbroken warfare upon the life of the Church: to the breakdown of normal parochial organisation over large tracts of country
795 for two or three years at a stretch, in consequence of the flight of the
[793] clergy together with their people from the villages; to the slaughter of the country parsons, and the destruction and looting of countless churches and monasteries which were to create such insuperable problems when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes; to the fate of those dioceses which were occupied by the Bulgars, who attempted to eradicate every trace of 'Hellenism' from those areas of eastern Macedonia and Thrace which fell to their lot; where the Greek bishops and their clergy were supplanted by Bulgars, the Greek service-books burned; where the very saints were de-Hellenised and had their names repainted in Slavonic characters. All who were able to do so fled from this region and took refuge in Salonica or in other towns to the west of the river Strymon, though some 40,000 were massacred. In the

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diocese of Drama no less than forty of the 112 parish churches were burned down, as well as the monastery of Eikosiphoinisses. 722 727

Elsewhere in Greece, and particularly in those areas traversed by important lines of communication, the number of the homeless mounted steadily as guerilla activity drew savage reprisals upon the villages. One had only to spend a few days in the mountains which lie to the westward of the Thessalian township of Kalambaka, for example, to see something of the effect of these reprisal raids. Church after church was gutted: mere empty shells with fragments of ancient paintings clinging to the tottering walls. In this diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone, twenty-four village churches were completely destroyed during the occupation and many others more or less seriously damaged. Nor did the towns escape the flood of destruction: Edessa, for example, which was set on fire by the Germans on September 12th, 1944, and where five churches perished in the ensuing conflagration, or Iannitsa which suffered a like fate two days later; Larissa, which had scarcely recovered from an earthquake when it was bombed by the Italians, and Kerkyra where more than sixty per cent. of the buildings were destroyed or damaged. 795

After the occupying troops had withdrawn from Greece in the autumn of 1944 and the Communist sedition had met with its first reverse, there ensued a period of comparative tranquillity. The refugees returned to their villages and some progress was made in repairing the damage wrought during the years of occupation. But a greater trial was still to come. From the autumn of 1946 onwards the full violence of the armed sedition which had slowly been gathering its energies since its temporary set-back of December, 1944, was let loose upon the country dioceses. It was utterly out of question for the Greek army, even with the assistance of the gendarmerie and the local militia, to garrison hundreds of isolated hamlets lying in mountainous districts where communications were of the most rudimentary kind. The defence of the northern frontiers presented problems enough and to spare. It was not long, therefore, before the country people were forced to flee from their lands and homes and to seek refuge in those centres which possessed a garrison. Large areas of northern and central Greece were soon abandoned to the roving Communist bands. 722 727 669

Some of the refugees found their way to Athens and Salonica, but the majority crowded with their surviving animals and such few possessions as they had been able to carry with them in their flight into 722 362

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722 the small country towns which serve as centres for the ecclesiastical
362 administration. Here many of them remained for three years. Some, and those the most fortunate, were able to build themselves wooden houses or *kalywai*; others were lodged in huts; multitudes, especially in Macedonia, lived (often twenty or twenty-five families together) in old Turkish houses; those who fared worst of all had to be content with hastily improvised shelters of mud and thatch, or even to pass the bitter months of winter in tents. By the end of 1948 the number of the refugees exceeded 700,000: for the second time within ten years a tenth part of the whole nation was homeless. The country towns were packed with refugees: not a ruined cottage or a stable but sheltered two or three families. Some words from Thomas Alcock's *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece in 1828-29* might well have been written 120 years later: "Nothing in Greece", says this traveller, "can more forcibly give an idea of the war that has been carried on, than finding on inquiry that not a third of the residents in any place are natives of it, but only sojourners there, till security is afforded them in their own birth-places."

727 The parish clergy fled with their people to the comparative security
793 of the towns, but the priest was a marked man and many failed to make good their escape. No less than 239 priests and monks were done to
[792] death by the Communists alone, and seventy-seven by the Germans,
[798] while a further forty-seven died at the hands of Bulgars, Italians or Albanian moslems. Of the total number of 363 the majority (297 to be precise) were parish priests: no single category of the population sustained heavier casualties in the slaughter of these years than the village *papades*.

793 "I triumphed", says De Quincey, "but infer not, reader, a condition
798 of joy or exultation." Not all of those who died were men of the quality of the heroic parish priest of the village of Megarchis, Papa George Skrekas, who was crucified by the Communists on Good Friday, 1947. Nor, needless to add, did every Christian who suffered for the faith during the first three centuries of our era embrace death with the ardour of an Ignatius or the serenity of a Polycarp. The Church of Greece has ever been rich in martyrs, and there are not a few names—unknown though they be to Christendom at large—which have been added during the last ten years to the roll of those who will be remembered in the mountain dioceses whenever the Church gathers for the eucharist:

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"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen." 798

But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands. 722 793

It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation. 722 727 795 669 [619]

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

727 By the summer of 1950 it had become possible to gain some notion
795 of the full extent of the material destruction which the Church had sustained since the beginning of the war; although with large tracts of northern Greece uninhabited until a few months before, the compiling of accurate statistics—never a simple matter—presented problems such as only one who had been in Greece during the last few years could hope to appreciate fully. I have already referred to the wholesale destruction of churches and monasteries. This, though serious enough, was perhaps most easily remedied. I remember one bishop who chuckled inordinately when I questioned him on this subject; "All that is necessary", he assured me, "is that I should go in person to the village with a spade and set to work, and then: *Panaghia!* in no time at all the whole village will turn out and a new church will be built before one can say a *kathisma* of psalms!"

More serious, perhaps, and not confined to those villages where the fabric of the church had been demolished, was the acute shortage of liturgical books, chalices, vestments, and other accessories of worship which could not be supplied from local resources. The dearth of
[213] service-books, in particular, was occasioning widespread difficulty. Old Venetian editions had been brought in from long-abandoned monasteries and remote hill-top chapels which had escaped pillage—though the antique characters in which many of them were printed, while intelligible enough to the experienced monk, made it difficult for the average *papas* (to say nothing of the village choir) to read the service with any facility.

727 I remarked in an earlier chapter that the metropolis is as a rule one
793 of the most impressive and substantial buildings of a provincial town.
346 In 1950, however, several bishops were homeless. The Metropolitan of Grevena was living in lodgings, having one room for his personal use and another which served as the diocesan office; the Lord Agathangellos of Nevrokopi was living in the most apostolic simplicity in two barely furnished rooms; nor, amongst the provincial 'saints', were such cases exceptional.

727 Faced by a catastrophe so complete and overwhelming, the first
794 concern of the Church was to try to meet the urgent demand for the bare necessities of life: for food, clothing and shelter. Everywhere the response was the same: orphanages, homes for refugee children, centres for the distribution of food and clothing, clinics and hospitals, were

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created as it were out of nothing. Everywhere these institutions were hastily improvised in the face of desperate and clamorous necessity, and, more often than not, maintained with a heroic disregard for the universal lack of material resources, and a courage worthy of a St. Vincent de Paul. 727 794

In almost every diocese the bishop bore a heavy responsibility in this work of relief. Nearly always he exercised a close personal supervision over the various institutions which had come into being in response to the need of a people driven, for the second time within less than ten years, from their homes and lands; over the *estia* where for several years milk was distributed daily to thousands of refugee children; the *paidikos stathmos* where infants were cared for during the day; the distribution of clothing, black stuff for cassocks, soap, cocoa, macaroni, beans, sugar, boots and shoes—all the multiplicity of urgently needed supplies with which a host of relief organisations, societies, British and American towns and villages, and private benefactors sought to succour the people of Greece in their distress. [648]

At Siderokastro, for example, the Metropolitan (who as assistant bishop of Salonica was an ardent supporter of the work of the Near East Foundation during the period between the wars), founded a small hospital where poor families could receive free medical attention, as well as a remarkable school of housekeeping for girls of marriageable age. Like all the Macedonian 'despots', the Bishop was president of the local branch of the national relief organisation known as P.I.K.P.A., and supervised the two centres from which milk and cocoa were issued daily to thousands of refugee children from the villages of his diocese. [657] [793]

At Edessa, in western Macedonia, the Metropolitan founded, shortly after the end of the occupation, an orphanage for twenty-five boys. This was originally situated in a house on the outskirts of the town, but during the heavy fighting at Epiphany, 1949—when Naoussa, a few kilometres to the southward, was sacked by the Communists and more than 600 of its inhabitants carried away captive to the mountains —this building was extensively damaged and rendered almost uninhabitable. The Bishop then established his orphans under the care of a monk in a dilapidated Turkish house next to the metropolis, and this was subsequently transformed into a permanent orphanage. Not content with this, the Bishop proceeded to found two further orphanages attached to nearby monasteries, as soon as the district was sufficiently tranquil [669] [792]

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727 to permit the monks and nuns—who had taken refuge in the town of
794 Edessa—to return to their respective convents. A fourth orphanage
[792] was established a few miles away at Iannitsa.

So, all over Greece, there was heroic improvisation in the face of overwhelming material need; and, as at Edessa and Siderokastro, so in many another provincial town from the Peloponnese to the remotest fringes of northern Epirus and Thrace, the courage and initiative of the local 'despot' were factors of incalculable importance.

727 And yet, as I emphasised at the beginning of this chapter, pre-
794 occupation with the material needs of her children did not cause the
793 Church to neglect their spiritual welfare. The feeding and clothing of the homeless and the destitute, the distribution of soup and the creation of hospitals and orphanages, went hand in hand with the preaching of the Gospel. The Metropolitan of Siderokastro was not content with his hospital, his P.I.K.P.A. centres and his school of housekeeping. Even while the issue of the long struggle with the Communists was yet in the balance—and the Bulgarian frontier lies barely ten miles to the northward of the town—the Lord Basil was organising his "Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment" and pressing ahead with the construction of a *Christianiki Estia*: a building comprising a large hall, library, class-rooms and offices, which should serve as a centre for the already vigorous Christian youth movements of the diocese and for training catechists and preachers. He needed, as every bishop did, cassocks for his clergy, food and clothing and medical supplies for his stricken people; but he was anxious above all to obtain Greek New Testaments for his catechetical schools, and a duplicator which would enable him to send a weekly sermon to every village *papas* in the diocese.

795 So it was elsewhere. Nothing that I saw in Greece impressed me more deeply than the fact that it was so often in precisely those districts where suffering had been most acute, where destruction and devastation were most evident, that the life of the Church seemed to burn most brightly. Suffering and desolation, which in a people less profoundly Christian than the Greeks might have brought forth nothing more creative than despair, have in Greece borne precious fruit. Deprived of all worldly security and riches, the Church has been forced back upon the Rock whereon she is founded; has learned anew that there can be no resurrection apart from the cross—the instrument of shameful death which is yet the throne of the victor. Through prolonged suffering she has

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come to know in her own life the truth of the apostle's words: "as having nothing, and yet possessing all things". 795

The notion of the kingdom of Christ which conceives of its coming in terms of the progressive and manifest overthrow of the powers of evil within this present world, and in the establishment of an earthly paradise, finds little support either in the New Testament or in the experience of the Church. The mystery of the redemptive work of Christ in His members cannot be measured in terms of worldly progress or success. The restoration of man to paradise is through incorporation in the humanity of the second Adam, in whom mankind, shattered and disintegrated by the fall, finds a new unity. For fallen man glory and humiliation are inextricably mingled, and every road that leads back to paradise, no matter whence it come, must pass through Calvary. Death and corruption have themselves become the way towards eternal life and the glory of the heavenly Sion, for the King of kings has united to Himself that humanity which in Adam fell beneath the dominion of Satan, and through death has overthrown death. But as in His own ineffable humiliation the royal purple was also the vesture of the servant, so likewise in His life in the members of His body, the glory and the strength are veiled and hid from the world's eyes: are revealed only to those who have themselves been baptised into the life-giving death of the incarnate Son of God; who have undergone that initiation which is already the beginning of our resurrection—the way out from the labyrinth of death, to use the expression of one of the Greek fathers.

One of the plainest lessons which history can teach us is that the Church thrives not on what the world accounts success, but on persecution and affliction. It is in the fires of tribulation and when the powers of evil are most nakedly manifested that her true glory shines most brightly—though the world discern it not. So it was during the first centuries of our era. So too in Greece to-day, as in other lands and in former ages, for those who have eyes to see there is revealed, beneath the outward semblance of failure and weakness, the lineaments of that glorious Church *not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but holy and without blemish.*

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer a-sonder.

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722 204 A FEW paces from the gates of the University of Salonica, just south of the Via Ignatia where antique tramcars go clanging across the dusty waste that was once the Jewish cemetery, the daily papers, which play so important a part in Greek intellectual and social life, used to be publicly displayed every morning so that all men—poor scholars and unbeneficed clerks as well as prosperous merchants rich in this world's goods—might read of the heroic exploits of the armies which strove to drive the Accursed of God from the snowy heights of Pindos: a public-spirited gesture, worthy of a people who have ever set the pursuit of truth far beyond mere commercial advantage, and one of which I was often glad to avail myself on my way from the university library at midday.

722 793 One sunny forenoon in the spring of 1949 as I scanned the headlines of *Kathimerini* and *Akropolis* a photograph caught my eye. At first sight it seemed in no way remarkable: a group of country clergy gathered about their father in God—the latter an impressive figure wearing the *enkolpion*, or pectoral eikon, which is the mark of the higher clergy. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed that this was no ordinary clerical assembly, for every one of these reverend personages had a rifle slung across his shoulder. I turned in some astonishment to the accompanying paragraph and read that "in the war against the insurgents, the clergy of Grevena hastened to be enrolled under the banner of the movement for the deliverance of the Hellenic race. . . ." The photograph, it concluded, "shows the Metropolitan of Grevena with his armed priests".

727 793 I went to lunch with my curiosity whetted. Grevena, I knew, was a peculiarly isolated diocese and one that had suffered severely, first at the hands of the Germans and again in the present troubles. Further enquiries disclosed that the present Metropolitan, the Lord Theokletos, was a man renowned for his ardent patriotism and his immense stature.

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

During the weeks which followed I had occasion to correspond with this prelate as to the state of his diocese, and received a pressing invitation to come and see for myself the desperate conditions resulting from eight years of all but continuous warfare. 727 793

Some months went by before an opportunity presented itself, and then one morning in February, 1950, found me travelling westwards from Kozani in a jeep belonging to the 2nd Army Corps. When I had last come this way, the previous March, we had been constrained to travel in convoy: a seemingly endless line of heavy army trucks laden with provisions, fodder and ammunition for the outlying garrisons of northern Pindos. It had been the eve of the festival of the Annunciation —which is also the day on which Greece commemorates the raising of the standard of revolt by the Archbishop of Patras in 1821—and every vehicle was decked with evergreens and plastered with patriotic slogans: 484 527

ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΖΗΤΩ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ
ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.

The wild, mountainous tract of country that lies south and west of Kozani is a desolate region at all times, and never more so than in early February when the outworks of the great fortress of Pindos are veiled in snow, and icy winds scour the exposed valley which leads westward away from the haunts of men. A mile or two from Siatista the road forked and we turned southwards out of the teeth of the wind, the lightly-laden jeep lurching and jolting over the deeply-scored, rock-strewn surface of a truly Hellenic road—"the worst road in all Macedonia", the driver assured me with emphasis. 491

At Grevena—set drab and cheerless amongst low hills, the gaunt ruin of the orphanage dark against the sky—boulders gave place to mud. It lapped about us as we turned out of the market, where I had a fleeting glimpse of whiskered *papades* in rusty cassocks sprawled round a table amidst the dull gleam of copper pans and cauldrons. A veritable sea of mud, churned by the wheels of heavy vehicles, stretched unbroken from the steps of the regimental headquarters towards the broken line of ramshackle dwellings beyond the river.

Here on the furthermost fringe of Macedonia the road was swallowed up in the muddy deeps; beyond the cottages lay the massive rampart of Pindos, traversed only by mule-tracks winding high among the

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II The church at Ziakas

[facing p.102]

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491 snows, westwards towards Metsovo and Epirus. To the southward a few paths—impassable save on foot during the winter months—gave access to Kalambaka and the plains of Thessaly.

793 After paying my respects to the colonel in command of the garrison I plunged afresh into the inland sea and struck out for the metropolis: a simple cottage where the Bishop rented a couple of rooms. The Lord Theokletos—a monumental figure in an ungirt robe of indigo—looked [785] strangely out of place in such a setting. The Friday fast was waived out of regard to the presence of a traveller, and when we had eaten the [574] Metropolitan told me something of the state of his diocese. It was a gloomy picture that he outlined.

722 Owing to the remoteness of the district and its poor communications 793 almost every village had been abandoned by its inhabitants from 1947 till the summer of 1949. Grevena itself, a comopolis with a pre-war 727 population in the region of 3,500, had, for more than two years, sheltered five times that number of refugees. During the past six months it had been possible for the people to return to certain villages situated in the northern part of the diocese, but there were reputed to be more than 2,000 families still living in the great refugee camp on the southern fringes of the town, and sixty-four of the diocese's ninety-six villages were still, after three years, uninhabited. Many of the fugitives had fled southwards to Kalambaka, Trikkala and Larissa; others had sought refuge in Kozani.

The refugees had included seventy-five parish priests, only sixteen of whom had as yet been able to return to their villages. Two priests had been done to death by the Germans; three others, as well as three monks, murdered by the Communists. As recently as October, 1949, the solitary occupant of the monastery of St. Athanasius, close to the village of Trikomon, had returned home after two years' exile, despite the advice of the Bishop and others who counselled him to wait two or three months longer, only to be brutally murdered within the space of a [798] few days. It was when matters were at their worst that the Bishop formed his clerical militia and drilled his venerable warriors in the square where stands the monument to his predecessor in the see of Grevena, the Metropolitan Aimilianos, who had suffered death at the hands of the Turks in 1911 and is revered in this region as a martyr. This redoubtable force had never been called upon to take the field against the Accursed of God, but, said the Lord Theokletos, it had served as an example.

As to the destruction of churches, it seemed that some months must

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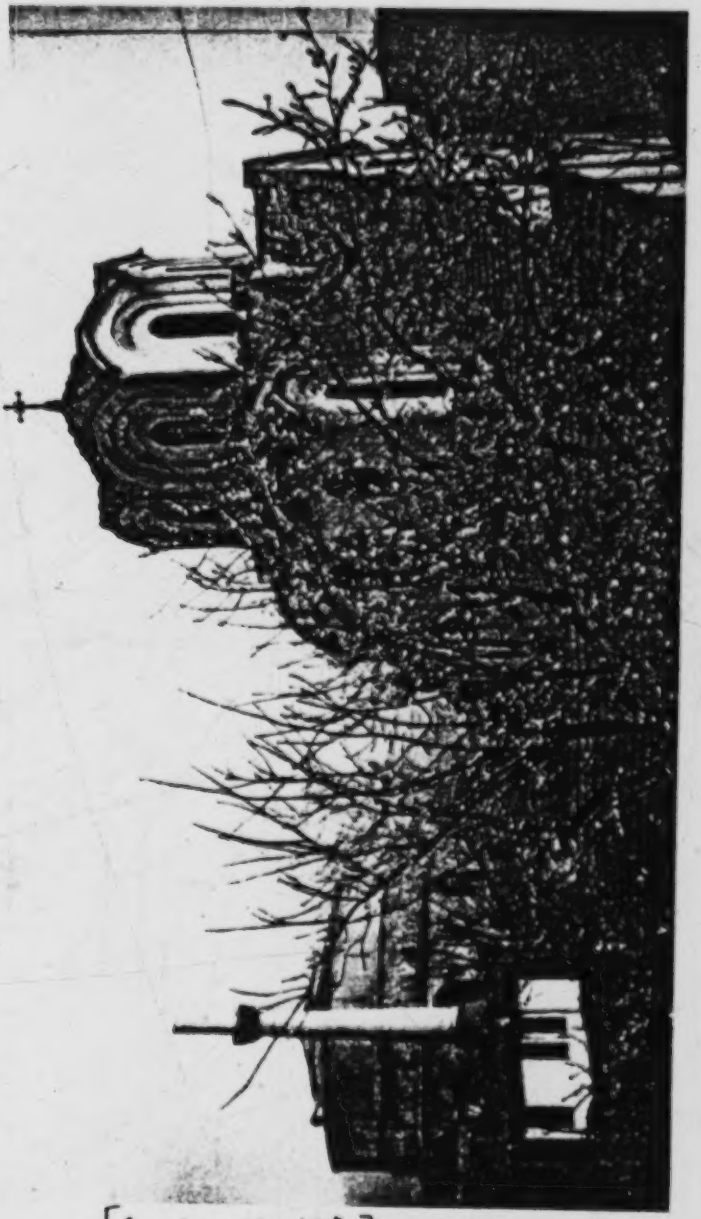

III Byzantine Salonica

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inevitably elapse before the Bishop could hope to be in a position to make a detailed statement. He instructed his secretary to provide me with a report embodying such information as had reached him. Grevena itself had suffered a heavy bombardment during the retreat of 1941 and the cathedral church of the Annunciation had been seriously damaged (the old cathedral of St. George had been destroyed by fire several years earlier). On the outskirts of the town lay a little church dedicated to St. Archelaos of Larissa. This had become the parish church of the refugees. Here, from 1947 onwards, the refugee clergy had assembled daily to sing mattins and evensong, and on Sundays and festivals to celebrate together the divine mysteries. This church, as I subsequently discovered, also served as a centre for the distribution of rations to the vast multitude of the homeless who dwelt in the nissen huts on the edge of the town. On my way back to the metropolis I ran into a large group of refugee clergy. They had got wind of my projected expedition and begged me to visit their villages and to bring back news of their condition after three years' abandonment.

I returned to the regimental headquarters at dusk, armed with my report, and spent an hour poring over maps with a young captain from Volos. We finally decided upon two itineraries, each of several days' duration. The first would enable me to see something of those parts of the diocese which were still uninhabited, and about which the Bishop had little information; the second, to visit several villages north and west of Grevena to which the refugees had lately returned. Arrangements having been made for a nine o'clock start the following morning, I returned to the metropolis for supper and discussed the Zoë movement and the architectural projects of the Metropolitan of Siatista with the Lord Theokletos until it was time for bed.

Saturday, February 4th, dawned fine and dry. The first stage of my journey was accomplished in a jeep driven by an *Epeirotes* who had concealed two British soldiers in his house at Iannina during the occupation. Less than five miles from Grevena the track which we were following gave up the ghost and further progress was impossible. At this point we were met by a sergeant and two soldiers, mounted on mules and leading a handsome bay mare caparisoned after the European manner. It took us an hour to climb to the village of Mavranaioi, which was strongly garrisoned (it had been partly inhabited since the previous October). After lunching with the officers of the garrison I resumed

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727 my journey with an escort of seven soldiers, and with a corporal of the gendarmerie as guide.

At three o'clock we reached Mavronoros, the 'Black Mountain'; a small village, quite deserted and in ruins. Somewhat surprisingly, [346] the church (which was dedicated to St. Theodore) had survived the bombardment. A single projectile had apparently found its mark and a portion of the vault had collapsed, but the walls were sound enough and the paintings which covered them had not as yet suffered greatly from exposure to the elements. A chapel on the hill above the village was completely gutted and almost every house was in ruins. So complete was the destruction that we were unable to identify the remains of the school.

484 A brief halt and we set out towards Ziakas, where I was to spend the night. We followed a water-course for some distance before intercepting the mule track. The ground had thawed since morning and the going was laborious. On a ridge commanding a wide prospect of this abandoned countryside we met the relief escort from the Ziakas garrison, and I reluctantly relinquished my handsome mount for a mule saddled after the school of Macedonia. We crossed the Venetikos by an ancient bridge and reached the headquarters of the garrison, a kilometre below the ruins of the village, a little before sunset.

727 It was too late to see anything of Ziakas that day, but the isolated community was delighted to have a visitor and the evening passed merrily enough. The night was chilly and I slept fitfully. From the [136] [231] mountains, which rise to close on 5,000 feet above the village, came the howling of wolves and jackals. Two wolves had ventured into Mavranaioi itself a few nights earlier, and, despite the vigilance of the sentries, had attacked and killed one of the mules picketed amongst the cottages. There had been neither sheep nor goats in these mountains for more than three years.

The morning was cold and cheerless without trace of sun. I took leave of my hosts about half-past nine and was accompanied to the village by a young lieutenant from Salonica. Ziakas had not only been burned by the Germans; it had more than once been the scene of heavy [346] fighting within the last three years. The church stood at the entrance [532] to the village. It was completely ruined, but a few paintings still clung to the walls of the apse, and, amidst the waste and desolation wrought by man's sin, the Son of the Virgin, the Alpha and the Omega, raised His hands in blessing. The destruction of the village—one of the

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largest in the region—was complete and spectacular. The shattered walls were daubed with Communist slogans. We threaded our way amongst the ruined houses to a building on the farthest side of the village which had been roughly repaired to afford shelter for an advanced outpost, drank a glass of cognac whilst my escort laced up their boots and buckled on their equipment, and left for Spelaion and Trikomon shortly after eleven. 727

The paths were ice-bound and treacherous, the snow deep in places. Spelaion came into view after half an hour, set amongst towering cliffs. A long and laborious ascent between high rocks, the Venetikos murmuring through its gorge far below, the path clinging to precipitous cliffs rising from the dwarf oaks and myrtle to lose themselves in the grey mists that swirled about their summits, brought us to a point immediately below the village. After a stiff climb through massive fortifications of uncertain date, we suddenly found ourselves looking down upon a tiny Byzantine church with twin domes, sharply outlined against the untrodden snow; a sombre red jewel laid in a setting of purest white. 484

This proved to be the catholicon of a small monastery, dedicated to the Mother of God. The interior of the church was dark and silent as a tomb; within the sanctuary liturgical books, eikons and vestments were strewn in confusion. The book of the Gospels lay closed upon the holy table, between two reliquaries of tarnished silver. We found a few stumps of candle and lighted them before the eikons of the Lord and His Mother; the spluttering flames banished the darkness and disclosed the presence of a host of emaciated figures gazing down upon us from wall and eikonostasis. We said a prayer and withdrew. 727 346

Though the church was undamaged, the other buildings which enclosed three sides of the roughly quadrangular space occupied by the monastery were all in ruins. Below, in the centre of the village, we found a second church, dedicated to St. Athanasius. This too had escaped serious damage, though the windows were unglazed and dead leaves lay piled against the eikonostasis and rustled about the throne of the bishop. Inaccessible on the cliffs above the Venetikos, Spelaion seemed built to withstand a siege, and we were not surprised to find that it had apparently served as a base for the *katsapliades*. A large house in the centre of the village had evidently been the Communist headquarters, and party slogans were scrawled over every wall. When we returned to the monastery, where the animals had been tethered, the candles still 727 [669]

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727 flickered within the church. Leaving the saints to their solitary vigil we plunged deeper into the uninhabited wastes that stretched southward toward Metsovo and the Thebaid of Staghi.

During the course of the next four days we worked our way eastwards to Trikomon and Kipouryio, and then turned north towards Mavranaioi and Grevena, to complete the first part of my itinerary. At three of the villages on our route there were isolated garrisons: otherwise the whole district lay abandoned. We passed through hamlet after hamlet where every house was destroyed, where churches stood open to the skies and no living creature broke the three-year silence. At Kipouryio the chapel [669] of St. Paraskeve—a saint whose apparent connexion with the sixth day [346] of the week (in Greek, *paraskeve*, the day of preparation) has given rise to some very singular local cults in the country districts—had been [776] stripped of its furnishings and turned into a hospital by the Communists: empty bottles and boxes which had contained medical supplies lay strewn about the building.

Upon our return to Grevena we encountered a vast multitude of [657] ragged children straggling back towards the refugee camp, grasping huge slabs of bread and honey: more than 4,000 children were being fed daily at the *estia* outside the high school. We found the Lord Theokletos a little concerned lest I should have fallen into the hands of the *katsapliades*—communications in the mountains out beyond Mavranaioi were notoriously unreliable. I waded through the mud 484 with my captain from Volos to call on the colonel of the local militia, under whose protection I should be travelling for the rest of my itinerary. There was no news to be had anywhere save of the forthcoming elections.

At ten o'clock the following morning we were making slow progress westwards through melting snow: four militiamen, the president of the village of Elatos and myself; a large American mule floundering astern 727 with the baggage. Above the ruins of Doxaras we turned aside to view the pile of stones which was all that remained of the church of St. 346 George. A few families had returned to this hamlet and were living in nissen huts on the hillside below the ruined church. The whole village had been destroyed.

An hour later we found ourselves among the newly built cottages of Elatos. Above a cluster of wretched *kalywai* rose the fabric of an unfinished church. The village, the president told us, had been burned down in July, 1942, and reduced to ruins. The work of rebuilding was begun

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in 1945, but two years later the people fled to Grevena and all was left 727
unfinished. Some fifty families had returned in November, 1949, and 346
were now settled in their old houses. The church which was to replace that destroyed by the Germans stood roofless: the windows unglazed, the eikonostasis of rough-hewn timbers. There was a tiny chapel dedicated to the prophet Elias on the brow of the hill, half a mile beyond the village, where the holy mysteries had been celebrated for a time. Now the church which was in Elatos assembled Sunday by Sunday for the breaking of the bread in the half-finished structure which dominated the village.

Whilst we were within the church there was a murmuring amongst 484
the crowd that had gathered in the snow outside: shouts of "Behold! [793]
He comes. Make haste, O Papa Iannis!" The parish priest had just returned from Grevena, having followed a more direct route than ourselves. He came scrambling up through the orchard below the church, a ragged figure clad in *kalymmaschion* and tattered overcoat, his boots heavy with mud, his cassock slung across his shoulder, clawing his way up the slope with the aid of a shepherd's staff. We all retired to the *taverna* for a glass of ouzo, and then, after despatching three of the escort with the baggage-mule, the rest of my party (together with two lads from the local militia and the indefatigable Papa Iannis, who, despite his seventy-three years, had already covered the best part of ten miles that morning), set out for the neighbouring village of Anavryta— 727
a deserted hamlet set on the brink of a deep chasm where the inky thread of the Venetikos lay twisted in the pale sunlight. Far away against the towering ramparts of Pindos the ruins of Ziakas could be distinguished: a dark stain on the white vesture which enfolded the silent countryside.

The more enterprising of the Anavrytans had found lodging in the recently reoccupied village of Kallirachi (where we spent the following night) and were planning to return to their houses in the spring. The parish priest at Kallirachi had improvised a temporary oratory where he said the daily offices. The church lay in ruins, and the liturgy was [346]
celebrated in a tiny chapel dedicated to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, a full kilometre from the village. I left my escort at Kallirachi and set [484]
out early with a couple of local guides for Megaron, the largest village of the district and, like Kallirachi, reoccupied by its inhabitants some two months earlier. Here I made but a brief stay, as I was anxious to reach Kydonies (which lay well outside the inhabited zone) and get

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727 back to a populated village before nightfall. The *kapetanios* of the local
484 militia undertook to have an escort ready by noon, and in the meantime the parish priest carried me off to the refectory of the police station (where we broke our fast) and thence to see the parish church: an ancient structure roofed with corrugated iron, the walls bulging and sagging ominously at several points.

By one o'clock I was riding westwards on a handsome white mule, with an escort of local militia, armed to the teeth, in line ahead and astern, and all the mountains of Macedonia spread out around the
727 horizon. Kydonies, where we arrived a little after three o'clock, was utterly deserted. It had been a large village (some 175 families, according to my escort), and the destruction was more restricted than in many
[346] villages of this region. The church, like that at Elatos, had apparently been left uncompleted when the people fled: a temporary chapel which occupied the position of the outer narthex was in a ruinous condition. Several eikons lay half buried amongst the fallen masonry. The whole building, like the ruined school-house adjoining it, was daubed with democratic slogans.

727 The parish priest of Kydonies, Papa Athanasius Toskas, had been
793 murdered by the Germans who fell upon the village on July 7th, 1944. Papa Athanasius, despite his sixty-seven years, had gathered up his skirts and made for the forest as fast as his legs would carry him, in company with the curate of the neighbouring village of Ekklesia, Papa Nicolas Tsabiri. The latter succeeded in making good his escape, but Papa Athanasius was surrounded and captured. His body was found some days later, barbarously mutilated. His ears and hands had been cut off, his beard set on fire, and his chest and back slashed with knives.
727 All about the village were little chapels: one which we passed, as we
[346] recrossed the stream at the foot of the hill and turned towards Rodia, had been burned down.

I lay that night at the house of George Sabbas: the house where his brother had been killed before his eyes three years earlier and whence he had fled into the darkness to blunder about the wooded hills all night before reaching Aghios Georgios and safety. The people of Rodia had returned home only two months earlier. The youngest of my host's three sons had married the daughter of the parish priest, and this
793 young woman now kept house for her father-in-law. After supper who should appear but Father Athanasius, the *ephemerios*, who proved to be an old friend from the Kozani seminary. He had come home for the

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week-end. Conversation turned to the subject of the parish clergy; 793
Papa Athanasi was a whole-hearted admirer of the new system; he was not one who could learn only from the Lord or rest content with a mere facility in turning the pages of the service-books:

"The divine liturgy, *Kyrie Petre*, can be gabbled through by a man who is all but illiterate: we are called to be shepherds, and a shepherd has need of great knowledge and wisdom."

Next morning Father Athanasius celebrated the holy mysteries in 727
the village church. It was one of the Saturdays of all souls, and the [769]
priest's daughter was early astir, making preparations for the commemoration of departed relatives and friends. Before the service was ended I left for the neighbouring village of Sydendron, where the curate, Papa Constantinos, introduced himself as "the priest who bore the machine-gun in the sacred company of the despot". St. [346]
Nicolas, Sydendron, had been a fine church, apparently dating from the [669]
sixteenth century. It had survived the years of occupation only to be set on fire by the Communists on the night of July 25th, 1947. The ancient frescoes were slowly crumbling away, but sufficient remained to show something of the former splendour of the church.

I lunched at the presbytery and rode on to Amygdalies in the early afternoon. Most of the village's 200 children seemed to be dancing barefoot in the sun outside their newly opened school: a nissen hut [346]
erected on the site of the building destroyed by the Germans in July, 1943. A huge new church was in process of construction, but work was at a standstill through lack of funds, and the liturgy had to be celebrated in a brick chapel hastily constructed in 1946 within the walls of the unfinished church. Being anxious to reach Aghios Georgios before 722
nightfall I resisted the efforts of the parish priest to persuade me to stay the night at Amygdalies, and as twilight deepened into darkness came clattering down the steep slopes to the stream where a few children still lingered, on a mule which I would have pitted even against Urquhart's Aristotle, and dismounted outside the house of the president.

Aghios Georgios was one of the only two villages in the diocese of Grevena where the population had remained throughout the troubled years which followed the end of the occupation, and had, moreover, afforded shelter to many refugees from other communities. The [712]
church—a massive structure dating from the middle of the nineteenth [346]
century—stood on rising ground in the centre of the village. The [669]

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722 windows had been blocked with masonry and stones, and the church,
712 thus barricaded and surrounded by an elaborate system of trenches,
346 pill-boxes and barbed wire defences, transformed into a citadel. Here
669 the greater part of the population had taken refuge while the militia, with a stiffening of gendarmerie, had fought off an assault on the village which raged for a night and a day on May 8th-9th, 1948. The fabric had suffered extensive damage from mortar and machine-gun fire, but the Communists had eventually been driven off. Earlier, the village had suffered grievously at the hands of the Germans. Though the church had been spared, the school and a large proportion of the houses had been destroyed. The school was now flourishing in a large nissen hut: formerly it had been housed in the nave of the church.

574 On Sunday morning there was great scrubbing and polishing of muddy boots, and at half-past eight I ventured forth, looking as spruce as three weeks of sleeping in my clothes would permit, in company with the *proedros*. The latter was anxious not to be too early at church, and, since the second bell had not yet sounded, we went first to inspect the new school. After smoking a cigarette with the *didaskalos* we proceeded to the church at the third bell, followed by all the children of the village.
[537] When the liturgy was ended the president climbed with great dignity to the top of one of the pill-boxes and made an impassioned oration welcoming the representative of Greece's great and traditional ally to their gallant and Christ-loving village, and dwelling at some length on the ties which, despite the infernal machinations of the Accursed of God, would surely bind together for all ages the Hellenic and British nations. The said representative thereupon made a brief, but it is to be hoped fitting, reply to this masterpiece of presidential rhetoric, and the whole company drifted away in high good humour to sip cognac and discuss the latest news which had arrived from Kozani.

After a visit to the family of a young theologian from Salonica I went to feast, first with the president and then—at the dictates of charity rather than of appetite—with the parish priest also. The influence of
[794] the Kozani seminary had made itself felt in this village, and the catechetical school was in full swing as I passed the new school-house on my way to the parsonage. There the wine that makes glad the heart of man flowed freely, and it was a drowsy traveller who rode across the hills to the neighbouring village of Kivotos later that afternoon. Communications having proved unreliable, I was constrained to accept the hospitality of one of the churchwardens. Shortly before noon the

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following day I rode into Vatolakkos with an escort of six militiamen and fell straight into the hands of the parish priest, who was sunning himself on a bench outside the gendarmerie station. This *papas* was a graduate of the Kozani seminary; his father had been a priest in Smyrna (like Kivotos, this was a refugee village). He spoke with pride of the catechetical school which had been flourishing in the village since the previous autumn.

Vatolakkos, like Aghios Georgios, had never been abandoned by its inhabitants. Owing to its important position—astride the main road from Grevena to Kozani—it had been strongly garrisoned throughout the troubles, and had offered sanctuary to the fugitives from no less than ten neighbouring communities, despite the fact that the greater number of the houses had been destroyed in the German advance of 1941—there were bomb craters all along the road from Kivotos southward. The parish priest had sheltered five refugee families in his house for more than two years. The church, which had never been completed, had, according to the Bishop's report, been pillaged by the Germans. It had moreover been damaged by mortar fire during an attack on the village by the Communists. A new school had just been opened to take the place of the one destroyed by the Germans.

From Vatolakkos I succeeded in telephoning to army headquarters at Grevena, and shortly after three o'clock I was picked up by my friend from Iannina. After attending the evensong of the refugee clergy, in company with the Bishop's deacon, and a long talk with the fugitive *ephemerioi* of Spelaion and Kosmati, I paid a final visit to the metropolis. The Bishop was unwell: he had been ill for some time past, and I took my leave early. Some months later, after a letter enclosing photographs of the ruined churches of the diocese had remained long unanswered, I saw from a notice in *Ekklesia* that the Lord Theokletos had passed to his rest.

Like Father Ioakeim, his deacon, he was a native of the Piraeus and had laboured there for thirty-three years as vicar of the parish of St. Constantine before being called to take charge of the see of Grevena in the third year of the occupation. The state of the diocese even in those days was serious enough, and had the new *despotes* been able to foresee the full extent of the catastrophe which was to overwhelm the widely scattered communities committed to his charge within the space of another five years, he might understandably have shrunk from the heavy burden of responsibility that he was called to bear.

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

793 722 From 1947 onwards the Lord Theokletos found himself the bishop of a vast multitude of displaced persons; the whole outward framework of diocesan administration disrupted; his parish clergy driven from their cures and scattered to far corners of Greece, or crowded together in the nissen huts on the margins of Grevena; the town itself threatened by the Communists. Called to face a truly desperate situation, the Metropolitan set an example worthy of his predecessor, the martyred Aimilianos, and of the great traditions of the Greek Church. Somehow, despite all material difficulties, food, shelter and clothing were provided for the innumerable refugees who descended upon Grevena during the fourth year of his episcopate, the philanthropic institutions of the battered township continued to function, and the Saint and Despot of Grevena, at the head of his 'sacred company' of refugee clergy, showed that the spirit of the warrior-prelates of the old wars was not yet extinct.

793 794 This alone was sufficient to ensure that the episcopate of the Metropolitan Theokletos of Grevena would long be remembered, not merely in western Macedonia but throughout the Church of Greece. But this was not all. I have said that it was often in those districts where devastation and suffering had left their deepest mark that the Church manifested most plainly the Source of her life. The episcopate of Theokletos of Grevena may well serve to illustrate this truth.

The late Metropolitan had not been long in residence (he had been forced to spend some months in Kozani before coming to his diocese) before he summoned to his assistance a priest-monk then working in Florina, the Archimandrite Augustine: a powerful preacher, an ardent evangelist noted for his adherence to the letter of the dominical counsels in such matters as personal property, and an outspoken rebuker of vice —even when manifested in high places. This last characteristic having apparently rendered Father Augustine's relations with a certain dignitary of the Church somewhat delicate, he established himself at Grevena during the third year of the Lord Theokletos' episcopate and threw himself into the task of building up a Christian movement among the young men and girls of the diocese.

Father Augustine's method was to gather round him a little band of potential leaders: a score of young catechists of both sexes, the majority drawn from the senior classes of the high school, who would in time be able to carry on the work which he had begun. Before long it had proved possible to organise catechetical schools for children of all ages, and (as the refugee camp became more and more swollen

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during the course of 1947) to draw into the new Christian Unions many hundreds of boys and girls from the remote hamlets of Pindos, few of whom had ever heard a sermon preached in their village churches, let alone received any systematic course of instruction in the faith such as was now offered them. Whilst the whole diocese lay desolate and the Communist bands roamed the mountains almost at will, there was slowly growing up amongst the young Christians crowded together in the mud and squalor of Grevena a movement which promised to transform the religious life of this barren region. 793 794

In 1949 Father Augustine left Grevena to take up new work as chaplain to the 2nd Army Corps at Kozani, but the Christian Unions continued to flourish. Their membership at the time of my visit was in the region of 1,600—and this figure did not include the hundreds of children who had recently returned to their villages. In order that these latter should not be lost to the movement, several young catechists were visiting the lately repopulated villages around Grevena every week-end, giving addresses either during the liturgy or else in the village square when the people came out of church, and labouring to build up catechetical schools in every village. The Metropolitan had given immense stimulus to this work by sending as many parish clergy as he could spare to study at Kozani seminary—men like Papa Athanasius from Rodia—who would be qualified to run their own catechetical schools when they returned home.

Outstanding among the catechists trained by Father Augustine was a young gendarme who, now that there was no regular *hierokeryx* attached to the metropolis, was himself acting as the diocesan preacher and assistant to the Metropolitan. It would have been hard to match the burning devotion and zeal of these young catechists; the enthusiasm and eagerness of their still younger pupils. The Bishop himself had no illusions as to the importance of the work that had been begun three years before: in the face of devastation such as I had seen with my own eyes during the course of the ten days I had spent in the diocese—material destruction on a scale equal to that sustained by any Greek diocese—it was his considered opinion that the most desperate need was not for clothing or food or medical supplies, not for animals to replace those slaughtered by the Germans or driven off to the mountains by the Communists, not for domestic or agricultural implements and tools, but for a properly equipped building to serve as a centre for the Christian Unions, for Greek New Testaments and other Christian 793 794 727

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794 literature, and for a magical *polygraphos* which would enable him to [793] distribute every week a homily to be read by every *papas* in the diocese [727] at the Sunday liturgy.

For the truly notable feature of his episcopate had been neither the destruction and pillage of the villages, nor the slaughter of his clergy and the flight of his people from their homes and lands; all this had but provided the setting for a flowering of new and vigorous spiritual life of untold power, which promised to spread, from the little band of catechists whom Father Augustine had gathered about him, to every village and hamlet of the diocese—to Spelaion, high amongst the towering rocks above the Venetikos, where the saints brooded over the dark church, to Samarina and the summer pastures of the Vlach shepherds, southward and westward to desolate Trikomon and the uninhabited wastes towards Metsovo—and to bring a deepened and more conscious sharing in the Christian mystery to a people who had, as it was, retained their hold upon the fundamental virtues of faith, hope and charity with a tenacity which is rare in the world to-day.

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XI

THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF REVIVAL

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> The people have indeed a lively sense of religion in their hearts, but because they have neither guides nor preachers, nor pastors to lead them to the saving and life-giving truth, they are sleeping the sleep of apathy and spiritual death.
>
> Letter of FATHER EUSEBIUS MATTHOPOULOS, dated 1879

> We live in an Age that hath more need of good examples than precepts.
>
> GEORGE HERBERT

I HAVE dwelt at some length upon the recent history of a single Macedonian diocese, for the *eparchia* of Grevena was as it were a microcosm of the Greek Church as a whole; the essential features of its history during the previous decade were writ large from the Peloponnese to the northern frontiers of the kingdom. It was not only amongst the overcrowded refugee *kalyvai* of Grevena that there sprang up within these last few years a flowering of evangelical Christianity such as tempted one to prophesy that the day might not be far distant when the Church of Greece—poor and naked though she were in the world's eyes—would again become a lamp whose bright beams would extend to every corner of Christendom. 794 797

This widespread kindling of the smouldering embers of the Church's life shone out the more brightly by reason of the unrelieved blackness of its setting. We must not on this account forget the all-important, though less spectacular, work of preparation that had been going on for a century and more. The remarkable developments of the last few years would have been unthinkable were it not for the devoted labours of all those who had worked and prayed for the quickening of this ancient Church during the course of three or four generations.

We do not lack abundant testimony to the wretched condition of the Church of Greece during the first half of the nineteenth century. 795 797

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

795 797 Though the traditions which enshrine the saving truths of the Gospel had been handed down from generation to generation throughout the centuries of Turkish dominion, the life of the Church was nevertheless gravely threatened by corruption and decay. The ministry of the word had fallen into almost complete neglect even in Athens, while in the country districts sermons were all but unknown. The ordinary people were for the most part "ill instructed, or rather not taught at all, sermons and catechising rare amongst them, Masses and Divine Service hudled and run over in a cursory and negligent manner . . ."

793 797 The higher clergy, with few exceptions, paid but scanty heed to their pastoral responsibilities. By the eighteen-forties (owing to the long delay in the recognition of the autocephalous status of the Church of Greece by the Oecumenical Patriarch) the number of the bishops had declined until only four remained, and those well advanced in years. As to the parish clergy, one may read accounts of their ignorance that differ but little from those which Covel had set down 200 years earlier: "Most priests have no books by them, but only their Church Offices; and . . . all their Study is only to get them by Heart, which takes up so much of their time as they cannot attend to read or Study other learned books if they had them. . . . Their ordinary prayers and liturgies, like Parrots they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and use them very imperfectly, with strange variety and confusion."

[792] As for the monasteries, though there remained many holy monks and learned even in the darkest days, all too many of the *kalogeroi* were worldly and ignorant; jealous of their privileges, content with a merely formal discharge of the duties belonging to their state; drowsing in sunny galleries, cultivating their vegetables and their pleasant vineyards.

794 797 It is against such a background that we have to view the labours of that little company of priests and laymen who laid the foundations of what, in our own time, has become a nation-wide movement. The initiative in the growing revival of evangelistic and missionary activity that has characterised the last 100 years of the history of the Greek Church has come, not from the hierarchy—though many bishops have been whole-hearted supporters of the new movements—but from individual churchmen: lay theologians, monks and clergy. It is only [793] very recently that an official 'Home Mission' has come into being, with the foundation of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* of the Church of Greece (not to be confounded with a far older movement of the same name which still flourishes in Salonica and the northern dioceses).

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The history of the revival begins in 1839 and for a generation centres upon the convent of Megaspelaion in the valley of Kalavryta: the greatest monastery of Old Greece. The initial impulse, however, came from elsewhere. In that year there arrived at Patras a certain Cosmas Phlamiatos: a layman who had been banished from the Ionian Protectorate on account of his reckless denunciations of Masonic propaganda. He began to travel about the Peloponnese, preaching in the towns and villages and rekindling the fires that had burned low for generations past. Before long a hermit from the vicinity of Kalavryta, Christophoros Panaghiotopoulos by name, was inspired by the example of this lay theologian to abandon his cell and to devote himself to similar apostolic labours. The biographer of Father Eusebius Marthopoulos justly observes of this hermit-evangelist that "throughout the Peloponnese tradition has preserved, even to the present day, the memory of the celebrated and most profitable activity of this unlettered but zealous missionary".

But the times were evil and neither of these two itinerant evangelists was able to resist the temptation to denounce the established régime. Their activities came to an abrupt termination: Phlamiatos died in prison in 1850 (after a renewed attack on the Masons) and the former hermit disappeared into exile, never to return. In the meantime, however, Phlamiatos had gained a further disciple in the person of a monk of Megaspelaion named Ignatius Lambropoulos, who now became the leader of the movement.

Father Ignatius, who was born in a village near Megalopolis in 1814, entered the famous monastery (then inhabited by some 200 monks) while scarcely more than a boy. He was ordained deacon at the age of twenty-five, and then priest. In 1842 he met Phlamiatos at Aigion and was greatly moved by the ardour and enthusiasm of the lay evangelist. For the next seven years Ignatius Lambropoulos laboured incessantly throughout the whole length and breadth of the Peloponnese, preaching and confessing the people. Like Phlamiatos, he also exercised a most fruitful ministry through the medium of correspondence (it is related of the lay theologian that it was his custom to divide the night into three equal portions: one for rest, one for prayer, and one for writing the hundreds of letters by means of which he kept in touch with those whom he had encountered during the course of his missionary journeys).

Unlike his fellow-evangelists, Father Ignatius never succumbed to

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797 175 the temptation to mingle the pure milk of the Gospel with denunciation of current abuses; but, in spite of his restraint, he was imprisoned for several months at the time of Phlamiatos' arrest and was afterwards confined to his monastery. He remained at Megaspelaion for twelve years, and, despite the curtailment of his missionary journeys, continued to exercise a most effectual ministry through correspondence; while, as the fame of his holiness and wisdom went abroad, there came to the monastery a constant stream of visitors. Father Ignatius continued to preach and to hear confessions, and at last, when H.M.S. *Scylla* had borne away to Venice the unfortunate Otho and his consort, he was free once more to resume his itinerant work. The story of the last seven years of his life is a record of strenuous missionary activity amongst the towns and villages of the Peloponnese. His work received the blessing of the hierarchy, and he gathered about him a little group of disciples which included both clergy and laymen, prominent amongst them the deacon Hierotheos Metropoulos, uncle of Eusebius Matthopoulos, himself a monk of Megaspelaion and a future Archbishop of Patras. In 1866 Father Ignatius declined the offer of the bishopric of Triphylia on the plea of ill-health, and three years later he died.

The life of this zealous monk had already exercised a most potent influence throughout the Peloponnese, and through the little company of disciples that gathered about him at Megaspelaion his labours were destined to bear fruit over a far wider field than that covered by his own missionary journeys. Until the advent of Cosmas Phlamiatos there had been but little preaching in the towns and villages of Old Greece, and the labours of this lay theologian had inaugurated a new era of missionary activity.

797 794 175 The pattern of the first phase of the revival—from the arrival in the Peloponnese of Phlamiatos down to the death of Father Ignatius—bears a curious resemblance to that of the period which ensues, and which culminates in the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zöe. Again the original stimulus is provided by a layman whose effective ministry is terminated by a clash with authority, and again a monk of Megaspelaion is left to build upon another's foundation and to consolidate his work.

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In 1866, three years before the death of Ignatius Lambropoulos,

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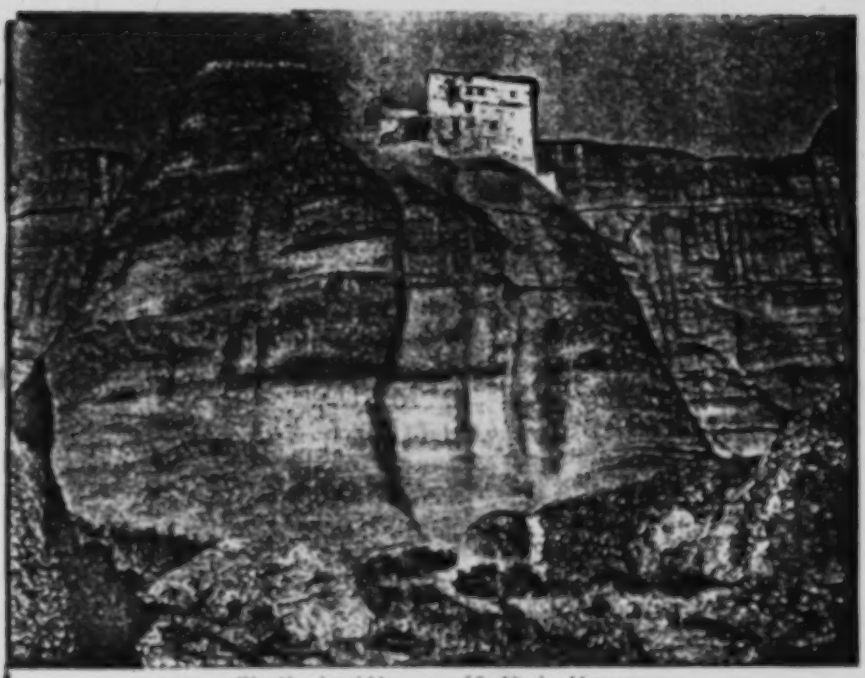

IV Abandoned Monastery of St. Nicolas, Meteora

V St. Barbara, Meteora

[facing p. 118]

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there came to Athens a certain Apostolos Makrakes, a lay philosopher from the Cyclades, who had studied in Constantinople and in Paris, and had already won a considerable renown through his writings against the Franks and on the true nature of the Church. Makrakes electrified the Athenians by his preaching in Omonoia Square and other public places in the city. To all who heard this Christian philosopher it was evident that a new spirit was abroad in Greece. Shortly before the death of Father Ignatius, Makrakes visited Megaspelaion and there encountered a young monk from Melissopetra named Eusebius Matthopoulos. This meeting marks the beginning of a long association between the two men which, clouded though it was by the eccentricities of the layman's later years, was to prove of incalculable importance for the Greek Church. 797 175

Father Eusebius (who, with Apostolos Makrakes, dominates the history of the revival of missionary activity for the next half-century and more) seems to have been set apart for the monastic life almost from his cradle. Despite recurrent bouts of fever (which left him with a thorn in his flesh for the remainder of a long life of strenuous activity), his uncle, Hierotheos Metropoulos, secured his admission to his own convent at the age of fourteen, and during the next few years he became the closest and most ardent disciple of Father Ignatius. It was he who took up the mantle of the great preacher and confessor at the latter's death.

Early in the 'seventies we find Eusebius Matthopoulos (now a deacon) studying the holy scriptures and the ancient philosophers and divines in the Athens schools, and already launched upon his long and most fruitful ministry as a *hierokeryx*. The year 1876 is memorable for two events: the ordination of Father Eusebius to the priesthood, and the foundation of the School of the Logos. [794]

Hitherto the missionary revival inaugurated by the preaching of Phlamiatos had been quite unorganised. Though the monastery of Megaspelaion had afforded a base for the labours of Ignatius Lambropoulos and his fellow workers, there had been no question of any formal association or 'movement'. These itinerant preachers and confessors had but restored and extended that "pious and laudable institution" (so Dr. Covel) whereby certain monkish theologians—"Grave and Reverend Persons that had been bred up in their Monasteries to a strict and mortified life"—would be appointed by the bishops "to go to their respective Cities and Towns . . . to advise, direct and assist all

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VI Eikon from Edessa in Macedonia

[facing p. 119]

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797 good People . . . for the encouraging and encreasing of their Devotion, and for the better management of their Lives and Conversations". 794 The foundation of the School of the Logos constitutes an important 797 landmark; it inaugurates the era of the voluntary movements and establishes the essential features of a pattern of missionary activity 175 which has held the field until our own day, and from which the foundation of an official Home Mission marks the first radical departure.

In September, 1876, Makrakes and his associates founded the School of the Logos which combined the functions of a private *gymnasium* with those of an evening school for adults. Father Eusebius (who had been ordained priest a month before) was appointed chaplain and *pneumatikos* of this remarkable institution—he also made himself responsible for the cleaning of the school (especially, it is related, "of its vilest places", *τῶν εὐτελεστέρων τόπων αὐτῆς*: a phrase charged with sinister meaning for anyone acquainted with the lamentable decline in the standards of Hellenic plumbing since the far-off days when King Minos flourished in his Cretan palace!) The outstanding qualities of this young priest were quickly discerned by those about him, and not a few who were many years his senior in age and experience came to rely upon him as counsellor and spiritual father. It was during this period that Father Eusebius began his experiments with the small groups (*omades*) which were to become so important a feature of the brotherhood which he founded some thirty years later.

But the School of the Logos was not destined to enjoy a long career. Scarcely two years had elapsed from its foundation when Makrakes and his associates became involved in a violent controversy with the authorities, which brought their educational and spiritual work in Athens to an abrupt conclusion and scattered the leaders of the movement to remote islands and monasteries. In 1875, as the result of a scandalous 793 transaction involving payments to certain ministers of the State, three 797 men succeeded in obtaining the vacant bishoprics of Patras, Messenia 662 and Kephallenia. The facts became widely known and public opinion 175 was deeply aroused. Makrakes and certain of his fellow-workers published fiery articles denouncing this flagrant violation of the holy canons. A trial ensued; the guilty ministers were imprisoned and fined, while the three simoniacal bishops were committed to the Holy Synod, which should then, according to the canons, have proceeded to a sentence of deposition.

793 The Synod, however, declined to take this step. Makrakes thereupon
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extended his attacks from the simoniacal bishops themselves to those whom he now accused of being their accomplices—the members of the Holy Synod and the Archbishop of Athens. A bitter controversy ensued. Makrakes (whose language had never been characterised by moderation) threw discretion to the winds and attacked the bishops, the prime minister, the government and the theological faculty of the university without discrimination and in the most violent terms. The Metropolitan of Athens and of all Greece he denounced as "Simon Magus: *Archegos* of the hateful-to-God heresy and Metropolitan of evil courses!" The national university was no longer the *panepistemion*, the home of all the sciences, but the *panskotisterion*, the abode of universal darkness.

The clergy who were associated with Makrakes were more restrained in their denunciations of the hierarchy. They felt bound, nevertheless, to cease to commemorate their diocesan at the divine liturgy. The Synod retaliated by publishing unfounded charges of heresy and false teaching, and warned the faithful to have nothing to do with the theologians associated with the School of the Logos. The school itself was suppressed in the autumn of 1878, though Makrakes continued to publish his journal. In February, 1879, six of the 'Makrakist' clergy (including the archimandrites Hierotheos Metropoulos and Elias Vlachopoulos, as well as Father Eusebius) were brought before the Synod and tried on charges of heresy and *kakodoxia*. Despite the accused clergy's profession of orthodoxy and the absence of any shred of evidence in support of the charges, all were found guilty and sentenced to periods of exile, ranging from eight to ten years, in isolated monasteries dispersed amongst the islands of the Aegean and Ionian seas.

Father Eusebius was sent to the monastery of Palaiokastriotissa in Corfu—a small convent inhabited by ten monks, five hours' journey from the town of Kerkyra—where, cheerfully accepting this enforced interruption of his apostolic labours amongst the Athenians, he gave himself unreservedly to prayer and self-examination, and to the study of the scriptures. It was not long before the abbot of the monastery realised that the character of the exiled priest had been grossly misrepresented by the ecclesiastical authorities, and, with the consent of the local bishop, Father Eusebius began to preach in the villages of the diocese and to confess the people. Hierotheos Metropoulos was meanwhile turning his banishment to good account by reorganising the monastery of Longovardas in the island of Paros, where his influence has endured to the present day.

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

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The scandal occasioned by the simoniacal bishops had not been silenced by the banishment of the 'Makrakist' clergy. On the contrary, there was a widespread feeling that a grave injustice had been committed; petitions were organised, the subject was raised again and again in parliament, and at last, after three years, the exiles were recalled and the case of the guilty prelates reopened before the Holy Synod. Father Eusebius had so endeared himself to the people of Kerkyra that they refused to let him go immediately and he continued his work of spiritual regeneration amongst them for a year longer. In 1883 the Synod suspended the simoniacs for three years, and shortly afterwards the director of the Rizareion School, the then Bishop of Platamon, was charged with the re-examination of the case of the clergy formerly associated with the School of the Logos. He reported that the accusations of heresy and *kakodoxia* were utterly without foundation, the six priests and deacons admitted their fault in ceasing to commemorate their diocesan at the liturgy, and a formal reconciliation was effected.

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Makrakes, however, refused to admit that the action of the Synod of 1879 constituted not a heresy (which might be held to justify separation from the local bishop) but a crime (ἔγκλημα) which certainly did not, and continued obstinately in schism. The story of the later years of this gifted but unbalanced man makes melancholy reading. In 1879 he had founded the 'Panhellenic Society of Constantine the Great' and announced the approaching overthrow of Constantinople and the end of the 'Kingdom of the Antichrist Mohamed'. From this time onward oracles and prophetic visions occupy a prominent place in his writings. The Apocalypse and the dreams of an eccentric lawyer from Patras (much given to threatening his unbelieving fellow-townsmen with earthquakes) are pressed into service for his shrill polemics.

Father Eusebius and the other clergy who had formerly collaborated with this Christian philosopher tried hard to convince him of the folly of his ways, but without avail, and in 1884 they regretfully dissociated themselves from their old teacher. Three years later Makrakes was abandoned by most of his remaining supporters, two of whom, Constantine Dialesmas and a lawyer named Michael Galanos (who was subsequently to exercise a memorable ministry as a lay preacher in one of the churches of Athens) were responsible for the foundation of the movement known as *Anaplasis* (Regeneration) which continued the work of Makrakes while renouncing the eccentric ways into which he himself had fallen. Makrakes lived till 1905 and, despite the violence

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of his attacks on those who had formerly been his associates, never wholly forfeited their love and affection. Father Eusebius and his fellow-workers were well aware how great was the debt that they and the whole Church owed to this unhappy man.

The ending of the controversy about the simoniacal bishops opened up a new field of activity for Father Eusebius and those associated with him. He was appointed *hierokeryx* first of Missolonghi and then of Attica (where his uncle, Hierotheos Metropoulos, collaborated with him for a time) and in 1895 the Holy Synod commissioned him to extend his field of activity to include the whole of Greece. From 1884 till 1906 Eusebius Matthopoulos gave himself wholly to the preaching of the Gospel and the ministry of the itinerant confessor, while, like his spiritual father Ignatius Lambropoulos, he shepherded and guided hundreds of Christians drawn from every walk of life by means of correspondence.

And what a ministry it was! For twenty-two years Eusebius Matthopoulos preached Christ crucified in every town of Greece: preached with a fervour and a simplicity that was wholly new. He spoke of the divine truths with the conviction of one who lived from day to day in their power. Never free from bodily ailments and often in acute pain, he gloried, like the apostle of the Gentiles, in his infirmities that the power of Christ might rest upon him.

As a confessor and spiritual father he was unsurpassed. He was one who (as Archbishop Chrysostom wrote of him) "had confronted sin in all its nakedness and virtue in its resplendent brightness, who had witnessed man's falling into evil and his resurrection, who had plumbed both the manifest motives of sin and also its hidden springs"; one who led countless men and women to God through the mystery of confession and, above all, through the potent example of a life which spoke of the beauty of holiness more eloquently than any sermon.

In 1893 Hierotheos Metropoulos was elected to the see of Patras and Eleia, and his brief but memorable episcopate has left an indelible mark upon the life of the church in those regions. The metropolis became a notable centre of spiritual energy and enlightenment. The Bishop, aided by his nephew and his old colleague, the Archimandrite Elias Vlachopoulos, and by a staff of zealous preachers and *pneumatikoi* —both priests and laymen—showed how potent could be the example of a true pastor and father in God. Father Eusebius was often at

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797 175 Patras during these years, and when his uncle died in 1902 there was a great and widespread desire that he should succeed him. On this occasion, however, as on every other, Father Eusebius declined all offers of ecclesiastical preferment. With the example of Hierotheos Metropoulos before his eyes he was in no danger of underestimating the influence that could be exercised by a bishop who was a saint in deed as well as in name; but he shrank from the heavy burden of administrative cares which would inevitably hinder the free exercise of that ministry of preaching and reconciliation to which God had called him.

794 797 175 After the death of Hierotheos Metropoulos, Father Eusebius spent a further five years in missionary journeys to every part of liberated Greece, and then, in 1907, came the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë: a society organised on monastic lines which should, if God so willed, serve as a fit instrument for the continued regeneration of the Greek Church and for the extension of the work begun nearly seventy years before by Cosmas Phlamiatos and Ignatius Lambropoulos. A small house in an Athens suburb served as the headquarters of the new brotherhood; and here Father Eusebius gathered about him a little group of young theologians consisting of two priests and two laymen. [204] In 1911 they commenced the publication of the journal *Zoë*, which was destined before long to extend the teaching of the movement to every diocese of the newly-liberated provinces of northern Greece.

From these modest beginnings there has sprung a movement which in the course of a little more than a generation has exercised a most powerful influence upon the life of the Greek Church. Through the preaching of the Zoë brothers and the many-sided activity of the movements which have grown up under their supervision, the religious life of many a town and village has been transformed beyond all recognition since the days when Apostolos Makrakes first preached in the public places of Athens, and the youthful Eusebius Matthopoulos pondered the writings of the ancient divines and swept the classrooms and corridors of the School of the Logos.

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XII

THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

Η ΜΑΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΟΥΣ

MOTTO OF THE APOSTOLIC DIACONATE OF THESSALONICA

IT IS a good general rule in dealing with something that lies outside the experience of one's audience to attempt to describe it in terms of what is known and familiar. Father Michael Manousakes, Hierokeryx of the Sacred Metropolis of Drama, no doubt had some such maxim in mind when he introduced the present writer to an audience made up of members of his catechetical schools as "a *theologos* of the Oxford Movement: a movement which closely resembles out own Zoë Brotherhood". It must nevertheless be admitted that the compact, well-disciplined organisation into which the little brotherhood founded by Eusebius Matthopoulos in 1907 has since developed bears little apparent resemblance to the movement which was stirring in the Oriel S.C.R. during the eighteen-thirties.

The Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë (to give the movement its proper title), now consists of some ninety men—all graduates, the great majority of the theological faculty of the University of Athens—about thirty of whom are in orders, the remainder laymen. The organisation of the brotherhood is monastic in character, though its members do not bind themselves by permanent vows and are at liberty to withdraw at any time. They must be unmarried—though a lay theologian who leaves the movement is free to marry—and property is held in common. The superior holds office for life (at the death of Father Eusebius in 1929 the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas was elected as his successor).

Seven priests and ten laymen were in the spring of 1950 resident in Athens, five other theologians in Salonica. At that time no less than twenty-seven members of the brotherhood (including seven priests) were serving as 'preachers' with the army, and another was acting as

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chaplain to the camp in Leros where boys who had fallen beneath the influence of the Communists were being given the opportunity to rediscover the fundamental loyalties within the setting of a Christian community. The remaining members of the brotherhood were dispersed amongst the dioceses of Greece, preaching, confessing the people, training young catechists and preachers, supervising seminaries for the country clergy, directing catechetical schools and youth movements: in these and many other ways building up the body of Christ in each village, town and diocese; seeking, above all, to follow in the steps of their founder by living in the power of the Holy Spirit that Christ might indeed be formed in them.

Every summer all the members of the brotherhood assemble for a period of retreat at Aghia Paraskevi (on the outskirts of Athens), and each is called upon to give an account of his labours during the previous year.

There can be little question that the most potent factor in the religious revival which has transformed the outward face of the Greek Church within the last 100 years has, under God, been the hidden life and apostolic labours of Eusebius Matthopoulos, and of the brotherhood he founded. The latter is still far the most important of the many missionary and evangelistic movements that have sprung up during the last two generations. The number and complexity of these movements is at first quite bewildering, and the visitor to Greece will need to spend a little time in Zoë circles before he can hope to avoid confounding *X.E.N.* with *X.E.E.N.*, or to be able to distinguish with assurance between the spheres of activity appropriate to *X.M.O.*, *X.O.N.*, *X.Φ.E.*, *X.E.E.* and *X.E.E.Λ.* respectively.

There are, on the one hand, all the movements more or less closely connected with the Zoë Brotherhood: some under the immediate supervision of the central organisation, others enjoying a measure of independence. On the other, there are several entirely separate movements which sprang up within the circle of clergy and laity who gathered about Apostolos Makrakes; and, finally, there are several vigorous organisations which have grown up in provincial centres such as Patras and Salonica and are still flourishing at the present time. A detailed account of all these movements would afford material for a substantial volume, and I propose to attempt no more within the limits of a single chapter than the most cursory description of their scope and general characteristics.

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THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

I have already referred to the movement known as *Anaplasis*. This was founded as early as 1887 by two lay disciples of Apostolos Makrakes: it is to the latter that it owes its primary characteristics. Its efforts were mainly directed to resisting, by means of preaching, lectures, and the publication of apologetic and philosophical writings, the spread of materialistic notions derived from western Europe. It was from the start a predominantly lay movement widely supported by theologians, philosophers, lawyers and university professors, as well as by many merchants and business men. Its journal formerly had a wide circulation in professional and academic circles and was issued, at first weekly and then fortnightly, right down to 1941.

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During the eighteen-nineties the Anaplasis movement supported ten preachers who worked in the Athens-Piraeus region and also to some extent in the provinces. The Crown Prince Constantine was an honorary president, and amongst its most active members were the lawyer, John Skaltsounes (who is looked upon in Greece as a forerunner of the *Aktines* movement), and a Minister of Justice, Nicolas Demetrakopoulos, who, though not himself a trained theologian, was one of the first persons to devote his attention seriously to Christian apologetics. The real leader of the movement, however, was the lawyer and *kierokryx*, Michael Galanos, and its final eclipse coincided with his death in 1948.

Father Eusebius and his associates collaborated with this movement for many years as preachers and contributors to its journal. Then came the foundation of the Zoë Brotherhood and the growth of a separate movement with its own periodical, and from this time onward the older association declined. It lingered on for many years: Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos gave it his vigorous support from 1922 to 1938 (his brother was for a time its director), and it was not until quite recently that it was finally swallowed up in newer movements like *Aktines*, the home mission society known as *Apostolos Paulos*, and *Enoria*.

The Anaplasis movement was admirably equipped to meet the rationalist influence at work in Athens during the latter part of the nineteenth century; it was not able to adapt itself to the needs of a changing situation—hence its decline. From this pioneer association, however, there sprang two other movements, both of which have exercised a considerable influence during recent years. Both, it is interesting to note, were founded by parish priests. One (which is now under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes) has developed until it is second only to Zoë amongst the unofficial movements in the scope

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794 175 and importance of its activity. The other was the creation of a remarkable parish priest, Father George Makres, who was for many years in charge of the parish of St. Basil in the Piraeus. He it was who in the year 1896 first established catechetical schools (there had been earlier but unsuccessful attempts), and both in this field and in that of the formation of 'circles' or groups for the study of the Bible he was a [204] distinguished pioneer. He also edited a religious journal bearing the title of *Anamorphosis* (Transformation). After his death in 1943 his work in the Piraeus was taken up by one of his numerous spiritual sons, the then Archimandrite Damaskenos Kotzias (now raised to the episcopate).

The second of these movements was founded in 1913 by Father Mark Tsaktanes and grew up about his parish church of St. Catherine. Like Father George, in the Piraeus, this married priest led the way in the organisation of catechetical schools (some schools which still flourish in our own day are his foundations), and of circles for the study of the Bible. When he died, his brother-in-law, Father Angelos Nissiotes, the priest in charge of the parish of the Life-Giving Source in the heart of Athens, carried on and greatly extended his work. The 'Orthodox Christian Unions' and catechetical schools under Father Angelos' direction are now extremely vigorous, and out of this movement have come some of the most interesting experiments of recent years.

An admirable example of the older movements which have grown up in the provincial towns of Greece is that known as the '*Apostoliki Diakonía* of Salonica', founded in 1928 by a lay theologian with the primary object of promoting the study of the holy scriptures among adults. In addition to this side of its work it had founded by 1949 some thirty-one catechetical schools, with a total membership of nearly 3,000 boys and girls. The teachers in these schools included students and professional men. From this movement there has sprung since the end of the occupation a smaller organisation of great interest. This is [874] the 'School of Christ', the creation of the Archimandrite Timothy Papamichael. Its primary object is the training of preachers and lay evangelists. This task has been tackled with such energy that already by 1950 there were more than 120 members of the movement—mostly young men and women—at work in Salonica and the north of Greece.

This unofficial 'Apostolic Diaconate' has led the way in the creation of catechetical schools and small groups for Bible study in the northern

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dioceses, for it was not until 1936 that the Zoë Brotherhood established 794
a centre in Salonica. The motto of this movement (which I have [175]
quoted at the head of this chapter), provides a key to much of the most notable work that is being done in Greece to-day; 'the victory of the width'—to give a literal translation of a phrase that cannot easily be put into English—ultimately depends upon the faithfulness and energy with which 'the battle of the depth' is waged. There can, in other words, be no fruitful outward activity that does not spring from a deepened interior life. It is only as the missioner himself is truly converted, only as he himself learns to dwell in Christ and as Christ is formed in him, that he can be used as an effective instrument for the conversion of others. Apart from this all his activity is in vain:

"As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. . . . If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

It augurs well for the future that the strenuous missionary activity now being undertaken in almost every town and diocese of Greece is so completely grounded in prayer and the study of the scriptures, finding its centre in the divine liturgy and the sacraments. The foundations are being well laid.

The full scope of the activity of the unofficial religious movements is perhaps most conveniently described if we consider in turn the chief instruments now being employed to bring about the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ. These include preaching, the mystery of confession, the organisation of catechetical schools, youth movements and study circles, the publication of Christian literature, and, finally, liturgical reform.

Preaching has from the outset been of primary importance. Cosmas 793
Phlamiatos, Apostolos Makrakes and Eusebius Matthopoulos all relied 796
upon the spoken *kerygma* as their most effective instrument. The theologian—whether cleric or layman—who serves on the staff of a provincial bishop is first and foremost the *hierokeryx*, the sacred herald, whose duty it is to assist the bishop in the ministry of the word. In the course of the last two generations there has been a tremendous revival of preaching—at any rate in the towns. Every parish church in Athens and the Piraeus now has a sermon at the Sunday liturgy—normally an exposition of the Gospel which immediately precedes it—

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793 while in many churches and halls there are regular sermons at other
796 times during the week.

In the country dioceses, owing to the shortage of qualified preachers, sermons are still all too rarely to be heard outside the cathedral towns. The bishop and the diocesan preacher, with such other assistants as can be mustered from local resources, will visit one or two villages every Sunday, but in a diocese of perhaps 100 scattered communities it may well be that months will pass without the majority of the people having the opportunity to hear a sermon. I remember one Macedonian 'saint', who had taken advantage of the cessation of fighting in his diocese from the spring of 1949 onwards to undertake an intensive preaching campaign, telling me that in some villages it was more than ten years since a sermon had last been heard.

793 An energetic *hierokeryx* will often perform wonders; take for instance
796 this typical week-end itinerary of a lay theologian, a member of Zoë,
484 who used to be stationed at Kozani; on Saturday afternoon by army truck to Amyntaion (a distance of about fifty-five kilometres) and thence to the village of Lechovo, an hour's journey to the westward towards Kastoria. Here he gives an evening address in the church, the greater part of the community present. On Sunday morning a sermon at the liturgy is followed by an address to the young men and women. After a hurried meal he sets off on foot to the neighbouring village of Skydro for an address, not this time in the church but in the square. Thence he climbs to the village of Nymphaion, high on the mountain-side, for two further addresses before nightfall—one in church, the other, for the young people, in the school. On Monday morning he proceeds by mule to Aetos and thence to Amyntaion and Kozani. The assistant *hierokeryx* of the diocese will in the meantime have set out for the *comopolis* of Servia to preach, from a cart standing in the midst of the square, to the crowds who have gathered there for the weekly market.

793 The Greek *hierokeryx* can in general assume in his hearers a knowledge
796 of the fundamentals of the Christian faith such as can no longer be
537 taken for granted in England, at any rate. He and they will speak a common language—even though many have forgotten the reality that lies behind the familiar phrases. The outward tokens of a Christian
[785] society have still survived to a remarkable degree—the fasts of the Church's year, for instance, are still observed as a matter of course by multitudes who would make no claim to piety above the average. In

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these circumstances it is understandable that contemporary preaching should (to accept the distinction now current in reforming circles) be practical rather than theoretical: should deal less with doctrine than with conduct. 793 796 537

Father Eusebius was wont to insist on the importance of ending every sermon with a clear and distinct conclusion, to bring home the particular moral and spiritual truth with which the preacher had been dealing to the conscience of his hearers, as well as on the need for preaching in a style suited to their condition. His example has been salutary, and in reforming circles to-day one never hears the type of homily still cultivated by a few eccentric saints who bewilder their silly sheep with florid discourses framed in the ornate periods of Psellos or Anna Comnena. I well recall a certain *hierokeryx*, a lovable if idiorrhythmic character, who modelled his festal homilies on the funeral orations of Bossuet (a much-thumbed volume that accompanied him everywhere). These triumphs of rhetoric, which must have left the Epirote peasantry groping in vain for any clear and distinct practical conclusion, would be composed months before the date of their delivery and constantly reworked and polished until they reached the requisite height of literary perfection. Such artistry would be frowned upon in the religious societies.

The work of the preacher is supplemented by that of the confessor. Although the mystery of confession has in practice fallen into sad neglect, owing to the shortage of qualified *pneumatikoi*, there has been no more effective instrument for the reawakening of the Greek Church; none that is more highly prized in reforming circles to-day. While east and west are at one as to the fundamental nature of this 'mystery', there is a certain difference of emphasis. Amongst the Greeks the element of 'ghostly counsel and advice' is far more prominent than is commonly the case amongst western Christians. So marked is this difference of emphasis that Dr. Covel—who is as immoderate in his assaults upon the Romish doctrine of auricular confession as upon any other of the 'seven pretended sacraments'—is yet moved to applaud the Greek practice as a pious and laudable institution: such a confession, he remarks, or rather (lest there should be any misunderstanding) "serious Conference or Discourse as this with a Ghostly Father, or discreet Minister, is justly observed and commended by our own Church". 783 793

In these circumstances it is natural that considerably more importance should be attached to the personal character and qualifications of the

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783 confessor amongst the Greeks than in the west. The power to bind and
793 to loose is given by the laying on of hands: the grace of the wise director of souls is conferred only upon a few, and is normally the fruit of great personal holiness and wide experience. Throughout Orthodox Christendom there has been a tendency to demand a high degree of perfection before authorising a priest to exercise the ministry of the confessor: one must oneself become a *spirituel* before aspiring to the office of a *père spirituel*.

The number of confessors at work in Greece to-day is still very small. In the country districts, in particular, this sacrament is still largely neglected. The ministry of the *pneumatikos* is nevertheless a factor of the very greatest importance in the present revival, and one which is held in the highest estimation, within the voluntary movements and the official Apostoliki Diakonia alike.

794 While preaching and the mystery of confession have thus been restored to something approaching their rightful place within the life of the Greek Church after long years of neglect, the leaders of the new movements have forged other weapons to meet the peculiar needs of the time. Chief amongst them must be mentioned the catechetical schools and Christian unions which are now so prominent a feature of Greek church life.

The creation of catechetical schools was essayed as early as the eighteen-seventies, but unsuccessfully, and it was the married priests George Makres and Mark Tsaktanes who were the real pioneers in this field. By the late 'twenties there were many catechetical schools flourishing in Athens and the Piraeus, especially under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes, who had taken over the movement founded by Father Mark at the latter's death in 1924. The Zoë Brotherhood (which had by this time emerged triumphant from two further attacks by suspicious hierarchs, and had also survived the premature death of one of the first and most ardent disciples of its founder, the Archimandrite Dionysios Pharazoules), first turned its attention to the organisation of catechetical schools in 1926. From this time onward these schools begin to establish themselves until at the present day Zoë alone has well over 600 under its supervision, and the movement of Father Angelos some 350, not to mention hundreds of others now flourishing in every part of Greece.

These schools (which are directed almost entirely by lay men and

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women) afford a systematic course of instruction in Christian doctrine 794
and practice for boys and girls between the ages of nine and twenty-two. These children have all, it must be borne in mind, been full com- [795
municant members of the Church since infancy. There are no con- 883]
firmation classes in Greece, and, within the new movements at least, the period of adolescence, when so overwhelming a proportion of our own children lose all vital contact with the Church, is commonly that at which the young Greek Christian begins to play an active part in the life of his local community.

The size of the catechetical schools, even in the provincial towns of 162
northern Greece (where such schools were not founded until the late 794
'thirties and had hardly established themselves when these districts were overwhelmed by foreign occupation and Communist sedition) is often quite staggering. The figures for the town of Kilkis—a few miles north of Salonica and the scene of some of the bloodiest massacres of the whole war—may serve as an illustration. During the year 1948–49, when the war with the Communists was at its height, membership of the catechetical schools was as follows:

	Boys	*Girls*
Junior schools	782	696
Middle schools	165	180
Senior schools	55	77
Young workers	123	293
	1125	1246

These are the figures for a Macedonian market town whose pre-war population scarcely exceeded 7,000. Even allowing for the fact that several hundreds of the children belonging to the catechetical schools in 1948–49 were refugees from the villages of the diocese, they show the astonishing development of these new Christian schools within a bare ten or eleven years.

Remarkable as these figures may seem they are by no means exceptional. All over Greece catechetical schools have sprung up as it were overnight and multiplied with incredible rapidity, despite the lack of trained leaders. At Kilkis the metropolitan had the assistance of one [793]
priest-theologian. In the adjoining diocese of Siderokastro, where the bishop had only a seminary-trained preacher to help him, and where

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794 catechetical schools were in September, 1949, quite a recent innovation, membership of the schools, in a town considerably smaller than Kilkis, had already risen to 957 and was increasing rapidly. In and around Salonica the number of catechetical schools under the supervision of the Zoë Brotherhood rose from less than thirty in 1942 to 170 in 1949.

The catechetical school normally meets every Sunday, and the teaching is based on one of the two courses now in circulation—the first issued by the Zoë Brotherhood, the second (only recently published) by the official Home Mission. While the parallels with our own Sunday Schools and 'catechisms' are evident, these Greek schools have a character which is all their own. Particularly impressive is the stimulus which is given to the active apostolate of the laity. The children are from their earliest days encouraged to pull their weight in the life of the local *ekklesia*. At Verroia, in the spring of 1950, boys of nine were visiting the townsfolk and delivering letters from the *hierokeryx* of the metropolis. At Salonica, where the catechetical schools under the auspices of the Apostoliki Diakonia were normally directed by a student of the theological faculty of the university, the teacher would at the end of a lesson despatch his pupils, two by two, to call at the homes of any who through sickness or for some other cause had been unable to be present that day. When the defaulter was run to earth he would be given a brief *résumé* of the afternoon's lesson.

794 The catechetical schools form the base of an impressive structure still in process of creation. In describing the Christian youth movements that now flourish in almost every diocese of Greece I will start with those connected with the Zoë Brotherhood, which are the most important. The reader will recall that as early as 1877 Father Eusebius (then chaplain to the School of the Logos) was experimenting with small groups of young people and adults, and such *omades* have played an important part in the extension of his teaching and influence.

First, then, the movement known as *X.M.O.* (*Christianikai Mathetikai Omades*). This is made up of selected members of the catechetical schools between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Its members try to bring others to the catechetical schools, to spread sound sacramental teaching, to distribute Christian publications and generally to set a high standard of conduct by their example. Each group consists of from fifteen to twenty members, meets once or twice a week and is led by an undergraduate (at any rate in Athens and Salonica).

These student-leaders are drawn from another youth organisation

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known as the 'Christian Union of Students', or *X.Φ.E.* (*Christianiki Phoitetiki Enosis*), founded in 1933, membership of which is confined to undergraduates of the two universities. The movement is sub-divided into 'circles' which meet every week for Bible study. Members of this organisation often preach in village churches in the vicinity of Athens and Salonica, and teams of students undertake missions in the country dioceses. About 1946 there was created a further youth movement, the 'Christian Union of Young Workers' (*Christianiki Enosis Ergazomenon Neon*, or *X.E.E.N.*) This had spread to most of the chief towns of Greece within three years of its foundation and is growing fast. It is organised in factories and workshops much as *X.Φ.E.* in the universities, in 'circles'—one would be tempted to say 'cells' had the word not acquired associations which would be misleading in the present context. The age limits for this movement are seventeen to twenty-five. Many of its members are at present serving in the army.

These three youth movements, *X.M.O.*, *X.Φ.E.*, and *X.E.E.N.*, are all under the direction of the Zoë Brotherhood. Amongst other organisations for young men and girls, too numerous to describe in detail, several demand special mention. I have already referred to the 'Christian Union of Young People' (*X.O.N.*) that flourishes in the Piraeus. From the movement of Father Angelos Nissiotes there has sprung up in recent years a 'Student Christian Association' which meets every week under the guidance of Professor Bratsiotes, for the study of the Bible. Membership of this extremely lively group is confined to university men and women: it includes some of the ablest of the younger theologians, and has taken the lead in co-operating with the Oecumenical Institute in Switzerland and with the World Student Christian Federation.

Other vigorous youth organisations are to be found attached to several parish churches in Athens—notably at the church of the Prophet Elias, Pankrati, where the then Archimandrite Timothy Matthaiakes (now assistant bishop of Salonica) built up an extremely interesting movement—while many a provincial town has become a centre for similar activities.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that membership of the voluntary movements is confined to young men and girls. Their scope is far wider. As a lay theologian of the Zoë Brotherhood once said to me, it is scarcely an exaggeration to claim that the various Christian unions now make provision for every man or woman from the cradle to the

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794 grave. Many of the youth movements have in fact sprung from older associations which were intended in the first place for adults. This was so in the case of the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica, for instance, and it was not until nearly twenty years after its foundation that Zoë turned its attention to the development of catechetical schools.

So far as Zoë organisations are concerned, the young man or woman who outgrows *X.Φ.E.* or *X.E.E.N.* may pass to one of the three movements known collectively as *Σ.X.Σ.* (*Synergazomena Christianika Somateia*) One of these is for parents, another for teachers. The third, the 'Christian Union of Scientists' (*X.E.E.*) founded in 1935, membership of which is open to all sorts of professional men, is of considerable importance. This is the movement responsible for the publication of the fortnightly [204] journal *Aktines*, and, moreover, for the remarkable volume entitled *Towards a Christian Civilisation* which was published in Greek and English in 1947. It is in Aktines circles that the pioneer labours of Makrakes and his associates who founded the Anaplasis movement have come to fruition.

Until quite recently *X.E.E.* was confined to Athens. Now, however, there is a lively branch in Salonica and little groups of professional men are being formed in many provincial towns of Greece. One such town, which I visited early in 1950, had a 'circle' whose members included the mayor, the doctor, the dentist, the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and two lawyers. All these would meet once a week, together with the preacher of the metropolis (a priest of the Zoë Brotherhood), to study the Bible and to discuss the bearing of their faith upon the life of their community. Such a movement abounds in promise. Not the least interesting feature of the Aktines wing of the Zoë organisation is the prominent part that many distinguished professors of the science faculties of the universities have played in the leadership of this Christian movement.

Apart from the Christianika Somateia there are several other movements which have grown up under the supervision of the Zoë Brotherhood: the home mission association known as *Apostolos Paulos*, which was founded three years before the death of Father Eusebius and has an admirable centre in the very heart of Athens; the *Eusebeia* sisterhood, which organises catechetical schools, trains certain of its members as nurses, and publishes a periodical for children. There are, besides, several educational establishments in Athens and the Piraeus, hostels for university students in Athens and Salonica, and a Young Workers'

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centre at Agrinion which includes an orphanage, a hospital (where the nurses are members of the Eusebeia sisterhood), and a group of workshops. All this has sprung from the little brotherhood which Father Eusebius gathered about him in 1907. 794

I have made no mention of many other voluntary movements which now flourish in Athens and its suburbs: movements like the 'Christian Corner', the 'Christian Social Union' and the association known as the 'Three Hierarchs'. All these were founded by lay people and have remained wholly lay in character. Their members include many distinguished men and women; their activities are both evangelistic and philanthropic.

No account of the evangelistic activity of recent years can ignore the part played by Christian literature, both periodicals and books. Almost every movement has at least one periodical of its own, and the circulation of these weekly and fortnightly papers is astonishingly large for a country where most of the inhabitants devote little time to reading, and where (even in the universities) oral instruction still predominates. The periodical *Zoë*, for example, which has been issued weekly since 1911, now has more than 100,000 subscribers. Several of the provincial movements publish excellent periodicals which circulate all over Greece; such for instance is the journal *Apolytrosis*, published every month by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Thessaloniki, which has a circulation of about 12,000 copies. The 'School of Christ' in the same city also publishes monthly papers, devoted to scriptural exegesis, which are used by many preachers. Both Zoë and the Christian Unions of Father Nissiotes publish periodicals for children. 204 794 [876]

In the field of book production, as elsewhere, the Zoë Brotherhood has led the way, and the exhibition held in Athens in January, 1950, was an impressive monument to the diligence with which the written word has been cultivated in recent years. Father Eusebius himself wrote many books during the last twenty years of his life, and his *magnum opus*, *The Destiny of Man*, has exercised untold influence. Amidst a wealth of books covering almost every field of Christian literature I would pay special tribute to the work of the brotherhood in publishing the text of the New Testament and the Septuagint in moderately-priced editions well printed on good paper. The Zoë pocket edition of the New Testament has had an enormous circulation. 214 794

Of liturgical reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary

Of liturgical reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary object is to enable the laity to participate more fully and intelligently in the eucharistic action, through more frequent communion (Father Eusebius was himself in the habit of celebrating daily), and through a greater 'openness' in the manner of celebrating the holy mysteries. In Athens and Salonica many people now follow the services in the little manual of the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas—the popularity of which may be judged by the fact that it had reached its fifth edition by 1950. In general, where the new movements have exercised an effective influence, a high standard of liturgical propriety prevails, though it must be confessed that certain musical innovations of recent years have been unfortunate, to say the least.

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All the movements of which I have been speaking have remained quite unofficial in character, though they have always carried out their work with the blessing of the ecclesiastical authorities and under the general supervision of the local bishop. There has of late, however, been a development of a rather different nature, so important as to demand brief consideration. This is what amounts to the refounding of a body known as the 'Apostolic Diaconate of the Church of Greece', which came into being as long ago as 1930. I do not propose to dwell upon its fortunes prior to its virtual reconstitution: suffice it to say that although great potentialities were latent in this organisation from the outset, its actual activity during the first fifteen years of its life was on a very small scale. It is directed by a council of members of the Holy Synod and professors of the theological faculty of the University of Athens under the presidency of the Archbishop, with Professor Basil Vellas as general director.

The aim of this official organisation is to systematise and co-ordinate the many-sided missionary activity now being undertaken throughout the length and breadth of Greece. In addition to its headquarters at Moni Petraki in Athens it has a local office in every diocese, and is assured of a basis of material resources by a system of annual diocesan contributions.

The possibilities inherent in such a venture are without question very great, and already much has been accomplished. A theological hostel and a school for preachers and confessors have been established at Moni Petraki: the latter promises to be of the greatest service in the

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training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken 793
up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by 797
the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been [874]
particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up [213]
of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The [204]
official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for
the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press.

Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry [874]
out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just [794]
outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses,
a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university,
and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model
schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary move-
ments, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in
the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems [794]
probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish
in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home
Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material re-
sources.

In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, 794
the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now
has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the
movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of
the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and
tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood
could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and
its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary
people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still
young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the
growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed
with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder;
in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a
spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrakes rather than Father Eusebius.

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed [177]
somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of [532]
eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful tradi-
tions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of
feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin
Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most

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courageous example and one can only hope that the work of Photis Kontoglou, somewhat mannered though it is, may mark the beginnings of return to a tradition that had not wholly perished in the remoter provinces of Greece when the dominion of the Turk was overthrown. 794 [532] [177]

When all is said, however, the fact remains that the Zoë Brotherhood has, under God, been the most potent factor in the spiritual awakening of the Greek people during the last two generations, and the traveller who would form a just estimate of the present situation will, if he is wise, take the trouble to gain a first-hand acquaintance with the labours of this remarkable movement and to enter into its spirit before he pays heed to the strictures of its critics.

One can readily understand the desire of the ecclesiastical authorities to systematise and co-ordinate the evangelistic activity of the voluntary associations: even in reforming circles to-day one is frequently reminded of the saying 'every Greek a *kapetanios!*' It is, however, no less important to remember that the marvellous work of these unofficial bodies has sprung from the consecrated life and example of a handful of men who had given themselves wholly to God that His power might be manifested in them, and it may well be that the new Home Mission will have to learn by bitter experience the lesson that 'the victory of the width' is given only to those who have fought 'the battle of the depth' and have prevailed: the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ will not be brought about through legislation and centralised planning alone. 794 797

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XIII

TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY

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For a priest ought not only to be pure, as being honoured with so great a ministry. He should also be very intelligent, and experienced in many affairs, and even equally skilful in all secular business with those who are engaged in it, while he must yet be more entirely detached from the love of it than anchorites who resort to the mountains.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Let mariners learn astronomy; merchants' factors study arithmetic; surveyors get them geometry; spectacle-makers optic; landleapers geography; town-clerks rhetoric; what should he do with a spade, that hath no ground to dig; or they with learning that have no use of it?

ROBERT BURTON
The Anatomy of Melancholy

IN THE many-sided activity of the voluntary movements the parish clergy, with two or three distinguished exceptions, have as yet played little part. The whole weight of the burden has been borne by the laity and the celibate clergy. To-day, however, it is widely realised that the incalculable spiritual gains of the last two generations or so can be consolidated and made available for the whole of the Greek Church only through the patient labours of an enlightened and devoted parochial ministry: the function of the itinerant confessor, the lay theologian and the catechist is essentially complementary to that of the parish priest; it is upon the latter that the responsibility for the building up of the local church must ultimately rest. Hence the concern for the raising of the prevailing standards of clerical education which one finds among those who are most deeply concerned with the strengthening and purifying of Greek church life at the present time. 793 794

For it is not only in the westernised circles of Kolonaki and Kephissia that the word *papas* is liable to evoke a faintly contemptuous smile, nor is it the hostile critic of the Greek Church who most vehemently 793 871

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793 bewails the ignorance of her parish clergy. In 1920 only 805 married
871 priests, out of a total number of nearly 4,500, had received any education beyond that afforded by the elementary schools; and although matters have somewhat improved during the course of a generation, it must be admitted that, in the urban parishes at any rate, the level of clerical education has not risen in the same degree as among the generality of the people. The average parish priest is lamentably ill-equipped for meeting the assaults of rationalism or for coming to the aid of a young man troubled by intellectual difficulties: "But as for the Bulk of their Clergy", says Covel, ". . . I do positively assert that they are in general profoundly ignorant in these points; and not one of a thousand amongst the ordinary *Papas*, or common Priests, knows any thing of the matter." It is not, alas, always possible to conjure up at will a learned monk or lay theologian well grounded in the science of the schools.

It is possible, indeed, to exaggerate the evils of the prevailing system. In a country where small rural communities still predominate there is not a little to be said in favour of a priesthood of peasant-farmers and craftsmen. Whatever the deficiencies of his intellectual equipment, the Greek country parson is not separated from the people to whom he ministers by a different cultural background—as is so frequently the case in western Europe to-day.

Provided always that the priest's education is at least as good as that of the people to whom he is called to minister, the less it differs from theirs as to its general characteristics the better—at any rate in a country where Christianity is still a living tradition and education has not been secularised. During the long centuries of Turkish dominion, when "the ancient Structures and Colleges of Athens were become ruinous, and only a fit habitation for its own Owle, and all Greece poor and illiterate", the faith was preserved less through the learning of its champions (though even in the darkest days of oppression there were always a few theologians and monks to keep alive the traditions of Hellenic scholarship) than through the passionate devotion of a people, ill-instructed enough, but for whom all that was requisite to salvation was mysteriously set forth in the Church's liturgy, in the recurring cycle of feast and fast. "It is admirable", wrote Rycaut, "to see and consider with what Constancy, Resolution, and Simplicity, ignorant and poor men keep their Faith."

Notwithstanding considerations such as these, however, the fact

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remains that the provision of a more adequate training for the parish 793
clergy is perhaps the most urgent problem which the Greek Church 871
has to face at the present time. Great efforts are already being made.
Nobody who was in touch with ecclesiastical affairs during the years [874]
which followed the occupation could fail to be impressed by the energy
with which the founding of new seminaries for the country clergy was
pursued. The courage with which the problem was then tackled is
already beginning to bear fruit in the mountain dioceses of Macedonia
and elsewhere, but a vast amount of work remains to be done.

The reader will recall that the Greek parish priest must be at least 793
thirty years of age at his ordination. There is much to be said in support 874
of this rule; it does, however, together with the canons relating to 873
clerical marriage, raise very grave practical problems as to the training
of the clergy. These are particularly acute in the case of the so-called
'Hieratic Schools', seven of which were flourishing in 1950. These
ecclesiastical boarding schools, normally with a priest-monk as director
assisted by three or four lay theologians, are open to boys who have
completed their course at an ordinary elementary school. A boy will
normally remain at the hieratic school until he is eighteen or nineteen,
but only a very small proportion of those who stay the course are event-
ually ordained. A few will decide against marriage and will be made
deacons shortly after completing their studies—perhaps going on to the
theological school at Athens or Salonica. These, however, form a small
minority, and very few of the remaining students will be ordained. [875]
Some will marry, and become teachers of theology or the classics in
secondary schools; some will attach themselves to episcopal households
as secretaries or lay preachers. Far the greater number, however, drift
into more or less secular occupations, and while it is doubtless admirable
that there should be tobacco merchants and bank clerks who are not
merely well grounded in theology but can quote Chrysostom and
Nazianzen with as great a facility as any clerk in holy orders, it is
understandable that the bishops should lament the fact that so few
of those educated at the ecclesiastical secondary schools offer themselves
for ordination.

It would seem that if the parish priest is to be given any theological 793
education over and above that which every Greek boy acquires in his 874
village school and in his home, he must be sent back to school after
following some secular calling for twelve years or more, or even after
having been in orders for many years. Hence the establishment of the

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'Ecclesiastical Seminaries' (*Ekklesiastika Phrontisteria*) some fourteen of which are now in existence. One of these, the Rizareion Ecclesiastical School at Athens, stands apart from the rest; it celebrated its centenary during the occupation and was for many years the sole institution of its kind in all Greece. Most of these seminaries, however, were founded within the last twenty years. The dioceses of Old Greece are now served by seminaries at Corinth, Patras and Pyrgos, in the Peloponnese, and at Lamia, Larissa and Volos. Crete has its own seminary. At Ioannina there is another older foundation, the *Hierodidaskaleion Vellas* (of which the present Archbishop of Athens was once director) which serves the whole of Epirus. The parish clergy of Thrace and eastern Macedonia can now attend courses at Xanthi (founded in 1945), at Aghia Anastasis in the Chalkidiki peninsula, or at Salonica, where there is a 'higher' seminary. Another post-war foundation at Kozani, in western Macedonia, may serve to illustrate the general characteristics of these training schools for country clergy. This seminary was subsequently transferred to Florina.

The Lower Ecclesiastical Seminary of the Metropolis of Kozani, as it was known locally, was founded in 1946, during the lull which followed the Varkiza agreement. The director was a lay-theologian, a member of the Zoë Brotherhood, and the seminary was under the immediate supervision of the Metropolitan of Servia and Kozani. During the first few months after its foundation there were no fewer than ninety students in residence, drawn from several different dioceses. Many had to leave, however, as fighting became general during the course of the following year and the refugees again flocked to the towns. By the winter of 1948-49, when the situation in the country dioceses was at its worst and the whole parochial organisation threatened to collapse, only twenty-five students remained. With the suppression of the Communist sedition, and the return of some measure of security, the number slowly increased again, and by March, 1950 (when I last visited the seminary), it had risen to thirty-five.

Only three of these students were laymen, sent by their bishops to the seminary for a pre-ordination course—all three were over thirty years of age. The rest were parish clergy, some of whom had been in orders for many years. They had come not only from the diocese of Kozani but from many different districts of northern Greece. The dioceses along the western fringes of Macedonia—Grevena, Kastoria and Florina—were particularly well represented, but there were other

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students from places as far distant as Drama and Katerini. A candidate for the two-year course which the seminary provided must have reached the fourth class of his elementary school: an event which in the case of certain of the more venerable amongst these bewhiskered scholars must have been more than a generation remote from their reappearance *in statu pupillari*. 793 874

The programme of studies, as at all these lower seminaries, was eminently practical and was related at every point to the peculiar circumstances within which the Greek country parson exercises his priestly ministry. It was grounded, as is fitting, "in the Book of books, the store-house and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures," and, in particular, in the study of the text of the Gospels. The director was assisted by another lay theologian, the preacher of the diocese. Their lectures on the Bible, doctrine, catechising, the holy canons and liturgical matters, were supplemented by instruction in the ecclesiastical chant (given by the chief singer of the metropolis), and by talks on the rudiments of first-aid from a local doctor: for the country parson does not merely "condescend to the knowledge of tillage and pasturage"; he desires to be all to his parish, and "not only a pastor but also a physician". A little medical knowledge does indeed constitute an invaluable addition to the skills of a country priest in a region where the only known medicaments are aspirins and ouzo, and doctors are as rare as dissenters. [759] [757] [273]

The seminary at Kozani was housed in a rambling, somewhat dilapidated building adjoining the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Its furnishing and equipment were simple in the extreme. Twice a day the lecture-room was transformed into a refectory. The students slept seven or eight to a room on straw mattresses laid on the bare boards, and St. Benedict's maxim: *stramenta . . . sufficiant matta, sagum et lena et capitale*, was observed by all alike. 874 346

The liturgical life of the seminary was centred in the church which lies on the other side of the courtyard. The whole community assembled twice daily to sing the divine office, and on Sundays and holy days the liturgy was celebrated. Those amongst the students who lived within easy distance of Kozani used to go home every Saturday and return on Monday morning after celebrating the holy mysteries in their own parish churches. They used also to go to their villages for the great festivals. In other cases some temporary provision would be made for the parishes concerned: the late Metropolitan of Grevena, for example, would allow 793 796 874 793 874

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793 874 only one parish priest from each group of three inhabited villages to be away from his flock at any given time. In such circumstances it was not always possible for a priest to complete the full course at the seminary, and many had to be content with twelve months at Kozani.

Despite all these difficulties, however, the seminary had already, by the spring of 1950, established itself as a real centre of pastoral and liturgical teaching in the dioceses of western Macedonia, and its influence could be detected in several score of parishes dispersed throughout this barren region. In remote hamlets of northern Pindos, catechetical schools were flourishing for the first time under the direction of a priest trained at Kozani. The holy sacrifice was being offered week by week with renewed fervour in many a village church; and there were not a few country parsons (not all of them young men) who had gone back to their parishes after spending two years at the seminary with a quickened realisation of the high dignity of their calling.

Not all the clergy, it is hardly necessary to add, are as yet fully convinced of the utility of the new training school. I well recall meeting one old gentleman who was highly indignant at his metropolitan's suggestion that he might profitably spend a year or two at Kozani, and who maintained with some heat that after thirty-three years in the sacred ministry he could learn only "from the Lord". There has been much hilarity in many a rural tavern that some grave *papas* should have been sent back to school for a couple of years. It will doubtless be a long time before these seminaries for parish clergy (which are still something of an innovation) win universal acceptance and approval, and it would be idle to pretend that they offer a wholly satisfactory solution to the problem of how best to train married priests not ordained till many years after they have completed their ordinary schooling.

The seminaries do, nevertheless, meet an urgent need, and it is to be hoped that they will exert an ever increasing influence upon the country dioceses of Greece, and will send forth into the villages a steady stream of true pastors—men who are not "witty, or learned, or eloquent, but *holy*"—for in Greece, as in other countries, that is perhaps the greatest need of all.

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[589] As I stressed in an earlier chapter, the Greek clergy fall into two sharply defined categories: on the one hand the married *papades*, on the

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other the celibate clergy from whose ranks the chief ministers of the Church are normally chosen. In the training of the former book-learning plays but little part. The seminaries aim at providing no more than an elementary grounding in pastoralia for a race of craftsmen and peasant-farmers who, with few exceptions, are more at home with a plough than a pen, and are wholly unequipped for academic pursuits. The higher clergy, however, are almost invariably graduates, well versed in the disputations of the schools. 793 874 [589]

While the married clergy receive their training in the seminaries, the potential bishop is fashioned in the theological schools of the universities of Athens and Salonica. The theological faculty of the northern university was established only a few years ago. In former days many of the higher Greek clergy went to the theological academy at Halki, near Constantinople: a celebrated institution which, in the days of its prosperity, attracted students from every part of the Orthodox world. After the first world war, however, this sank to the level of a provincial seminary, and it is only in recent years (under the guiding hand of a new Oecumenical Patriarch) that it has regained something of its old prestige. Thus, the great majority of the present Greek bishops and archimandrites are graduates of the University of Athens.

In considering the place occupied by the theological schools of the universities within the framework of training for the ministry, it must not be forgotten that the clergy account for only a small proportion of the students of these faculties, far the greater number of whom are lay men and women (there are quite a few girls amongst the theological students of Athens and Salonica, and their number is steadily increasing). In the universities, moreover, as in the seminaries and the ecclesiastical schools, the majority of the teaching staff are laymen. The only cleric among the Athens professors—the Archimandrite B. Stephanides (whose *Ecclesiastical History* seems likely to be a standard work for every Greek student for many years to come)—retired in 1950 and was succeeded by a layman; while at Salonica likewise, only the professor of ecclesiastical history—an archimandrite who was formerly in charge of the Greek church in Paris—is in orders. Although the lay theologian has a long and distinguished ancestry in eastern Christendom and is often a man of deep spirituality, it can nevertheless be a trifle startling to hear a layman lecturing, to an audience which includes experienced priests and *pneumatikoi*, on the mystery of confession. [875]

The university course normally lasts four years. The theology of the [177]

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793 schools is characterised for the most part by a somewhat arid academic-
874 ism. During the nineteenth century a theologian who went abroad for
177 post-graduate studies went almost as a matter of course to Germany; and, although this is no longer so, the shadow of Harnack still lies across the threshold of the theological school at Athens. "Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Halle, etc.", wrote Dr. Adrian Fortescue in 1907, "are full of Greek students, who with the versatility of their race, very soon learn to talk German perfectly, and to think and argue about theological questions like German higher critics!"

779 Greek academic theology, though distinguished by great technical
177 competence and erudition, and considerable familiarity with the critical work which one associates with the German schools of the latter
874 part of last century, is largely deficient in those qualities which have made the work of certain Russian theologians of the diaspora of such absorbing interest for the western Christian. The Greek theologian, while he has benefited incalculably by his scientific training in the schools of Germany, has scarcely as yet been forced back upon his own proper tradition by the pressure of an alien environment. With few exceptions, moreover, he is curiously out of touch with recent tendencies in western theological thinking: often he seems to be a generation behind the times, unaware that critical theories no longer hold the field in the schools of Paris and Oxford—not to mention Geneva.

How long this state of affairs will last it is difficult to say. The present isolation is not hard to understand if one takes into account the effect of the war years and the lack of contact—even on the intellectual level—between the Greek professors and those Roman Catholic scholars whose work has been so important for the west during the past decade, and whose exchanges with certain Russian theologians have proved so mutually rewarding. It may well be that the links now being forged between Athens and Paris—and in particular with the Russian Academy of St. Sergius—are of crucial importance for the future. At present, it must be confessed, the transition from the theological climate of Orthodox Paris to that of the Athenian schools is apt to be somewhat disappointing to the Frankish *theologes* to whom a first glimpse of the wholeness of Orthodoxy has come as the revelation of a long-forgotten realm. The theology of the schools seems to be earthbound and wholly academic: a theology of the manuals which bears little relation to holy living.

779 The theoretical character of much contemporary Greek theology has
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had regrettable consequences for the development of the new movements, with which the theological schools have, in general, little vital connexion—although more than one professor of the theological faculty at Athens has played an important rôle in their work and organisation. In many quarters—and especially, perhaps, within Zoë circles—a sense of the apparent irrelevance of this theoretical science to practical piety has given rise to an impatience with all theological questions. We must, it is said, be *practical*—and this theology of the schools is not practical; it is a theoretical science wholly unrelated to the urgent problems which are the daily concern of the preacher and the confessor. Such an attitude cannot but strike one as curiously out of place in an Orthodox *milieu* and is not without its dangers. 779 794 874

A few of the clergy go abroad to continue their studies after graduating from the Greek theological schools. Many a young layman is sent to western Europe or America for post-graduate study in the hope that upon his return to Greece he will offer himself for ordination; but a first acquaintance with ecclesiastical conditions very different from those to which he has been accustomed (particularly in the matter of the status of the married clergy and their field of activity) can easily have an unsettling effect upon the potential *despotes*, and it is not unknown for a young graduate, not conscious of a very definite call to the celibate life, to waver in his first resolve of becoming a priest, after two or three years in England or America. 793 177

Apart from the minority who go abroad after leaving the university, the celibate clergy normally pass immediately to an episcopal household without further study. Until quite recently there was nothing in Greece comparable to the English theological college. Since the war, however, there has been opened in Athens an establishment which approximates in some measure to the English institution. This is the 'School for Preachers' which is housed in the hostel of the Apostoliki Diakonia: a fine modern building occupying two sides of the quadrangle at Moni Petraki and overlooking the garden of the British School of Archaeology. Though completed some years ago, it was long requisitioned as a military hospital, and it was not until the early part of 1950 that the whole building was made available to the Church. 793 874 [346] [722]

The School for Preachers provides a two-year course of study (primarily of a pastoral character) for men who have already graduated from the theological school of the university. In 1950 a considerable [794]

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793 number of the students were experienced preachers and confessors from
874 the provinces, but in the years to come they will normally consist in
794 the main of young graduates of the theological school. The primary aim of this school is to equip priests (and lay theologians) for work in the dioceses, and it promises to be of the greatest service to the Church of Greece.

The same building serves as a hostel for theological students who live at some distance from Athens and who would otherwise be dispersed in lodgings (though some find a home in one of the hostels of the Zoë Brotherhood). All the inhabitants—theological students as well as those
793 belonging to the School for Preachers—share a common life, with
874 morning and evening prayers, and meals taken together in the refectory
[177] on the coenobitic pattern. Now that the theological faculty of the university is attracting students from Ethiopia and America, as well as from the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, and the Apostoliki Diakonia is offering generous hospitality to occasional Frankish visitors and a student or two from the Russian Academy in Paris, this community is fast acquiring an oecumenical character such as belonged to Halki in the day of its fame.

The theological faculty at Salonica, as I mentioned earlier, is of recent foundation. Despite the difficulties of the times, however, it is now in full vigour and holds out very great promise to the sorely-tried and understaffed dioceses of northern Greece. It is greatly to be hoped that it will prove possible before long to set up at Salonica an institution similar to that now flourishing in Athens, and combining the functions of a post-graduate theological college and a hostel for theological students from the outlying provinces. Many of these students at present have some difficulty in maintaining themselves for the period of their studies, and comparatively few can be accommodated in the new hostel of the Zoë Brotherhood or in the little hostel maintained for several years in the face of tremendous material difficulties by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica.

793 At present there is an acute shortage of educated clergy in these the
369 more remote provinces of Greece. Few dioceses have more than one
[783] priest-theologian and in some *eparchiai* the metropolitan is single-handed. In such circumstances preaching and the mystery of penance are inevitably much neglected. Not a few amongst the bishops of these northern dioceses are advocates of some kind of 'direction' of the educated clergy which would counteract the prevailing current which

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sweeps away so inordinate a number of archimandrites to Athens and its suburbs, leaving the mountain dioceses wretchedly short of trained theologians. 793 369

It is interesting to note that the present Archbishop of Athens has recently been moved by the continuing shortage of clergy of all classes in the outlying districts of Greece to conscript from amongst the clergy of the Athens-Piraeus area a 'Sacred Company', consisting of fifty archimandrites, for a 'Spiritual Campaign' (*Pneumatike Ekstratia*) of a month's duration and covering the dioceses of Didymoteichon, Maroneia (Comotini), Drama, Serres, Siderokastro, Kilkis, Verroia, Edessa, Florina, Kastoria, Grevena and Naupaktos: 393 parishes in these dioceses were without a priest in September, 1951. It may well be that similar campaigns, and perhaps some kind of clerical conscription of a more permanent character, will be forced upon the Church if many of her children are not to be left without adequate spiritual guidance.

It is perhaps needless to add that the reader would be greatly deceived if he should suppose for one moment that Athens and its suburbs afford a refuge for idle drones of archimandrites who have from time to time to be dragged forth from their retreats by a stern archbishop, and packed off to the barren mountain dioceses of Macedonia for a month's hard work. Nothing could be farther from the truth: were there three times the present number of educated clergy in the Athens-Piraeus area there would yet be urgent tasks left undone for want of priests capable of tackling them. The Athenian archimandrite is the busiest of men, constantly in demand, not merely to serve on committees, but for preaching and confessing and real spiritual work.

In the country dioceses, nevertheless, the present situation is still more serious; the shortage of educated clergy is even more acute. True, the position is slightly better now than it was in 1949, when many a diocesan *hierokeryx* was somehow contriving to combine his already arduous duties with those of an army chaplain, and others had had to abandon their dioceses for a time in order to minister to isolated mountain outposts, but it remains sufficiently disturbing. Many a provincial 'saint' is acutely conscious of vital work still neglected, which could be undertaken could he but command the services of a single priest-theologian. [722]

The Metropolitan of Kilkis, for example, charged with the care of 140 scattered communities, had only one priest qualified to assist him in the work of preaching and confessing the people; a priest already [794]

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793 burdened with the spiritual care of more than 2,000 children belonging
369 to the newly organised Christian Unions of the diocese and a score of
isolated garrisons, yet contriving somehow to find time to train a group
[794] of young men and women to take charge of the village catechetical
schools when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes.

Is it any wonder that in such circumstances the shepherd of one of these mountain flocks will sometimes persuade himself that the populous cities of the south have more than their rightful share of the educated clergy, and picture them as a pleasant haven from the chill blasts that sweep his own desolate pastures; a place where university men "tarry out their time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, and are never used; or, as so many candles, illuminate themselves alone, obscuring one another's light . . . the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some country benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a fair light and be seen over all."

793 Much will depend upon the success of the strenuous efforts now being
871 made to raise the prevailing standards of education among the country
369 clergy and to increase the number of priest-theologians available for
work in urban parishes and as assistants to the provincial metropolitans. So far as the village clergy are concerned, the lower seminaries do, on the whole, meet the needs of the present situation tolerably well. The system whereby the pastor of a small rural community is normally chosen by the village elders ensures that the mountain *papas* is a man of good character and reputation, often the natural leader of the community. The Greek country parson has little need of book-learning, and a lengthy academic training would be wasted upon him.

793 With the parish clergy of the towns the position is less satisfactory.
369 The urban parish priest does not always command that universal respect
and affection normally enjoyed by his rural colleague. This is not to say
[554] that the clergy of the towns are credited with any of the more spectacular
vices. The Greek bishop is not compelled to exercise an unsleeping vigilance to ensure that his priests and deacons do not "being drunk bellow in the streets; or what is worse, in their drink whoop and hollow in the church; or read the church service in a double tone . . . that their upper dress though plain be clean, and not one black and another red; that they walk not in a dronish lazy manner, nor lie down to sleep in the streets; nor tipple in brandy houses and alehouses, nor boast the strength of their heads in drinking at entertainments." Such deplorable failings (though apparently regrettably prevalent in the Russia of Peter the

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Great) cannot be said to characterise the Greek clergy of the present day. 793

It is, however, frequently asserted that the town clergy are for the most part ill-educated, worldly, idle, more concerned with fees than with spiritual things; and, while there are, happily, many and notable exceptions to such generalisations, it must be confessed that there is some truth in these charges. The education of many of the urban pastors is woefully inadequate, and a lamentably small proportion of those educated in the ecclesiastical schools—and to whom, one might suppose, the Church would turn in recruiting her ministry for the urban parishes—seem ready to offer themselves for ordination. 369 [871]

This leakage is in part explained by the late canonical age for ordination, but the reluctance of many well-educated men to become parish priests is also due in no small measure to the precarious economic situation of the clergy. "Our diocese", a Greek bishop wrote to me in 1949, "lacks educated clergy . . . no eagerness is to be observed on the part of the laity to attain to the priestly office, on account of the poor, indeed ridiculous stipend which is at present paid to the clergy." Other causes of this lack of eagerness may be discerned in the style of dress, the untrimmed hair and beard, and general manner of life which custom continues to demand of the clergy (and which are often thoroughly distasteful to the young graduate of the ecclesiastical school), as well as in the abundant opportunities open to the lay theologian. It is, perhaps, hardly surprising that the provision of educated priests to serve in the urban parishes of Greece is a matter which in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities is of absolutely primary importance at the present time, and which is receiving the most serious consideration. [465] [178 794]

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XIV

THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

> So great was his sanctity while a shepherd, that he was thought worthy of being made a pastor of men: and having been assigned the bishopric of one of the cities in Cyprus . . . on account of his extreme humility he continued to feed his sheep during his incumbency of the bishopric.
>
> SOCRATES
> *Ecclesiastical History*, I, xii

IN 1892, scarcely more than a decade since the day when the blue and white ensign of the Kingdom of the Hellenes had replaced the crescent of the infidel over the citadel at Trikkala, the wife of the village carpenter in an obscure hamlet amongst the mountains to the westward of Kalambaka gave birth to a son. The carpenter and his family dwelt in a substantial stone house a few paces beyond the village square, where a great plane tree overshadowed the church, dedicated in honour of the Egyptian anchorite Bessarion. Like many families in northern Pindos they spoke not only Greek but also the language of the Tsintsars, the Koutso-Vlachs who come down from the high pastures every autumn with their flocks and herds to winter in the Thessalian plain.

Like their neighbours at Palaiochori the Photis family (for so the carpenter was named) was virtually independent of the world that lay beyond the mountains. They owned a few sheep and goats; the *Kyria* Photis and her daughters spun their own yarn and wove the strong indigo cloth which was made up into *sarka* and *palto* for men and women alike. There was home-baked bread, goats' milk cheese and *yiaourti*, and an occasional lamb roasted on a spit to celebrate a festival; an abundance of rough red wine and the fiery ouzo which gladdens the heart of the traveller when the snow lies deep in Pindos. From time to time the carpenter would saddle his pack-animals and make an expedition to Trikkala, returning with an axe or a set of chisels, and dried figs for the children.

Constantinos, as the carpenter's son was duly christened, began to go to the village school when he was seven. Long before this time,

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however, he was familiar with the mysterious drama which was enacted week by week in the little church of St. Bessarion. Sunday by Sunday, festival by festival, the people of Palaiochori—the carpenter (who had a fine voice and was also the chief *psaltes*); his wife and daughters; Makroiannis, who presided over the tavern; the *Kyria* Andromache, who always stood before the royal doors when Papa Athanasi read the gospel of the resurrection at the end of mattins; Papa Demosthenes, who had fought in the old wars and had seen innumerable wonders, had been to America and visited the holy mountain of Athos—all were caught up for a brief space into the life of the heavenly Jerusalem and joined their praises to those of the saints who looked down on them from wall and eikonostasis.

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The carpenter's son learned by heart many of the great psalms and hymns of the Church: long passages from the Gospels and from the Old Testament prophecies which were read on the eves of great festivals and during Holy Week. As he grew older and learned to read he would stand among the singers who crowded round the two lecterns every Sunday, and sometimes the parish priest would allow him to climb up the steps of the bishop's throne that stood on the south side of the church and sing the Epistle from a tattered volume printed at Venice towards the end of the eighteenth century. On the eve of a festival he would come running from the saw-mill or his father's workshop when Papa Athanasi clanged the two bells which hung in the branches of the plane tree beside the church, to take his place among the singers. He learned to find his way about the complicated service-books and to sing the ecclesiastical chant with a confidence which rivalled that of the chief *psaltes* himself.

When Costas left school he went to work with his father. He was already well versed in the rudiments of his trade, and by the time he was called to the colours in 1913 he was a proficient craftsman. He served in the army for three years and had two further spells of soldiering—from 1917 to 1919, and again, in the disastrous campaign in Asia Minor, from 1921 to 1923—before, released from the army at last, he came home to Palaiochori and married a girl from the neighbouring village of Krania. The marriage was blessed with three children: two boys, born in 1924 and 1934, who were christened Leonidas and Athanasius respectively, and a daughter born in 1931.

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Meanwhile there was work enough for the village carpenter besides begetting children; even when he was not at his bench there was ground

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159 to be tilled and seed to be sown and a score of sheep to be cared for,
793 as well as an occasional expedition to Trikkala. Fourteen years slipped by: there were good harvests and bad; once a blight fell on the vineyards and once the bishop rode out from Trikkala and preached in the village church where, since the death of his father, Constantinos Photis had been the chief singer. The people of Palaiochori heard few sermons; they worked and prayed, sinned and repented; danced in the square on warm Sunday afternoons and argued about the doings of the great world beyond the mountains as they sipped their ouzo in the village tavern.

In 1937 the parish priest died. The elders of the village debated the question of a worthy successor—and who more suitable than the carpenter, Constantinos Photis? A man universally respected among his fellows for his uprightness and integrity; who knew the intricacies of the Venetian service-books with a familiarity such as could come only from long experience. Polycarp, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, willingly acquiesced in the village's choice of a pastor, and Constantinos Photis, the carpenter, went off one day to Trikkala (after a short stay in a nearby monastery) and returned clad in black gown and *kalymmafchion* as 'Papa Costas'. Back in Palaiochori, life went on much as before. The village priest now wore a cassock of the same indigo homespun in which he had been clad from infancy. There was the same pattern of feast and fast, of eucharist and office; and though an occasional wedding or funeral now broke the regular rhythm of the carpenter's life and the former *psaltes* had a different liturgy to perform on Sundays and holy days, it was one with whose least detail he had long been familiar. The tools in the workshop were not permitted to rust, and the vegetables and the vines, the twenty sheep and the pigs, needed no less attention now that their owner wore a cassock and addressed his wife as *Papadia*.

159 Early in 1941 the Germans poured into Greece. For many months
793 the mountain villages of Pindos, remote from the lines of communica-
648 tion, were scarcely affected by the occupation which, even at that period,
722 brought such acute suffering and privation to the townsfolk and to the villages of the plains. As guerrilla activity became increasingly widespread, however, German and Italian troops were employed in a series of reprisal raids upon the undefended villages lying north and south of a road which connects the Thessalian plain with Epirus by way of the Metsovo pass.

One day early in November, 1943, several hundred soldiers descended

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upon Palaiochori. The people fled to the forest and watched helplessly while the invaders set fire to their homes and slaughtered their animals. When at length they withdrew the whole valley was shrouded in smoke: the incendiaries had done their work only too thoroughly. The church of St. Bessarion—the most prominent building in the village—had been amongst the first to be set on fire. When Papa Costas and a few companions ventured down from the mountainside to make a cautious reconnaissance they found nothing save the blackened walls and a great pile of charred timbers. The school, just below the parish church, was likewise completely gutted, and more than forty of the village's seventy-odd houses were irreparably damaged. The parsonage, a somewhat more substantial edifice than most of its neighbours—a monument to the professional skill of its builder—had resisted the first attempts of the incendiaries, and before the flames had thoroughly obtained a hold Papa Costas and his sons had come scrambling down from amongst the trees, and the building—though badly damaged—was not utterly destroyed. Amongst the smoking ruins of another cottage was found the body of an old woman who had been unable to make good her escape. Every animal in the village had been slaughtered.

After this catastrophe the people of Palaiochori took refuge in Kalambaka—already crammed with refugees from a score of similarly stricken villages—and there, in the shadow of the great rocks, they remained until 1945. In January and February of that year they went back to the village that had become a wilderness. During the first few months after their return home there was tremendous activity at the sawmill and in Papa Costas' workshop. No sooner had a sufficient number of cottages been rendered habitable than the parish priest turned his attention to the church. With the assistance of his elder son and a score of willing if unskilled helpers, the requisite timber was cut and shaped; and soon—though the church was without vestments and Papa Costas had with difficulty been able to procure copies of a few of the most indispensable liturgical books—there was at least a roof to the building and it was no longer necessary for the people to stand for long hours without protection against wind and snow whilst the holy mysteries were celebrated. Then the school was re-roofed, and as summer gave place to autumn the regular pattern of village life began to reassert itself—though Papa Costas no longer had twenty sheep and there were no more than three pack-animals available for the whole community.

But security was short-lived. The following year brought wandering

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VII Constantinos Photis

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159 bands of *andartai* and rumours of terrible deeds wrought in the darkness
793 of long winter nights. In August, 1946, the parish priest of Palaiochori
727 received warning that the Communists planned to murder him as a
669 'traitor'. Papa Costas fled for the second time within less than three years to Kalambaka. There, at the foot of the limestone cliffs crowned by the hermitages of the ascetics of Staghi, he built a little *kalyva*: a wooden cottage consisting of a single room and a large porch.

Before many months had passed, the whole village was back in the comparative security of Kalambaka, and the mountains were given over to the Accursed of God. Papa Costas and his family (all except Leonidas, who had gone off to the wars) settled down in their new house and the younger boy began to attend the overcrowded school. There were many other refugee clergy in the town: not from the diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone but also from many of the villages lying to the north and west of Kalambaka towards the *comopolis* of Grevena.

The second period of exile lasted until October, 1949. As a refugee
[465] priest, Papa Costas was entitled to a monthly stipend of 175,000 dr. (the equivalent of a little more than four pounds sterling) and the usual refugee rations of flour, sugar, etc.; but there was no ground to be tilled, no sheep or goats, no fees from baptisms or weddings to supplement the meagre wages of a 'fourth-class priest'. There was, however, some slight measure of security in Kalambaka, with its garrison and its communications, and Papa Costas' wife and daughter wove gaily coloured rugs, and adorned the little house with lace and tins of basil until any craftsman might have rejoiced in his handiwork.

*

The defeat of the Communists at Florina early in 1949 marked the turning point in the seemingly interminable struggle against an enemy who, when defeated, could always withdraw beyond the northern frontiers of Greece to lick his wounds and build up his strength for another assault. During the summer months the wild region that lies to the westwards of Kalambaka was laboriously combed by units of the Greek army, and in October Papa Costas led the first party of returning refugees back to Palaiochori. His daughter and his younger son remained behind, however, in order that the boy might complete his studies at the high school, and it was in Kalambaka in January, 1950, that we first encountered our country parson.

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793

VIII The phelonion

[facing p. 159]

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THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

He had set out from Palaiochori at half-past two that morning, and with the moon often obscured by clouds and with drifts of snow lying deep in places, it was well past ten before he reached the town. We had taken refuge from the bitter winds that scoured the valley of the Peneios and brought sudden flurries of snow down the pass from the mountains above Metsovo, in one of the dimly lighted taverns that open off the main street, and were deep in conversation with the president and schoolmaster from a village away to the north-eastward of Kalambaka when Papa Costas arrived. We shared a further bottle of ouzo and he invited us to lunch in his cottage. 123 793

He had come down, he told us, to do some shopping, and was off to Trikkala the next morning. He would return to Palaiochori early the following day. Why did we not come with him and see with our own eyes the ruined villages of Pindos? Mitsos—a cousin, we subsequently discovered—would be in Kalambaka with the remaining animals the next evening and there would be mounts to spare if we would come. We were not afraid of *katsapliades*? We fairly jumped at the suggestion —*katsapliades* indeed! I sat down there and then and addressed a hasty note to the Lord Theokletos, Metropolitan of Grevena, which was carried off by Athanasi and put aboard the afternoon bus to Trikkala, informing him that I should be several days later in reaching his diocese on the fringes of Macedonia than I had supposed. We laid our plans for the journey, and the light was failing as we set out to climb to the monastery of St. Stephen where we were expected that evening.

Two days later we left the monastery at daybreak: all the monks were ill, and, since Basil was away in Trikkala, we had ourselves to unbar the massive doors that open on to the encompassing abyss. Forty minutes after leaving St. Stephen we were breaking our fast at Papa Costas' cottage: scraps of pork, bread soaked in oil, cognac and retsina. [262] Our priest-carpenter had brought back from Trikkala a great saw, and a pig to be fattened against the following winter. The pig, despite loud protestations, was tied up in a sack and slung from his owner's saddle: [492]

"He has a splendid voice—we must make a *psaltes* of him when we get him back to Palaiochori."

We led our horses out along the Metsovo road. Papa Costas' niece, Katina, had been staying at the 'town-house' for the festival and was returning with her uncle to Palaiochori. [484] On the outskirts of Kalambaka we overtook a party of homeward-bound refugees, their beasts heavy-laden with bedding and great copper pans. A little way out of the town

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123 we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river
793 Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the
swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and
484 screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river
the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly difficult stretch of terrain.

About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages
[342] and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins. Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened
[262] one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy ridges of Pindos far above us.

123 It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the
793 tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless.
[875] Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa Costas divested himself of his outer *rason*, and, commending ourselves to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a
[262] few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas,
[346] Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

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little church was a melancholy sight: the stone eikonostasis had survived the fire but every trace of woodwork had perished. Our priest-carpenter had just completed two new lecterns for the singers and an episcopal throne: there was plenty of work to be done as soon as Leonidas—who had been discharged from the army with wounds in both hands—was home again and fit to return to his trade. 123 793 [346]

We went on to the school where sixty-four ragged children were huddled round a smoking stove. There had been no teacher in the village between the first and second periods of exile; the schoolmaster, we were told, had disappeared in 1946 and nothing had been heard of him since. Had he gone to the mountains, we asked? Nobody knew—he had disappeared. Kleoniki Zambra, the girl we had met the previous evening, had just been sent to reopen the village school. The windows of the building—roughly re-roofed by the priest and his sons—were blocked with stones and cardboard from packing cases which had contained powdered milk; light was an altogether secondary consideration when warmth was in question. 123 727 872 [793]

"Last Friday", the *didaskalissa* assured us, "it was so cold that the children cried aloud and we were obliged to give up." There seemed to be no books or slates or paper—there was indeed no equipment of any description save for the stove and a few wooden benches—but the school was again performing its liturgy, and the whole village was conscious that an important step had been taken along the road that led back from the anarchy and insecurity of a decade of war towards the halcyon days which none of the children who crowded the schoolhouse that January morning was capable of recalling.

Time and time again as I travelled about the ruined villages of Pindos during that terrible winter of 1949–50 it was brought home to me how essential an element the school constitutes in the pattern of Greek village life. Almost invariably the first thought of the returning refugees, once they had succeeded in improvising some temporary shelter from wind and snow, was for the church and the school. They would rest content with the most wretched living quarters, provided only that the house of God were decently furnished and their children were receiving regular instruction; but a village without a priest and a schoolmaster was a village only in name. [793]

Urquhart arrived in Metsovo astride the sagacious Aristotle, in the summer of the year 1830, to find that mountain township in a state of the utmost panic and alarm: the houses barricaded, the sheep, cattle 727 872

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727 and horses dispersed and hidden among the rocks; the town occupied
872 by the troops of "a Turkish Binbashi". And yet, amidst all this martial activity and excitement the good people of Metsovo were occupied with repairing one of their schools. "It is incredible", comments this traveller, "how ardent and universal among the Greeks is the desire of instruction . . . even in the wildest spots that man has chosen for a habitation or a refuge." The universal destruction of the village schools during the recent troubled years has done nothing to abate this passionate desire for instruction, which may still be reckoned one of the most striking and attractive features of the Greek character.

123 We did not linger long in Palaiochori. Mitsos was returning to
484 Kalambaka for supplies with a train of pack-animals, and before the sun was fairly round to the south side of the parsonage (where the *psaltes* lay late abed, reflecting upon his astonishing deliverance from the perils to which travellers are subject) the horses were saddled and we were ready to depart.

Some four miles down the valley, where the waters of the Aspropo-
[888] tamos divided, lay the cottage of Nicolas Kokoravas—the *geros*, as he was known in the villages round about. An ancient personage with a great reputation for wisdom, it was whispered that he spoke no less than seven languages. We had made the acquaintance of this venerable polyglot the previous evening, and had paused for a few moments outside his dwelling while one of his numerous grandchildren, a fair girl clad in Vlach costume with two children clinging to her voluminous skirts, had brought us apples as we sat astride our beasts, and Papa Costas had scribbled a hasty note addressed to the president of the village of Chrysomelia (an hour's journey to the eastward) to warn him of our impending visit and asking that an escort might be sent to meet us the following day at the cottage of the *geros*.

"Mitsos will leave you at the house of Papa Nicolas, where the waters divide", explained our priest-carpenter; "there you will await the animals from Chrysomelia."

"At what hour will they come?"

"At twelve, without doubt."

The schoolmistress borrowed Boris' camera and took our *eikon* as we perched upon our high wooden saddles. The children peered out at the door and through the chinks in the United Nations' packing cases. Mitsos led the way down the path between the high drifts of snow towards the bleached plane trees and the polished boulders of the

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torrent bed, and we followed while Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood beneath the great tree in the village square and waved farewell: 123 484

"Kalo taxeidi; o Theos mazi sas!"

A good journey; may God go with you.

At dusk we rode into Chrysomelia—a large village lying at 900 metres—after a journey which will long linger in my memory. For the best part of an hour Antony the Zealot (our guide) had questioned me relentlessly as to the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the jurisdiction of the *metropolites* of Canterbury, whilst the mules floundered in deep snow as we climbed laboriously towards the village, the buildings of an abandoned monastery far below among the pines. We had been delayed at the cottage of Papa Nicolas, the *geros*, till it was close on three o'clock. There had been a misunderstanding as to the rendezvous, arising, apparently, from the fact that the curate of the neighbouring hamlet of Aidona was also a Papa Costas.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Antony, and the Zealot was preparing to celebrate his name-day. In a tiny chapel on the outskirts of the shattered village vespers was drawing to a close. The village church, dating from 1580 and dedicated to St. George, was a total ruin. We stayed for the liturgy next morning and all the men and boys of the village accompanied us to church. After a distribution of the blessed bread Papa Athanasius Tsergoulas, the pastor of this mountain flock, took us to see his dwelling—a tiny cell of mud bricks set amidst the ruins of the house which he had built some thirty years earlier—and there we sat around a table in the pale sunlight outside the newly-opened tavern and sipped ouzo with the village elders, while crowds of wild, ragged children played amongst the ruins of the church—there were nearly 300 of them and it was eight years since the school had ceased to perform its liturgy. 727 796 346 [342]

Chrysomelia had been one of the most important villages of this region, with a population of 1,050. It had suffered at the hands of the Germans at the same time as Palaiochori. The people had begun to return in October. Scarcely a house in the whole village had escaped destruction. 727 722

The devastation was no less widespread at the hamlet of Kato Perlangion, where we slept the following night, wrapped in rugs on the 727 346 123

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727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community
[796] gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great, in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
793 He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos*.

346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church: a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a
[211] rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

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About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. [872] The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had 875 just been released from the army. He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the 123 unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. The [793] priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena.

The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one [484] of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the

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123 inhabitants malevolently. As we dismounted outside the cottage of Papa Costas we were greeted by a score of old friends headed by Basil the resourceful, just descended from Aghios Stephanos and bound for Trikkala to negotiate some delicate piece of monkish diplomacy. Papa [252] Costas' daughter and two cousins from Trikkala were bent over their sewing, and a dish of bean soup simmered on the stove.

123 Boris bade us farewell that afternoon and set out for Larissa, whence 513 he would travel southwards the following day to sunny Attica and the populous cities: back to that strange, mad world where men spent their days poring over antique folios and writing solemn dissertations; effeminate creatures who slept at night between linen sheets and pillowed in soft down, clad in ridiculous garments fit only for infidels: not indiscriminately, men and women together, upon the hard earth, snugly rolled in warm rugs beside a roaring fire; a pampered and degenerate race.

123 As the sun went to his rest that evening amongst the snows of Pindos I sat for the last time amidst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi and related the strange and terrible things that we had seen [252] during the past few days, while Father Anthimos boiled some eggs in an empty salmon tin, the stylite cats lurked in the shadows, and old Papa Iannis stroked his venerable beard and murmured an occasional *Kyrie eleison!*

*

793 The country parson of Pindos, writes an early nineteenth-century traveller, displays a truly primitive simplicity. He is at once the director, adviser, friend and companion of those who till the same fields or pursue the same occupations as himself. The unaspiring *papas*, endued, as it were,

> . . . in spite of his ignorance with an evangelical instinct, sympathised with the sorrows and shared in the joys of his people, and abandoning himself to them, made up for any deficiency of ecclesiastical dignity by a fraternal affection which was rendered doubly dear by the misfortunes and misery of those on whom it was bestowed. In the evening, when the labours of the day were finished, the pastor of the mountain assembled with his parishioners at one of their unadorned chapels on the hills. . . . On the festival and the feast, when

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the service of the morning was concluded, he joined with enthusiasm in all their gaiety and rejoicings; he had his seat at their festive board and his place in the evening dance, nor did his hilarity and mirth render him less dear, or less venerated in the eyes of those who had yet to learn that cheerfulness was sin, and that ascetic melancholy alone was suited to the dignified sobriety of Christianity!

Several years have passed since Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood in the village square and waved farewell; the isolated hamlets of northern Pindos have suffered prolonged and untold hardship, for the process of reconstruction and recovery is inevitably a slow one. Occasional letters reveal the continuing scarcity of the bare necessities of life and the unremitting struggle to restore a disrupted economy. At Palaiochori the ground is again under cultivation, Leonidas is back at his bench, and the church of St. Bessarion bears eloquent witness to the skill of the village carpenter and his elder son.

The passage of time has done little to efface the memory of that journey to the silent depths of Pindos: the chapel at Kato Perlangion, the whole community gathered for the evening office, the candles hissing and spluttering as the rain dripped from the roughly patched roof; Papa Athanasius, the parish priest of Chrysomelia with its golden fruit and shattered dwellings, beside the desecrated altar where for a quarter of a century he had pleaded the one perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, a silent multitude of men and boys bare-headed in the snow; Nicolas Kokoravas the many-tongued, like one of the patriarchs of the old dispensation, amongst his children and his children's children in their dilapidated dwelling in the midst of the rushing torrents and the frozen pools; the whitewashed cottage beneath the towering cliffs of Staghi, with its tins of sweet basil and its gay Vlach rugs, a lamp burning in a corner before the eikons of the Lord Christ and His saints; and Papa Costas—village carpenter and minister of the holy and ineffable mysteries—at the head of a winding column of pack animals, threading his way amidst the polished boulders.

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XV

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GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

> The true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their Prelacy and Clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special Messengers and Ministers of Almighty God.
>
> *Canons of* 1604

> The parson's apparel . . . plain but reverend, and clean, without spots, or dust, or smell.
>
> GEORGE HERBERT

361
[439] CAVALLA, the ancient Neapolis, where St. Paul first set foot on European soil, is a flourishing port, the chief centre for exporting the tobacco grown on the rich coastal plains of Thrace and Macedonia east of the river Strymon, the gateway to the Plain of Gold which stretches from the marshes of Philippi to the mountains to the northward of Drama. Great stone warehouses surround the harbour and give an air of solid commercial prosperity to the town, which boasts, moreover, two cinemas, a restaurant with plate-glass windows and chromium fittings, and a remarkable town hall in Hungarian baroque, apart from lesser amenities. Yet the pedestrian who pauses for breath after scrambling up the steps which give access to the metropolis, or who through some narrow break in the line of warehouses gazes out across the busy harbour and the waters of the Aegean, may observe—faint and barely discernible at midday, sharper and more clearly defined at dawn and towards sunset—a distant triangle rising from beyond the sea's rim: Àghion Oros, the holy mountain of Athos, "that is so highe, that the Schadewe of hym rechethe to Lempne, that is an Ile; and it is lxxvi Myle betwene".

[792] [292] Thence, as from another world, come occasional caiques manned by singular bearded figures in black gowns and tall cylindrical caps;

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mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin, the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least, far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping

793 Ministers" down to the simple monk, is substantially identical. It
292 consists of an inner *rason* (corresponding to the western cassock), very
[792] long and with narrow sleeves, often—but not invariably—belted at the waist. This is essentially an undergarment, and this it was that the metropolitan of a Macedonian diocese presumably had in mind when he returned some patterns of heavy black serge, which had been sent to him for inspection, with the comment that the cloth would be most suitable for making "warm winter underwear" for his clergy. Over it is worn a fuller gown with wide sleeves: the outer *rason*. The latter is always of black stuff but the inner *rason* may be of various colours. Purple and dark blue are often favoured by the higher clergy, while in
[792] the monasteries a grey cassock made of very light material is frequently worn. One abbot of my acquaintance (a resourceful and many-sided character) is accustomed to appear on Sundays and holy days decked in the purest crimson—a splendid sight for eyes grown weary of the joylessness of English clerical attire—while on lesser days he wears a fur-lined outer *rason* (if the season be chill) over a cassock of russet. Among a nation of individualists it would indeed be remarkable if
[183] one did not from time to time stumble upon minor sartorial eccentricities on the part of the clergy. These divergences from the norm of unchanging custom are never, however, of so radical a nature as to obscure the ecclesiastical character of their author. In Greece the priest and the monk are marked men, instantly recognisable to all.

793 I have already referred to the distinctive form of headgear in use
792 among the Greek clergy. This is simply a cylinder of stiffened cloth
292 about nine inches in height, most commonly known as the *kalymmafchion*. That worn by the married clergy is *surmounted* by a narrow brim, but the monastic form, sometimes called a *skoupbos*, is brimless. In Greece all the bishops as well as monastic clergy not actually residing in a regular community, wear the former type of *kalymmafchion*. Over this, on formal occasions, a bishop or an archimandrite will wear a long black veil known as the *epanokalymmafchion*. This, however, forms part of the monastic habit, and consequently is never worn by the secular clergy. In the monasteries a soft cap often takes the place of the more formal *kalymmafchion*, though, unlike the Russians, the Greek monks do not venture abroad thus attired. Dr. Covel notes, somewhere in his journals, that on Athos the priests and deacons knit their own caps.

792 An English visitor to the monastery of Megaspelaion in 1829, the
292

GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

milordos Thomas Alcock, comments unfavourably on the attire of the monks: "the want of neatness in the persons of these people", he remarks, "is too conspicuous", a failing our traveller denounces as one of the sure consequences of "an unnatural and unsocial life". Thomas Alcock, it is hardly necessary to add, found the mode of life and habits of Greek monks "little agreeable". "They flatter themselves", he writes, "that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove." Whatever may have been the condition of the monks of Megaspelaion in 1829, certainly to-day the great poverty which afflicts many of the surviving communities is sufficient explanation of some want of neatness in their members. 792 292

The costume which I have thus briefly described, inner and outer *rason* and the appropriate form of *kalymmafchion*, is the customary outdoor dress of the Greek ecclesiastic, regardless of his status or office: of the aspiring archimandrite, in silken gown and with rolled umbrella and brief-case, who hovers discreetly about the chambers of the Holy Synod, as of the village *papas* who labours at his plot of ground, or, with a train of pack-animals picks his way along the boulder-strewn bed of some water-course in trackless Pindos. 793 292 184

Within doors, though the parish priest may put off his tall hat and outer garment, he is seldom to be seen less formally apparelled. And in the mountain villages what more appropriate night-attire for an ecclesiastical person than a thick homespun *rason*: though holy tradition be silent and the Greek country parson abed be subject to no such irksome canonical prohibitions as his brother, tending his flock beneath the vigilant eye of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is strictly charged that in the interests of decency, gravity and order, he shall not wear "any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet". 793 292 [513]

It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed description of the liturgical vestments of the Greek clergy. "It would be impossible", asserts Dr. King, "to give a description of the habits of the clergy . . . to an English reader without the assistance of figures: for as we have none which resemble them so we have no names in our language to express them by." The reader who would learn to distinguish an *epigonation* from an *epitrachelion* or would comprehend the mystical signification of [113]

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793 the stripes of red and white which adorn an episcopal *mandyas* and are
292 called *pomata and potama*, may with great profit refer to the delightful
[113] engravings which illuminate that learned writer's discussion of these matters in his work on *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*.

I will but refer briefly to the vestment known as the *phelonion*, which is of primary importance so far as the ordinary parish church is concerned. It is always worn by the celebrant at the liturgy and in its general appearance somewhat resembles the western cope, being of far more ample cut than the chasuble to which it in fact corresponds.

Dr. Covel (who has some diverting observations on this topic) connects it with the 'cloke' (*phailones*) which the Apostle asks Timothy to bring him from Troas (II Timothy, iv. 13), and with the ancient *penula* which was made in such fashion that "when the Head is put through the Top, all the rest hangs down round on all Sides, sloping like the Top of a round Tower or the Roof of a house . . . *Penula* was worn both by Men and Women in Winter upon their Journeys . . . purely to fence off Rain or cold Winter-like Weather. . . . *Tully* takes notice that it was a *peaceable* Garment (and so much more becoming *St. Paul* and a *Greek* Priest), for he was excuseth *Milo* from being guilty of Murder from having it on: *cum Penula irretitus, when he was wrapt up in his winter Peticoat, what could be less prepared or fit for fighting?* For a man cannot handle a Sword or any Weapon under it, either to assault another or to defend himself." The *phelonion*, he continues, is "something like a Woman's Petticoat, with only a hole at the top to put their Heads through, and the rest of it hangs down round about their thighs to their ankles. It is richly wrought with Gold and Silver; and the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one, though of a meaner making".

So much for the *phelonion*. Of the other vestures worn by the clergy at their various offices I will only observe that in former days every church would normally possess a complete set, while a large urban parish where several clergy might concelebrate on a Sunday or a festival would as a rule be suitably furnished with the appropriate vestments.
[822] The Greek Church has no scheme of liturgical colours: if a church possesses more than one vestment, the best will be brought out on high days without any regard to colour. The *kalymmafchion* is worn in church, as well as forming part of the outdoor attire of the clergy.

[727] To-day, alas, it can no longer be affirmed with any confidence of the *phelonion* that "the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one"—of however

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mean a making—or that the other "Garments and Accoutrements" of the clergy are "very Glorious and different". The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings. 793 292 727

The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred. [648]

During the winter of 1949–50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves. [669]

The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

> In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askue even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various 793 292 186

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degrees, from the Primates and Metropolites down to the lowest Order of Deacons . . . and if we English Churchmen are lookt upon by the Easterlings in this Point, but as Mongrels or half primitive Clergy-men at the best, how odious and abominable must the Calvinists appear to them, when they shall be told . . . that there is no such outward Pomp, or any reverend or decent Garments used in their divine Offices amongst them; their Ministers are not Episcopally ordain'd, and they wear only a common black Cloak and a Coat or Jump.

The Greek Church has never known a vestiarian controversy. The *phelonion*, richly wrought with gold and silver though it be, has never, like the western vestment and the comely surplice, served to kindle polemical ardour. It is evident to all men that the earthly ministers of Christ should be clothed in such apparel as becomes their high calling: to celebrate the divine mysteries in a common black cloak or Calvinistic "jump" would be indecent, a breach of good manners—like going to a formal banquet in one's workaday clothes.

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It is not a little startling to turn from the controversies about vestments and lights and incense which continue to agitate many western Christians, to a church where these things are used quite simply and naturally and without occasioning the slightest comment. The Greek attitude towards the liturgical use of incense does indeed afford a peculiarly striking instance of the dangers awaiting the Frankish controversialist who seeks to bolster up his tottering defences with unwary borrowings from beyond the Adriatic shores. Amongst the Greeks incense is used at every service, from the most elaborate of pontifical liturgies to a simple ceremony such as the blessing of a house. To do otherwise would be thought irreverent: if any custom can claim to be evangelical it is surely this. Did not the Lord God Himself command Moses his servant:

> Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy. And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

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GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

To worship without incense is commonly regarded as one of the innovations of the Catholics. There is a story of an English churchman who was catechised by some Orthodox monks (I fancy that they were Serbs) as to the practice of the *Ecclesia Anglicana.* 782 798 788

"Do you, in your divine worship", they demanded, "invariably offer incense?"

The Englishman confessed that this evangelical custom was not observed at every service within the territories of the Metropolitan of Canterbury.

"Ah!" said the monks, shaking their heads at this irrefutable testimony to the spread of popery: "We knew that you were tainted with Catholicism!"

Let not the western Protestant be dismayed if his refusal to burn incense in his churches is interpreted by the Orthodox not as a sign of his adherence to evangelical tradition but, on the contrary, as a badge of popery. I have always suspected that my Greek friends must find it extraordinarily difficult to enter into the history of the 'ritualistic' controversies of the latter part of the nineteenth century, since the issues at stake are so remote from their own experience. What *can* one make of muddle-headed *barbaroi* who are so perverse as to regard the observance of evangelical customs as evidence of the continuing influence of the Arch-Protestant?

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XVI

EPILOGUE

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

> Thou only art more excellent than all the forests of cedars; whereon hung the Life of the world, whereon Christ triumphed and through death overcame death for evermore.

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AMONGST the miscellaneous papers of Dr. Covel which now repose in the British Museum, there is a letter addressed to the Doctor from "The Coach Office" on December 21st, 1714, by one Humfrey Wanley. Covel—still industriously accumulating "Brick, Stone and Timber" for his book on the state of the Greek Church—had apparently asked this correspondent whether he had ever sounded Arsenius, Metropolitan of Thebais, with whom he had had some association since the latter's arrival in England, about his belief in the matter of transubstantiation.

Mr. Wanley replies, somewhat irritably, to the effect that on the previous Monday he had succeeded in extracting a highly unsatisfactory profession of faith, "craftily worded", from the Metropolitan and his archimandrite. "I told them", he goes on, "I believed it was taken from some book I had heretofore read: They replied it is taken from the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysostome. I told 'em roundly, the Question was not about what Chrysostome or Basil believed, but about what they themselves believed; They answered, They believe as those saints did."

Poor Arsenius! He must have had a trying time of it in this country, what with his constant financial difficulties (rendered all the greater by the necessity of providing for an oddly assorted following that included "Gennadius, a Cypriot and Archimandrite, and Kathegumenos of Alexandria, with four Deacons, an Anagnostes, a Cook and an Interpreter,"—who, says Wanley, "consume all") and his inability to enter into the subtle disputations of the English divines. Nobody seems to have known what to do with these jolly Easterlings; the universities would not be pestered with them and the Bishop of London tried to

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persuade them that they must quickly be gone. "The poor Archbishop", it is related, "cried out like a child when my Lord of London told him he must Depart." Clearly, the Metropolitan of Thebais was no theologian and felt himself quite out of his depth in controversies about the 'grand Dogma'. Nor was it otherwise with the majority of his contemporaries: "From a Native Greek or Easterling", writes Covel, "who never was out of his country, (though he was there a Man of some Dignity) I never could meet with any tolerable reasoning or answer towards the clearing of this point. Many of my acquaintance would avoid any set discourse about these matters, desiring rather to be quiet and not to embarrass themselves about these, *φρικτὰ μυστήρια* (as they called them) dreadfull or hidden mysteries."

For all his want of book-learning, however, the bishop's instincts were sound. In transcribing Chrysostom and Basil ("a copie . . . badly spelt and badly accented", says Humfrey Wanley) rather than hazarding a personal opinion, he and Gennadius were appealing not to the private views of two theologians, but to the common faith of all Orthodox Christians; Chrysostom and Basil did but bear witness to this common tradition.

From the day when darkness fell upon the empire of Constantine down to our own time, the Greek Christian has held fast with remarkable tenacity to the faith committed to his charge. He has, for the most part, been little capable of expounding this faith—certainly not in a manner likely to carry conviction with the western theologian. Nevertheless, throughout the dark night of Turkish dominion he has continued to cling at any rate to the outward forms of sound doctrine, and to live to the best of his power in the liturgical tradition inherited from an earlier and more creative epoch. This was no time for unprofitable speculation and the subtleties of the vanished schools, but for striving to preserve the royal treasure entrusted to his keeping.

Now, in our own day, the faithfulness with which through long centuries of oppression a host of unremembered parish priests and simple Christians held fast the traditions of the fathers is beginning to bear fruit. The Greek theologian, furnished once more with a scientific equipment not inferior to that of his western colleague, is rediscovering the marvellous riches of the incomparable treasure locked away these many centuries, and entering into his proper heritage. Unlike the Russian theologian of the diaspora—upon whom enforced contact with western ways of thought has already acted as a powerful stimulus—the

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795 Greek is as yet only beginning to awake to the full significance of the discovery, and it may well be some years before Athens and Salonica are in a position to make that contribution to the life and thought of Christendom as a whole of which they are potentially capable. Yet from out of the depths of suffering and desolation there has come the rebirth of a Christian nation. The Church of Greece has emerged from her fiery trial purified, and conscious, as perhaps never before, of her mission. What may be the ultimate consequences of such a regeneration none can say: the possibilities are infinite.

*

[214] [794] In June, 1948, on the festival of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece published a stencilled typescript of a draft entitled *Towards a Christian Civilisation*—since issued in book form by the Damascus Press. These pages, as the authors remarked in the original preface to the work, came from a country wherein the agitation, the uncertainty and sometimes the agony of the world had been concentrated; from a land often referred to by her friends as "this unhappy country". And yet, they went on, "we know that our happiness (or unhappiness) depends not on the outcome of external political events, but on whether the Christian and spiritual foundations of our life are firmly established or not". Their voice, they concluded, was not the despairing voice of a nation crying out to the world: *morituri te salutamus*; rather it was that of a people who, even from the depth of their present agony, sought to echo our Lord's words: "If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death." That is the spirit that is abroad in Greece to-day.

795 796 If I were asked for a single picture to epitomise the present state of the Greek Church, I would turn once more to the Macedonian township of Edessa, set amidst streams and cherry orchards on the summit of the cliff that bars the way from Salonica to the frontier metropolis of Florina. In the early hours of the morning of the feast of the Epiphany in the year 1949, while the Metropolitan of Edessa and Pella, the Lord Panteleimon, with his deacon, Father Gabriel, two or three refugee monks, his mother, the boys from the orphanage and a handful of lay people, were singing the long vigil-service in the chapel of the metropolis, this already battered town was attacked by a Communist force. By dawn the place was encircled.

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EPILOGUE

At the accustomed hour (despite the violence of the bombardment) the bells were rung and the Bishop went with his clergy to the ancient basilica, which stands on the very brink of the cliff, and began to celebrate the liturgy. Before the great blessing of the waters was reached, however, the din had become so appalling, the whole fabric of the church shook so violently, that it became necessary to move to the upper part of the town to the church of Saint Demetrius of Thessalonica. Here the service was resumed and at last the moment when the Bishop would plunge the cross into the waters drew near. Standing in the midst of his people and attended by his deacon, the Lord Panteleimon began to recite in a loud voice the Poem of Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Without, the bombardment raged; but above the clamour of the artillery and the rattle of small arms fire the voice of the Saint of Edessa rang out exultant:

To-day the offences of men are washed away in the waters of Jordan;
To-day Paradise is opened to men and the Son of Righteousness has shed on us His light;
To-day the bitter water of the people of Moses becomes most sweet from the presence of the Lord;
To-day are we released from our ancient lamenting, and as a new Israel we find salvation;
To-day are we redeemed from darkness, and illumined by the knowledge of God;
To-day the gloom of the world is done away in the Epiphany of our God. . . .
To-day we have been purchased for the Kingdom of Heaven, for of the Kingdom of the Lord there shall be no end.

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agamos (adj.) unmarried.

agios saint—commonly used of a bishop.

ambon pulpit.

anagnostes reader.

[669] *andartes* insurgent, rebel. Commonly applied to Communists, who were also known as *katsapliades* and *symmoritai*.

antidoron the blessed bread distributed at end of liturgy.

archegos leader, chief.

artos bread.

azymos unleavened bread.

basilissa queen.

caloyer see *kalogeros*.

catholicon principal church of a monastery.

coenobium, koinobion monastery of the common life.

comopolis a large village.

despotes (pl. *despotades*) master—commonly used of a bishop.

didaskalos (f. *didaskalissa*) teacher in a primary school (the first syllable is commonly omitted).

eikonostasis the screen which supports the holy *eikons*.

ekphonesis something pronounced aloud.

eparchia district, province; often used of a diocese.

ephemerios curate, parish priest.

epitropos one to whom a charge is entrusted, a guardian; commonly used of a churchwarden.

estia literally, a hearth or home; *Christianike estia* is the name often given to the headquarters of the Christian movements of a diocese.

geros old man, ancient.

gymnasion secondary school.

hegoumenos abbot, superior of a monastery (f. *hegoumenissa*).

hierarchia the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy

hierokeryx preacher (lit. 'sacred herald').

hieromonachos monk in holy orders.

igoumenos, igoumenissa see *hegoumenos*.

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GLOSSARY

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kakodoxia heterodoxy

kalogeros monk; literally 'good old man'.

'kalos orisete' welcome!

'kalo taxridi' *bon voyage!*

kalymmafrhion clerical hat

kalyva cottage or hut.

kapetanios one who leads (the English 'captain' fails to convey the full meaning of the word).

kathisma in general, a seat or chair. In particular: (*a*) a cell attached to a monastery; (*b*) a division of the psalter—a group of psalms for which one sits down.

katsapliades see *andartes*.

koritsi a young girl.

ktopodi (κτωπόδι) *oktapodi* octopus.

kyrios lord; colloquially Sir, Mr. (f. *kyria*).

latreia worship, service.

lavra a monastery organised somewhat less rigidly than a *coenobium*.

mesochori open space in centre of village.

mesonyktikon the midnight office, mattins.

metanoia, metagnia a prostration.

metousiosis approximate equivalent of transubstantiation.

oikoumene the inhabited world, the Byzantine empire.

orthros the office of the dawn, lauds.

ouzo a white spirit.

paidikos stathmos a sort of day nursery.

paidoupolis institution for children evacuated from dangerous areas during the Communist sedition. [669] [722]

palto overcoat.

Panagia 'The All-holy': the Virgin Mary.

Pantocrator 'He who governs all things': the Almighty.

papadia priest's wife.

papas married priest (pl. *papades*).

paradosis teaching, tradition.

parekklesion chapel.

phakais (φακαίς) lentils.

phrontisterion training school for clergy, seminary.

pneumatikos spiritual father, confessor.

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104 *Prodromos* St. John the Baptist, 'the Forerunner'.

proedros president

proskynesis worship.

prosphora eucharistic loaves.

prothesis the preparation of the elements before the liturgy; the chapel on the north of the church where this takes place.

protosyngellos bishop's chaplain.

psaltes singer, cantor.

retsina resinated wine.

sarka long coat with loose sleeves.

[202] *semandron* a piece of wood (more rarely, of iron) suspended and beaten with a mallet to summon monks to church.

skete dependent monastery.

skouphos monastic cap

symmoritai see *andartes*.

synodikos member of the Holy Synod.

Taxiarchai the Archangels (a common dedication for a church).

Theotokos the Mother of God.

[609] *xenos* stranger *or* guest: there is no distinction in Greek.

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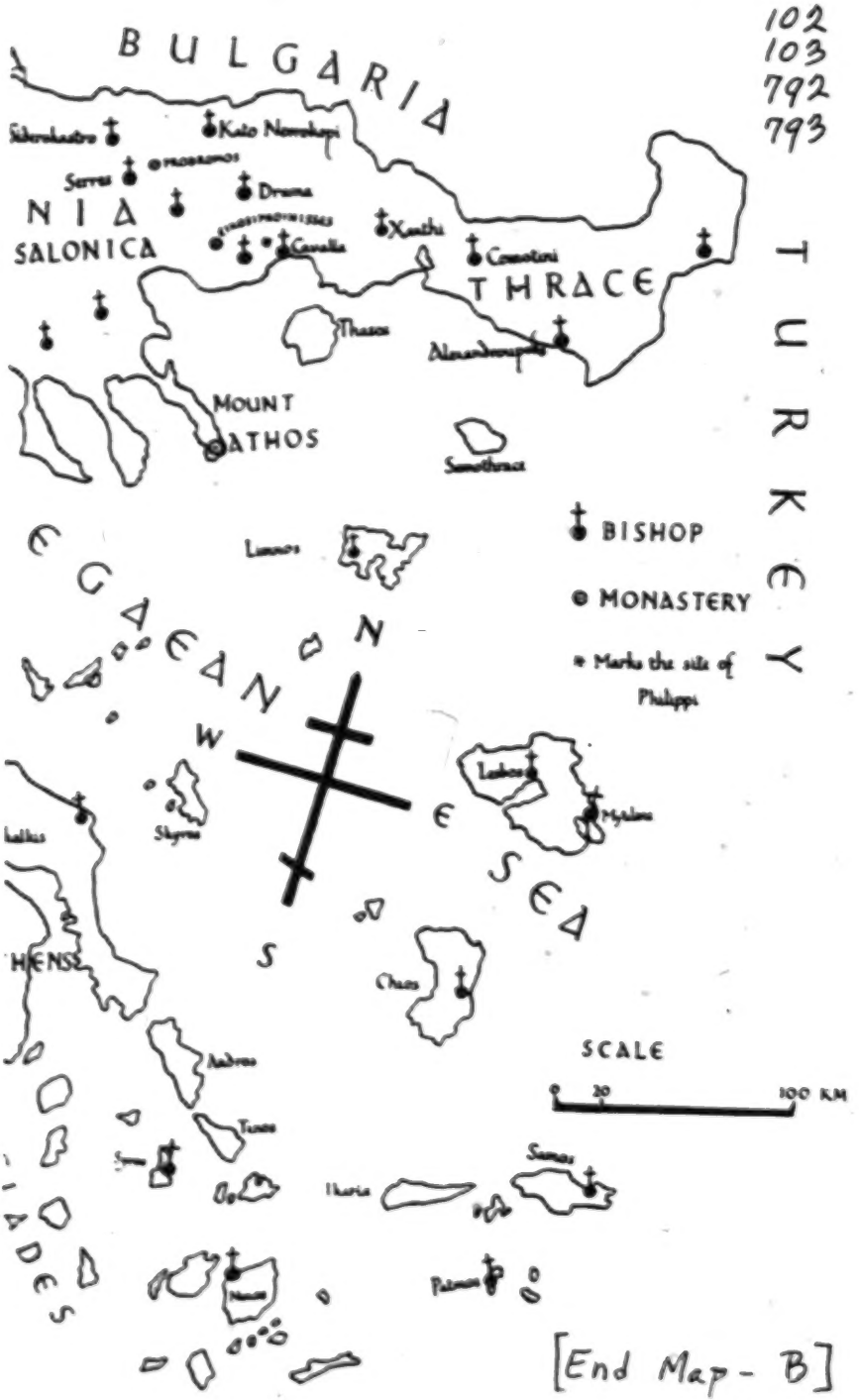

[End Map - B]

archimandrite - a priest-theologian attached to the bishop's household (formerly referred to the superior of a monastery). He may function in one of the following capacities.

deacon - an individual ordained to lead the prayers of the congregation. He usually serves a bishop, may also be in a monastery, but seldom in a parish church.

hierokerys - a priest-monk or lay theologian who is a preacher or "sacred herald."

pneumatikos - a priest-monk authorized to act as a confessor.

171

[For information on similarities in religious beliefs and practices between the eastern (Greek Orthodox) and the western (Roman) churches, see category 116 passim.]

797

[For information on the evangelistic and missionary activities of the Brotherhood of Zoë and other similar movements, see category 794.]

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THE

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GREECE:

AMERICAN AID IN ACTION

1947–1956

BY WILLIAM HARDY McNEILL

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

NEW YORK · 1957

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FOREWORD

In 1946 the Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund focused their attention upon Greece as a crucial area in the developing world tension. That was before the declaration of the "Truman Doctrine" brought American support to replace the traditional British influence; well before Greece became an ally within NATO. A Twentieth Century Fund team visited the country, and *Report on the Greeks* by Frank Smothers, William Hardy McNeill and Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill was published by the Fund in 1948. 121

Eight years later, in the summer of 1956, Mr. McNeill was in a position to revisit Greece. It seemed useful to encourage him to bring up to date the earlier account. The present volume is in the nature of one man's attempt to see objectively but sympathetically the impact of American aid and of western policy upon a people at once variable and tenacious, blending old and new in a pattern uniquely its own.

In the nature of things, the end of the story cannot yet be told. Yet this interim record may help cast needed light. The foreign economic policies of the United States are being tested on a worldwide stage. The villages and towns of Greece provide one corner where experience has been gained – a corner that is by no means the least instructive, nor the least hopeful in its implications.

AUGUST HECKSCHER, *Director*
The Twentieth Century Fund

330 West 42 Street, New York
August 1957

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the willingness of literally hundreds of people in Greece to answer questions and search their records on my behalf, this little book could not have been written. The warmth and extravagant hospitality with which Greeks of every rank and station receive a stranger is, indeed, a source of never ending surprise to one accustomed to the atmosphere of an American city, and I wish hereby to thank all those, both friends and casual acquaintances, who thus contributed to my knowledge and understanding of the Greek scene. 123 [574 609]

More particularly, I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of busy officials of the Greek government who took time to talk with me, and more than once set wheels in motion to provide statistics and other special information I requested of them. In Salonika, Mr. Orphanides of the Agricultural Bank, and in Athens Mr. Leviratos of the Ministry of Coordination and Mr. Liakis of the National Statistical Services were especially helpful. 115

Among the members of the American community in Greece, I am particularly indebted to Mr. Bruce Lansdale, Director of the American Farm School in Salonika, and to Mr. Doggett of the aid mission. Mr. John Enepikides, of the American Embassy, also went far out of his way to help me find information I needed.

I must also gratefully acknowledge the assistance and friendship of Mr. John Skiriotis and Mr. John Boudouroglu, who made it possible for me to participate in the rapid fire of normal Greek conversation by translating my questions and interpreting the answers when I could not keep up with the pace. 124

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122 Finally, the officers and staff of the Twentieth Century Fund contributed wisdom and careful scrutiny as well as money to the enterprise, and have caught at least some of my errors and inconsistencies before it was too late. For this, no less than for the grant that made my trip financially possible, I am the Fund's debtor.

000 Yet while all those whom I have named, as well as many personal friends in Greece whom I feel it best to leave anonymous, certainly helped to bring this book to birth, none of them is in the least responsible for the judgments and opinions I have expressed. Nor is the Twentieth Century Fund, in publishing this book, in any way committed to defend the accuracy of my analysis of Greek affairs. The final decision on matters of substance and emphasis was by necessity my own.

WILLIAM H. MCNEILL

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CHAPTER 1

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Like other countries struggling under the impact of western technology and ideas, contemporary Greece is a land of sharp contrasts. Donkeys with loaded panniers on their backs still jog down the broad avenues of modern Athens oblivious to the stream of automobiles passing them by; and the donkeys' owners daily hawk their wares, with piercing and immemorial cries, to people living in ultra-modern apartment buildings, as well as to others who inhabit the merest hovels, clustered along nar-

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[443]
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177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Simi-
184 larly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peas-
369 ants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain
with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next
[243] field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long,
161 least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost
648 continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

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slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem 563
minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons.

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more 433
than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of 13
Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton 433
and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most im- [439]
portant for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the [241]
cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export.

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one [505]
of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners [651]
are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often re- [464]
cruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of [505]
employment to several thousand Greeks.

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second 648
world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since

648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families com- [162] prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, [463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sit- 275
ting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, some- [275]
thing quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [576]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really pro- [521]
vides the village women with a meeting place where they may [794]
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

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562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else
361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im-
433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages
438 of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads
241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will
433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is
433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be
[464] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains
[166] often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

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[Village Life]

Hence a sort of symbiosis was established. A large proportion 361
of the able-bodied men of the hill villages descended each year 464
to the plains and worked in the fields of the Turkish landown- 166
ers, then returned to their homes with wages, either in money 433
or in kind, with which to supplement the produce of the tiny fields they had been able to carve from the mountain valleys and slopes around their homes.

Some of the hill villages developed occupational specialties,[1] 361
sending most of their able-bodied men each year to labor as 438
masons or carpenters wherever work was to be found. Groups 464
of villagers sometimes walked as much as a hundred miles to 166
and from the scene of this sort of seasonal employment. Other 433
villages developed what might be called industrial specialties – lime burning, rug weaving, wood carving and the like – and peddled their products far and wide during the summer season. One village even developed an international trade in specially dyed red wool and cloth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, stationing agents in such cities as Vienna, Constantinople and Leipzig. The origins of the modern Greek mer- [505]
chant marine were similar, for sailors were easily recruited among peasant boys of the islands and coasts, who sought seasonal employment to supplement what could be produced on the family farm.

Another pattern of migration should be mentioned, up into the higher mountain slopes rather than down to the plains. Each summer herds of sheep and goats were sent to pasture on the high ground, where vegetation stayed green through the summer drought, and then returned to lower altitudes when the snows fell. Quite a few hill villages specialized in sheepherding, accompanying their own sheep, and sometimes sheep entrusted to them by others as well, on this annual round.

As long as the hill villages lay between two relatively unpop- 361
ulated geographic regions – the plains beneath and the peaks 166
464
433

1 [During Turkish times - ANALYST]

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361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
433 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

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large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets. 361 166 464 178 433

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture. 167 464 178 433 [191]

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of [648]

[Village Life]

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[701] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially
[625] road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

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[Village Life]

When the second world war came, followed by Italian and German occupation and drastic derangement of the national economy, the situation of the hill villages became truly desperate. Starvation visited many of them. 433 731

Famine in time of war was age-old; and the response of the hillsmen of Greece also had very ancient precedent behind it, for they took gun in hand, and attempted to seize forcibly what they could no longer gain peaceably from the plains. They formed the backbone of the wartime ~~resistance forces~~, and justified their violence by patriotism, quite in the spirit their forefathers had shown in attacking the Turks. Yet the resistance movement was not merely a reassertion of old patterns. Its leadership was mainly provided by Communists, who in earlier years had been a small and not very significant group, largely confined to the towns.[1] [579] 726 669 433 [668]

In the wartime resistance movement the inhabitants of the hill villages found a sort of economic relief, inasmuch as the guerrilla bands lived by raiding the plains, taking by force a part of the agricultural surplus of those regions in order to feed themselves. A young man, without any real occupation in his native village, and without any hope of a career at home which could satisfy even the traditionally low level of expectation among the hillsmen, could, by joining a guerrilla band, hope to feed himself and relieve his family of the burden of his presence. In addition, he could become a hero, fighting for freedom and liberty, social justice and a better life for all.

For most peasant boys, the ulterior aims of their Communist leaders meant little or nothing. Indeed, the Communists were at very considerable pains to play down any plans they had for social revolution, and welcomed persons of widely differing social views into the ranks of the resistance. This was, of course, 669

1. There were a number of non-Communist resistance bands also, but most of them did not last long, and the successful ones were confined to Epirus, in the northwest.

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669 thoroughly in harmony with the "popular front" tactics inculcated by international Communist policy. When British inter-
[648] vention in 1944 prevented the resistance forces from seizing power in Greece, the rank and file of those who had supported the Communists during the war had little reason to distrust their leaders, since the Communists had not had time or opportunity to carry through the revolution they hoped for.

669 As a result, when in 1946 international Communist policy
433 again mobilized the energies of the Greek Communist party to begin a new guerrilla war, Communist organizers found little difficulty in winning the sympathy and support of the same social groups that had participated in the wartime resistance movement. The hill villages were prepared to send their young men into the guerrilla ranks for the same reasons as before. Liberation had not brought prosperity, and without prosperity in the cities and plains, life in the hills was very hard. Hence the Communists found it easy to create guerrilla bands in all the mountainous regions of the country.

In the most obvious sense, both of these recent guerrilla movements failed. Their leaders were killed or driven from the country, and the government remained in other hands. Yet in
[208] another sense, it must be recognized that the imprint of the two guerrilla enterprises upon the attitudes of the hill villages of Greece has been deep, and seems likely to last a long time.

Basically, what the Communists achieved was to convince nearly everyone in the villages that the traditional way of living was no longer even to be wished for and striven after. Instead, they held out fascinating and quite unrealizable dreams of bathtubs and electric refrigerators for all. Or rather, they held this out as an ultimate goal, and offered in the more immediate future a life of activity, violence and dedication — a life that at least seemed to have significance and purpose and hope. These were just what the average young man or woman

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in the hill villages (and in only slightly less degree the other young people of Greece also) lacked, yet desperately needed in order to confront the daily hardships and disappointments of private life. Here, I think, lay and continues to lie the secret of Communist influence in Greece. It was not so much the ultimate vision of wealth and ease and justice – Greek peasants are quite sophisticated enough to distrust such glittering baubles – but the mobilization of energies in the here and now to form a purposeful movement, surcharged with hope and optimism, that attracted the allegiance of so many restless young people. 669 433

At the least it seems correct to say that the guerrilla movements, with their attendant propaganda and real life experiences, created a population more or less chronically open to fresh revolutionary winds, from whatever direction they may blow. Even when jobs on roads and other sorts of construction opened up again in the 1950's, so that something resembling the old symbiosis of hill and plains could be resumed, the changed attitudes among the hillsmen remained quite obvious. Greece will have, for some considerable time to come, a substantial group of its population that is peculiarly receptive to movements of political dissent or outright revolution. [208] [668]

The real, physical problems presented by too many mouths and too little land have not been solved, and cannot be solved quickly by anything short of wholesale depopulation. But the tradition-bound attitudes which once made this precarious life seem inevitable, even if not right, have been profoundly eroded. Clearly, this is a dangerous and potentially explosive situation. What happens in the hill villages is likely to constitute the critical factor in the future political history of Greece.

The situation in the plains was different. Guerrilla bands seemed suspiciously like robbers, or at best like tax collectors, to the peasants of the plains villages from whom they demanded food. Comparatively few young men left such villages to join

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669 the guerrillas, even in the south, where landless families existed
433 in many plains communities. The hard times that drove the hillsmen from home, gun in hand, impelled the plainsmen to stay home where there was food. More recently, the revival and improvement of agriculture naturally proceeded furthest and fastest in regions where the soil was reasonably fertile and abundant. Hence, the plains villagers have been able to achieve far better results than the hillsmen from technical and marketing changes. They have property and social status to defend, and know quite enough about Communist agrarian policy in neighboring countries to distrust beguiling words from Communist lips.

The farmers of the plains are therefore not revolutionary, even though they may grumble about present hardship, and envy others better off than themselves. They have seen quite enough of the violence and suffering which revolutions, or attempted revolutions, involve. The hillsmen, too, have suffered, and do not love violence for its own sake. But, unless I am much mistaken, they remain potential revolutionaries.

Town Life

369 Just as the combine and the sickle join in uneasy partnership
184 to harvest the wheat fields of Greece, so also in the towns an age-old style of life is set side by side with a few completely up-to-date factories and the most modern urban amenities. The juxtaposition in an urban context is no less awkward than in the country.

443 Particularly in the north, where Turkish times are still within
369 living memory, in towns like Jannina or Kozani, one can see streets where artisans pursue their trades in little shops just as their predecessors have done for centuries. The old medieval principle still holds, whereby shops dealing in the same goods

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cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silver- 443
smiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The 369
market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a promi- [493]
nent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars.

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different 512
from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, al- 369
most with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, [461]
the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops [513]
or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talk- [584]
ing and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise.

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621 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of
369 the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns
[513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is
517 also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly
275 always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any busi-
[435] ness at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and
464 semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from vil-
166 lages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement
[434] the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his
[602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

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Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

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369 437 609 [571] Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 463 555 871 461 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong. [178]

471 554 461 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

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To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 461 302 as public proof of their privileged status.

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more [366] typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very [441] likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and [465] hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to [466] work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit 472 character of Greek families. The members of a family group are 602 ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and 466 can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

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602 against the clamorous demands of deserving relatives who badly need a job.

466 The strong egalitarian spirit that runs through Greek life
557 works in a somewhat parallel fashion to undermine the effi-
476 ciency of large concerns. When every man feels himself just as good as everybody else, personal loyalty to a superior in a bureaucratic organization is difficult to establish. A bold spirit is sorely tempted to launch some sort of petty intrigue against his immediate boss, in the hope of displacing him and perhaps inheriting the position. More cautious persons are prone to develop a false servility and flattery of their superiors, in the hope
[609] of winning special confidence and favor. Both attitudes interfere with the effectiveness of large-scale organization; and both arise in large part from the underlying distrust Greeks feel toward anyone outside the sacred circle of the family.

Observations such as these are, of course, impressionistic, and it is not difficult to find many exceptions to the rule. Yet no one can deny that petty intrigue, nepotism and a remarkably ruthless pursuit of individual self-interest are far more widespread in Greece than in more industrially advanced countries. Indeed, these psychological characteristics of the Greek people perhaps have much to do with the relatively backward state of their technology, quite apart from the financial and physical difficulties which also hinder the development of large-scale modern industry in the country. Modern technology is, after all, incompatible with small-scale family enterprise; cooperation of larger numbers of men is necessary, and the traditions of the Greek people make such cooperation difficult to achieve.

This psychological attitude clearly makes the position of wage and salary earners less satisfactory than it might otherwise be. Anyone who has had any contact with the fierce intrigue that often disfigures personal relations among a group of Greek employees is likely to wonder how men can endure such ten-

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sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

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565 generosity and kindliness did something to redeem the balance,
578 but were comparatively rare. The wealthy classes did not, as a
669 rule, show much sign of social conscience or sense of obligation to the poor. Once again, the solidarity and exclusiveness of family sentiment interfered with larger loyalties and sympathies. The result was that antagonism between rich and poor broke out into the open during the war years, and has never since ceased to trouble the political stability of the country.

458 Economic conditions have been acting, for at least fifteen
465 years, to sharpen this feeling. Since 1941 Greece has experi-
578 enced a series of monetary inflations that raised prices, sometimes rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but always faster than adjustments were made in wage and salary scales. As prices outran wages, workingmen faced a series of crises, the more serious because their wage rates were low to begin with. Adjustments of wages, when they came, relieved the problem only temporarily until continuing inflation once again robbed the currency of part of its purchasing power.

The economic plight of white-collar employees was nearly the same as that of manual workingmen, for they, too, had to live on an income that regularly lagged behind the price level.
[554] Moreover, the fact that such persons had gone to school, and therefore felt they had a rightful claim to superior social status, did not make it easier for them to face a life of poverty. The fierce struggle to win a place in the government civil service was only matched by the chronic discontent of those who had succeeded in getting government jobs and then found that they could scarcely live on their salaries.

578 Fortunately for the political stability of the country, wage
669 earners and salaried classes are a minority in Greece. This is no more than a corollary of the small size and family character of
[565] most Greek economic undertakings. Nevertheless, if one adds the hillsmen of the countryside as a third more or less chroni-

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cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping 578
of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present- 669
day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of [178]
the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

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The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the bal- 669
ance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of [703]
the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Com- 669
munist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by finan- 648
cial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was 433

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669 sure that aid would come, or if it came that it would arrive soon
648 enough and in large enough quantity to turn the tide. Yet for-
493 eign aid was clearly needed if the Communist guerrillas were to be stopped. Without it, the government could scarcely hope to maintain its army for long. More than that, the fabric of the civil economy could not stand by itself, especially when guerrilla raids and road mines made transport and communication unsafe.

727 Apart from the military and diplomatic aspects, there was
648 another and more fundamental sense in which the morale of the government and of the conservative classes was damaged. The general ideas and presuppositions of the non-Communist politicians and their supporters were badly shaken by the course of events in the immediate postwar period. Their general assumption had been that once the Germans had withdrawn and a transition period of special emergency had been passed through, then the society and economy of Greece would return of themselves to something like stability and the prewar pattern. Yet now the Germans had departed, UNRRA had come and gone (save for a small rear guard), and still there was no stability and no security. Far less was there any prospect of prosperity.

The upheaval of the war years had in fact been too drastic to permit any automatic return to normal. But the political lead-
[661] ers of the country, all of whom had grown up in a world where government economic policy and administration were conceived in terms of doing favors for one's friends and withholding them from one's opponents, had no idea how to cope with the disturbed and unhappy society entrusted to their guidance. No idea, that is, except to ask for help from Britain or the United States.

[665] The politicians could scarcely be accused of not having done their part to bring things back to normal. During the brief res-

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pite between the time when British troops had suppressed the wartime guerrilla army in December 1944, and the resumption of the guerrilla war in the summer of 1946, the politicians resumed the prewar game of politics with an exemplary faithfulness to old customs and methods. Two of the principal figures of Greek politics, Sophocles Venizelos and Constantine Tsaldaris, carried family names that had been illustrious in the twenties and thirties, and owed their leadership more to their names than to any personal attributes. Quarrels between royalists and republicans, which dated back to the first world war, remained the principal line of demarcation between rival groups of politicians; and demands for territorial expansion at the expense of the defeated powers – primarily Bulgaria – remained a major stock-in-trade of political oratory, and the best antidote the political leaders could find for the discontent and unrest of the nation. This, after all, had been the dominant theme in the career of the great Eleftherios Venizelos, who had almost doubled Greek territory between 1912 and 1919, and even for a dizzy moment seemed to have the old Byzantine capital of Constantinople within his grasp. And how could any politician hope to improve on Venizelist models?

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Fame and fortune had always been the stuff and substance of a political career; special favors to friends and supporters had always been the means by which power was sustained; parties had always been fragile coalitions of ambitious public men who combined for a longer or shorter time under the leadership of one of their number, only to scatter and re-form in some new constellation when the restless striving for place and position dictated a change.

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To be sure, even before the war, extensive social legislation had been enacted, and the idea that the government was somehow responsible for maintaining the welfare of the population at large was not unknown. But such measures were conceived

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727 primarily as electoral maneuvers, aimed to win votes, rather
661 than as aspects of any general social policy. A managed econ-
433 omy, or even a semi-managed economy, in which government decisions influenced the flow and volume of investment, regulated the supply of money, and adjusted the share of the national income to be enjoyed by different groups in the population was scarcely within the purview of the old-style politicians. Once again, this was not because the government had not intervened repeatedly and with telling effect in the economic life of the country. It had, but usually in the spirit of helping political or personal friends and thwarting foes.

Yet in spite of the faithful and unimaginative efforts of the political cosmos (the name Greeks give to the small number of men who play leading roles in political life) to return to a comfortable prewar pattern of behavior, the country ungratefully failed to follow suit. The times remained desperately out of joint, but knowing no way to set them right, the conservative politicians and their supporters were in a quandary. Their morale was destroyed by the lack of any clearly defined and firmly felt purpose and program, quite as much as by the diplomatic and material difficulties they confronted. Among the men of the right, apathy and hopelessness alternated with sporadic anti-Communist and extra-legal violence; but neither the one nor the other seemed to do anything but make the situation worse.

665 The Greek Communist party was not without its own internal
727 difficulties, but by comparison with the old-style politicians the Communists had tremendous advantages. First and foremost, they commanded a disciplined, enthusiastic and energetic body of committed followers, men who could be counted upon to follow instructions and who were willing to undergo personal hardship in the service of their dream for the future. Beyond this, the Communists enjoyed the sympathy or admiration of a

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considerable proportion of the population, especially among 665
the workmen of the towns and the peasants of the hill villages. 727
No one can say how large this group was, but to estimate it at about 20 per cent of the nation's total population is a reasonable guess.

Another important asset of the Communists was their wartime record as leaders of resistance against the Germans and [726] Italians. They could plausibly paint themselves as true champions of Greek national freedom and of democracy, while accusing their opponents of betraying the interests of the nation first to the Axis and then to the British. To be both a patriot and a Communist sympathizer did not therefore seem incompatible.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the Communists did have a more or less definite program of action and knew what they wanted. They were able to explain the continued distress of the country as a natural result of the creeping crisis of capitalism. They had a ready cure at hand in the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, as a preliminary to planned industrial expansion, on the Russian model. To many Communist followers, no doubt, the program meant little more than an angry intention to take from the rich and give to the poor, i.e., to themselves, all the good things which had selfishly and unjustly been withheld from them. Others, more sophisticated, realized that there would inevitably be a long period of time when suffering and poverty still would prevail, but believed that in the long run the dream of abundance for all could be realized, if the government planned economic activity and compelled sufficient investment. And no matter what the degree of economic understanding among their followers, the Communists had the advantage of offering the distressed and confused a cause to which to dedicate themselves, an enemy against

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665 whom to fight, and a hope for the future. None of the old-line
727 political parties or leaders could do any of these things nearly so effectively.

665 Only the inner circle of the Greek Communist party was di-
669 rectly affected by the very real fissure between what may be called "home grown" and "Russian" Communists. The rank and file of party members and sympathizers were perhaps scarcely aware of any such tensions, and accepted without any special notice the transfer of authority over the Greek Communist party from the hands of George Siantos, who had led it during the war years, to those of Nicholas Zachariades, who had spent the war in a German concentration camp. Yet this shift, accomplished in May 1945, represented the assertion of control by leaders trained and directed by Moscow, as against the more independent "home grown" leadership which Siantos had embodied.

In any case, this fissure was only of potential importance. If Russian policy should diverge seriously from lines acceptable to "home grown" Communists, then the factions in the Greek Communist party might be expected to come into the open. So long as no such divergence appeared – and in 1946 and 1947 it did not – the only consequence was to elevate some persons to positions of authority in the party and to blight the careers of others who had thrown in their lot with the defeated side.

665 Hence, in 1946 and 1947 the advantages enjoyed by the Greek
669 Communist party in competition with its rivals were actual, its
648 weaknesses only potential. This was true not only within the
727 country, but internationally as well. The Communist countries to the north began actively assisting the Greek Communist bands, sending arms and ammunition, allowing hard-pressed units to find refuge across the border, and providing hospital and other services to them as far as geographical difficulties permitted. On the other hand, British military and economic

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support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, 665
and it was not yet clear that American support would be forth- 669
coming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not 648
strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, 727
while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their 669
opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine 647
of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure [648]
this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in [666]
1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and 647
occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to ex- 661
cessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, [634]
the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

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647 tions with higher authority, promote their own careers, and
661 enjoy the amenities of Athenian existence. But in the meantime much that should have been done remained undone.

Senior officials and ministers were harrassed by incredible numbers of papers requiring their signature or countersignature; they were harrassed even more by the crowds of petitioners who stood outside every door and not infrequently pushed their way inside to watch for a chance to seize the great man's attention. Subordinates, on the other hand, seldom would or could take any initiative themselves, but referred everything to higher authority, where the papers added to the jam at the top.

185 Perhaps the greatest weakness of the whole system was that
727 officialdom shared the intellectual and technical deficiencies of
647 the politicians. In the general confusion and pressure of daily
433 business, no one had time or opportunity to try to think in long terms, measure the economic and other needs of the country, and attempt to establish some sort of priority among them, so that a beginning, however modest, could be made toward repairing some of the disbalances and defects of Greek society. Perhaps the magnitude of the problems and the sheer inadequacy of Greek resources to cope with most of them made such calculations impracticable. But it was also true that the officials of the Greek government were not accustomed to thinking in such terms, and tended to assume that problems of this nature should be left to solve themselves by the spontaneous action of private citizens, within the framework of traditional patterns of living. In proportion as the physical and psychological basis of such a traditional framework had been destroyed by the war, this assumption was no longer valid; but few, indeed, in the turmoil of the civil administration realized this fact, and fewer were ready, intellectually or morally, to try to move into the gaps thus created in the social structure, and attempt to put the scattered fragments back into some sort of working order.

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Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

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government. Unassisted, they would certainly not have been able to do anything effective to overcome the Communist menace.

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To sum up: The nature of Greek society and the shortcomings of the Greek government, together with the constellation of international relations in 1946 and 1947, made Communist revolution possible, indeed probable. But the injection of a massive new force, United States aid, changed the direction of events and prevented that consummation. The activity of the American aid missions will therefore be the subject of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 3

THE VILLAGES

Since most of the people of Greece still live in villages, peasant life constitutes something of a base level for Greek society. Pressure of population is felt first and most acutely in the villages. Peasant boys from land-hungry villages are driven to seek a livelihood in the towns, thus creating a pool of unskilled but eager labor which deeply affects the conditions of life among the urban working classes. Moreover, agricultural products are the country's major items of export. What happens in the villages therefore fixes limits upon the general prosperity and social stability of the entire national community. It follows that the best criterion by which to measure the impact of Amer-

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369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
*178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
[433] 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
[423] surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
x [178] tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
x 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

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communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

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622 As one would expect in any small community whose members
624 are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to
[702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group
[653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central govern-
[651] ment. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improve-
631 ments requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal mini-
652 mum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not
654 altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of gov-
x178 ernment representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent per-
[609] suasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

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crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community. 621 654 178x

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today. 361 [132] [133] [243]

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress. [487] [356] [712]

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the 361 423 [712] 000

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423 sons or grandsons of men who once tilled the Turk's lands for
427 him on a sharecropping basis. They stayed behind when the
[621] Turk departed, and in due course fell heir to his land.

These changes did not happen all at once. When the Turkish landowner left he sold his rights to a wealthy Greek who lived in Larissa. The new landlord continued the old arrangements, with the difference that he was an absentee. Early in the twentieth century, however, widespread peasant unrest manifested itself in Thessaly, and in 1912 a law of expropriation was passed
[425] against the large landowners. But it was not until 1920 that the effect of this law was felt in Lofiscos. In that year government surveyors and officials carried out a general distribution of the estate. Every male resident of the village nineteen years old or over was given possession of 137 stremmata of land (34¼ acres). In addition, 15 stremmata (3¾ acres) were assigned to each male member of a community of semi-migratory shepherds who had immemorially used these lands for winter pasture, paying a fee to the owner for the privilege of grazing their sheep on the stubble left after the grain harvest. A thousand stremmata (250 acres) remained in the possession of the absentee land-
[621] owner. The rest of the land was left as common pasture. Much of it was unsuited to cultivation because of flooding in the spring; and in any case 137 stremmata was about all the land a single family could easily cultivate with the tools then available to them.

423 The land settlement of 1920 remained essentially unchanged thereafter. Many of the men who received their farms at that time are still alive; five families had moved into the village by 1956, but no one had moved away. The five newcomers owned no land at all, but worked for the established farmers of the village or, more often, on the big estate of the absentee owner. (Incidentally, this estate survived in 1956 as a working unit in spite of the land law of 1952 which forbade ownership of more

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than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know. 621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never 621 178x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

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621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

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While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 [453] [435] [654]

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

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If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

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x178 241 433 life in Lofiscos dates only from 1952, it cannot be surprising to find that as yet little has altered outwardly. But since the village has been attuned to a market economy for generations, and since changes that increase income without involving more than the normal risks of farming meet with little resistance in the village, it seems entirely probable that in the future more and more substantial changes will come to Lofiscos. In 1956 there was still much that could be done to increase the intensity of farming and to enlarge the cash income of the farmers. Well [312] irrigation is easy, because the water table lies close to the surface; and with such irrigation, a wide variety of hitherto untried crops will become possible: vegetables, fruit, fodder, in addition to cotton. The basis for a highly productive and diversified farming may thus appear in a relatively short period of time. Moreover, it would not be difficult or very expensive to build drainage works in the portion of the village lands that flood each spring, thus bringing some or all of that land into cultivation.

Two obstacles stand in the path of any such program of development in Lofiscos. One is the general inertia and conservatism of the farmers, who will have to learn a good deal about new crops and farming methods, and may also find themselves working a good deal more steadily through the year than was necessary when nearly all their land was still in wheat. Yet the means and incentive to overcome this difficulty both seemed to be present in 1956. Agricultural extension agents and the Agricultural Bank stand ready to give expert advice and instruction; and some of the farmers of Losfiscos have shown an eagerness to enrich themselves thereby.

The second problem is more complicated. If the farmers begin to exploit the possibilities of their land more fully, the village will very soon find itself short of labor, for the existing inhabitants are too few to attend to all the chores of high farming

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on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains.

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters.

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423 The land now occupied by the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori
425 was owned by a Turkish landlord until 1912, and worked by a group of Turkish peasants. These were harried from the land when the Greek army came north in the first Balkan war of 1912. Thereupon, some of the inhabitants of Eleftherohori, together with a large group from another similar hill village, called Katophigi, simply squatted on the vacant land. They apportioned the booty on a first-come, first-served basis, effective title depending on tillage of particular fields. Since there was plenty of land for everyone, this provoked no difficulty.

The situation was radically changed and legally stabilized in 1927 when government authorities surveyed and redistributed
[166] village property. The Greek government was then engaged in settling as many as possible of the refugees who had come from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923 on land vacated by Turks; but it was not deemed politic to drive the squatters entirely away from what they had seized. Consequently, an estimate of the fertility of the soil was made in order to determine the smallest allotment on which a single family could subsist. In Nea Eleftherohori, the allotment was fixed at 27 stremmata, i.e., 6¾ acres. To permit as many refugees as possible to find land, it was further decided that lots would be assigned only to heads of families, not, as had been done earlier in Lofiscos, to every man, married or single.

As far as the squatters, or "old settlers," were concerned, these policies did not usually involve much loss. To be sure, their holdings were reassigned and particular pieces of land changed hands, but possession was so recent that this in itself did not rouse serious resentment. Moreover, few families failed
x [178] to get as much land as they had previously occupied. When it became known that only heads of families could qualify for an allotment, all the boys of marriageable age, even if only seventeen or eighteen years old, hastened to find themselves wives,

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and thus made good a claim for 27 stremmata. The original squatters' rights had been apportioned on the basis of the amount of land actually tilled by a given family, and as a man or a boy could scarcely cultivate more than about 27 stremmata single-handed with the sort of equipment they had, the old families received about as much land as they had had before. The difference was that the sons escaped from parental control earlier than they would otherwise have done, since title to their share of the land was now vested individually, not, as traditionally, in the parental family as a whole. 423 425 178x

The squatters of 1912 had not occupied all the cultivable land. When they had all received their lots, therefore, almost an equal number of refugees, mostly from the Caucasus area, were settled on the remainder. The two groups stood more or less apart, especially at the beginning. Many of the customs of the Caucasus people seemed wild and barbarous to the old settlers. But because the old settlers felt little or no sense of grievance, and because each family was very nearly on a level of economic equality, with 27 stremmata apiece, the fissure between the two groups was not great. Nevertheless, the houses of the old settlers are still separated by about one hundred yards from those occupied by the refugees, so that the village is physically divided into two quite distinct parts. 621 167 [423] [563]

In 1932 a supplementary land distribution took place, giving families with more than four members an additional 5 stremmata; in 1937 a further adjustment was made when forty-three families removed to a newly drained area in the valley of the Aliakmon River, and left their allotments behind, to be reassigned in chunks of 5 stremmata to the larger families of Nea Eleftherohori. No further official changes have since been made, but the natural processes of death and inheritance have resulted in the splitting up of a few of the allotments into smaller farms, while in some cases formerly separate allotments have been 423 425

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423 combined into one holding. The great majority of the families
425 of the village, however, still occupied 27 or 32 stremmata in 1956, and most of the original holders of the allotments were still alive.

x 178 The land settlement in Nea Eleftherohori differed from that
621 in Lofiscos in two respects. First, the farms in Nea Eleftherohori were less than one fifth as large as in Lofiscos. Second, the new
241 settlers, uprooted from their former homes, whether up the
433 mountain or in distant Asia Minor, left binding customary ways of life behind them, and started off in Nea Eleftherohori without the automatic conservatism and suspicion of innovation typical until very recently of the families of Lofiscos. These differences acted together to make the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori a good deal more willing to try new crops and methods, even before the war, than those in the older Thessalian community. Life on so little land was difficult at best, and anything that promised to bring in a little more seemed worth trying; and when the problems of farming the land were new in any event, there was far less psychological resistance against trying some further innovation.

621 Another contrast with Lofiscos, a contrast perhaps related
163 to the general shake-up of old customary routines which came to the inhabitants of Nea Eleftherohori between 1912 and 1923,
433 is that the new settlers proceeded to procreate children at a far greater rate than occurs in Lofiscos, where families are mostly quite small.[2]

2. It would be very interesting to know why the prosperous peasants of Lofiscos have fewer children than their much poorer fellows in Nea Eleftherohori, but I do not know Lofiscos well enough to hazard an opinion. Can it be that the general market orientation of their agriculture and the habit of calculating in monetary terms leads them to restrict the number of their children deliberately, in some fashion or other, realizing that to divide the family farm among many children spells impoverishment for

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The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most 428
families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to 423
present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in 621
still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it 669
lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands con- 578
trolled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that 621
village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the 163
wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. 433
Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, consequent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the difference, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some [563]
recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land distributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original [656]
justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

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therohori and plundered an UNRRA storehouse which had been set up there. This was bad enough from the point of view of the villagers; but what was far more awkward was the fact that sentiment was seriously divided within the village itself. Approximately half the population sympathized more or less completely with the guerrillas, and in 1947–48 about twenty young men and women from the village fought in their ranks. Only three of them returned. In 1947, when I first visited Nea Eleftherohori, the atmosphere was exceedingly tense. No one was quite sure of his neighbor, and no one was sure whether the government or the guerrillas would win in the end. Armed men patrolled the village at night on behalf of the government, and felt free to pay disconcerting calls upon families known or believed to be sympathetic with the guerrillas. Fifteen persons were arrested by the nearby gendarmes after the raid of 1947, and one of them was executed; the rest returned only after two and a half years of detention. The general mood of the village at that time was one of fear and frustration. No one could see any solution to the difficulties of the present, still less those of the future. What could the young boys do who were not needed at home? With no land available in the village, and no jobs obtainable in town, the situation seemed nearly hopeless.

By 1956 the outlook had changed. First of all, the political division within the village had healed over, leaving almost no trace. The renewed solidarity of village feeling dated from 1950, when the president and council of the community – who, as appointees of the Ministry of Interior, were of course leading anti-Communists – asked the local police to release two of the village boys who had returned from serving with the guerrillas and had been arrested on general suspicion. The police acted favorably upon this request, and allowed their prisoners to go free without further punishment. This affair, which showed a degree of magnanimity on the part of the anti-Communist lead-

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ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [241]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising mar- [434]
ket crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

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By 1956 "everybody"

×178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
×178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Elefthero-
[435] hori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

×178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Elefthero-
[245] hori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[452] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricultural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

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strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the 178x
early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor 241
over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long [464]
seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-
centered type of agriculture.

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Elef- [433]
therohori is to say that during the past five or six years com-
mercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsist-
ence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very 178x
great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabit- 511
ants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has 356
been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-re- [291]
specting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has
been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean
and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, [351]
and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine
trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors.

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception [563]
to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress
perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as
careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not
really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has
probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy mem-
bers of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their
homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done.

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the 178x
desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the 511
world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. 582
One very important consequence is the postponement of mar-

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*178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured,
511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow
582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it.
[583] In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 stremmata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300 gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fifteen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in
[589] the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good many men and women in their thirties and some in their early forties remain unmarried.

*178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refu-
582 gees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and
583 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes
[563] marry young and before the new family has any assured means
[626] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irresponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of social pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

[168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth. Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position; or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster of having too many mouths to feed.

163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom-
168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births
621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

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in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never 163
exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have de- 168
clined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of 621
the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic [162] distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people 178x
of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circum- 873
stances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys 464
pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that [647] so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gymnasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as [647] capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gymnasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of 178x
marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 582
583

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x178 of older peasant customs. The dowry has always been a part of
582 marriage customs in Greece, but it used to be relatively small
583 and easily within the means of the average family. Moreover, not to marry off one's daughters at a rather early age – before twenty-two or so – was regarded as a disgrace. It was felt that something must be wrong, either with the girl or with her parents; that she was running a grave risk of immorality and consequent loss of reputation; and that the parents were delinquent in their duty if they failed to marry her off in the bloom of her youth. Because the new customs run contrary to these older attitudes, a very special tension exists among the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori. They feel it is wrong that their young people cannot marry when they should; they feel even more strongly that marriages must wait until the means of livelihood are assured. This requires the new dowry and land inheritance pattern. But no one is happy with the way the system has worked out, particularly the young people themselves, who see a long and dreary time of waiting ahead before they can hope to start families of their own.

x178 This discontent is compounded by the feeling, which seems
369 very strong in the village, that people in the towns have the best of everything: less work, more income; less boredom, more excitement. City standards of dress and manners have made extraordinary inroads in recent years, and aspiration toward a more comfortable and less laborious life is very strong.

x178 Consequently, although by economic criteria the village is
621 very much better off than before, and although the political
669 tensions within the village have sunk back into insignificance, discontent is much alive and near the surface. It no longer takes
433 political form as it did during and immediately after the war, when the Communists appealed to, and found a response among, many of the young people. As long as the majority of families in the village continue to see a path by which they

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may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be 1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This [166]
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village

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621 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill
166 villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

245 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become
439 prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devaluation of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good.
[436]

241 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing
474 largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in
433 the community, the two cooperatives which were organized
x 178 before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

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lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money. 241 474 433 178* [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war. 178* 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in 178* [457] [265] [346] [365]

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365 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, perhaps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, [425] supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. [427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several 423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained 428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would 476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth 464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others, either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the in- 465 troduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with [427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

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higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

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621 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
x178 seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by — a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian
[433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family
[571] can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
x178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For
[582] them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is
165 evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimina-
[744] tion of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

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Particularly fortunate conditions in Old Corinth – tourism, irrigation, the proximity to the Athens market, and the effective leadership of the village president – have permitted the villagers to maintain their old family customs almost unchanged, and in spite of the rapid growth of population which such customs entail, they have not had to sacrifice their standard of living. Instead, living conditions have improved, with electricity, tractors and the like. 178x 621 511

This is a situation very rare in Greece. It makes Old Corinth the happiest village I visited, a community at peace with itself and with the world, mildly surprised by the prosperity that has descended upon it, and generally well content with the way things are going. The contrast is strong with the internal condition of the village in 1947, when, like Nea Eleftherohori, the community was sharply divided between left and right. In 1947, indeed, the bitterness between the two political parties was far deeper than in Nea Eleftherohori, for in Old Corinth the political lines were drawn, more or less exactly, between farmers and landless men, that is, between buyers and sellers of labor. Two particularly squalid "political" murders occurred within the village in the last days of the German occupation; and the Communist-inspired regime, which lasted for a few months in 1944, aroused strong revulsion among the substantial farmers. These memories now seem almost forgotten, though the sense of solidarity between rich and poor in Old Corinth is by no means so strong as the community feeling among the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori, where everybody is nearly equal economically. 621 578 565 [669]

The inequalities in landholding, and the existence of a fairly numerous landless class in the village, certainly constitute a potential source of trouble. If currant and tomato prices should fall, or if more migrants from the hills should come to the village and push wages down by competing for jobs in the fields, the existing harmony and general satisfaction could easily

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621 break down. The more elaborate social stratification and intri-
578 cate economic integration which the development from simple
565 village into small town involves carries with it a special vulnerability: vulnerability to fluctuations in distant markets, and vulnerability to social stresses within the community itself. This is perhaps the price Old Corinth has to pay for its remarkable economic progress in recent years.

x178 This progress may remind us that there is another sense in
621 which the social structure of Old Corinth shows itself far more
556 flexible and hospitable to innovation than the other villages described. For while family and marriage customs have not undergone important modification, the occupational patterns of the community have shown important changes; and in at least one instance a landless and once very poor man has risen to a position of wealth and importance by becoming a successful merchant. Old Corinth has given far more scope to individual and cooperative enterprise than either Lofiscos or Nea Eleftherohori. Yet this development, too, is in line with old Greek tradition. The self-made man, particularly the self-made merchant or storekeeper, rising to wealth and respectability by virtue of his mother wit and shrewdness in buying and selling, has been a prominent figure in Greek society for at least two centuries; and it has always been the marginal man in the village social hierarchy – the man who has had no land to keep him busy – who has naturally gravitated to such occupations when opportunity has opened. Innovation in Old Corinth has thus taken traditional forms.

x178 Since 1912, rural Greece has been fundamentally divided be-
184 tween villages like Old Corinth, which can look back to genera-
423 tions of substantially undisturbed evolution, and those villages
621 where within recent memory radical governmental intervention entirely transformed earlier landholding patterns. The division is geographical. In Old Greece, meaning Greece within the

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boundaries that existed before 1881, village life has not suffered drastic upheaval since 1821, if then. Changes have come slowly and by evolution. The case is far otherwise in New Greece – Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus and Thrace. There the violent elimination of Turkish landlords and peasants through war was followed by governmental creation of egalitarian peasant communities. This amounted to an agrarian revolution from above, in some cases fully satisfying the peasants – as in Lofiscos – but often failing to do so, as in Nea Eleftherohori. 178* 184 423 621

The slower evolution of village life in Old Greece has meant, at least until the present, the preservation of a fairly firm cake of custom, governing the daily lives of the inhabitants. In this respect, Old Corinth is quite typical. Consequently, in spite of the contrast between rich peasant and landless laborer, the social stratification within these peasant communities has not bred so many revolutionists as have been bred by the hardships of life in an equality of poverty, characteristic of many villages in the north. Conservatism, royalism, traditionalism have all centered in the south; while radicalism, republicanism, restlessness and revolution have found their strongest expression in the north. 178* 184 621 669 [565]

Yet while these generalizations are true, I must hasten to add that the villages of the plains never were the main centers of political revolt. Too many had too much to lose in such communities. Rather it was in the hill villages, where life was harder and the prospect of maintaining a given standard of life was dimmer, that revolution found its most congenial ground. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, if not before, this has been the really vulnerable point in Greek society, the source of major disturbance and of recurrent civil violence. In the hills, even more than in the plains, the future stability or instability of Greek society is likely to be decided in time to come, as it has in times past. Let us therefore leave the plains and turn to the hills.

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KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not [191] more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

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ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends [463]
meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and 333
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [464]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construction – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

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000 722 511 who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out [669] [457] four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their [262] [164] sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to [263] undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

669 722 621 161 Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and dras- [162] tic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of 669 728 621 161 population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

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rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and 669
twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and 728
only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of 621
them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and 161
Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead.

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left [842] childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age?

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has 621
been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside 161
world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto 167
and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. 457
The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage.

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in 727
the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been 621
through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly re- 511
laxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. [457] The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, for example.

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727 62 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of young men dressed in homespun.

[571] [657] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today [491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] [233] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn almost the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The [492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 241 233 [242] The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

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corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. 178x To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow. 241 233

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. 669 Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There 621 is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of [241] time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and [517] talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek [619] nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise.

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence 621 of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication 178x among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We 197 are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained [669] that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the vil- [191] lage speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the [619]

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621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a [197] degree of kinship.

[619] Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there [631] from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-[727] fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 The real question for the future is whether or not the village 161 will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale x 178 that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving population is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children be-[728] tween the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five [885] couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

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community where very early marriages have been the rule, a woman of thirty or thirty-five is already old.) Between 1952 and 1956 there were only four marriages in the village, twelve births, sixteen deaths. Under the circumstances, it seems certain that the population will decrease still further in the immediate future. 621 161 178 [885]

Yet even four or five families could turn out to be quite enough to repopulate the village, if the old patterns of early marriage and numerous children prevail. Indeed, the close blood relationships of all the villagers suggests that in times past the community may well have contained only a handful of families from whom hundreds (or, counting those overseas, thousands) in due course descended. Thanks to the depopulation brought by the guerrilla war, the traditional life of Kotta has become easy once again, and if the young people accept the old ways, and do not allow the glitter of urban life overseas, reflected in the letters and money orders sent back by friends and relatives, to change their outlook, then it seems fairly certain that within a decade or less the depopulation of the village will come to a halt, and rapid growth in numbers will begin once more. If so, after something like thirty or forty years Kotta will probably be back in the impossible position of 1947.

This cycle is, I believe, the key to much Balkan history. The peasant family system was adjusted, from age-old antiquity, to supply large numbers of children, most of whom died from violence or disease before attaining adulthood. With the more or less effective pacification of the countryside in the last couple of centuries, together with the elimination of some epidemic diseases and the control of others, this age-old balance was thrown out of kilter, so that the peasant population began (as early as the mid-eighteenth century) to run far ahead of the development of resources that might sustain it. 175 161 669

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175 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords
669 of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Un-
619 til 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such
161 warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopula-
433 tion – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

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limits of the hill valleys. In times past, Balkan hillsmen then had to seek sustenance from the plains, either by peaceful labor or by armed forays. 621 161 433

As far as Kotta and villages like it are concerned, it now seems to me an open question whether the old cycle will repeat itself again or whether new standards of expectation and conduct will make sufficient inroads upon the traditional peasant family system to check early marriage and rapid multiplication of numbers. Through overseas emigration, the modern city has made its mark on Kotta. All but a few young people want to leave, and many have done so. At the same time, the handful who remain appear to be conforming to the old ways. Perhaps the critical turn will come as their children grow up; for if the rising generation elects to look beyond the confines of the village – and if the possibilities of migration, either within Greece or overseas, exist – then, perhaps, as the population of the village begins to press once again upon the limits of local production, the young people may decline to continue the old, economically suicidal pattern, and will instead seek their fortunes far afield, and refuse to marry into hopeless poverty at home. It depends more than anything else, perhaps, upon the degree of communication that may come to exist between the outside world and the villagers. In 1956 these contacts were limited. Newspapers came seldom; vehicles rarely. But the village did possess a radio that brought daily news from Athens; and emigrants' letters were perhaps the most important of all the channels of contact with the great world beyond the valley in which Kotta nestles. 621 161 167 [20]

Survivors of the older generation – those who have lost their children to the guerrillas – seem to have no doubts or reservations in wishing to see more and more children about again. The priest complained of how empty and joyless the village was without the throngs of children he knew before. He deeply 621 161 842

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621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

*178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

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led to this change. One was the rise of Volos as an important urban center, requiring charcoal as fuel for cooking and for heating houses. To supply the rising demand, the villagers of Cherasia began cutting off the forests of Mount Pelion with a new energy. A second factor was the growth of population in Cherasia itself. As more families appeared, sheep could not support them all, because the pastures could not be readily extended. So the people fell back on exploitation of the forests.

This "ancient" history is mostly speculation. I was not able to get any clear account of their distant past from the men of the village. What they did know was that in 1905 three families had secured title to 100 stremmata (25 acres) of land apiece in the little valley that spreads out below the site of their winter quarters at the foot of the mountain. At that time, very likely, the free villagers of the mountain saw little or no attraction in the toilsome life of a farmer, and preferred to keep to their ancient shepherd's way of life, supplemented by woodcutting and charcoal burning.

[423]
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About the time of the first world war, things changed. As the population continued to grow, sheep and charcoal no longer sufficed to provide a satisfactory living for the members of the community. Many of them began to clear little patches of rocky mountainside in the hope of raising a crop or two on the land. Their tenure was legally recognized by a governmental survey made in 1922, which assigned to each family title to the patches its members had cleared and cultivated in preceding years. During the interwar period the pressure to find supplementary means of livelihood through agriculture continued to mount. In 1938, village authorities parceled out 500 stremmata of what had been common pasture to private family ownership. No further property changes had occurred in the village up to 1956.

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The brute fact remains, however, that fields cleared from mountain slopes are miserable agricultural land. These produce

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x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
565 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
578 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecrop-
427 ping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

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178x households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423 also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565 The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578 these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 427 hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [302] village. [142]

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 178x Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 233 241 plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 433 the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 565 part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even 578 today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [579] Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. [461] The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461] spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

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x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
433 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

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the village joined the resistance during the occupation period; 726
but my guess is that practically every able-bodied man took 669
part at some time or other in guerrilla actions, even though
some of the villagers remained ostensibly civilian. A conse- [727]
quence was that in 1943 a German expedition burnt all the
houses of the upper village and made it uninhabitable. The people of Cherasia, fortunately, saw them coming and had time to escape over the mountain.

The "liberation" of Greece in 1944 brought no liberation to 669
Cherasia. Quite the contrary, it interfered with the process by [579]
which armed men from the village had been able during the
occupation to get grain and other goods from the plains. Consequently, when three men appeared on Mount Pelion in 1946 and summoned the young men of the village to take arms again, the response was immediate. When I visited the village in 1947, a guerrilla band, some thirty strong, was encamped in the ruins of the upper village. A detachment descended each evening to gather supplies from the inhabitants of the lower village and from other villages out in the plain. Most of the members of the band were sons of families living in lower Cherasia, although the leaders of the band came from elsewhere.

During the day, the Greek army, from a strong point in a neighboring plains village, took possession of Cherasia. Each morning a patrol of soldiers came to the village and demanded to know who had been collaborating with the guerrillas; each evening the guerrillas came down from the mountain and demanded to know who had been helping the soldiers. Under the circumstances, life was difficult, to say the least. The army sometimes beat those suspected of sympathizing with the guer-
rillas. In addition, irregular rightist bands visited the commu- [727]
nity several times and indulged in greater violence, killing several people and burning down seven houses. The guerrillas,

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669 722 [727] too, burned some houses, including those belonging to the three "rich" families of the community. These had fled to Volos, together with some other families from the village. The people who remained were inclined to support the guerrillas. The guerrillas,

About two weeks after my visit in 1947, the army evacuated all the remaining inhabitants of Cherasia to Volos. There they remained in refugee quarters for two and a half years. The last guerrilla band disappeared from Mount Pelion only in 1950, some six months after the main guerrilla army in the north had retreated across the Albanian frontier. It was therefore late in 1950 before the inhabitants of Cherasia were allowed – or compelled – to return to their village.

727 653 [657] [233] Government authorities were, however, well aware of the difficulties that confronted the community. The returned refugees were given every help to re-establish themselves. They received, gratis, 238 sheep to serve as a nucleus for their flock, as well as materials for the reconstruction of their houses, most of which had suffered damage. Officials issued seed and implements as well. A comprehensive work relief program was set up; for about two years after their return, the men of Cherasia received wages for working on projects that directly benefited their community. In this fashion the new road over the mountain was built – shortening the way to Volos by nearly half. [346] [312] Similarly, new and very handsome school and church buildings were constructed; and pipes from the spring in the upper village brought fresh water into lower Cherasia for the first time. This was vital if the population was to remain in the lower village the year around, since water had previously been unavailable there in summer. Another side of the government policy was to give no help toward reconstruction of the village of upper Cherasia – perched, as it was, high on the mountain beyond the reach of roads. No doubt the authorities in this fashion hoped to tie the villagers to the accessible lower village, and

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thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

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*178 829 669 241 various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hopefully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but because the villagers failed to look after them.

433 Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land – the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

*178 829 669 433 313 656 Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a forest preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical – pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

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badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land. 178x 829 669 433 313 656 [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death. 669 722 657 178x

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five 217 166 727

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217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names registered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people offi-
[745] cially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers reckon that their own local production supplies food for only
[432] two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of
[844] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

162 worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as 217 against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the 621 village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that 178* is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until 582 the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young [589] man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the 621 officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, 666 represented the extreme right. The president and secretary 669 were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble 565 in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to 578 use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed
727 dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very
[669] poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1948–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the
[653] poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

621 433 animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought [366] their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, [438] where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five [491] miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-[258] pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which em-[464] ployed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the sea-[388] son. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed [258] down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had [491] been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. [438] Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a de-621 crease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabit-669 ants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were 722 insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the [161] village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kala-[162] mata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kardamili
[Hill Villages]

commands a premium price in Athens and elsewhere, the use of fertilizer becomes a somewhat dubious economic advantage. The fact is, I believe, that the age-old adjustment of traditional peasant agriculture in the olive-growing regions of Greece is very nearly perfect. Certainly every scrap of potential soil is used in Kardamili, and the peasants know very well how to care for their trees. Except for chemical sprays that discourage a number of insect pests damaging to the crop, scientific agriculture has not yet devised any very important improvement upon traditional peasant methods of olive culture. But sprays were known in Kardamili before the war, and their use was resumed as soon as the chemicals became available.

In 1956 the village launched a project for bringing water down the mountain. An interest-free government loan made the enterprise possible; but, even when completed, the water pipes will not supply more than household needs, leaving a little over, perhaps, for watering gardens. Shortage of water has been the long-standing problem of the community. There was scarcely enough to drink when I was there, and each glassful was treated as something precious, since the women of the village had to carry it in jars from a trickling spring half a mile away.

Yet in spite of the stability of agricultural methods, the social system of the village, to all appearances, is beginning to change, more or less as the social system of Nea Eleftherohori is changing. For one thing, the villagers have begun to place great hopes in education, seeing in it a means of escaping from the land. Fifteen boys from the village were enrolled in the gymnasium in Kalamata in 1956, a quite considerable number in view of the fact that they had to live away from home, and thus had to meet expenses far greater than those confronting the boys from Nea Eleftherohori. In Kardamili itself, there is a school that teaches the first two years of the standard four-year gymnasium course. This school had eighty students, five more than

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from 178x
neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I 621
was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of 873
gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea 178x
Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry 582
system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming 583
in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease 621
in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no 161
more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any [744]
change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The [582]
more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone 178x
much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I 166
was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have 369
gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left behind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are prepared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

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178x
433

come by indirection: that is, by opening opportunities for work in the plains and in the towns even more rapidly than the hill populations increase their numbers. If emigration from the hills reaches a sufficient magnitude, there is a chance that standards of life and expectation derived from urban milieux will penetrate into the hills themselves, and lead the peasants there to change their customs and to regulate their reproduction to an economic standard. But until a lively possibility of attaining or defending such a standard of living begins to open, one cannot expect the hillsmen to abandon old customs which have been deeply bred into them from earliest childhood. In other words, only when self-discipline, parsimony, effort and foresight seem to promise a definitely better life than anything these people now know can changes be expected in the old-fashioned family customs. The difficulty is that the old-fashioned, rough-and-ready – one is tempted to say the natural or automatic – demographic balance has been upset by the comparative efficiency of modern government, and by medical science. Until compensatory adjustments in birth rates have occurred, the result is to create a serious and potentially explosive problem.

It is possible to imagine a time, some twenty or thirty years from now, when a more or less regular pattern of internal migration may establish itself in Greece. Perhaps some day young men from the hills, descending to the plain, may begin as day laborers and in time acquire land, by marriage or by purchase, while the plains villagers restrict their reproduction and send increasing numbers of their sons into town to pursue service or industrial occupations. Or perhaps the more mobile hillsmen may shortcut such a process, and send their sons directly into town occupations, largely bypassing the plains villages as an outlet for their numbers. But as yet only the rudiments of any such migratory pattern can be detected. There still remain, at every level, far too many men who are looking for work or for

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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*178 more work; and only the unusually lucky or energetic can clear
433 the barriers between the paternal village and a wider, freer, more satisfying career elsewhere.

The future of Greece might well be thought of as a race between the natural increase of the hill villages and the capacity of plain and town to absorb men into new productive occupations. The future development of the towns and cities will obviously play a major role in deciding how the race comes out. Accordingly, the next chapter will be devoted to some remarks about conditions in the towns.

[pp. 49-195 not processed]

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[P. 176]

CHAPTER 5

PUBLIC LIFE

Public Administration

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A leading official of the American economic mission in Greece said to me, when I asked about the efficiency of Greek administration: "We got absolutely nowhere trying to improve the civil service. It's the same as ever; but then, if all those people were not drawing government salaries, they would be on relief, so perhaps it doesn't make very much difference." The young man had been in Greece for a little more than a year, and during that time it was perhaps true that no very perceptible changes had come to the Greek administrative machine. Over a longer pe-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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riod, however, important changes have taken place. In particular, a group of comparatively youthful economists and statisticians have risen to key posts in many of the ministries, and are able to advise their superiors in the light of a type of professional training and in accordance with intellectual concepts which ten years ago were noticeably absent from the policy-making levels of the Greek civil service. Even if the execution of official policy is not always effective, ideas of what government ought to do and can do and how to go about doing it have undergone radical change.

Politicians and civil servants of the immediate postwar period in Greece grew up in a time when society and the economy were expected to run themselves, subject only to sporadic official interference. The painful inadequacy of this outlook became apparent in 1947, when the emergency relief and reconstruction undertaken by UNRRA began to taper off before the economy had been restored to running order. In this situation, the Greek government lacked ideas as much as the means with which to try to cope with the problems confronting the country. All too clearly, automatic restoration to something like the prewar social and economic pattern was out of the question. Planning and massive organization of effort by government agencies were still needed if serious collapse was to be avoided.

The American aid mission, to be sure, stepped into the gap created by the withdrawal of the British and of UNRRA, and attempted far more energetically than its predecessors to educate Greek administrative personnel to new ways of thinking. Even before 1947, foreigners — mostly American and British — had insisted on making plans for the development of the Greek economy, and a small number of Greeks had been drawn into the attempt. Yet by and large, it was the foreigners who made plans, and the Greeks were consulted afterward. This remained more or less the case until 1950 or 1951; but in propor-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 tion as the Americans reduced the scale of their economic aid
177 after 1952 and withdrew from detailed supervision of the minis-
[433] tries, the task of making plans was transferred to Greek hands.
[178] Some senior Greek civil servants, veterans from 1945 and 1946, welcomed the new scope and authority thus entrusted to them; but in the main the men who inherited the new role were not the same persons who ten or even five years before had occupied leading positions in the Greek civil service. Between 1947 and 1952, when American advisers were introduced into nearly all Greek ministries, these impatient foreigners were able to play a major part in determining promotions and key personnel assignments within the ministries. Many a young American economist found himself at first dealing with men much older than himself, men whose ideas often had little relation to those he had imbibed during graduate training in some American university. This regularly led to serious friction, for senior Greek officials were not much inclined to go to school to cocksure youths scarcely more than half their own age. But bright young men could be found in the lower ranks of the civil service who either already shared the concepts of their American counterparts or quickly acquired some familiarity with them. Many such men were sent to the United States for additional technical training, or visited Washington to observe American administrative methods at first hand.

These persons naturally seemed to the Americans to be just the type to run things; and the voice of an American adviser was sufficiently powerful to secure rapid advancement for men he favored. In this fashion a new generation of officials came rapidly to the fore within the Greek ministries, while many of their former superiors were shunted off to unimportant posts or else retired.

647 By 1956, therefore, the economic ministries of the Greek civil
433 service were sprinkled with men of a quite new type, some-
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times of high ability and energy, many of them well at home in the language of post-Keynesian economics. A national statistical service was organized to provide them with data for their calculations; and innumerable plans and surveys were made, priorities agreed upon, and projects for future expansion worked out in varying degrees of detail. 647 433 178

Two aims dominated most of the planning of these men. One was to improve the country's balance of payments, partly by producing goods domestically that had hitherto been imported, and partly by developing new exports (especially minerals) or enlarging old ones. The second general aim was to expand employment. Military considerations figured only indirectly in their calculations, and helping political and personal friends or penalizing opponents played almost no role at all. This was a great departure, for in the prewar years, whatever economic planning the Greek government had undertaken was heavily colored by these calculations, and paid little attention to broader aims which were assumed to be beyond deliberate manipulation. [661]

Conversations with representatives of this rising group of civil servants gave me the impression that they were more buoyantly optimistic about the future of Greece than the American economists in the aid mission. Greek economic planners were not much inclined to worry about inflation and disbalanced government budgets: they wanted to see new dams, irrigation canals, factories and mines, and felt that if inflation was the easiest way to finance the internal costs of such construction, then inflation was preferable to standing still and waiting until private savings or a government surplus was on hand to pay for the new investment. I also gained the impression that they felt themselves embarked upon a new adventure: striving for conscious management of the direction and pace of economic growth on a nation-wide basis. Moreover, they found

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 the game of manipulating the levers from behind the scenes a
433 fascinating and entirely absorbing enterprise – advising minis-
178 ters, talking back to the Americans, and, as they hoped, saving their country from age-old poverty and hopelessness.

Whether their optimism was well founded, and whether or not the priorities the Greeks have decided upon are the best, seem to me a good deal less important than the fact that such a spirit was abroad at all. Mistakes have been made, and will almost surely be made in the future; but the great mistake which paralyzed the government of Greece in the first postwar years – the mistake of not knowing what to do, of having no policy but one of inaction, of waiting for things to pick up by themselves – this mistake at least will not be made as long as the new generation of civil servants remains as a leaven in the economic ministries, and ministers accept their advice. This is a great change from 1945 or 1946, one for which the American economic mission can take a major share of the credit.

647 The transformation of the upper ranges of the bureaucracy
178 in the central ministries in Athens was only faintly reflected in the lower ranks in 1956. In general, a petty official sitting behind his desk continued to exhibit a displeasing servility toward his superiors (at least to their faces) and a corresponding hauteur in dealing with mere members of the public. The besetting weakness of Greek administration has been the unwillingness of superiors to delegate much responsibility to their subordinates, and this feature seemed as strong as ever. Busywork, created by passing papers over a long series of desks for approval or initialing, up and again down the hierarchy of rank, was a feature of many government offices, so much so that it was hard not to believe that official routings had been designed to keep a lot of people occupied rather than to get decisions made. It was this feature of Greek administration that the

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American economist of the aid mission had in mind when he declared that nothing had changed in the civil service. 178

In dealing with the public, Greek civil servants often gave a most unfavorable impression. Aside from the airs they assumed as representatives of authority and power, they frequently seemed not in the least concerned to help an individual solve a problem or attain something to which he was legally entitled. Instead, petty details of paper work – making application with all the correct verbiage on sheets of paper of the right size for easy filing, and so on – these were what seemed to matter; and I felt, more than once, that when an official found some flaw in the papers submitted to him, he took a certain pleasure in rejecting them and ordering the applicant to return some other time with the red tape properly tinted. 647 661

Correctness in details of this sort did, of course, assist in making clerical routine easy, but this was not, I feel sure, the compelling motive. Rather, insistence upon jots and tittles protected a subordinate from criticism by his superior, and at the same time gave him a satisfying sense of his own power as against the public.

On the other hand, when an important man – that is, someone with connections higher up – came along, he claimed and received very special treatment. He was privileged to follow his papers into the inner sanctums of senior officials, thus making sure that prompt action was taken on them. Obstacles were smoothed over and procedural rules were sometimes suspended for a man with influential friends. Foreigners often, though not always, were given the same sort of red-carpet treatment, and were accorded privileges and deference withheld from ordinary Greeks. 647 662 [609]

When a private person had business with a government agency, he would first try to find someone who knew someone

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647 in the office concerned, in order to open a door for prompt and
662 courteous service by means of private communication. As a result, a comparatively small number of persons whose social position or family connections gave them an inside track enjoyed a great advantage in dealings with officialdom, while the poor and friendless could hardly regard the government machine as anything but an obstacle between themselves and their legal rights.

647 The idea that officials should be public servants rather than
661 public masters has never been firmly rooted in modern Greece. Byzantine and Turkish tradition, transformed according to Bavarian and then German models, shaped the civil service; and the fact that educated persons regard themselves as elevated far above their ignorant fellows has reinforced and perpetuated the old dichotomy between official and subject.

647 It must be said that the fault has not lain entirely with the
661 civil servants. The ordinary private citizen in Greece is prone
662 to look upon the government as his natural enemy – a group of men who are out to tax him and interfere with what he wants to do. It follows that almost any device to foil the agents of the government is considered legitimate – deceit, lying, bribery or just the exertion of "influence." Indeed, almost all Greeks entertain a kind of admiration for a man who is clever or bold or lucky enough to get around the law and the bureaucracy. Sense of duty to public authorities and laws has never been very strong in the country. More than most nations, the Greeks remain anarchists and individualists at heart; and rather high-handed methods, together with rigid punctiliousness in matters of red tape, is a natural and perhaps almost inevitable official response to such public attitudes.

647 A few segments of the bureaucracy, however, were making
663 serious efforts to serve the public. The most conspicuous of
177 these were the agricultural extension agents, whose contacts
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with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly 647
effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the 663
American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for [177]
American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the [654]
agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another [657]
branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced 178
highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the re- 631
invigoration of local government. During the war and after- 621
ward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed 647
through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elec- 666
tions were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Che- 621
rasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 631
1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Che- 178
rasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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621 631 178 a distinguished man in any company. Authority seemed to rest as naturally upon his shoulders as the callouses rested upon his palms. This easy relation between village officers and the people of their community had definitely not been characteristic in 1947.

621 631 652 Local government in Greece was suffering, however, from a chronic and serious handicap. Local authorities lacked funds, and could seldom do anything beyond routine administration without borrowing from some agency of the central government.[1] The result of this situation was to extend greatly the real authority and influence of the central government over local affairs. Village and municipal authorities spent a great deal of time waiting in the anterooms of officials of the central government in the hope of securing money with which to carry through some local improvement.

621 651 652 178 631 Villages had always depended on the Agricultural Bank or on one of the central ministries for finding money for any important project; cities and towns until 1949 had financed their local expenditures mainly through excise duties imposed upon goods brought into the municipality. Before that year, long lines of peasant carts, waiting their turn at municipal excise stations, were a frequent sight in the outskirts of every town. Internal tariffs were abolished in 1949, however, and the share of the cigarette tax, levied nationally, which was assigned to municipalities in lieu of these excises proved generally inadequate. Town governments were therefore in poor shape financially, and any public improvements that were made came from special grants or loans from the central government.

[633 365] 1. The municipality of Athens, for example, had been insolvent for as long as anyone cared to recall. The problem was such that in 1955 and again in 1956, the Athens Power Company threatened to cut off the supply of electricity to municipal institutions unless some of the back bills were paid.

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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563] [619] [648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

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665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even he was not always successful. General Papagos achieved something similar during the first year or so when he held office, before his failing health raised the question of the succession and induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 662 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the political scene – and this was normal – then political life became a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals. Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes, originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations [433] [663] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 666 645 [177] The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952 was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces. But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties. Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments, to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted this process and made few promises to the politicians who

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joined his Rally; yet even he, when it came to appointing his cabinet, rewarded the most conspicuous leaders of personal parties who had merged their following into his, by appointing them to ministerial positions. 665 666 645

By 1956, when the commanding personality of General Papagos had been removed from the scene, the actual differences made by the new electoral law were a good deal less marked than might at first appear. Under the old proportional electoral system, the critical negotiations to form a cabinet occurred after the elections; under the new majority system very similar negotiations preceded the elections. In either case, personal followings gathered around a specially conspicuous individual were the basic elements from which cabinets and coalitions were built. Even these building blocks of the political edifice were not very firm; a leader might find, almost overnight, that "his" followers had gone off after someone else who seemed to promise something new or different.

How a man became a party leader was hard to say. Very diverse personalities were active in Greek politics, and some party leaders seemed, at least from the outside, to have little personal impressiveness. Inheritance was a factor in some cases. Sophocles Venizelos, for example, had made his political career on the strength of his father's name, and on little else. Men who lacked such an advantage normally established leadership by oratory in the Chamber of Deputies and through newspaper publicity. 665 645 662

As the game of politics was played, the opposition regularly enjoyed certain advantages. This implied a degree of instability for any government. First of all, in any distribution of ministerial seats and other plums of office, more contenders were bound to be left out than could possibly be included. Efforts to solve this difficulty by enlarging the size of the cabinet have been made from time to time, but always at the cost of effi-

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665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
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of local resources were to occur, then restriction of current consumption would be necessary. Money and goods would have to be diverted from consumption to capital construction. Without such diversion, the country was condemned to chronic poverty, unless foreign investment and financing came to the rescue. Up to 1956 Greece had indeed depended upon foreign investment for its capital development; but the United States Congress could scarcely be counted upon to continue its support indefinitely. In fact, between 1954 and 1956 it became clear that American aid to Greece was to be shaped by more narrowly conceived American interests, which would mean that military subsidy and the disposal of surplus American agricultural products would take precedence over industrial or any other sort of capital investment in Greece. Moreover, a Greek government that depended upon American bounty would necessarily surrender a large portion of its effective sovereignty, as happened between 1947 and 1952. Such a policy would expose Greek authorities to charges of acting as craven "yes men" to the Americans, and of betraying Greek national interests, as, for instance, in Cyprus.

471 457 648 663

Dependence upon foreign funds to finance capital development was therefore a poor substitute for financing such development from local resources. Yet no one in Greece wanted to reduce and few wished to restrict the standard of living. The general public was impatient of austerity and wanted an immediate and miraculous increase in consumption levels. The chronic disbalance of the governmental budget reflected (among other factors) the pressure of these demands – demands for higher pensions and salaries, for better unemployment, medical and old-age benefits, and the like. To offer present hardship in the hope of future amelioration of economic conditions was therefore politically unthinkable, even though this was the only program that could really cope with the prob-

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lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current running expenses and to finance a modest program of government capital investment proved far more palatable politically, even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped nations in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of political debate and the planning of technicians in the economic ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

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It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political process by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians. 647 177 433 663

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus? 648 668

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in

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648 the summer of 1956. The opposition belabored the government
668 for failing to free the Cypriotes; the government swore that no effort had been spared; and each side rivaled the other in denouncing the stubbornness of Britain, the meddling of Turkey and the indifference of the United States. Events in Cyprus, where nearly every day people were killed as a result of the guerrilla operations of an organization known by the initials EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kypriakou Agonos, or National Organization of Cypriote Fighters), occupied the most prominent place in every newspaper, and speeches or statements about the Cyprus question filled an amazing proportion of the space that remained. Nothing else seemed to matter very much;
[521] and this attitude was not confined to newspapers. No conversation could long continue before the Cyprus question came up, and even very casual contacts between a Greek and an American were likely to produce an impassioned plea for Cyprus, together with reproaches against the United States government for failing to act in the matter.

From the point of view of someone interested in confronting and trying to relieve the economic and social difficulties of contemporary Greece, the Cyprus question was bound to appear totally irrelevant. If the Cypriotes were accorded the right to determine their own form of government, and if, as seemed overwhelmingly probable, the majority of the island's inhabitants then elected to unite with Greece, nothing would be helped so far as Greece's own problems were concerned. Yet by 1956 the liberation of Cyprus had become the very stuff and substance of Greek political debate. A more effective red herring would be difficult to imagine.

From the point of view of the Greek public, however, the Cypriote cause was sacred, and far more worthy of attention than merely economic questions. This attitude was deeply rooted in the political tradition of the nation. Indeed, the whole

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career of modern Greece, since the days when a small segment of the peninsula first won independence from the Turks, has been punctuated by recurrent bouts of intense popular excitement over the liberation of one or another portion of the Greek-speaking world that still remained under foreign sovereignty. In spite of costly failures, this agitation, and actions in accord with it, sooner or later added the Ionian Islands, Thessaly, Crete, Macedonia, the easterly Aegean Islands and part of Thrace to the Greek state. So successful has the nationalist program been that by 1956 Cyprus remained the only important area where a large Greek-speaking majority lived under foreign rule. The Greeks, therefore, felt entirely justified in demanding that such an anomaly end.

Anyone who takes democratic doctrines seriously must agree that the Greek case in Cyprus was a good one, since about 80 per cent of the islanders speak Greek and have given strong evidences of identification with Greece in recent years. Nor has the social and economic level of the Cypriotes been such as to justify a denial of self-government. Hence the Greeks of Greece had a good cause, and felt that the indifference of the United States to the issue, and the refusal of Britain to agree to grant self-government to Cyprus, represented a repudiation of their democratic professions. The burning conviction that the great powers were in the wrong and that the Greeks were in the right added fuel to the agitation, while Turkey's intervention in the question had the effect of opening once again all the wounds inflicted by past warfare between the two peoples.

On two occasions in the past, war with the Turks resulted from the desire of Greeks to liberate their fellow nationals, and on several other occasions war was narrowly averted by the intervention of the great powers. These wars and war scares cost Greece dearly in the past. One of the reasons for the failure of the economy to develop more rapidly was the financial bur-

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648 668 [433] den the government incurred as a result of these enterprises; and the complete catastrophe which came to the Hellenic communities of Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, following the failure of the Greek effort to annex part of the eastern Aegean coast, left marks upon the Greek body social which are still conspicuous. Yet then, as more recently in the case of Cyprus, counsels of caution or calculations of expediency scarcely found a hearing. The warm feeling of patriotism, all the warmer for being so reckless of consequences, overcame and continued to overcome every obstacle.

The Cyprus question became acute in the spring of 1955 when EOKA began issuing manifestoes and throwing bombs in the island, demanding self-determination and the end of colonial administration. Whether, or in what degree, the Greek government was an accomplice in provoking EOKA to action is impossible to say. Clandestine support of irregular armed action against a foreign government is an old tradition in the Balkans. The Greek government was itself attacked in this indirect fashion by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania during the guerrilla war; and all the Christian nations of the Balkans used similar methods against the Turks. The fact that the leader of EOKA was reputed to be Colonel George Grivas, a man who had once served in the Greek army, and who had been the head of an extra-legal rightist armed band in the years just after the end of World War II, suggested, but by no means proved, that agents of the Greek government may have had a hand in organizing the guerrillas in Cyprus.

If so (and this is not a proven fact), it seemed fairly clear that in the months that followed EOKA's appearance in Cyprus agitation in Greece grew to proportions that the government had not expected, and did not really desire. To have an issue upon which all Greeks could unite behind a government that

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boldly demanded justice for the Cypriotes was one thing; to have an issue that threatened to disrupt the NATO alliance in the eastern Mediterranean and gave the opposition a chance to attack the government for its inability to bring the situation to a satisfactory conclusion was quite another. Yet it was this second, embarrassing position into which the Greek government soon fell. The British refused to give in; and during the summer of 1955 the Turks began to assert their own interest in the fate of Cyprus.

Greece and Turkey had both been admitted to NATO in the fall of 1951, and in 1954 Greece had also concluded an alliance with Yugoslavia. This laboriously constructed diplomatic and military bulwark, within which Greece might hope to shelter as securely as any nation could that stood on the frontier between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, now began to crumble; and by 1956, although the treaties remained nominally in existence, the ill feeling between Greeks and Turks had reached a pitch that made real cooperation impossible. Joint naval maneuvers had to be called off, and acute difficulties arose in the NATO headquarters at Smyrna, where Greek and Turkish officers had been working side by side.

As this situation developed, the Greek government became seriously embarrassed. On the one hand, it could not allow the opposition to flaunt the garb of patriotism without challenge. The publicity agencies of the government and the Athens radio thereupon indulged in a veritable orgy of rhetoric which could not fail to have an inflammatory effect in Cyprus and also at home in Greece. On the other hand, rumor had it that the royal palace and the Foreign Office urged caution and moderation — a spirit which, however carefully it was kept under cover, still gave the opposition a chance to denounce the halfheartedness and secret duplicity of the government.

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648 668 Through 1956 at least, the Greeks had spilled nothing more precious than words over Cyprus. The economic programs of the government had not been affected, nor had the social realities of Greece been touched. What had changed were Greek relations with Turkey and Britain; and in 1956 it was hard to see how the resultant damage to the NATO alliance could be repaired. A change in British policy might bring the Cypriotes self-determination and union with Greece – an upshot that would gratify the Greeks, but scarcely improve relations between Greece and Turkey. On the contrary, such an eventuality might well be accompanied by open violence between Turks and Greeks on Cyprus itself, where the Turkish minority constitutes about 20 per cent of the population; and similar and more dangerous disorders might spread into Turkish and Greek Thrace, where the two peoples remain mingled owing to the exclusion of this area from the exchange of populations that followed World War I.

The embitterment of Greek-Turkish relations seemed likely to endure for a long time, to the embarrassment of the Americans who wished to remain in alliance with both sides of the quarrel. It was, of course, because American diplomats dreaded such difficulties, and did not wish to antagonize the British, that the official policy of the United States remained so much aloof from the Cyprus question in 1955 and 1956.

Whatever the eventual outcome may be, it seems clear that the excitement over Cyprus had the effect not only of distracting attention from home policy, but also of weakening the Greek cabinet and restricting its freedom of maneuver. Feeling was directed most strongly against the Turks, secondly against the British, and more faintly but still definitely against the Americans. The emotional involvement with Cyprus was so strong that in the summer of 1956 it did not seem beyond the bounds of possibility that some turn of events in Cyprus might

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bring about the overthrow of the Karamanlis government and the installation of a cabinet far less inclined to cleave to the western alliance system of NATO in foreign affairs, and far less amenable to American advice concerning home policy. 648 668

What the effect of such a change might be upon the development of the economy, or upon the civil servants who were so busily planning its growth, cannot be forecast. My point merely is this: that the divorce between the realm of political discourse in Greece and the real problems of economic and social melioration within the nation is so wide as to be dangerous. Some economically ruinous action, rising from feelings of outraged nationalism, and provoked by politicians who hope to win place and prestige by risking everything on a politico-military gamble, may damage much of what has already been accomplished, or postpone indefinitely the realization of plans which have been laid for future economic expansion. 433 662 663

There are here the makings of a vicious circle. The major cause of the characteristic irresponsibility and extremism of Greek politics in recent decades, I am convinced, has been the chronic discontents and personal frustrations which tens of thousands of white-collar and professional people have felt. For them, politics offers a psychological release from daily difficulty and disappointment. To act as an adequate catharsis, political argument must be exciting, indeed inflammatory. The politicians therefore offer excitement, and when they cannot find it they try to manufacture it. If no internal foe seems sufficiently evil, then attacks are turned against some foreign antagonist. Political instability and changeability are the result, and when words boil over into actions real economic setbacks often follow – setbacks that feed the chronic discontent behind the political manifestations themselves.

Much of the domestic history of modern Greece can be interpreted as the result of such a vicious circle in action. The re-

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433 construction of the economy and the transformation of the civil
662 service since 1947 seem to offer a chance for escape from this
663 circle, but escape is as yet by no means assured.

The Communist Problem

668 The Communist party was declared illegal in October 1947,
669 and has remained illegal since then. Communist party leaders first joined the guerrillas, then retreated with the remnant of the guerrilla army behind the iron curtain. It seems entirely likely that the exile leadership was torn by faction and recrimination. Backwash from the shipwreck of their hopes on the Macedonian issue in 1949 must have continued to distract the secret councils of the party. Equally, the changing winds of doctrine that followed Stalin's death shook the Greek Communist party, and, combined perhaps with other factors, led in the fall of 1956 to the demotion of Nicholas Zachariades and the substitution of an almost unknown personality as Secretary General.

Rather strenuous police measures were taken during the guerrilla war to break up the Communist underground organization. Many people were arrested and several hundred were shot. How effective these measures were in breaking down the party organization cannot be judged by anyone standing outside the inmost party circles. Furthermore, the failure of the guerrilla enterprise, and the collision between Greek national feeling and international Communist policy over the question of the future of Macedonia must have disheartened even the most fanatical Communists in Greece, and certainly discredited Communism in the eyes of many who had formerly been sympathetic.

668 Whether these events mean that the Communist threat to Greece is lastingly removed, or whether the Greek Communist

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party will be able to rise once more from its defeat and become again a disciplined, dominating force in internal Greek politics, will depend at least as much upon the course of international affairs as upon any efforts the Greek Communists may make by themselves. 668

Nevertheless, in 1956 signs were not wanting to show that Communism was still a force to be reckoned with in Greece. In spite of all the police had been able to do, it seemed certain that an illegal underground organization continued to exist, aimed more, perhaps, at collecting intelligence for foreign Communist states than at fomenting revolution in Greece. Greek-language broadcasts from behind the iron curtain continued to reach the country, informing the faithful of the proper attitudes to take on current political questions. The fact has already been mentioned that one Athens newspaper faithfully followed the line [204] laid down by Communist broadcasts; a second appeared most sympathetic, though its editors did not always conform completely to Soviet directives.

On the political stage, a new party was formed in advance of the elections of September 1951 which seemed very like EAM, the Communist-dominated resistance front which had so nearly won control of Greece in 1944. This new party was known by the initials EDA (Enosis Dimikratikon Aristera, or Union of the Democratic Left). Its candidates in 1951 were drawn in considerable measure from among persons who had made a name for themselves during the wartime resistance – many of them being in jail as Communists when the elections were held. 666 668

In spite of these circumstances, EDA met with very considerable success. In 1951 it won 180,640 votes, and in the elections of 1952, 152,011. In both cases, the EDA total was close to 10 per cent of all valid ballots, amounting to 10.6 per cent in 1951 and 9.6 per cent in 1952. Inasmuch as EDA participated in an electoral coalition with other opposition parties in the election

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666 of 1956, it is impossible to tell how many votes it may have con-
668 tributed to the opposition's total on that occasion.

In 1951 and 1952, the defeat of the guerrilla army was still fresh and the demoralization of the Greek Communist party must have been serious. It therefore seems safe to assume that the proportion of about 10 per cent which EDA won in these elections represented about the minimal support the Greek Communist party commanded in the country. It is interesting to note, in passing, that a public opinion survey conducted by American and British experts in 1946 found 9.3 per cent of the population willing to declare to the faces of western interrogators an intention of following Communist instructions to abstain from the elections of that year. Very nearly the same proportion, and probably many of the same persons, supported EDA in 1951 and 1952. They must be regarded as "hard core" Communists or sympathizers so strongly attached to the party that nothing is likely to alienate them from Communist leadership.

Given the hardships under which many Greek families live and the history of the past fifteen years, during which on two separate occasions a Communist-led movement seemed on the verge of winning power, this proportion may appear satisfactorily, and even surprisingly, small. Many thousands of young people, after all, dedicated several years of their lives and underwent very real risks and discomforts in the service of a cause offered them by Communist propaganda. Such experiences and loyalties are not easily wiped out, especially when a person who has once been identified as a member of any sort of Communist organization is likely to suffer discrimination in job-hunting and in all contacts with the government forever after.

At the same time, a hard core of about 10 per cent of the voters constitutes a great political asset. It opens the door for

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deals with other parties and coalitions that may badly need just 666
such support to win office. In 1956, the opposition coalition, un- 668
der the leadership of George Papandreou, yielded to this temptation and accepted the proffered support of EDA. Papandreou was careful to announce, however, that in the event of victory he would not assign any seats in his cabinet to members of EDA; and after the election cooperation between EDA and Papandreou was promptly broken off.

Year in and year out, in the kaleidoscopic shifting of personal reputation that constitutes the warp and woof of Greek politics, it seems very doubtful whether any of the leaders of personal parties can regularly count on as much as 10 per cent of the vote. The apparently solid character of the Communist hard core thus takes on still greater significance. And in times when the discredit of the Communist party is not so recent as it was in 1951 and 1952, it seems at least possible that a fringe of fellow travelers and vague sympathizers – people who wish to protest vigorously against the status quo, and feel, quite correctly, that the Communists represent the most effective challenge to the prevailing social order – may add their votes to those of the hard core, and swell the proportion of the electorate responsive to Communist leadership quite considerably, perhaps to something like 20 per cent of the total.

This means, I believe, that the Communist problem has not 668
been really solved. There still exists an important minority in the country which is prepared to go outside the framework of legality whenever opportunity offers a favorable prospect of success; a minority which on other occasions is ready to participate in the parliamentary process, to join electoral coalitions and to carry on newspaper campaigns against the government, but does all this fundamentally in bad faith, hoping to gain a toehold in the government only to convert it into a stranglehold,

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668 and then destroy the parliamentary machinery and civil liberty in favor of Communist dictatorship.

668 In 1956 these things were not apparent. Communism was not
648 an issue; Cyprus had replaced it, and the Communist party had officially endorsed the Cyprus struggle over the radio. No one admitted to being a Communist, since to do so would have been a short way to jail. The people seemed quite genuinely glad to be relieved of the long preoccupation with the Communist question, and to find a cause upon which everyone could unite. This was, indeed, one of the reasons why Cyprus was such a heart-warming cause for the Greeks. Everyone, no matter what his opinions on domestic issues, was behind the Cypriotes. The Greeks had not known what it was to be united on an important public issue since the time of the Albanian war in 1940. Yet if Communists and nationalists were to quarrel in Cyprus, a possibility of which there were already some convincing signs in the summer of 1956, then the Communist question would emerge again in Greece with new bitterness, as each side sought to blame the other for the disruption of the Cypriote struggle.

66 In any analysis such as this it is easy to overemphasize the instability and insecurity of Greek political affairs. Certainly Greek politics are unstable, and the parliamentary regime in Greece is insecure. But it is well to remember that these conditions are not new. Exactly the same could be said of the political scene at any time since 1909, when the current phase of modern Greek political life began. The Greeks have learned to
[829] live with such conditions, and even manage to derive lively ex-
[521] hilaration from the perpetual uncertainty of their politics. Without politics, what would there be to talk about in the cafés?

647 The things that are new in Greek public life attract little pub-
829 lic attention. The man in the street and in the village coffee

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house still takes pleasure in denouncing the inefficiency and stupidity of officialdom, and understands little if anything of the calculations and plans of the small group of civil servants who are busily trying to build a new future for the country. Their success is certainly not assured, but the fact that such men exist in the government opens the best prospect Greece has seen in more than a generation for the eventual attainment of social stability and secure economic progress. In the last chapter some observations will be made upon the probability of such an outcome.

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[For a discussion of culture change in six rural villages see category 116, pp. 85-115 and 120-146.]

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HUMAN ORGANIZATION

MENTAL HEALTH AND PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

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Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

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Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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1. This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955-56. It was supported by grants made to me under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Dr. Friedl's husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the research throughout.

[122]

2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250.

[113]

3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim*; Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 241.

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the result of curing practices, but the means used depend upon and have some consequences for the economic, religious, and social organization of the society, for its belief systems, and for the psychological characteristics of individuals.[4]

Studies analyzing the social roles involved in illness and of the nature and extent of hospital care in the United States have led to the same conclusions.[5] Therefore, in the interests both of successful therapy and of humanity, it is usually recommended that scientific knowledge about illness and the practices associated with its cure be introduced in such a way *as to take account of the latent functions of the indigenous* behavior. But how practically to implement this recommendation is always a problem.[6]

[121]

The Boeotian situation, to be sure, did not result from conscious planning along the recommended lines. It is here suggested, however, that this situation provides, in certain respects at least, the virtual equivalent of a case study in the successful operation of the recommended principles. The following description is presented with this in mind, and does not purport to be in any sense a total study of illness in the society described.

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Comparison of Home Care and Hospitalization

Let us first look at the treatment of illness in a Greek village home. Much as in the United States, the first day or so of fever or other sign of illness is treated with bed rest and home remedies. Aspirin is known, and in the Greek village of 1956 penicillin and other antibiotics are sold in the village store, and their use comes under the head of home remedies. But, significantly enough, the antibiotics will be administered only if some relative of the family (not necessarily a physician

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4. For a discussion of manifest and latent functions see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949, pp. 21-81. See also A. H. Leighton and D. C. Leighton, *op. cit.*, and B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 477; also Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.

5. Lawrence K. Frank, "Psycho-cultural Approaches to Medical Care," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 45-55 (1952); Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1951, pp. 428-479; Talcott Parsons and Renee Fox, "Illness, Therapy and the Modern Urban American Family," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 31-44 (1952); Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science in Medicine*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954, pp. 170-193.

6. George M. Foster, "Relationships Between Theoretical and Applied Anthropology," *Human Organization*, 11 (3), 5-16 (1952); B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

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or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback through the countryside should come into the village on a day when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example, would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is *perástiká sas* which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer, several alternatives are possible. Some member of the household may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is accompanied by at least one member of his household and frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifications of the physicians lead one to expect normal American hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limitations of space and of an untrained staff.

But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

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along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it. 743 758 [513]

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words. [846] [844]

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women. [422] [583]

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in 758 571 156 743 [574]

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital. [744]

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which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

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urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come [593]
to be associated with low social position and low income,
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization [511]
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers [583]
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of 828
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion.
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet 152
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo*
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, 156
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

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in characteristically Greek fashion, more human-centered than science-centered. They went along with the human necessities of the patients, allowing these necessities to overshadow, for a time at least, what they regarded as the strict requirements of scientific hospital management. 743 759 [181]

Moreover, conversations with the doctors indicated that, although they were far more sophisticated than their village patients, they were nevertheless participants in the same basic culture, and shared many attitudes and expectations with their patients. For example, the lack of regular time scheduling for consultation, rounds of the wards, nursing routines, and the like, is not likely to be as personally irritating to a Greek doctor as it might be to his American counterpart. Greeks actively dislike regularity, and, unlike many Americans, do not derive comfort and security from routines. The Greek doctors are also less likely to be disturbed by the presence of the large numbers of visitors and their, to Americans, relatively boisterous conversations. Long and animated consultations before any decisions are made form a part of Greek life to a greater or lesser degree at all social levels, and conversation for its own sake is a favorite recreation. The fact is that illness and quiet are not inextricably linked concepts in Greek culture. 743 759 805 758 743 759 521 758

What the Greek doctors are apparently unaware of, however, is the extent to which their, to them, makeshift hospital practices conform to the social scientists' recent recommendations for flexibility and for adaptation to traditional methods of handling illness. What careful analysis has pointed out as a desirable method for conscious, planned, and gradual change, 743 758

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has been evolved willy-nilly by these doctors under the diverse pressures of their complex culture. 743 758

Future Development

This is not to say that Greek provincial hospitals will continue their present practices indefinitely. The fact that urban hospitals conform more closely to previously existing American standards and that these form the ideal for the Greek doctors has already been noted. What is even more interesting is that, as the villagers become familiar with hospital care, in the provinces, they are sensitized to the reports of their urban relatives about hospital conditions in Athens. They are told that these more modern institutions provide bedding, and serve food from hospital kitchens. They, themselves, have learned that bringing food from home, and cooking in the hospital, are severe drains on family energies. The result is that they are beginning to complain about the poorer facilities of the provincial hospitals, and are talking of demanding more services: services which, had they been forced upon them in the early stages, would have made the hospital a strange and repellent place. 743 758 369

One may hope that the development of hospital practice in Greece does not reach the heights of impersonality and isolation of patients characteristic of the majority of our own hospitals. There is a growing literature analyzing and sometimes criticizing these aspects of American hospital care.[10]

10. See e.g., L. W. Simmons and H. G. Wolff, *op. cit.*, and L. K. Frank, *op. cit.*

[p.27(B)]

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Megali Vrisi

A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI, MACEDONIA, GREECE.

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AN ESSAY

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
Cornell University for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

CHARALAMBOS STEPHOROS STEPHANIDES

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/Title Page/

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Megali Vrisi

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A Sociological Sketch of the Village of Megali Vrisi. 000

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4. Boundaries and neighborhoods of the village.
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6. Kinship groups.
7. Historical background.

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3. Work of husbands.
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10. Permanence of marriage.
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12. Educational goals.
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14. Political and religious training in the home.
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/I cont./

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   Institutional education.
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/II cont./

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10. How local services are paid.
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Megali Vrisi

/1/

BIOGRAPHY

The writer was born in 1909 in the village of Tjakrak a few miles away from the largest hazel nut exporting harbor of Kerasoun on the Black Sea. 114

During 1914 he attended his village school. He was deported to the interior part of Asia Minor with the rest of his family and during deportation, 1916-1918 he lost his parents and a brother.

In 1919 he entered the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Morsovan Turkey. After a year of study in Anatolia College he left for Greece in 1922 with the rest of his people.

He attended the Chalkis Gymnasium High School for a year. [873] In 1923 he entered the migrated Anatolia College from Turkey to Greece. He graduated in 1926 and served for a year as teacher at the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Syra, Greece. In 1927 through the help of Professor Kelsey he came the United States and took his Bachelor of Science in 1932 from Cornell University. In 1932 he returned to Greece, and after a year's service in the Greek Army he started extension work in Kilkis area under the supervision of the Near East Foundation. During the years in extension work he married in 1934 Paulymnia Charpidou, a refugee from Pontus. Later a /2/ son was born. In 1939-40 he transferred to the Athens area to demonstrate the practical value of the new established system of extension.

In 1940 through the interest and help of Professor L. D. Kelsey he returned to Cornell for advanced work.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI.

PART I.

Introduction:

The author was born in Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. His parents were the descendants of some of the first colonists that were established by the Greeks in ancient times. His ancestors lived in the same village for many centuries and it was for the first time in many centuries that he went with the rest of his people to Greece. The exchange of population between Greece and Turkey marks one of the rare historical accomplishments of the Greek people. The establishment of a million and a half people under the prevailing economic conditions of that period was a gigantic job for a small nation like Greece to accomplish. 114 167 648

The author, as a refugee among his people, had a chance, after getting his education at Cornell, to work with them to share with them the difficulties they met in their new environment. He shared the life that was mixed with tears, toil, sweat and patience. He also shared the marriages, the holidays and the dances at the village square. His eight years of experience in the village of Megali Vrisi and his share in promoting agricultural, recreational, health and educational activities led him to the description of the village of /4/ Megali Vrisi 123 [121]

The Rural Sociology Courses under Dr. Sanderson have influenced him more than anything else to see, describe and evaluate the social make up of the life of the people of Megali Vrisi. 114

/4 cont./

Selection of the Village

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The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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123

The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics.

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[101]
[167]

The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

/5 cont./

The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. 496
The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards 133
the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is sur- 134
rounded by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys. [137]
Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been go-
ing on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into
the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the
Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the
hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent
the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot [312]
of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago.
With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water
disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of
the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the
numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the
water buffaloes.

The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed
from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the near-
by hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters.
In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and 134
60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding
rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is
not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil
is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility
of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many
centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with 132
plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow.
The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not
uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and [241]
germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farm-
ing.

The railroad station close to the village enables the village 438
to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location 443
[496]

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 233

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

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Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

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The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

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Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years.

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move. 167 722 [648] 511 167

/11 cont./

conditions under which they had to move. At the present time there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to anyone else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is prohibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the members of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in 1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its importance as a military post. People have come and gone. Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the language they would tell the people of the futility of the differentiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi community is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 241 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manufacturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. [464]
Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584] 562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/20 cont./ In 443 438

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else. 436

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The

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/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/23 cont./

more economical. It distributes the work among all members of the family. The cost of living is low and the depreciation on machinery and working animal is low. The difficulties that usually arise here are as follows: 596 [241]

1. One leader in the family who has the right to command all.

2. Mother-in-law has the complete house work organization. She tells the rest what each has to do. In case she has a special inclination to favor one, the rest have to bear the burden of the work without objection. This usually creates hard feelings and starts the division of the family.

3. Usually the older son has more children than the younger son, and in case one of the sons does not have any, he has to work just as hard for the support of his /24/ brother's children. Things of this sort usually create hard feelings and lead to the disorganization of the family.

4. Often the father of the family, taking advantage of the good cooperation of his sons, spends money for his own good time, like drinking, dressing better and traveling. With the increase of modern facilities and modern customs the compound family is disappearing. [178]

Marriage and Courtship.

It was the custom for many years for the parents to hunt and find a suitable wife for their son. Usually the girl had to satisfy the parents' desires. The son had to consent whether he wanted her or not. That was the accepted custom. This is still true with only 40% of the marriages and is rapidly disappearing. The young men are looking ahead of the time for their future partner. In dancing squares, during holiday celebrations and at wedding ceremonies they have a chance to express to each other their admiration and their preference. Nothing is done publicly so as to avoid gossip since the old customs still prevail. The young men very often form a group and sing by the window of their girl friend. If the father suspects anything the punishment is heavy. 584 178 [626] [832]

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl. 584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain. 178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression. 178 583

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626 834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538 702]

/28 cont./ 603 867 702 [538]
always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

/29 cont./

leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

/31 cont./ 275
where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political 517
leaders meet their followers.

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government [208]
employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house [203]
where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission.

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people 794
directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, 869
and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole 872
family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child
follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through [796]
its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings
up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/
learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or
that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its
religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend
church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such [796]
holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance
of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their 782
Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other 776
sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as 795
his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to
special designated saints whom they think are able to help them.
For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage
and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For
travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to
St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line.
It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as [771]
Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They
take their religion seriously and believe in it completely.

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop 793
is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the 782
priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the repre- [776]
sentative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God.
Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters 869
as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places.

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation, which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional customs handed down from generation to generation provide both group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the ceremonial feast. When a member of the family gets married the whole village participated with their musical instruments. The marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male person is observed more than the female name day.

517 [526] [846] [851] [585] [527] [562]

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the United States. After the church service the people gather around the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

796 628 574 [535]

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place. This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry. The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

796 574 [735] [252]

/34 cont./

wishers. People are formed into groups and visit every house where the table is set in the center of the main room with different drinks, colored eggs and good food. The groups crack /p. 35 skipped in original numbering/ /36/ an egg and wish the hostess saying, "Christ is risen", and the house owner answers, "Truly he is risen". 796 574

Children run through the streets dressed in their new clothes and carry colored eggs and candies. These are the days when the houses are open to every one. The recreation that these three days offer to these people is far greater than all the rest of the holidays of the year. For the Orthodox church the birth of Christ does not have so much importance as the resurrection of Christ which shows the Athanasia of the spirit. [779]

At this time of the year everything takes life in nature, too. The almond trees, the cherry trees, the pear trees are in blossom. The fields are green and nature takes the appearance of living again. All these combined leave an unresistable influence upon every person. Through such recreation which is a part of their religion, the people forgive each other and old hatreds give way to renewed friendship and forgiveness. It is surprising to note how much influence these holidays have in the lives of the people that live together. The spirit of hospitality, the spirit of giving to those that do not have, the spirit of taking active part in village movements and the blind obedience to the orders of the higher rank, are a result of these traditionally influenced holidays that are represented by different Saints. Recreation is thus closely associated with the /37/ religious holidays. 796 571 182 517

Play of Children. Whether at school or outside of school the children do not have organized recreation. At the school the weekly exercises which are more or less military are given by the teacher. The children have two recess periods of ten minutes each from 8-12. At these periods they devise their own play. At home the child has no time for play. He or she will graze the oxen or weed the garden and fields, sweep the yard and help in housework. While very young the children are taught to work and 857 [872]

/37 cont./
help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times 857
of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the [526]
neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek.
When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom [834]
play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard
time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the [872]
children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active
days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is 533
there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance [535]
singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no
books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players
never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the [461]
fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups
returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses,
at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles
and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through [796]
the church services from beginning to the end and when the women [585]
dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any
song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to
generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them
or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part
of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of
nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition
and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of
their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture.
There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that
move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest
songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their
ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced
their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among [765]
the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed
during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the
war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in. [165]
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family,
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

Megali Vrisi

[Inventory at the beginning of the year-
/43 cont./ taken from a representative farmer]

B. Livestock:	Number	Value in drachmas		
Cows	2	5,000		511
Oxen	2	8,000		422
Poultry	30	900		435
Turkeys	3	300		[231]
Hogs	1	250		
Bees	20	4,000		
			18,450	

C. Family food stuffs in storeroom:	Okes			[251]
Wheat	300	2,100		
Lard	50	3,000		
Honey	10	300	/44/	

D. Animal feed in store:	Okes	Value in Drachmas		[231]
Chick peas	200	800		
Straw	1200	600		
Barley	400	2,000		
			8,800	

E. Agricultural implements	Number			[241] [412]
Plow	1	250		
Yoke	1	90		
Harrow	1	600		
Barrels	3	450		
Harrows	2	70		
Shovels	1	30		
Hatchet	1	60		
Axes	1	80		
Wagons	1	3,000		
Sickles	2	50		
			4,680	
	Total		31,930	

/44 cont./ 511
Inventory at the end of the year. December 31st 1934. 422
435

Family, the same members as at the beginning. [231]

A. Livestock:	Number	Value in Drachmas	
Cows	3	6,000	
Oxen	2	8,000	
Hens	20	600	
Turkeys	3	300	
Pigs	1	600	
Bees	20	4,000	
			19,500

B. Family food in store: [251]

	Okes		
Wheat	350	2,450	
Lard	40	2,400	
Honey	15	450	
Onions	20	60	
Beans	15	150	
Cracked wheat cereal	40	400	
			5,910

C. Animal feed in store: [231]

Straw	1,600	800	
Corn	60	300	
Chickpea	200	800	
			1,900 /45/

D. Agricultural implements: [241] [412]

	Okes	Value in Drachmas
Plow	1	250
Yoke	1	90
Harrow	1	550
Barrels	3	450
Harrows	2	60
Shovel	1	30
Hatchets	1	60

/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

511 241 [422] [435] [412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

241 423 [484] [439] [242] [476] [233]

We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 493

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241 422 407 [412] [435]

1	Harrow	$3
1	Plow, iron	1.50
1	Wooden plow	1.00
1	Yoke	1.00
3	Hoes	0.35
2	Shovels	0.25
2	Sickles	0.35

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

/51 cont./

Receipts Expenditures and Balances. The following account is more or less representative of the receipts expenditures and balances of the farmer.

241
511
435

General farm accounts of income and expenses.

A. Income	Amount, Okes	Value in Drachmas
Wheat	840	5,040
Wheat seed	400	3,200
Wheat sold	2,560	17,920
Turkeys	36	3,600
Veg. & legumes		560
Watermelons sold		1,760
Milk (consumed at home)	300	2,100
Poultry (consumed at home)	8	320
Poultry sold	20	400
Cereal consumed	30	360
Eggs "	200	200
Eggs sold	700	700
Lard consumed	40	1,600
Wool used	20	600
Wool sold	50	1,500
Corn consumed	100	400
Chick peas used	200	800
Straw used	3,000	1,500
Barley "	200	800
Butter from cows sold		800
Heifers sold	1	1,200
	Total	46,160

/52/

E. Expenses:	Amount in Okes	Value in Drachmas	241
Bread for the family (produced)	840	5,040	511
Wheat seed (produced)	400	3,200	435
Legumes "	60	180	
Vegetables "			
Spinach	20	40	
Onions	40	80	
Beans	2	20	
Potatoes	60	240	
Vegetables bought		2,540	
Milk (produced)	300	2,100	
Poultry (produced)	8	320	
Cereal "	30	360	
Eggs "	200	200	
Lard "	40	400	
Honey "	20	600	
Olives, macaroni sugar salt purchased		2,037	
Clothing for family		6,227	
General expenses, newspapers, travel, books		1,761	
Doctor bills		530	
Furniture and repairs		2,500	
Animal feed: (produced)			
Corn	100	400	
Chick peas	200	800	
Straw	3,000	1,500	
Barley	200	800	
Agricultural implements bought		180	
Fruit trees bought		400	
Fuel (wood & kerosene)		1,085	

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

/57 cont./

of the outstanding institutions in the village which guides the people in keeping accounts and in taking active part in appointing officers every year. 241 474 [621]

The yearly meeting of the cooperative lasts 2 days and all the men who served in the army take active part. After the committee presents its accounts and accomplishments and its future program, a discussion starts from different members either praising or criticising the work of the existing committee. Different proposals for improvement are made and finally it ends with a vote for a new committee of six. During these two days of discussion people learn from each other how to judge and evaluate certain deeds of the cooperative.

The government, understanding the importance of the cooperative has organized the Ministry of Cooperatives /58/ under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The effect of the cooperative on the people is great not only on the economic life but also on their social life as well. It draws the people close together and they think not in terms of their immediate needs but of their future welfare. [647]

Every year the cooperative sends two students to the high school, gives prizes to the farmers that raise good seed and better animals, gives financial aid to the poor, and helps the unfortunate sick to go to hospitals. These are signs of the role the cooperative can play in the near future. [741]

Besides unifying the whole village into an economic unit, it also is becoming a center of spreading higher ideals among the people. Its powers at the present are restricted due to the lack of experienced men with foresight. There are possibilities for one to do more in devising community programs by working with the cooperative. [621]

Farm Techniques. The biblical type of farming is still the kind that yields the greater returns with the least cost. The animal power is composed of oxen with a yoke and an iron plow. The wooden plow still has its /59/ blessings for certain soils. In soils 241 [492] [407]

/59 cont./

that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to plow the same field as many times as possible. The common expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get." This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under all conditions.

241 [407] 241 242

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for fuel.

241 237 372

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ cannot afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding problems which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus, what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that 92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal, but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm family was not discovered.

[433] [433] [354]

/60 cont./ 241 242

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems.

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

/62 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard
but should not question how and why the money was spent. The
farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen,
implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are
responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the
stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife
and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spend-
ing money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
stabilized the more his needs increase.

/63/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley.
Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The
wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal.
The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried
and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned
dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they
cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cook-
ing. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the starch
foods. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer
months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and [438]
are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled
cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best
combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed
daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed
oil.

/63 cont./

Unfortunately the women lack even the simplest /64/ knowledge in nutrition and always prepare an unbalanced diet, although available food stuffs are enough to prepare a balanced diet. Thus the diet is poor. The local doctor always mentioned the fact that medicines will not cure the disease unless the people have a diet suitable to their work and conditions. 146

The question is not how to teach them a balanced diet and nutrition but how to use advantageously the existing food materials and to study the economic conditions so as to ascertain a feasible program for balancing their diet. It was one of the mistakes of the home demonstration center which started teaching them science and nutrition, instead of trying to find out what they had and how they were using it so as to improve their methods of utilizing it better. [654]

PART V. HEALTH.

Home Remedies. The people of Megali Vrisi can never forget what they learned from their parents regardless of education and new environment. Both the doctor and the local nurse would advise the women how to take care of the sick, but still one would find them trying their own methods before attempting the doctors or the nurses. Through experience the farmers found certain plants that have definite results for every disease and /65/ sickness. For a cold they drink boiled camomile. For stomach troubles they boil the roots of a plant and drink the juice. For boils they put on boiled onion, boiled linseed and fresh cow manure. 757 178

Regardless of whether they have the nurse and the doctor in their village, in case of sickness they will consult first the experienced neighbor and as a last resort they will consult the nurse or the doctor. [759]

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is
tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while
the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out.
/69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the [515]
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth
healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any
village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a
doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many
farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing
two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever
is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and every-
thing evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned 744
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house
flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children.
Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the
troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat
them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a
time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the
sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their
families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few
windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost.
Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the
same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

/70 cont./

Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 544
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. 476
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 621
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built [345]
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [533]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [735]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [314]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [185]
project which was started by this group has led to the development [526]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village
planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

/75 cont./ 873
to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given [544]
to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter [242]
months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. [793]
A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village
on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies.

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous 789
activities of an educational character that have been established [178]
there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside
old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain
people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does [832]
not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and [484]
their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of [843]
the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are
asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman [791]
desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians [759]
to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role
of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same
women may act as mid-wives, too.

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are 777
believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a
bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think
the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean [763]
somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the
eyelid moves fast some good news is coming.

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom 353
he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 778
776

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [559]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

/80 cont./ 346

their humble houses and subsistence level of living the people like 778
to build beautiful churches with high steeples and decorate them
/81/ with as many ikons and church bells they can. The people [316]
of Megali Vrisi not being satisfied with the structure of the present
church have already quarried stone from the nearby hills for their
future church structure. When the farmers were notified to offer [794]
personal work for the church they did it without complaint.

The people look up to the church as an institution which gives 771
them hope and courage in times of disappointment and discourage-
ment. Once a year a confession is made in the church in front [783]
of the ikons and the priest. People tell of their bad acts and
forgive those that caused them trouble. All wedding ceremonies, [796]
baptisms and name day celebrations take place in the church.

Attendance. Women and children attend the church regular- 794
ly. The men are rather irregular in their attendance. This is not 796
due to their negligence nor to their failure to respect the church,
but is due to the long church services that last for three hours.
The people get tired of going to the church. Most attend the last
part of the services. In spite of the variety of music and cere-
monial activities, the church is losing /82/ attendance. Men
like to know what they hear in the church, and since it is all
abstract to them they prefer to stay out and send their wives and
children.

With the increase of modern scientific beliefs by the farmers,
the church will be forced to change its course and adopt itself
to the new social changes.

The membership is obligatory. Every one born in the village 794
becomes a member. It is not necessary to keep in books the
names of the members since the whole population of the village
naturally belongs to the church.

Contributions. Every family has to contribute for the support
of the priest and for the upkeep of the church. This contribution
is paid in kind. Besides this the church has voluntary donations [769]
by people whose prayers are answered, and by others for the

/82 cont./
peaceful rest of their dead. They donate to the church either money or wheat. On St. Nicolas day, the people from remote villages bring either a chicken, a pig, a cow, a calf, a sheep, or a goat to the church as a present. Numerous animals are lined in the yard of the church which are sold in auction the same day. /83/ Every Sunday morning at the church service a tray is passed to the people for contributions. The selling of candles brings an appreciable amount of money. The church has its fields which are either worked or hired to others to swell the income of the church.

794 [769] [437] [427]

Part VIII Living Together.

Mutual aid. Both groups, the Thracians and the Caucasians, before settling in this village had a civilization of their own. The isolation of the Caucasians in the interior part of mountainous Caucasus has developed a unique type of civilization mostly built around their community life. Here they had the compound type of family organized under the direct rule of the oldest in the family. In spite of the large number in the family the work was divided every day among all. Every one did his best with no complaint. The men gave blind obedience to the head of the family and the women to the mother. The obedience was so strict that misunderstanding would seldom occur. Every one was specialized in his or her own work. All buying and selling was done by the head of the family. No one could smoke, speak, nor could sit by the head of the family unless told to do so. A strictly military type of rules were observed. The father decided the marriage age of his son and this usually would coincide with the need of more labor in the family. Sometimes /84/ the need for labor was so great that the age of 15 was thought practical to give the solution for extra labor. The grandma was responsible for the education of the children either in household work or school work. The children call their mother by her first name and instead, call the grandma, mother.

621 596

[Caucasus]

/84 cont./

The village was ruled by "Gerousia", a group composed of old respected people. It is interesting here to note that even today the Greek Senate is called "Gerousia". This "Gerousia" would meet when necessary to discuss certain problems concerning their village. They had no definite calendar for meeting nor approved place for meetings. There were two dates well observed for meetings. One was St. Demeter's day -- October 26th -- for deciding to hire a village shepherd for the cattle and a guard for the fields. Another meeting which was fairly definite, was St. Constantin's day -- May 24th -- at which the redistribution of the land was decided for the coming seven years. It was one of the well-observed economic principles to redistribute the pasture for farming and leave the cultivated land for pasture. Due to the increase or decrease of the family members the land had to be redistributed /85/ according to the number of heads in the family. Once the land was given, the owner could use it as he pleased but could not pass it on to the relatives or friends. The land belonged to the village. There was another order which every one had to follow strictly. No one was allowed to increase his livestock on the community pasture, but he could increase it on hired pasture land from near by villages. 621 623 621 423

Away from every kind of complicated civilization the Caucasians had a world of their own and found it better to preserve it centuries after centuries without adulterating it with the modern civilization. 621

Most of the church, school and community problems were solved by the "Gerousia" without a general meeting or vote. The decision of "Gerousia" on any problem was final. Local conflicts and neighborhood grievances were taken care of by "Gerousia". Repairing school buildings, or church, or taking care of the poor and unfortunate were closely followed up by this group. 621 623

This cooperative spirit for mutual aid is rarely found among any people except the Caucasians. /86/ The rush harvest season is shared alike by all. Building houses, threshing and transportation of agricultural goods is done through borrowed labor. If any, by 476 621

[Caucasus]

/86 cont./

misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178]

181
621
[167]

/87 cont./
impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

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178
241

Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

621
476

Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born

[533]

[152]

/89 cont./

a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

/91 cont./ 623
general approval of all. The punishment of the "Gerousia" is 627
ostracism until the person repents and asks forgiveness. The fear 578
and respect towards "Gerousia" is greater than to anybody or group of people. One of the young men planning to divorce his wife because she could not bear any child, told of his experience with the "Gerousia". "Their words are sharper than the sharpest sword".

Latent Neighborhood Conflict Attitudes. The jealousy of the 621
nearby villages toward the successful cooperation of the villagers 628
of Megali Vrisi was noticed many times. The success of Megali Vrisi in bringing the doctors who serve the area to their village, and in making it the center for the health project, naturally created hard feelings with the competing villages. The success with which the Caucasians of Megali Vrisi worked /92/ in organizing a young men's organization, increasing the number of teachers, building their church and having one of the well-organized cooperatives, has made it the leading village of the area.

Active Conflicts. One of the active conflicts that exists in 621
Megali Vrisi is the one between the Thracians and Caucasians. 578
Each group in trying to preserve its identity tries to dominate the other by having more power in controlling the village council and cooperative. The Thracians as a minority, have never had any chance to get to any office for the last 16 years. The strong opposition they had from the Caucasians, united them on every question raised, and their inability to compete with the Caucasians has developed within every Thracian the illogical type of opposition. "Vote it down if it is a Caucasian proposal, whether good or bad." Regardless of this opposition, the Caucasians undertook to carry on their constructive community work by bearing the share of the Thracians too. Conflicts among different kinship groups were of a minor type and never developed to such a magnitude as to have destructive results. The "Gerousia" checked them. 627
The conflict between the Thracians and the Caucasians was beyond [623]
the power of the "Gerousia". The Thracians never had any [692]
"Gerousia" and as a result took more cases to the court and spent more /93/ money and time for it. The conflicts among the

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692]
what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685]
families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578]
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack [574]
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [484]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [178]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for [437]
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter,
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

796 527 796 794 [356 526 535 437 787 782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

/98 cont./ 796

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

/100 cont./

of their occupation but rather because of certain peculiar personal qualities which they possess. Such a cast of characters is very evident in Megali Vrisi. Most of these are due to their ability to speak fluently, or to tell stories, read and interpret the news from the papers or forecast future events. Some of these rank the lowest in the economic scale and their influence is not effective beyond the village boundaries. These personalities become the central guides for the decisions of many persons. Both Thracian and Caucasians have these types of personalities. 156 554

Community organization. The village of Megali Vrisi is a loosely organized village. The various groups and associations are independently organized and function without any cooperation of the other whatsoever. There is competition and constant conflict as to which one is the leading group in the village, but in spite of the conflicts and lack of cooperation among the groups, compared with the neighboring villages /101/ the village is the leading one. This unexplainable progress is mostly due to the constructive and not the destructive type of competition of the different groups, which instead of hindering them is enabling them to get ahead. According to Professor Sanderson, "The coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization insofar as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of community organization in the every day life of its people is apparent." The wholesome competition among the different groups for accomplishing their group projects may be due to the following: 621 476 178

1. Within every member of the different organizations or associations there is an inherent feeling of mutual aid and that the progress of each group is the progress of their village.

2. There are persons who hold office in more than two groups and thus there is this indirect cooperation.

3. It is an accepted principle that each group follows its well-defined program without expecting it to be considered as the only one that needs support.

/102/ 621 476 178

4. The different organizations are a part of the people. Nothing is introduced by outsiders nor advocated by any one person, but through centuries have become an accepted principle of their community life to watch their community improve from all around.

Conclusions to be drawn from the village of Megali Vrisi. 621 105

1. The new village has two distinct type of people with their pattern of customs.

2. The Government's attempt to mould the customs of these groups into one may face difficulties at the beginning.

3. Both groups semi-primitive in the sense of having:

a. Patriarchal pattern type of family.
b. Father having the buying and selling
c. Both women and children doing farm work, unending toil of women.
d. Education or training rests with the grandparents.
e. Agriculture for making a living
/103/ f. Common land and pasture; no ownership.
g. Lack of knowledge of fertilizers.
h. Magic strongly believed by both groups.
i. Purpose of marriage was to have the labor of women and for raising children.
j. Land divided in many patches and scattered.
k. The "Gerousia" as the only powerful and effective group in community government.
l. Religion of paganistic type.
m. Business in its primitive form of exchanging goods.
n. Mutual aid very characteristic.

The low cash income, backward farm techniques, with too much emphasis on the subsidized wheat crop, poor housing and household equipment, inadequately balanced diet, disregard of proper sanitation and other preventive measures against disease, inadequate medical attention, absence of recreational opportunities, impractical religion, slow educational processes without vital

/103 cont./ 621
105

relations to the life of the people, and burdensome work of wives and children, are conditions which are suggestive of planning objectives.

8:Stephanides--66 I, Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

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Gerousia - a group, composed of old respected people, who formerly ruled the village (among Greeks in the Caucasus) and is now an unofficial body which informally settles conflicts in the village.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

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THE GREEK HOUSE

ITS EVOLUTION AND ITS RELATION TO THE HOUSES OF THE OTHER BALKAN PEOPLES

ATHENS 1951 – SERIES OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION

No 37

[P.a] [Title Page]

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DEDICATED

TO THE BUILDERS OF EPIRUS

AND OF WESTERN MACEDONIA

[P. e.]

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PREFACE

At the present stage of the reconstruction of our country the building of houses is of colossal importance. 362

At no other time, since the reconstruction of liberated Greece began, after the 1821 Revolution, was there such a great opportunity for building activity in the Greek mainland as at present. 369 927

The 430.000 destroyed houses in our country, most of which are to be found in the countryside, form 24% of our total number of houses, and the great majority of these have been either totally destroyed or damaged beyond repair.

At the present moment, the attention of all our authorities is focussed on the best solution of the housing in the Greek countryside.

The question is of paramount importance and is much more difficult than that of reconstructing the urban centres where a different way of life allows the application of solutions usually common to all towns, and even to all countries.

But the problem is quite different in the countryside where the «land» factor and the «human» factor, free from the intense influence of civilization, have a direct bearing on the way of life, the methods of living and consequently the types of dwelling. It is for this reason that a great importance should be attached to all the forms of dwellings originating in Greek tradition. In this way we will be able to understand how similar problems have been faced previously by the same people and in the same surroundings.

The present survey by Prof. G. A. Megas, who is already known from his previous works on Thracian, Lemnian and Thessalian Houses, is the first attempt at a synthetic presentation of the whole problem of the Greek Popular House. 114 342*

The problem is not an easy one.

The Greek house has developed through the centuries, under the influence of many civilizations on those physical factors which usually determine its form. The author achieves a global presentation of the problem in conjunction with the similar problems in the countries

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114 *surrounding Greece, and thus gives the reader a picture of the situation*
*342 *which had never before been so clearly described.*

It will be quite natural that many objections will be raised to certain interpretations and co-relations and it would be advisable that these objections be heard so that the question may be completely clarified and that the people engaged in this problem be fully informed.

The first step, however, towards this direction has already been made and it is due to Professor Megas.

The Coordinator of the Greek Recovery Program
C. A. DOXIADIS

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INTRODUCTION*

Greek popular architecture was first systematically studied by the architect Aristotelis Zachos, who examined especially the old «noble houses» of Northern Greece, which constitute the most composite and developed forms of urban dwellings of the post-Byzantine period. One of the rules drawn from the studies of this memorable man is that the developed form of urban houses has always its foundation, as regards the general disposition, in the architecture of the farmers' dwellings; consequently the primary form of the houses of Jannina (and correspondingly of the other urban centres) should be sought in the houses of the Epirus villages and of the other villages of Northern Greece (1). 114 342* 369

Professor An. Orlandos was the one who also mainly studied the urban houses of the last Byzantine years and of the subsequent period.

The popular house in its simplest form, the rural form, was first viewed and studied, in its internal division and composition, by an artist, Mrs. Angheliki Hatzimichali at Skyros, Roumlouki, Ikaria, Samos and Villia. Late D. Loukopoulos, at the same time, gave us a good description of the houses and household utensils of Aetolia.

The present writer, while serving in the educational centres of Thrace in 1922, had the opportunity to study the rural house of the Hevros area, but the publication of his survey on the «Thracian House» was delayed. 114 342*

Further systematic research of the popular house followed by the

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* This survey was originally compiled for announcement at the 3rd Plenary Session of the International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore, which met in Paris on 1-5 October, 1947. The original form of this announcement is maintained in the present publication.

1) **Ar. Zachos**: Ἀρχιτεκτονικὰ Σημειώματα — Ἰωάννινα (Ἠπειρωτ. Χρονικά, Vol. 3 p. 298). Cf. also conclusions of my book Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, 1916 pp. 75 and 108.

114 Folklore Archives of the Academy of Athens, by the Society «Greek
*342 Popular Art», by the Ministry of Reconstruction and independently by various Greek or foreign scholars of Folklore and Architecture.

121 When I began these studies at the Didymoteichon area, some 25
*342 years ago, my purpose was different: it was to study the customs and habits of the people, in relation to their religious practices. But, when I entered the house of the peasants, I had to face a multitude of questions, pertaining to the methods of popular construction, the disposition and arrangement of space, the stabling of the cattle, the storage of cereals and their protection from humidity and rats, questions to be solved not only by reference to climate, soil, biology or history, but which had an immediate relation to the other factor, the one that dominates and regulates all the others, the factor of man.
[476] Thus, I felt an attraction towards the house as a dwelling and at the same time as a work that came out of the hands of the peasants who build their own houses in this area, as in many other parts of Greece, on the system of mutual social assistance.

My attention was especially drawn to the variety of architectural forms, presenting an interconnection and an inter-relation, and showing an organical evolution, natural to every human activity.

The examination of these houses would help me in discovering the original form, from which the present type of dwelling has gradually evolved. If a house presented a modification or an increase of spaces, I had to find out how these modifications or additions were made, how the new spaces were adjusted to the original nucleus of the house, how they were later included in the house as a whole and formed with it a new and increased type of dwelling. That is why I did not limit my study to one or two most representative types, but extended it to all the modifications and variations, as I tried to find the way followed by popular architecture from the simpler to the more composite forms.

At the same time, I studied the ways and methods of house building; how the roof, the hearth, the storeroom, the oven and the loom were constructed. Thus in spite of the many technical difficulties I had to overcome, I found that the study of popular dwellings was the most interesting and fascinating, and at the same time, the least explored part of my folklore researches. The folklorist may thus clearly see in this study how the man of the people, following traditional types and systems he inherited from his ancestors, adapts them every time to the actual facts and means at his disposal, so that they may satisfy his needs and the needs of his family

in order to help him in his activities; thus he creates deviations from the traditional type, variations from the original form. The scholar may see the solutions which the man of the people finds for the various problems connected with house construction, with storage of cattle foodstuffs, shelter of cattle and arrangement of space. He may see his very spiritual and productive forces in action and in full application. For, the methods and means which the popular builder uses in solving these problems, reflect the thought, the practical mind, the creative force, the sence of beauty of the man of the people. This is why it is difficult for me to understand how it is possible that a study of art and material life of the people can be separated from the whole folklore research, as if it was a separate subject; because the things as such are of great interest for folklore study as constituting elements of popular civilization studied by it, and on the other hand, because the man of the people, whose spiritual and creative forces are investigated by Folklore, is acting behind these things. 121 342*

Researches on the popular house are naturally of great importance both for ethnology and for the general history of civilization, but the same holds true for all the subjects of folklore research, especially for those transmitted from people to people.

It is evident that each effort to proceed to a general synthesis of the forms of the Greek house and of its relation to the houses of the other peoples of the Balkans and of Asia Minor assumes the collection of various and abundant comparative material, pertaining to the arrangement of the plan as well as to the methods of construction. I think however that such an attempt, at least as far as the Greek side is concerned, is not premature to-day.

The war and the occupation, and later the communist rebellion, supported from abroad, apart from the other calamities, had as a result the destruction of a great number of houses. The private houses, public buildings, schools, churches and communal buildings destroyed amount to 430.000. The destruction is so big that in future we shall know the architectural forms of some areas only by surveys made in those areas. 121 362 727 653

The urgent need to reconstruct the ruins and to rehabilitate the agricultural economy of the country, made necessary, even during the occupation, the reorganization of the Survey Office of the Town Planning Service, and the creation, immediately after the liberation, of the Ministry of Reconstruction, whose program of works includes the knowledge of the locally prevailing types and forms of popular

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions
were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously
carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus
compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to
the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
*342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[597] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the
daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build
his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are
obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bun-
galow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the
area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards im-
prove, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a
comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a
new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing
prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can
follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the
intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphic-
ally on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can
find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. [1].

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein. — I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

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Sarakatsani EH14

I. VARIOUS FORMS OF THE GREEK POPULAR HOUSE

A. THE MODERN GREEK HOUSE

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[342]

First, we must note that in Greece, in ancient times as well as to-day, we see both basic forms of dwelling, namely both curved and rectangular. As regards the first form (round, elliptical, horse-shoe), this is limited to the most primary forms of life, that is to the nomadic or semi-nomadic shepherd populations (Sarakatsanoi, Vlachoi) and sporadically to the poorest class of the farmers living in the Thessalian and other plain districts, who have kept, by tradition, the elementary and primitive methods of construction and roofing of the conical and saddle-type huts, and especially the use of organic materials such as wood, branches, weeds and reeds, which are easily provided by the marshes and the forests of these areas (1). As regards the rectangular houses, these are now more prevalent, as they were even in prehistoric Greece. The reasons for this may be that the rectangular buildings can be easily added to and divided into regular compartments (2). That is why we shall mainly speak about the rectangular houses.

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Greece, from a geographical as well as from a housing point of view, finds herself on the boundary between the northern temperate zone and the desert zone, which includes Northern Africa and Front Asia with Asia Minor and Iran. Consequently, continental Greece belongs to the countries of houses with sloping or eagle type roofs, and insular Greece together with Cyprus (excluding the Ionian Islands and the Islands of the Northern Aegean) to the countries of houses with flat roofs.

The explanation of this may lie in the fact that the flat roof may have originated from the simple flat shelter-roof which is essential

1) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, Athens 1946 pp. 11-16. For further details on primitive types of dwelling see also **Franz Oelmann**, Haus und Hof im Altertum. I Berlin 1926 pp. 45 foll.

2) See **Fr. Oelmann**, op. cit. pp. 39 and foll., 41.

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x 342 in the desert lands to protect both men and cattle from the burning
341 rays of the sun, and the eagle-type or saddle-type roof may have its origin in the sloping roofs of the primitive shelters used as a protection from rain and wind (1).

As it is well known, the roof is the primary and most important element of house construction, and the form and method of its construction exerts an influence both on the architectural articulation and on the entire composition of the house, so that the differences between the two categories may be mainly explained through it (2).

x 342 For this reason we shall first examine the sloping roof houses
341 and then the houses with flat roof, which roof is called «doma».

a. HOUSES WITH SLOPING OR EAGLE-TYPE ROOF

1. One-storey houses.

These houses, especially in the plain districts, are usually made out of brick with only their foundations, to a height of 40-50 cm. from the ground, built in stone; they are one-storied and are covered with tiles.

In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. They are either of the narrow or of the wide-front types.

The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house, is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as «megaron». It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a «προστῷον», that is an open portico. Sometimes the side walls of the house are extended as far as the front of this «prostoon», thus forming what is called the «παραστάδες» (antae) having usually two wooden poles between them (ἐν παραστάσι type); but sometimes the side walls are not extended and then the προστῷον remains entirely open, and its roof is supported by two or more poles (πρόστυλος, δίστυλος or τετράστυλος type).

This type of house, with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof, is plainly found in continental Greece, in the Greek villages of Haemos,

1) **Fr. Œlmann**, op. cit. pp. 61 foll., and in «Gnomon» 1927 p. 173.
2) **Fr. Œlmann**, Haus und Hof pp. 41 and 90.

near Messimvria (Haimonas, Bana, Alvlassi, Ravdas etc.), in some villages of the Didymoteichon area (Poemenikon, Vryssikon, Paliouri, 342 x 341

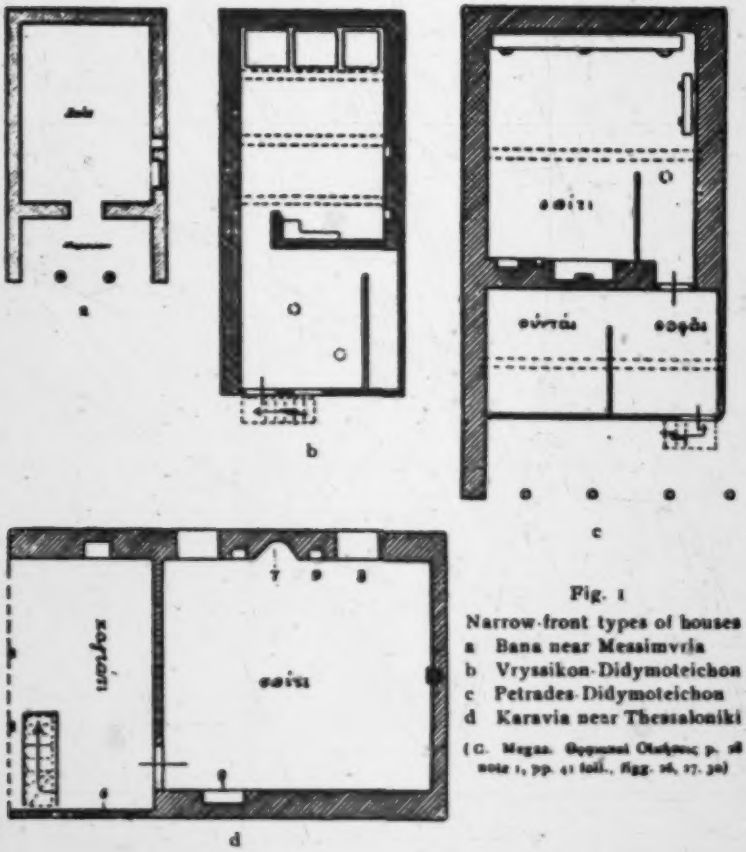

Fig. 1
Narrow-front types of houses
a Bana near Messimvria
b Vryssikon-Didymoteichon
c Petrades-Didymoteichon
d Karavia near Thessaloniki
(G. Megas. Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 28 note 1, pp. 41 foll., figg. 26, 27, 30)

Petrades, etc.) and sporadically in other parts of Greece, as in the Karavia village of the Thessaloniki area[1] (Fig. 1. See also Plate I a, 1-6).

1) **G. Megas** Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 27, 29, 44 foll. For financial reasons, clichés of the Greek edition have been also used in the present one. That is why we are presenting the equivalent English word only for the main parts [104]

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Another narrow-front type of house is also the so-called καλύβι or χαμόγειο σπίτι (hut, low house) on the island of Lemnos which, as in the two-storey type, has a tiled roof(1) (Fig. 2).

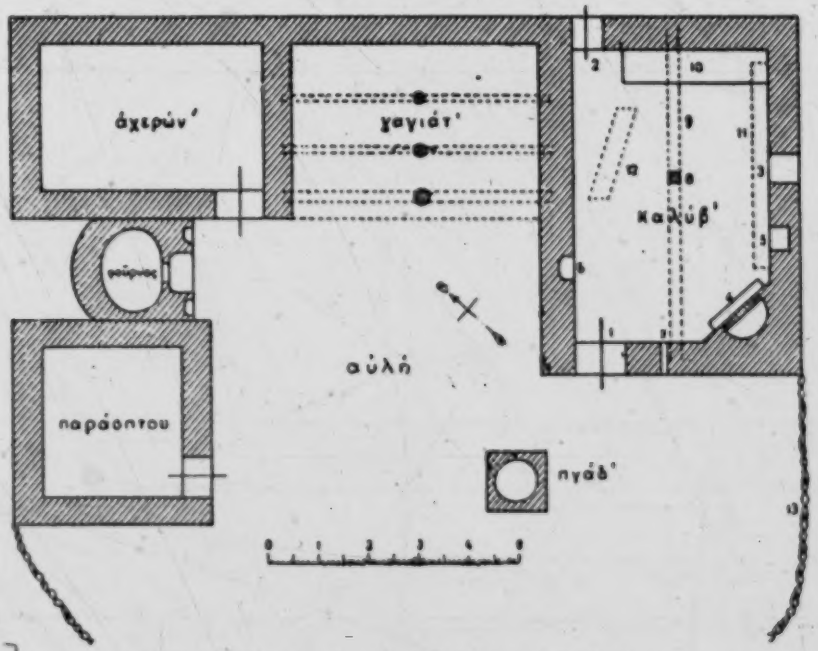

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Fig. 2 House and courtyard at Physsini in Lemnos
(G. Megas Ἡ λαϊκὴ οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, fig 2)
Καλύβι (Kalyvi)=low house, hut; χαγιάτι (hayiati)=portico; σκερών' (scheron)=hayloft; παράσπιτο (parasspito)=outhouse; αὐλή (avli)=courtyard; πηγάδι (pigadi)=well; φούρνος (furnos)=oven.

The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its προστῷον on the long side of the rectangular plan (σπίτια διπλανὰ i.e. side-houses, as they are called in the Haimos villages(2). (Fig. 3 and 4. Plate II).

[104]

of the house: σπίτι (*spiti* [hospitium] = house; σπιτάς or ὀντάς (*oda* Turk.)=room; μπρούστι (*brusti*) or χαγιάτι (*hayati*) = portico, veranda.

1) G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, pp. 7 foll.

2) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 27, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 16. Fig. 10.

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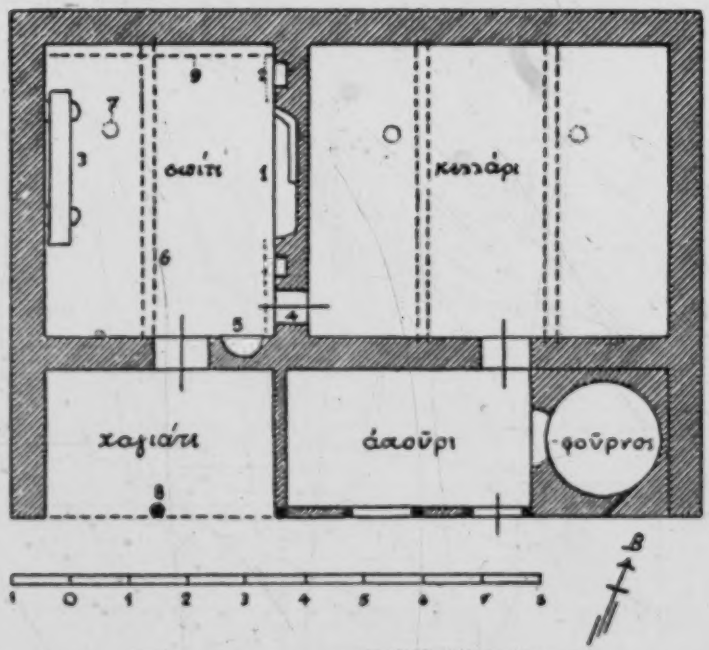

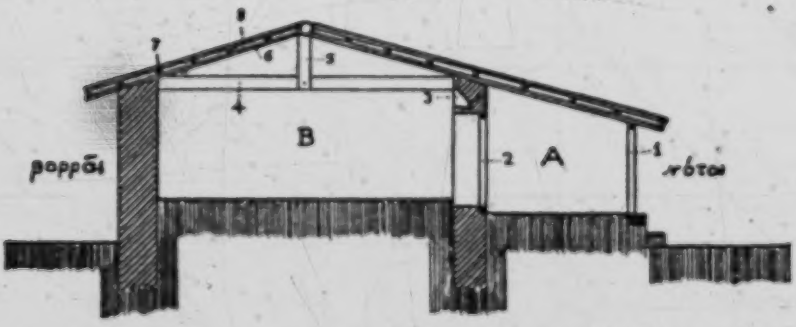

Fig. 3 Plan and section (width) of the above pictured old house at Trifylli
(G. Megas, Θρακ. οικήματος fig. 1) Section: A portico; B spiti = house (main room); 1 pole 2 door.

*342 The προστῶον[1] is formed by a simple extention of the roof of the
341 house downwards, and consitutes a very useful element for the needs of agricultural life in general, as it not only protects the entrance of the house from the rain, but it also provides a well aired and at the same time a well protected residence, where the family may
[264] gather, especially during the summer months. It is here that the
[513] family takes its meals and sleeps in summer time. It is here that the
[286] women put up their loom, spread and comb the wool, dry the maize
[251] and the sesame, the onions and the other fruits. And it is also here
[252] that the oven is usually built.

Fig. 4 Old house at Perral in Thrace
(G. Megas, Θρακικαὶ Οἰκίαι, fig. 3)

The increase of space in the houses of both types is done in two directions: a) by extending the top beam of the roof and b) by extending the roof in the direction of the sides of the gable.

*342 In the first instance, and in the case of narrow-front houses, two succesive rooms are formed in depth, the προστῶον remaining on the front of the house either open or closed (Fig. 5. Plate I b 1-3). In this last case, a new προστῶον is sometimes added, open on its front side (Fig. 1 c. Plate I a 6). In the case of the wide-front houses, two or more rooms are being formed on the same horizontal line (Figg. 3 and 6. Plate III-VII).

In the second instance and in the case of the narrow-front houses,

1 [prestoon = open portico - Analyst.]

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342 x

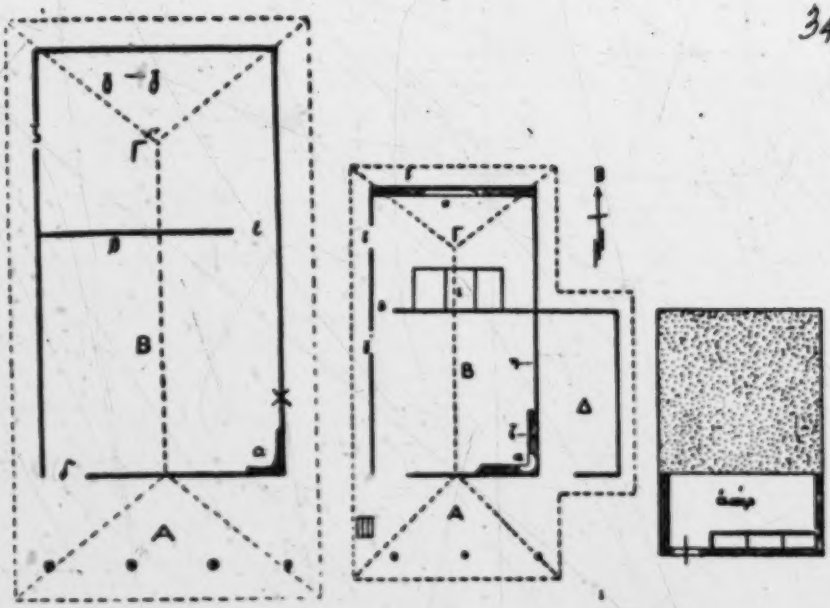

Fig. 5 Narrow - front houses in Greek villages of Messimvria
(G. Megas Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, figg. 17 and 19)
A brusti = portico B mesio spiti = middle-house Γ pisino spiti = back-house Δ store-room
Αχίρ (achir) = stable a hearth

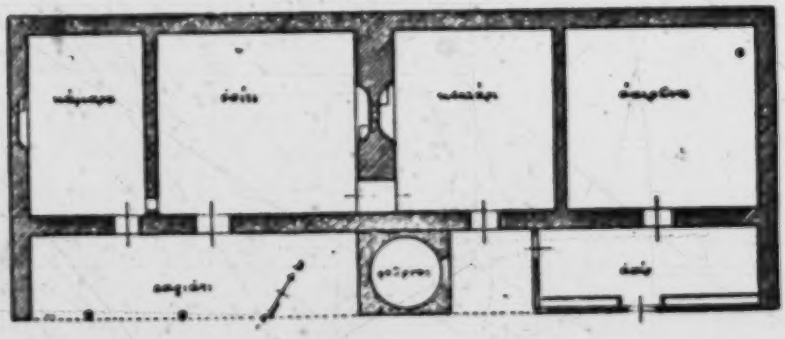

Fig. 6 Plan of an old house in the village Dojandzi, Didymoteichon
(G. Megas Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, fig. 10)

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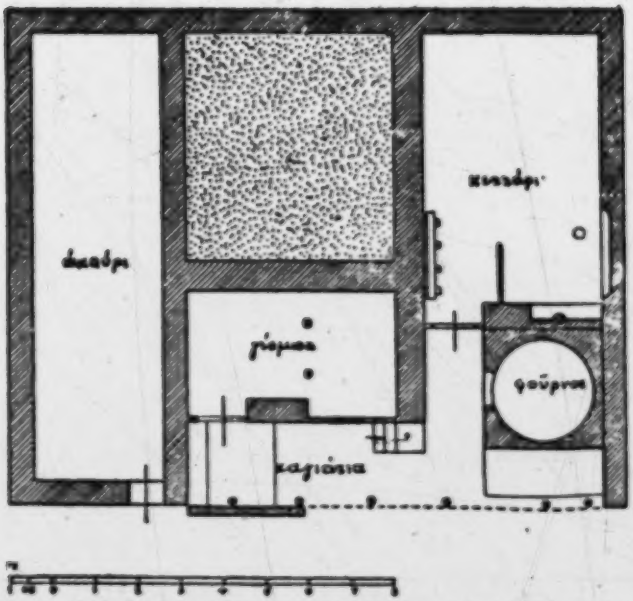

Fig. 7 Plan of an old house ground-floor in the village of Petrades

(G. Megas Θρακικαί οικήσεις, fig. 16)

Γίομα (yioma) = basement γαγιόσια (hayiatia) = porticoes κελάρι = cellar αχούρι (achouri) = stable See the upper floor of this house in fig. 12, above.

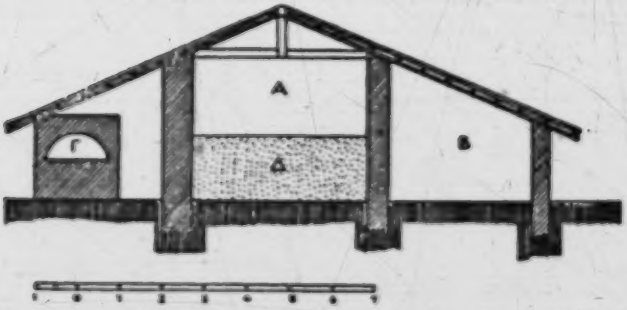

Fig. 8 Long side section of an old house in the village of Paliouri

(G. Megas Θρακικαί οικήσεις, fig. 13)

A house (main room) B hayloft Γ oven Δ embankment (earth filling) for the construction of the hearth

one or two secondary spaces, like wings, are formed on the one or on both sides of the house, the roof being extended to the sides (Fig. 7 and 8. Plates Ia 4[a-b], 5, 5[a-b], 6[a], Ib 2[a]). In the case of the wide-front houses, the space increases by the total or partial enclosure of the προστῷον, that is, by building one or two rooms at its ends. In this case, the plan of the house takes the shape of Γ or Π and is called a «double house» (Figg. 4 and 9. Plate II, 2[a], 3[a], 4, 4[a-b], 6, 7). 342×

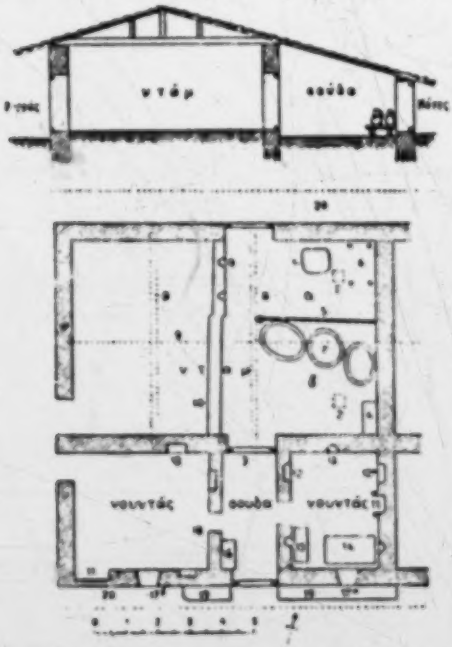

Fig. 9 Wide-side section and plan of an old house at Sophades
(G. Megas Θεσσαλικοί οἰκήσεις, fig. 11)
Νταρ (dam, Turk.)=old house, stable; ΟΟΥΝΤΑΣ (oda, Turk.)=room; ΟΟΥΔΑ (yuda)=entrance, corridor

A further increase of space is achieved by the creation of an enclosed space, equivalent to the προστῷον, at the rear of the house, like an «opisthodomos» (back-room) by extending the roof downwards[1] (See fig. 9a Plate II, 5). Both methods of increasing space are very often present in the same house (Plate III 2[a], 4 etc.).

1) G. Megas, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 24 fig 17.

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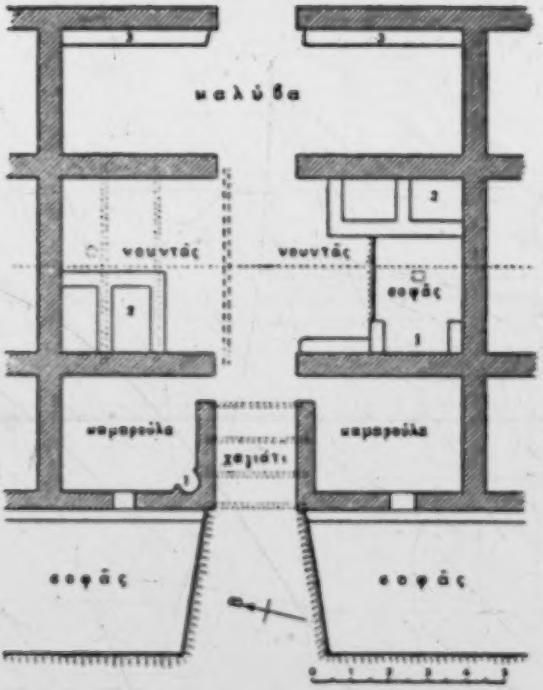

Fig. 9a. Plan of a part of the above pictured «syrtara» at the village of Koutsochero in Thessaly

(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικοί οἰκισμοί fig. 17)

koudas = main room'
camarouia = little room
calyva = stable
1 hearth'
Xyriapia = granarium
Hpechnia = mangers

[251]

In its completed form, the Greek rural house presents a tripartite composition, giving a separate space for each of its main elements, that is for the stay of the family, the stabling of the cattle and the storage of the cereals. But even in this form, the term «house» applies only to the room that includes the hearth and sometimes the granary, a custom which apparently remained from the days when that room was the entire dwelling (See figg. 3 and 6 where only one of the rooms is called «house»). 342× [231] [251]

And as the further expansion of the house is easy, especially for the wide-front houses, according to the methods described above, the rural house took a composite form in many places including under one roof all the spaces which are necessary to the development of the farmer's home economy. A single entity is thus created, an interior which is harmonious and presents an imposing view (1).

But while in Macedonia and Thrace the rural house of the plains has kept its unity till the end, symmetrically housing all these three parts under one and the same roof, the Thessalian house, after going through a long period of changes that tended to the improvement of the family's living conditions, it finally remained for the exclusive use as a living space for the family and as a store for the products of the farmer's work, while the stalls for the cattle were made separate (2). [251] [231]

These changes have as a basis the embodiment, at a later stage, of the προστῷον in the rest of the house. That is to say that the προστῷον did not originally constitute an organic element of the building, since it was constructed by a simple downward extension of the roof, but was gradually incorporated in the house. The transversal beams, supporting the roof of the house, were extended along the whole width of it reaching the front part of the portico, so that the highest beam of the roof was made to fall right in their middle. Thus, the roof of the house, which had become non-symmetric by the addition of the portico, regained all its symmetry, and the portico became higher, since it took the same height as the main house (3). (See figg. 3, 9 and 10).

Thus, the rooms built in the προστῷον, which previously were necessarily small, had a low ceiling and were used only as secondary spaces (kitchen, storeroom, or «little room for the old people»)

1) G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, p. 36.

2) G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, p. 33.

3) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 30 foll. figg. 19, 20. — Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 26 foll. figg. 18 a, 19-22.

*342 (Plate II 4) now became wider and were used as living rooms, since they are at the front of the house, and can better be lighted and aired (Plate II 8.)(1). These rooms, owing to their high ceiling, could sometimes form,—and indeed they formed in many parts of Greece,—an open portico, by the downward extension of the roof (Fig. 11 A Plate B 7, 7a). On the other hand the original big room, the main «house» as it was called, was limited in space and often lost its original importance, and was used only for the stabling of cattle and the storage of hay and other cattle food (2) (See fig. 10). Finally, this

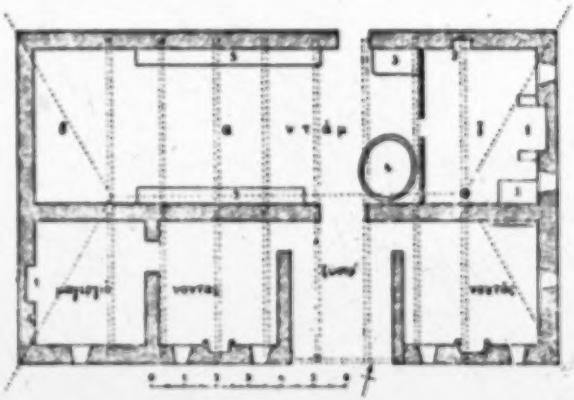

Fig. 10 Plan of a house with the portico incorporated in the building
(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, fig. 19)
Νιάρ (dam)—old house; α stable; β hayloft; γ kitchen; νοντάς (nodas)—room; ξόστρ' (xostr)—portico; μαγαγριά (magayria)—kitchen

original space, which was thus changed to a stable and barn, and was completely removed from the plan of the building. Thus, a new form of building emerged, consisting of two front rooms with a narrow corridor between them (called σούδα) which originally led to the main room of the house. This form of building does not have any stable (3). This evolution is very clearly seen by studying the plan of the house (συρτάρα) which is in the village of Daouti and whose three parts (A,B,Γ) originate from different periods (Fig. 11, Plate II 7a-8 and 8d).

1) **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις Figg. 11, 13, 17, cf. also Figg. 18 B, 19 foll.
2) Ibid. p. 26 Fig. No. 18 B, 19, 20.
3) Ibid. Fig. No. 18 C.

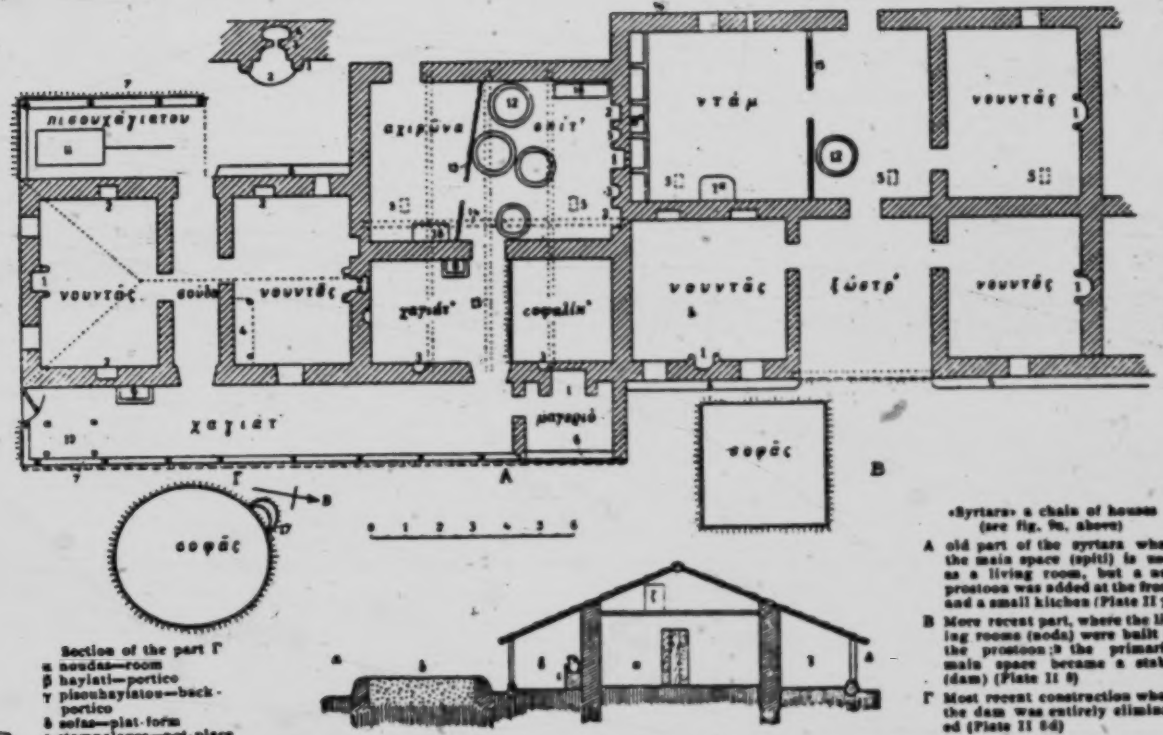

Fig. 11 Plan and section (width) of a «syrtara» in Daouti near Karditza
(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, fig. 11)

[p. 17]

342x

×342 Thus, the προστῷον of the wide-front house is proved to be the most versatile and easily changing element of the building and it contributed, through its various changes, to the increase of space in rural dwellings and it also led, to new, more comfortable and better developed forms.

An important arrangement in the tripartite disposition of the spaces was achieved in the wide-fronted house by the division of

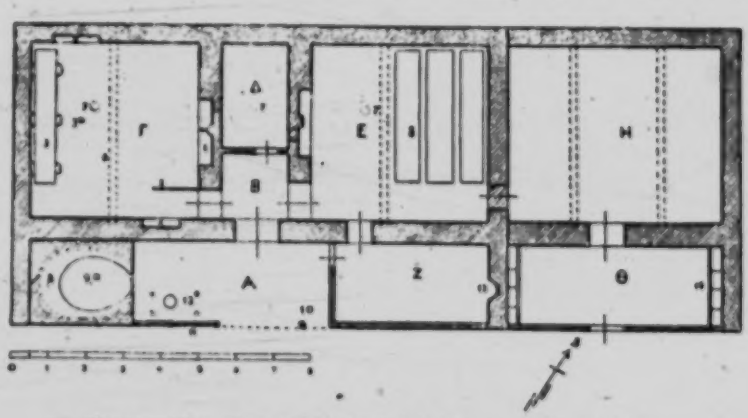

Fig. 12 Plan of an old house in Kosti near Didymoteichon
(G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ οἰκήσεις, fig. 13)
A portico, B ante-room, Γ (spiti) main room, Δ room, E cellar, Z little room, H hayloft Θ stable

the middle space, thus creating a small room at the back, as a cellar or kitchen, and forming at the front an ante-room used as a central entrance to the rooms (1) (Fig 12, Plate VIa and VIIb).

354 As to the position of the hearth in Epirus and Aetolia, as well as in other places such as the villages of Villia in Kithairon, of St. Anne and other parts of Euboea, this was built, until a few years ago, right in the middle of the room, and for the easier escape of smoke as well as for the lighting of the room, there were small skylights (φεγγῖται) in the roof itself. (2)

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1) See **G. Megas,** Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 19 and foll. Fig. 13 Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 47 and foll. Fig. 43 **D. Loucopoulos,** Αἰτωλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 30 Fig. 22 (usually called μεσάντρα)

2) **D. Loucopoulos,** ibid. pp. 12 and foll. fig. 10.

This was the original place of the hearth. Later, however, this 354
place was moved to the middle of one of the walls, usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house (1), or to one of the corners of the room (since γωνιὰ = a) corner, b) fire-place) (2) where a chimney was built for the escape of smoke.

2. Two-storey houses.

In mountainous districts, such as in most of continental Greece, and 332
especially in Epirus, Western Macedonia, S. Greek mainland (Sterea 342 x
Hellas) and the Peloponese, when the arable land is limited, and the main resources of the inhabitants are the cultivation of vine and stock breeding, the expansion of the house on a large area is not easy, due to the nature of the ground. For on an inclined soil, such as in the mountains, the house is usually dug into the soil and this requires rock blasting which, during the Turkish rule, when explosives were hard to get, was difficult, if not impossible, and extremely expensive. That is why the foundation of the house was made on the bare rock and the parallelogram of its plan was usually situated with its long side perpendicular to the slope. Thus, also, in places where the nature of the ground allowed some rock digging, a deep embedding was avoided. In such a ground, the need for the increase of space was met by the creation of another storey or, more correctly, by the construction of a basement under the house, usually under its entire surface, provided that the longer side of the plan was perpendicular to the slope, and in rarer cases, under part of the house only, when the longer side of the plan was parallel to the slope. (3)

Thus the two-storey form of house was created, consisting of 342 x
an upper storey and of a basement presenting, just as the one-storey [341]
house, both simple and composite forms (two-storey single house, and two storey double house) (4).

We may often see two-storey houses, of the eagle type roof, which have either a narrow or a wide front, but the narrow-front ones are to be seen only in those areas where there are narrow

1) **G. Megas,** Θρρκ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 10 and 38, Figg. 1, 8, 10, 11, 21, 23, 25, etc.
2) **G. Megas,** Οἰκοδ. Αἤμν. p. 7, Fig. 2.
3) Cf. the so-called «Sterfogalaro» in Aetolia, **D. Loukopoulos** ibid. pp. 5-7.
4) See **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκ. εις pp. 39 foll.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

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Fig. 13 House with «axata» in the village of Hagia Sofia, Lemnos
(G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, Pl. E, 1)

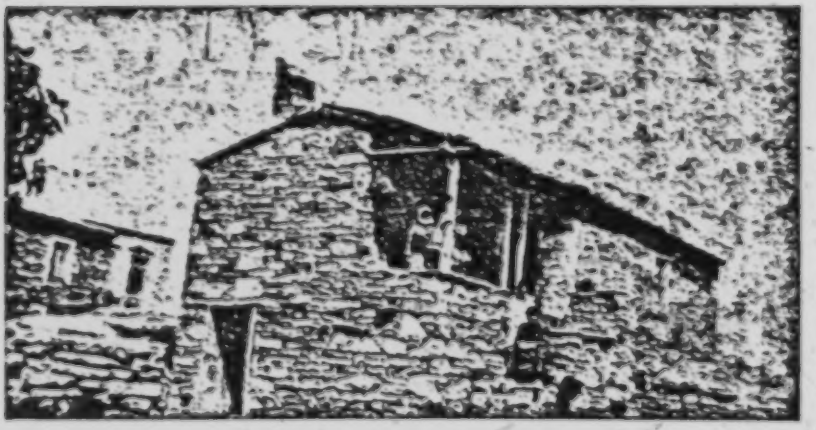

Fig. 14 House with «axalto» in the same village
(G. Megas, op. cit. Pl. C, 1)

[P.20]

342x

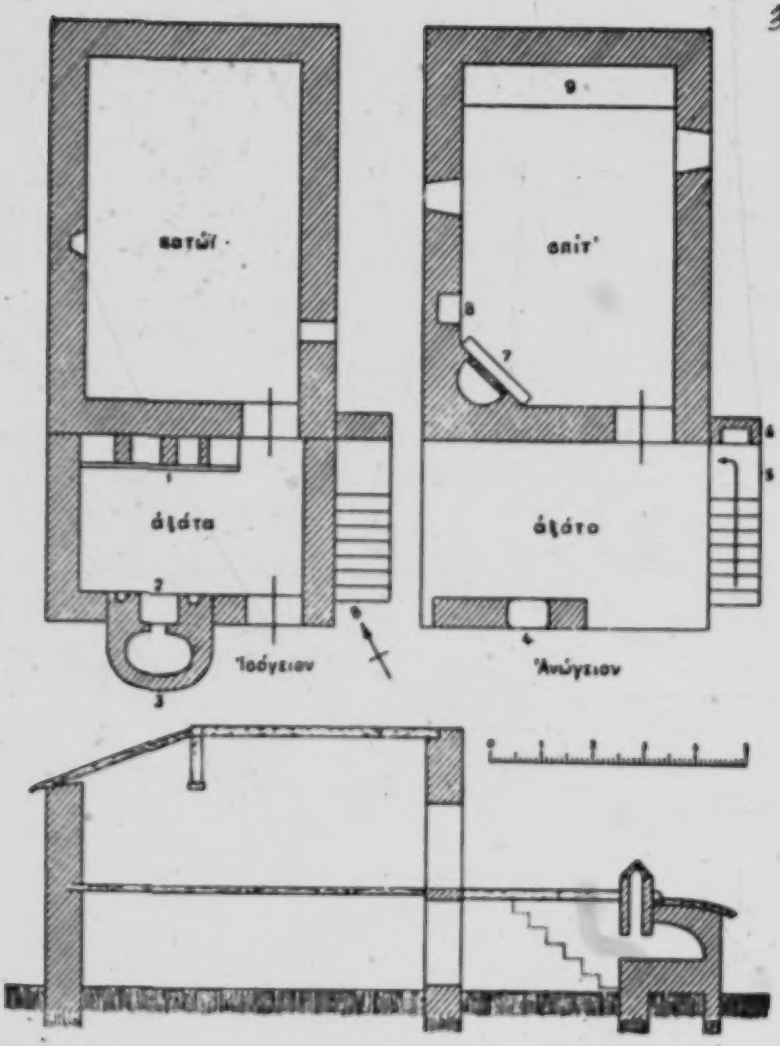

Fig. 13a Plan and section (width) of the house of fig. 13

(G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ οἰκοδομικὴ τῆς Ἀθήνας, fig 7)

Ἰσόγειον = ground floor — Κατώϊ (katoi) = basement — ἀξάτα (axata) = auto-room used as a stable

1 manger 2 oven 3 hearth

Ἀνώγειον = upper floor — Σπίτι = house with an uncovered balcony in front of it, also called axata

x 342 front one-storey houses, such as Thrace and Lemnos. In Lemnos especially, the κροστῷον of the ground floor has been shut in from the front and formed an ante-room (ἀξάτα) used as a stable for the cattle and containing also the oven.

The roof of this ἀξάτα is flat and it is built like the so-called doma of the flat-roof houses in S. Aegeon, namely with successive layers of isolating material (seaweed and clay) that is lined upon the horizontal bars and reeds. This «axata» is used as a spacy open ve-
[354] randa through which people enter the «house», the sole room of the storey, where there is also the hearth for the cooking (figg. 13 and 13a).

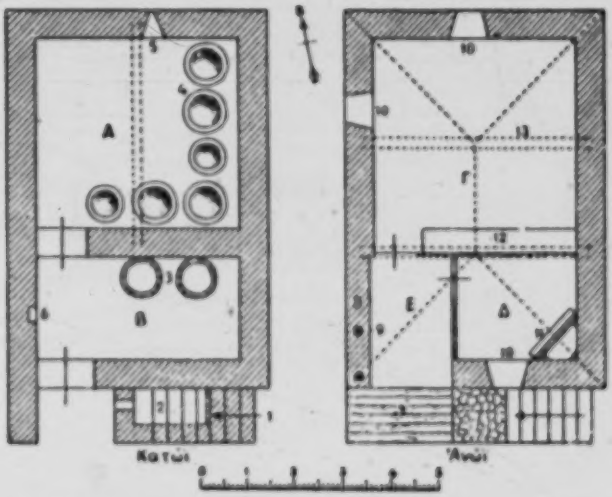

Fig. 14a House with an «ἀξάτο» in Katalakkos - Lemnos (See fig. 14)
(G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ οἰκοδομὴ τῆς Λήμνου, fig. 9)
A Katoi=basement B exo katoi=outer basement Γ spiti=house Δ kitchen E axatto=covered balcony. 1 staircase 2 chicken-coop 3 manger 4 jars 11 hearth

[354] The wish, however, to release the living room from such a use of the hearth, led to the construction of a separate kitchen in the space over the «axata»; only a part of it was then left open as an entrance, and this part was like a covered veranda. This type of house is called «σκίτι ἀξάτο» (covered veranda house, figg. 14 and 14a). Afterwards it was closed on this side too. (S. Plate Ia N°s 8 and 9)(1).

1) G. Megas Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδ. Λήμνου, pp. 22 foll. Figg. 12 and 13.

9:Megas 1, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

342 x
[333]

1. Small, two-storey house in the village of Hellenopyrgos on Thessalic Agrafa. (See plan in fig. 15)
(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικοί Οἰκήματα, Pl. IB', 1)

2. Veranda with rod-plaited basis on a popular house in Hellenopyrgos (See plan in fig. 17)
(G. Megas, op. cit. Pl. IΔ 2)

3. House with a covered veranda (ξάνωγο) in the village of Hagios Acacios on the Thessalic Agrafa. (See plan in fig. 18)
(G. Megas, op. cit. Pl. IE 2)

[P 23]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

x 342 Everywhere else, the **wide front** types are the more usually found.

The ascent to the upper floor is made either through an internal wooden staircase from the basement [1] or through an external stone staircase, usually built at the front of the house and ending on a wide

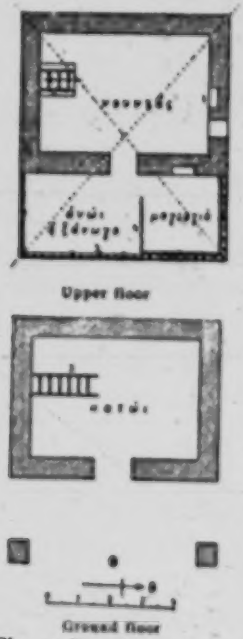

Fig. 15 (See fig. in p. 23, 1)

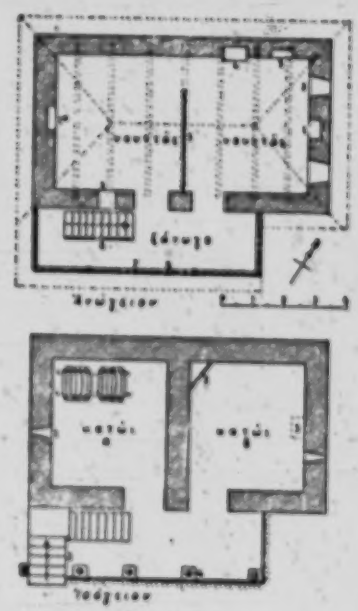

Fig. 16

Two-storey houses at Hellenopyrgos, in Thessaly
(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, fig. 31 and 32)
ξύστρα (xystra), i.e. ἡ ἀνώ—external upper floor or veranda

landing [2]. This is built in front of the upper floor door and is covered by an extention of the roof of the house. Thus, a covered balcony is formed in front of the upper floor door, usually covering

1) **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, figg. 31, 39, 48, etc.
2) See **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις figg. 33 and 43.

the biggest part or the entire frontage and forming a κρόστυλον or prostyle, or with antae, on both floors [1]. (Fig. 15 and 16). 342 x

In the single house this upper floor forms the main living

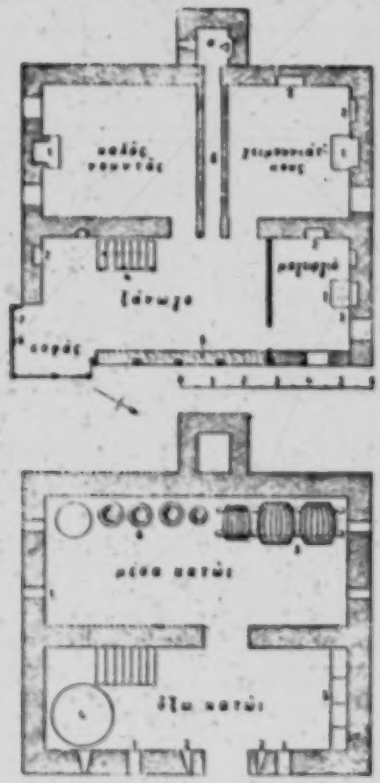

Fig. 17 House in Hellenopyrgos (See figure in p. 23, 2)

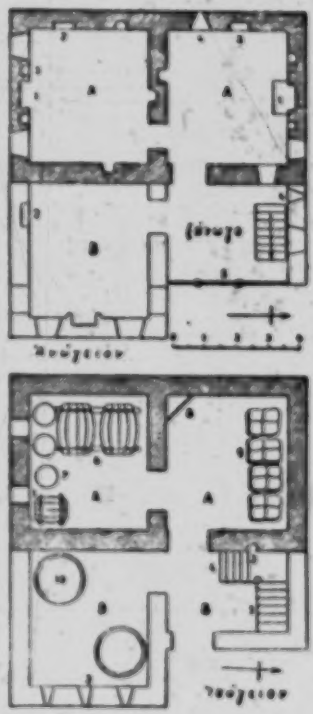

Fig. 18 House in Hagios Akakios (See figure in p. 23, 3)

(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαί Οἰκήσεις, figg. 37 and 38)
Ἰσόγειον (ground floor) A μέσα κατώι = inner basement B ἔξω κατώι = outer basement
Ἀνόγειον (upper floor) A winter room; B good room; xxxxxx = veranda

space meant for the habitation of the family, and the entrance as well as the hearth retain the same position as in the single floor house [2].

1) See **G. Megas**, ibid. figg. 32, 34, 36, 56, and 85.

2) **G. Megas**, Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδ. Ἀθήνου pp. 8, 13, 15 Θεσ. Οἰκήσ. fig. 29, 31, 33, 34.

×342 [231] [353]

The basement is used for stabling the cattle, keeping agricultural tools and storing cattle food and fruits. However, apart from the disadvantage of having the stable just underneath the living room, this double house is also insufficient to cover the needs of a family living on the produce of cattle breeding or vine growing, especially when this family is of somewhat comfortable means.

There is also a need for a separate storeroom suitable for the keeping of liquid products and supplies, and such one is created either by a division of the ground floor or by the addition to it of another space, in the direction of the top beam (1). Similarly, by a simple division of the space or by an addition, two rooms are created on the floor too, one of which is the kitchen. Down there in the hearth, in some places such as Agrafa, the bread is also baked (Fig. 16) (2).

In addition, the κροστῷον, on the ground floor, is usually fenced on the front part by a wall and forms another space, used as an «outside basement», where cattle are often stabled, and on the upper floor, the κροστῷον is closed on its narrow sides, and remains open on its front side and is thus used for spreading and drying maize and other fruits, for treating wool, weaving and for other occupations of mountainous populations, who also enjoy its cool shadow (fig. 17) (3).

That is why this originally open portico became an essential element of the building and has gradually been incorporated, in two-floored and in one-floored house, and finally even on its front part, has been closed off, partly or totally, by a thin wall.

By this arrangement, the κροστῷον on the upper floor, has either formed a spacious, closed room, extending all along the front part of the rooms and has kept its original names (ἀνώϊ, ξάνωγο, κρεββάτι, ἡλιακός, χαγιάτι (4) (Plate III 5, 6), or it was limited in space by the formation of one or two rooms at one or both ends of the portico by simple division (5) (Plate III, 4ᵃ, 5ᵃ, 7ᵃ). Thus, the form of double upper-lower floor house was created, perfectly meeting the needs of mountainous, cattle-breeding families and having the staircase within the house, thus affording greater security (6).

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1) G. Megas, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις figg. 32, 36.
2) Ibid. figg. 32, 34, 36.
3) Ibid. figg. 34, 36, 37.
4) Ibid. pp. 34, 50, 80a, 81a, 91.
5) Ibid. figg. 37, 38, 42, 44a, 48, 76.
6) Ibid. pp. 39 foll., 86 foll.

The further evolution of this type mainly concerns the interior arrangement of space. Namely, while on the ground floor the space of the inner basement was left as it was, or was divided into two parts, in the upper floor a narrow corridor is sometimes created between the rooms, leading to the lavatory which is built outside, on the back of this floor(1) (fig. 17, Plate III7) or a middle space is created between 342x [514]

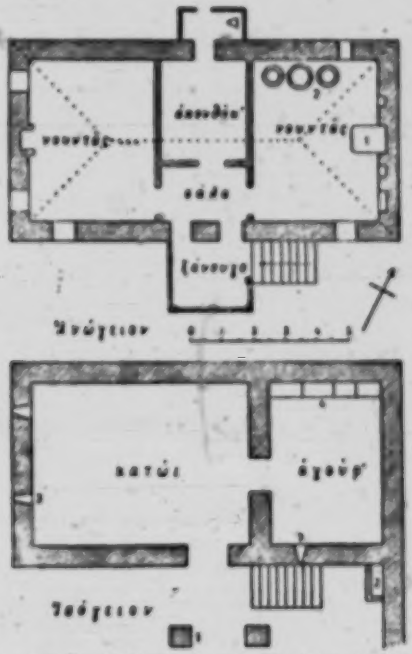

Fig. 19 House in Phanari, near Karditsa in Thessaly
(O. Μέγας, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, fig. 11)

the rooms(2) (Plate III 7a) usually divided by a thin middle wall in two unequal parts (fig. 19). The larger of these is used as a cellar, and the smaller as ante-room or entrance to the rooms on each side, as in the tripartite single floor houses(3) (Plate VIa) or is used as a drawing room (σάλα) where ends the staircase from the lower floor(4) (fig. 20).

1) Ibid. figg. 37, 44a A. 48.
2) Ibid. figg. 42, 44a second floor.
3) See fig. 12, above.
4) Ibid. figg. 45, 46, 47.

x 342 This last use contributed in the ground floor an equivalent space, including the staircase for the ascent to the drawing room. Thus, we have a tripartite division of space on the ground floor as well as on the upper floor, having the formations of this type as shown on Plate IV (Fig. 20).

A deviation from this form is created when the middle space is left open in its front part, thus forming as it were an extension of the προστῷον in depth (figg. 20* and 21, Plate V 1. 3. 3a).

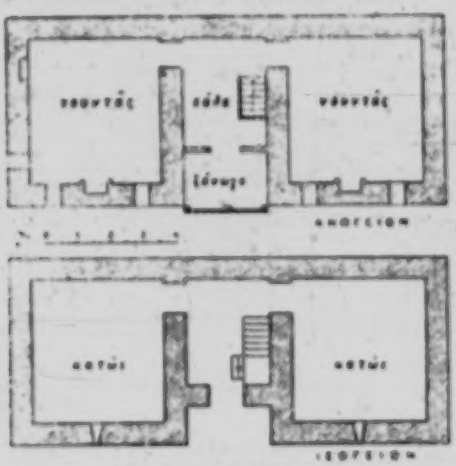

Fig. 20. A two-storey house in Hagios Akakios (G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, fig. 46)

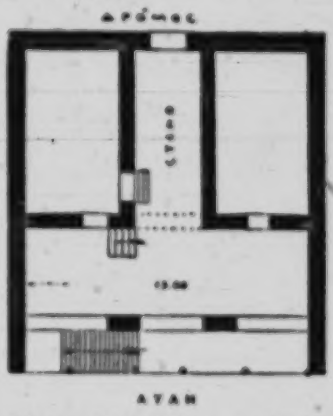

Fig. 20a Plan of the ground floor of a house in Arta (A. Orlandos, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, vol. 2 p. 181)

x 342 351 Such an arrangement of space on the ground floor has led to a modification in the way the house communicates with the street in certain urban centres of Northern Greece (Arta, Trikala, Tyrnavos, Ambelakia, ect.). Namely, the exit to the street was originally through the yard upon which the house was facing. But by the latter arrangement, there was only a wall separating the central space of the house from the street. A direct exit to it was then easily provided by the opening of a door on this wall. This, of course, was made only when the fear of direct communication of the house with the street disappeared or at least decreased. But even so, the arrangement of space and the total orientation of the house towards the enclosed yard was kept as before [1] (Figg. 20a and 23, Plate V 2, 2a-c, 7b and 8).

1) See **A. Orlandos**, Ἀρχ. Βυζ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, vol. 2 pp. 185. 186. **G. Megas**, Θεσσ. Οἰκήσεις Figg. 63, 64, 65 and 86.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

On the upper floor, this open space between the rooms constitutes a kind of ancient «ἐξέδρα» (a recess) or spacious «sofa», whose floor is slightly higher than the remaining floor, and is used, especially in the 342x [574]

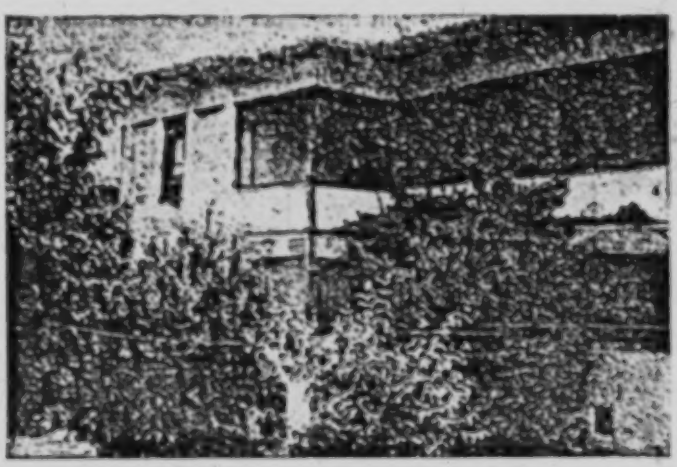

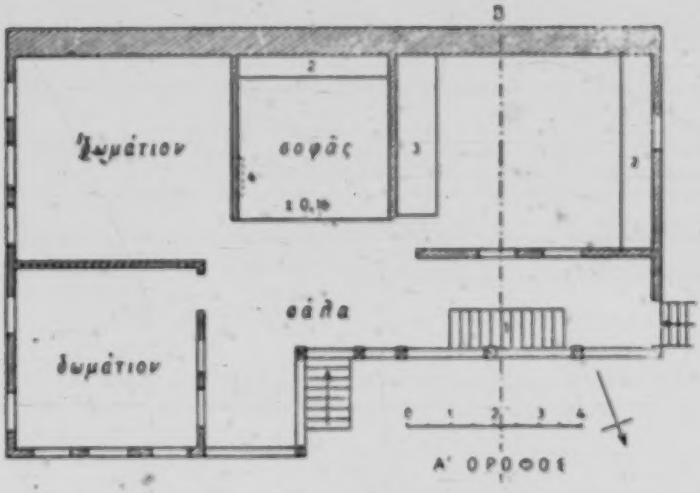

Fig. 21 House with a «sofa» between the rooms and a portico in front of them at Tyrnavos, in Thessaly

(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκίαι, fig. 61)

X 342 [574]

summer months, for the relaxation of the family or for reception of guests during holidays[1] (fig. 21, Plate V 3, 3a, etc).

This great evolution and variety of forms of Greek houses is, however, due to the different formation which one of the house's first elements, the κρεοστῷον, took on the upper floor in certain urban or

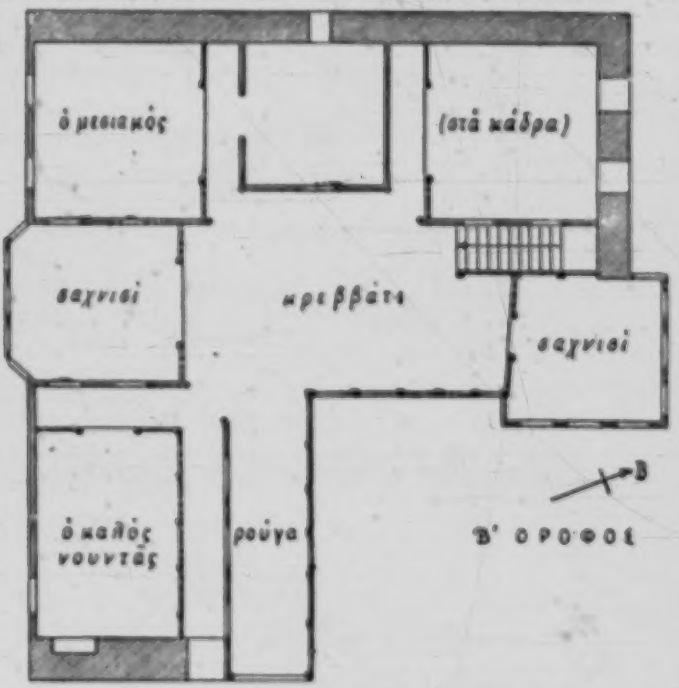

Fig. 21 The upper floor in the house of D. Sfortaos at Ambelakia
(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκίαι, fig. 112)
κρεοστῷον (oversti)—veranda ρούγα (ruga)—corridor σαχνιά (sahnia)—sofa

semi-urban centres of Northern Greece, for climatic, historical or cultural reasons.

That is, in areas where the climate is mild and where the orientation of the house is more favorable, such as on the slopes of

1) See **G. Megas**, ibid. p. 68 figg. 60, 62, 63, 66, 67. Cf. the «platform» of the Hellenistic houses of Priene and Delos. **Chr. Tsountas** Ἱστορία Ἑλληνικῆς Τέχνης pp. 389, 482.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 31]

351
342x
[312]

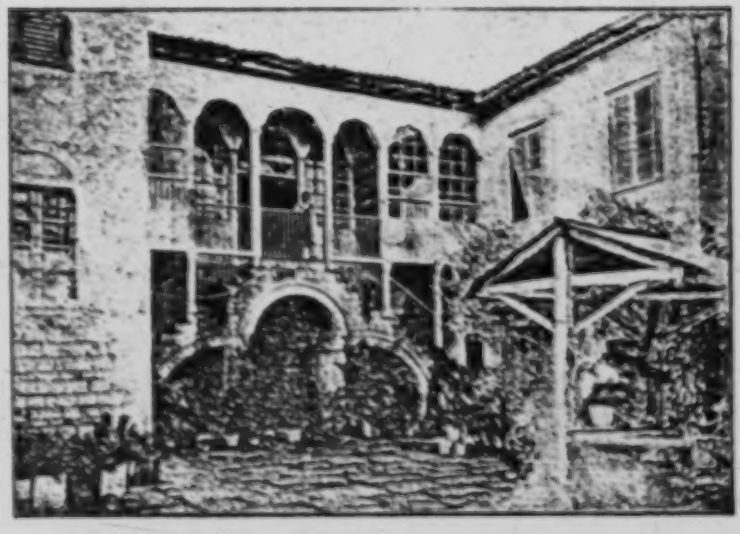

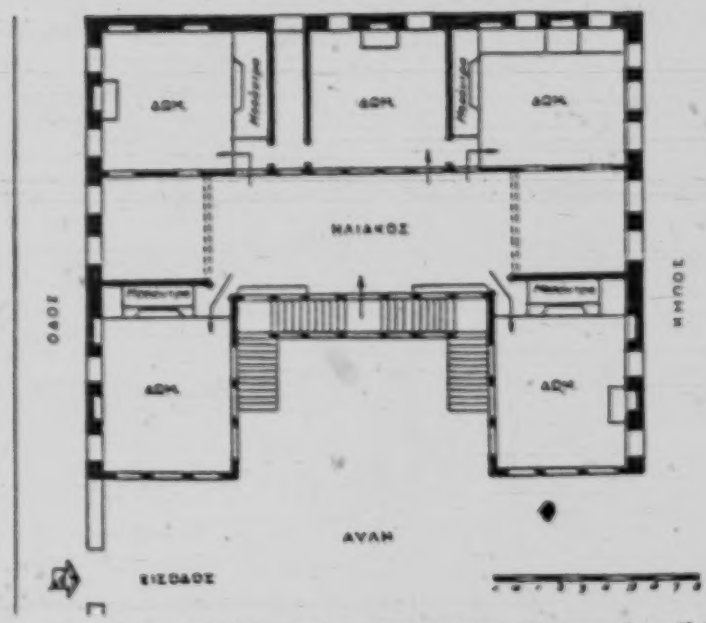

Fig. 224 An old «noble house» at Jannina in Epirus. Photograph and plan made by the architect Aristoteles Zachos (Ἠπειρωτ. Χρονικά, vol. 3 (1928) p. 297, and Pl. 3)

[p. 31]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
[p. 32]

342x
351

Fig. 23. An old house of Athens, Thucydides street, No 13. Photograph and plan, made by the architect Dr. Ares Constantinidis (Τὰ παλιὰ Ἀθηναϊκὰ σπίτια, Athens 1950 pp. 38 and 77)

[p. 32]

mountains and in hilly districts facing South, the portico of the upper floor is not thoroughly enclosed there, but it either remains completely open, and in this case the end of the roof on the front part of the house is supported by a series of wooden poles (ἀνώϊ, ἡλιακὸς or κρεββάτι) (1) (see fig. 16 and Plate III and IV 2, 3), or it is enclosed only on one side (fig. 21, Plate III and IV 2 a-c, 3 a-b V 3, 3a), or on both sides, (Plate III4, IV4, V5) thus forming one or two rooms. 342*

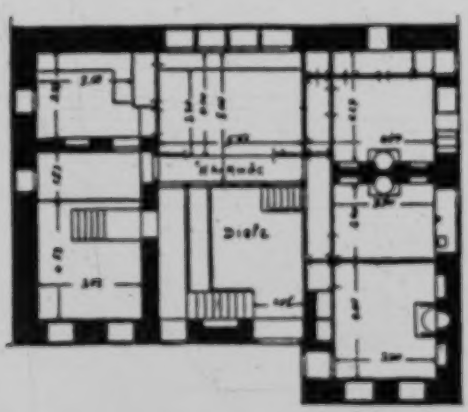

Fig. 24 Plan of a «noble house» in Siatista, Macedonia
(Ar. Zachos, Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen f. Bauwesen 1912/13 VII p. 247)

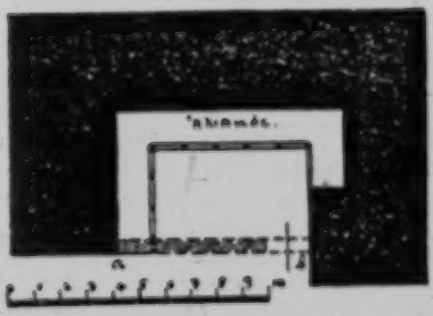

«The wall a-b was added in later years; it joined the two ends of the peristyle and closed the open side. A closed space was thus formed, a courtyard, which hence belonged to the interior of the house» (A. Zachos)

These rooms often extend over the building line, so that the whole construction very clearly takes the form of Γ or Π on the plan (2) (fig. 22. 22a Plate III 6a-b, IV 2c 3c-e 4a). Thus the open portico is limited to only a part of the frontage of the house. When the portico is continued as an open side arcade in front of the rooms along the sides of [351]

1) G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις figg. 32, 35, 36.
2) Ibid. σελ. 67 foll. figg. No. 57-60, 62, 80a, 81a.

x 342 the Γ or Π, then the spaces appear as if extending concentrically around the central yard, which is surrounded by a peristyle (1) (figg. 22 and 23 Plate V 3^{a} 5^{a-b} 6-6^{a-b} 7^{b} 8).
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This yard, in districts where the winter is severe and security was formerly scanty (Siatista, Kozani, Kastoria, Naoussa), was closed on the front part also by a wall as high as the roof, so that it appeared as a peristyle yard having around it the rooms of the house (2) (Fig. 24

x 342

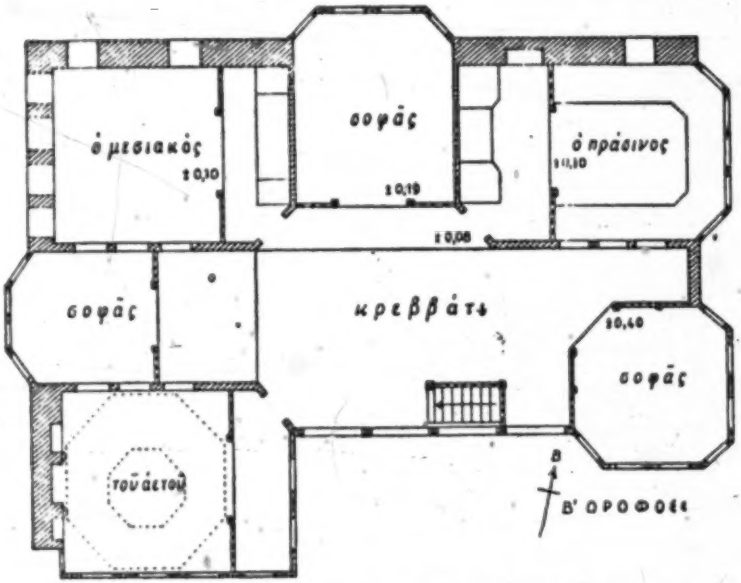

Fig. 25 A floor in the house of G. Sfortzos at Ambelakia
(G. Megas. Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, fig. 80a)

Plate V 7, cf. V 6, 6^{a} 7^{a}) in the same way, as it is seen in the Greek house of the Hellenistic period. Although we cannot say that this composite form of the modern Greek house is the direct outcome of the ancient Greek house, we still think that this method of formation is clear enough to understand the ancient formation.

In these more composite forms, the «sofa», about which we have
[353] spoken above, may also open to the arms of the Γ or the Π, and

1) Ibid. figg. No. 63, 72, 81a, 82.
2) Ibid pp. 108 foll. figg. 90, 91.

9:Megas I,B-5,4(no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

is not only elevated from the rest of the floor, but is separated from it by a wooden fence made of beautifully turned bars and by slender pillars connected at their top by a light arc. This «sofa» usually extends slightly over the exterior wall of the building and often takes the form of a beautiful octagonal kiosk, giving a view on the street and used as a special living space or as a drawing room for the reception of guests during holidays, (Figg. 22, 25 Plate V 5[b], 6[a b c]). With their decoration of carved wood and drawings the sofas and the «good rooms» give the house an accent of ease and urban comfort (1). 342x 353 [574]

Thus by various intermediate stages, we arrive from the rural house to the urban house, which combines practical with aesthetic and sanitary purposes. Such developed forms of houses are the noble houses of the urban centres of Epirus, Thessaly and Western Macedonia, dating from the 18th century, which are the result of the economic and spiritual prosperity of that period and constitute treasures of an unparalleled Greek art as regards harmony and decorative wealth. 342x

2. FLAT-ROOFED HOUSES

The visitor to the Aegean Islands, as well as to the islands of Crete and Cyprus, keeps a very pleasant impression from the view of the houses there. The island houses, with their cubic forms, beautiful arches and their white, plain appearence, are pleasing to the eye, and much more so because not one among them appears to make an effort of surpassing the others in height or size.

The main characteristic of these island houses is the flat roof, called δῶμα. This is made of overlaid layers of insulating material (seaweeds, clay etc.) spread to a thickness of 20—25 cm. over the horizontal beams and the reeds or thorny bushes that fill up the gaps between the beams of the roof (2). (See figg. in p. 36). In some islands of the Cyclades (Kimolos, Thera, Antiparos) the houses do not belong to

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1) See **G. Megas** op. cit. p. 97. **Angh. Hagimihali,** L'art populaire grec 1937 pp. 9 foll. Pl. 62-66.

2) The fact that in the Byzantine years the use of flat roofs was current can be seen from the following extract of Eustathios of Thessaloniki (Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς Ὁμήρου Ὀδύσσειαν κ 559) «πίπτει ὁ Ἑλπήνωρ διὰ τὸ τὰ δώματα μὴ κεραμωτὰ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὁποῖα καὶ νῦν ὡς εἰκὸς μυριαχοῦ, ὧν ταῖς δοκοῖς γῇ ἐκαμάται, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὴν στέγην χρήσιμον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι». **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Οἰκίαν (Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρ. Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 12, 98).

[p. 36]

x342
[353]

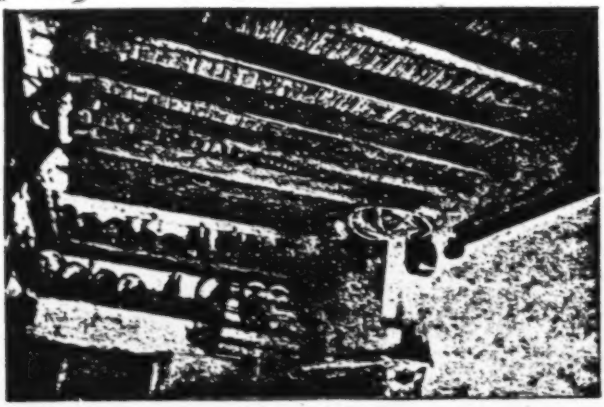

Above: Ceiling and interior of a house in the village of Kephalos on the island of Kôs.

Middle: the flat roof (δῶμα) of a house in the island of Rhodes. At the end the chimney.

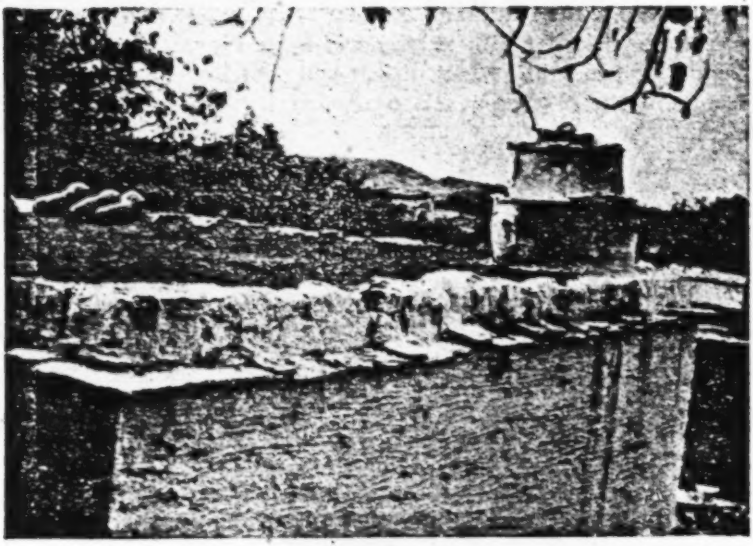

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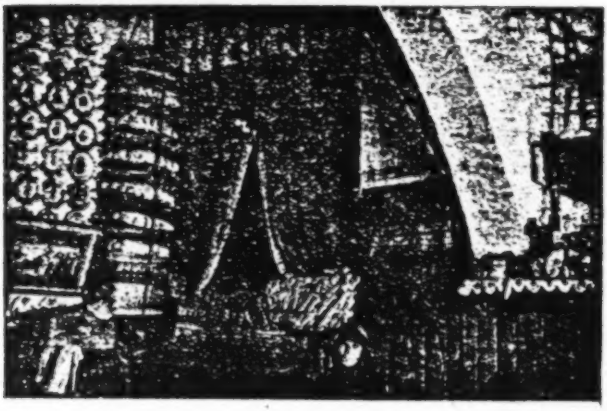

A corner of a house with arch in the village of Phanes in Rhodes.

[p. 36]

342 x

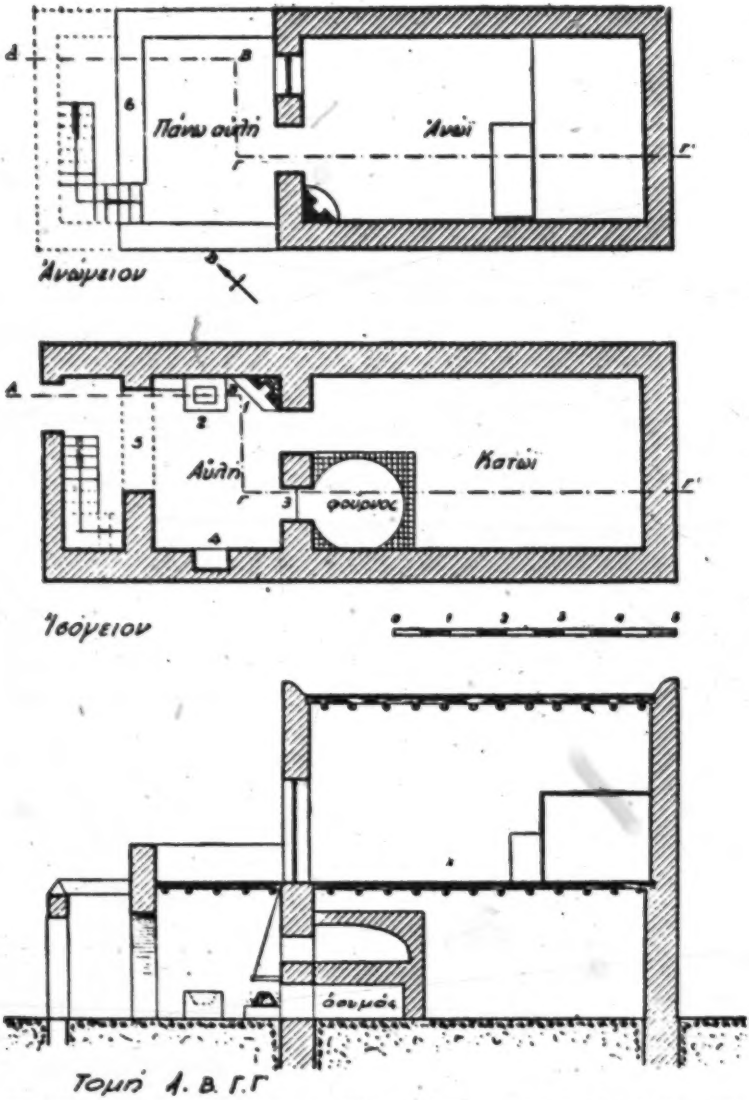

Fig. 26 Village Emboriòs (island of Nissyros). House of I. Vlachos in the castle [312]

(G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 24)

Πάνω αὐλή = upper courtyard, terrace; δουμός = pigsty 1 hearth 2 well 3 arch

x 342 the genuine flat-roof type, but have their origin in the stone covered house, having a cylindrical dome for a roof.

[433] [231] [251] In the smaller islands (Cyclades, Dodecanese), where agricultural production is very moderate and where, owing to the peaceful manners and to the existing security, the stables of cattle and even the stores of cereals and of wine, oil etc. are mostly away from the dwelling places (see G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, pp. 5 and 45), the house is meant only to the purpose of sheltering the family and partly to the keeping of the agricultural and animal products. Owing to the fact that the house is an essential element for the dowry and for the housing of a couple with their unmarried children, the single house, that is the house which consists of one rectangular room, is the most common form in these islands. It is understood that there are also some rural houses, especially in Rhodes, where the cattle is stabled (or has been stabled) at one end of the house under the same roof with the inhabitants (fig. 28).

[583] [592] [231]

This «single» house belongs to both forms of houses, the narrow and the wide form.

The first form mainly prevails in certain islands, such as Skyros, Amorgos, Kythnos, and sporadically in many other islands of the Cyclades, of the Dodecanese, and sometimes in Crete and Cyprus. This house has mainly a πρόστῳον on its narrow side, but, instead of supporting roof poles it has an arch on its front part (Plate VIIIa 5)(1), and more often it is enclosed on the front part as well, forming a real ante-room or a roofed yard (Cf. fig. 13, 14)(2). In several places, more over as in Crete, even in this form, it keeps the name of the open portico «χαγιάτι», as we have seen it in the case of the narrow-front houses of Thrace with the inclined roof. Consequently, the narrow-front house of the islands, in its simplest form, preserves the form of the ancient megaron.

The cylindrically-covered houses of Kimolos, Thera and Antiparos are also of the narrow-front type (3).

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1) See the Cypriot Rural House, in Laographia vol. 11 p. 81. Cf. the House of Nissyros (Fig. 26 above) and the House of Amorgos (Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδομία Λήμνου Fig. 15). In front of their covered yard, whose roof is supported by an arch, these houses have another open courtyard (Plate VIIIa 6).

2) **G. Megas,** Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 26.

3) **A. Wace,** The towns and houses of the archipelago, in the Burlington Magazine 26, 1914/15, 99 foll. **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus u. Hof im Altertum p. 64 where there is also a plan of a «Tonnendachhaus» of Kimolos.

The second form, namely the wide-front house, is much more frequently found on the islands, as well as in continental Greece, and in several places it keeps the prostyle prostoon, but usually a creeping vine takes the place of the portico. Generally the wide-front house favours a better distribution of space than does the narrow-front one. 342x

The architectural articulation of this house consists of a regular distribution of the interior: a sofa or πεζούλα with the hearth on the one side, and a wooden bed called κρέββατος or μπαταρός, on the other; the space under the bed is called ἀποκρέββατος and serves as a cellar. [354] [352]

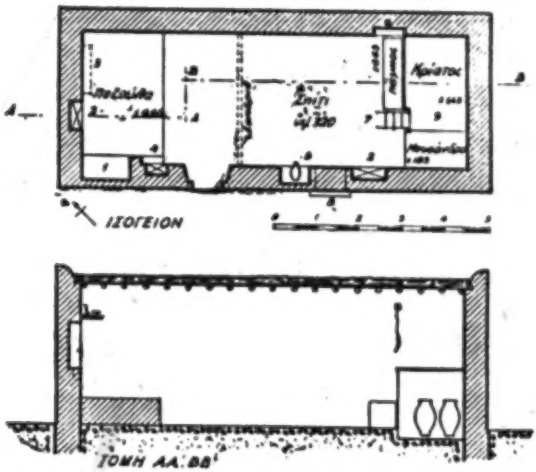

Fig. 27 Kephalos, Kôs. The long house of Maria Yiannou
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 1)
1 hearth 2 cupboards

The widening of space in this single house, (called long house, μακρυνάρι) is easy along the longer side, namely the «long wall», but not so along the narrow side, namely the «short wall», because the width of this side is determined by the beams used for the construction of the roof, which, according to the sizes of building timber prevailing in the islands and for the weight they will support, are not longer than 4-4,50 meters. Thus, the inside of the house is limited to 3.20-3.60 meters. That is why the widening along this side was obtained by the creation of a certain intermediate support of the roof, so 342x 335

×342 that the beams would be put in two successive lines, thus covering a
335 wider space.

This support is actually created by placing a long and resistant beam of 9-12 m. lentgh, leading from the middle of the one short wall to the middle of the other, (μεσιάς, Fig. 28 Plate IXa 1[a]) or by using a shorter beam, but which is leaning on one or both its ends upon built supports called «pilieri» (single-pilieri or double-pilieri house) in Rhodes and Cyprus (Fig. 29 Plate IXa 1[b c])([1]). This beam, especially when it is long, is supported in its centre or its one end by a wooden pole.

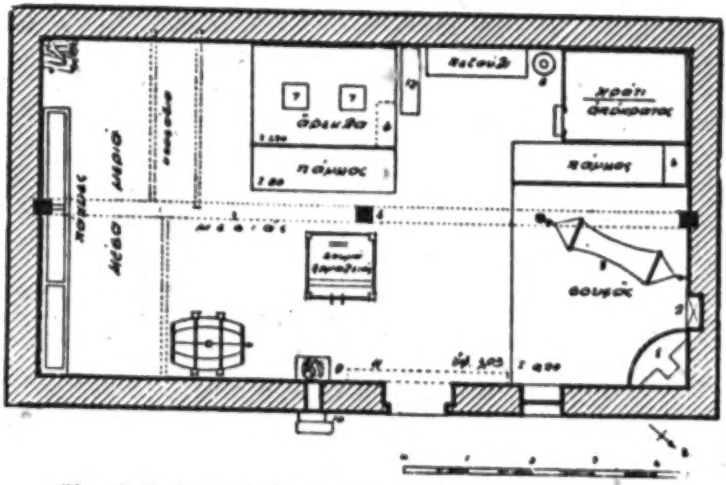

Fig. 28 Embona-Rhodes. Old house of Antony Emm. Antonakis
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, H. 3)
Ploughing animals are stabled in the inner part (μέσα μαμά).
Μεσιάς (mesias) — middle beam πάγκος = bench κρέβατι = bed ἀρκάλα = arcula
ἀργαλειός = loom 1 hearth 4 pole

[352
286]

×342 In places, however, where building stone is abundant, such as
333 in many of the Cyclades, the eastern part of Rhodes, Nisyros etc. in order to support the roof, a big arch (καμάρα) is constructed, which was probably introduced in popular house building, just as the construction of domes, through the construction of fortresses, prevalent

1) **G. Megas,** Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 7 and 8. In Katavia of Rhodes these are called «antimissia».

in the islands (Fig. 30, Plate IX a, 2). The use of the arch was probably extended from the wide-front house to the narrow-front one, in places where beams of a sufficient length were not available for the widening of space. In this case, the arch was built from the one long wall to the other, and the roof beams were placed on two parallel rows 342x [333]

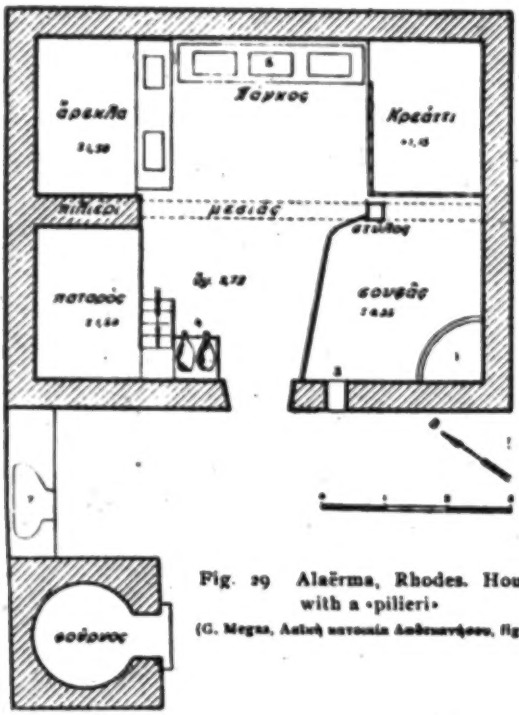

Fig. 29 Alaërma, Rhodes. House with a «pilieri»
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 8)

in the direction of the long side of the house. In this way, the narrow front house too, gained in width on its narrow side (Plate VIII a 2, 5, 5a, 7, 7a, 8, 9, 9a).

By this arch, the space of the house was divided, as with the pilieri, into two equal parts: the inside space (μέσα χώρα) and the outside space (ἔξω χώρα), as they are called in Rhodes and the four corners that were separated on both sides of its jambs were allocated, in [353]

*342 the inside space, to the bed and an «arcula», and in the outside space, to the hearth with a low sofa in front of it and a higher sofa on the [353] opposite side. (Figg. 29 and 30).

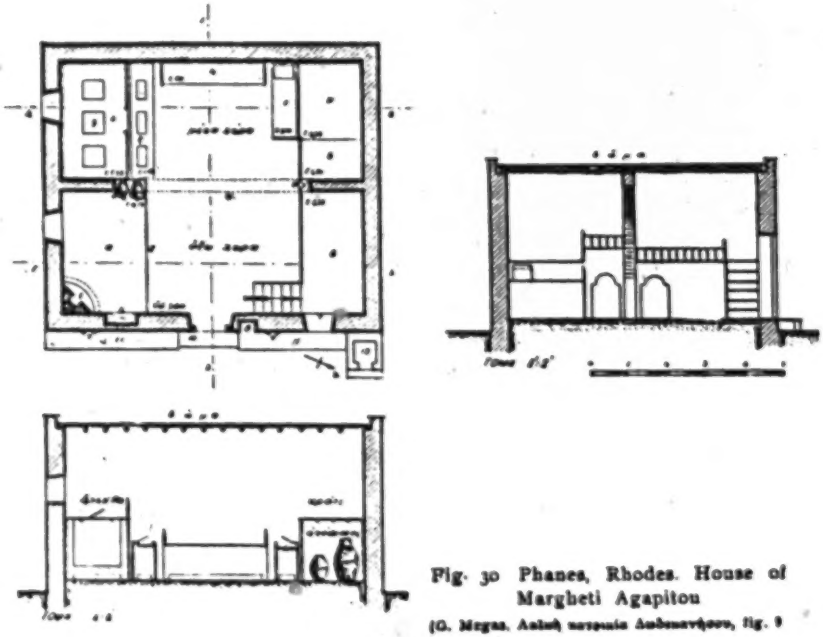

Fig. 30 Phanes, Rhodes. House of Margheti Agapitou
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 9

[333]

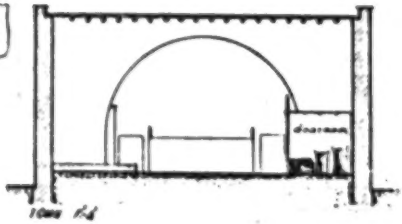

α hearth place
β arcula
γ bed
δ mussandra
ε sofa
ζ, η, θ benches
κ arch
ι hearth

In some of the Cyclades, the corners of the inside space were arranged to form small rooms, used as bedrooms, and the outside space was used as a living room for the family (Plate VIIIa 7[b]).

The most usual method of increasing space to the flat-roof houses is by making additions. 342x

In the case of the narrow-front house, whose προστῷον, as has been said, is mostly arranged into an anti-room or a kitchen, another is usually added in front of it, in the shape of an open or a covered yard (fig. 26 Plate VIIIa 6. 5b IXa 7) or sometimes an equivalent space is added to the back part of the house in the form of a back-room (Plate VIIIa 9. 9a). An increase of space in this type of house is also achieved by the addition of a roof over the main room (fig. 26) or also over its anti-room (Nissyros) (1) and by the addition of one or more rooms all along the long side of the narrow-front house (VIII b, 1-4).

Similarly, the spaces of the wide-front house are increased by: a) arranging the προστῷον or by adding one or two auxiliary spaces on the frontside (fig. 31, Plate IXa, 3, 4) (2) and b) by adding a smaller room into one of its short sides, used as a kitchen or a mill room (καρδάπιτο) and which often has a room on its roof (house with upper room, Ikaria, Telos, Nisyros, Karpathos) (fig. 32, Plate IXb, 1, 2) (3).

The ascent to this upper room is effected through an external stone staircase ending to a wide landing (ἀξάτα) under which the space is used for the construction of the oven, the chicken-coop and the pig sty (δουμᾶς). Sometimes, this addition is made on both the narrow sides of the house, in which case a living room (σάλα) is built above the main house (Telos) (Plate IXc, 3a) (4).

In Crete, and probably also in Cyprus, (there is very little information about the houses of the latter), where the arable land is more ample, the agricultural products more abundant, and where the livestock are stabled near the house of the farmer, there is a need for a more composite house. Such a house is formed by the addition of more rooms to the upper and lower floors.

But while in the houses with a roof, inclined on both sides, the additional spaces are placed under the same roof, which is extended in certain directions and gives an organic unity to the whole group (p. 7), in the flat-roof house the covering of each space of the house is independent and no architectural element connects the various 341 342x

1) **G. Megas,** Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, figg. 26. 27. 28.
2) Ibid. figg. 13. 14. 19. 20. 23.
3) Ibid. figg. 29. 30.
4) Ibid. fig. 31.

X 342 [341] components of the house which are added without connection to each other. Thus, the smaller roof (παρδόκιτο) which is normally added to the narrow side of the wide-front house, is easily added to one end of the front side (Plate IXb 3, 4), or to extend over the building line according to requirements (Plate IXc 4). The only connecting element between the various parts of this flat-roof house is the need to

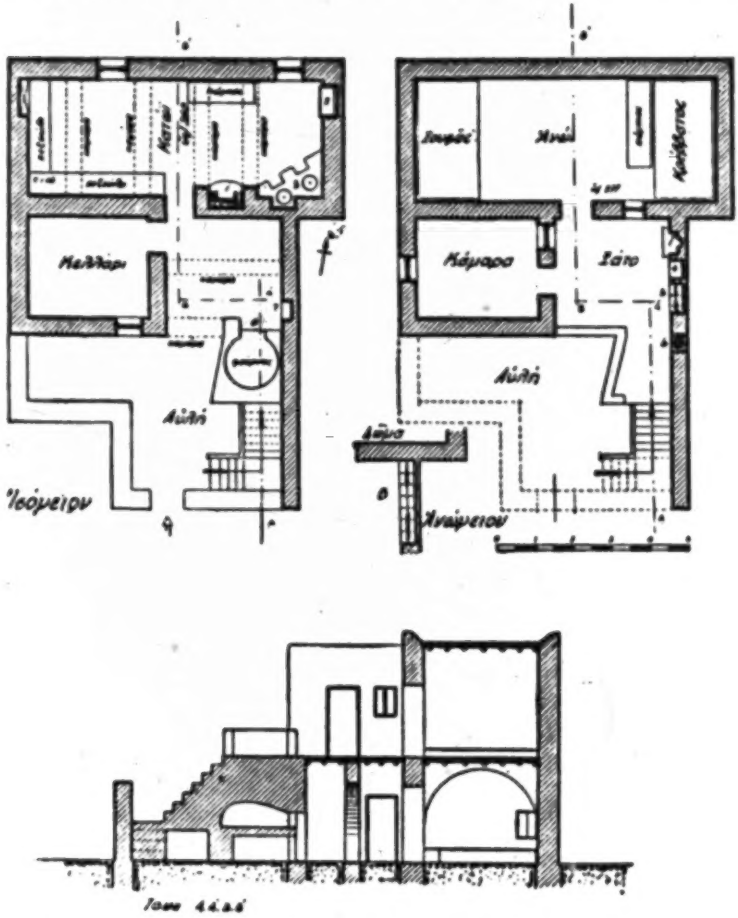

Fig. 31 Nikeiá, Nisyros. House of Dim. Chartophyllis
(G. Megas. Λαϊκή κατοικία Δημητσαντόφυλλου fig. 21)

[Text continues on p. 46]

342x

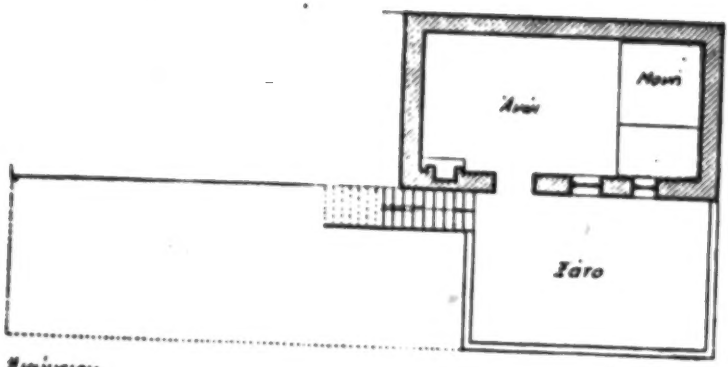

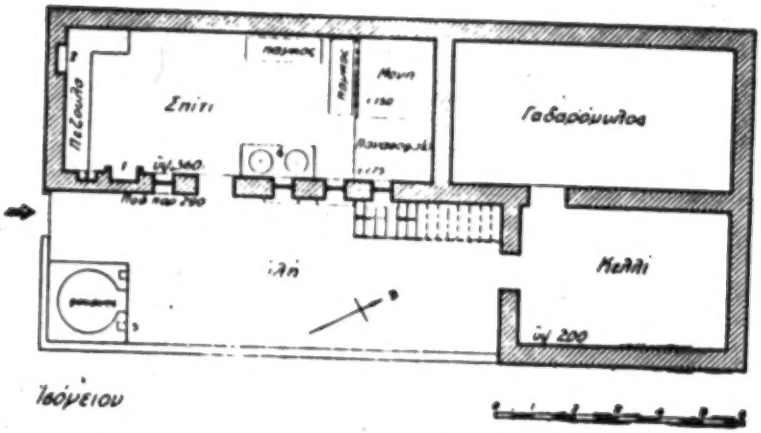

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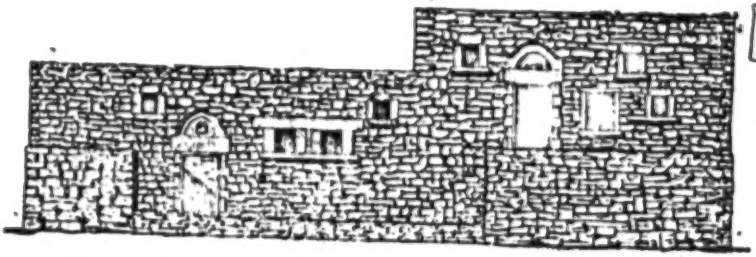

Fig. 32 Mikro Chorio, Telos. House of Philippis Koufomanolos
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου fig. 29)

*342 concentrate everything around the main living space, so that all
341 rooms open to a central yard. Thus, in Crete, Cyprus, etc., apart from the double and triple blocks, we find multiple blocks, in one or two floors, which in the plan have the form of Γ or Π or sometimes T (Plate IXc 5. 6., IXd 2-5).

It is seen, from the whole examination, that the island house has not had the fine evolution of the house of continental Greece but rather remained faithful to simple forms, a legacy of the ancient times. However, in this primitive simplicity, the island house kept the beauty of simple lines and of natural forms, both the arch and the arched windows and doors giving to the cubic form of the island house a mark of pleasant contrast, especially when, as in the narrow-front house, the προστῷον is open and has an arch, instead of columns, for supporting the roof (Plate VIIIa 5). Apart from this, the regular division
[353] of the interior, the order and regularity noted in the arrangement of household furniture and utensils and the passionate love of the islanders for decoration, so that all parts of the house are fully adorned, constitute marked facts of the Greek island house.

From this summary review it is clearly seen that Greece, situated on the SE end of the European Continent and by its Islands, a neighbour of the districts of SW Asia and NE Africa, presents both the basic types of housing architecture and a variety of building forms, the proof of a long and important evolution, according to the geographical position, the nature of the ground and the long history of its civilization.

*342 Greek architecture, which has its origin in the prehistoric Greek
174 and in general the North European house, namely the megaron (1),
341 makes its appearance in neolithic and Mycenaean times, and survives to this day in some regions with a surprisingly undiminished energy. This arhitecture has gradually perfected its ways and means of construction and improved the form of the dwelling. And first, it often deviated from the narrow to the wide-front types (2), probably for the advantages presented by a long front side,

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1) **F. Behn** in Eberts Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte, 5 (1926) 186 foll. 193 **Gerda Boëtius,** Studier 1. Den Nordiska Timmerbyggnadskonsten. Stockholm 1927, pp. 25 and foll. Eldhuset eller Megarontypen.

2) This tendency for a wide front is shown by the neolithic houses (**D. Robinson** in RE Suppl. VII p. 226) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Gnomon 1927, p. 173, on those countries neighbouring the area of flat-roof houses, and under their influence, the eagle-type house disappeared and became wide-fronted.

which can easily have a wider προστῷον by a simple extension of the roof. In the beginning, it succeded in forming the outline of a farm house, consisting of one or two rooms, with an open προστῷον at the front, adapted to the natural elements (soil, climate, building materials) and to the occupation of the inhabitants, and gradually formed various types of agricultural houses. 342× 174 341

This effect was possible, as it has been proved, because the προστῷον is an element capable of undergoing change (1), sometimes remaining open, and sometimes being totally or partially closed and incorporated to the main body of the house. By a continuous but organic evolution, those composite types of the modern Greek house were also formed, where the individual spaces are developed as if round the central yard, which is surrounded by a peristyle, with exactly the same method as it may be seen in the byzantine and post-byzantine monasteries and in the remains of the excavations at Olynthos, Delos and Priene.

Thus, the close relation and connection of the modern Greek house to the ancient one becomes obvious and, since the formation of the housing architecture is mainly related to the nature of the land, the study of the modern Greek houses is very profitable for the understanding of the equivalent architectural forms of ancient Greece; because, as it was very rightly stated by Franz Oelmann (Gnomon, 1927, p. 174) «the complete understanding of ancient Greek building forms, as that of any other country, is not possible without the exact knowledge of the modern popular architecture». 342× 172

Although in order to clarify the relation of the modern Greek house to the ancient one, I think it advisable to state in as brief a form, as possible, a summary of ancient house building, giving at the same time general evolutionary diagrams of the main types of building, as they are revealed by recent excavations which have contributed so abmirably to our knowledge (2).

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1) The προστῷον is very often seen in the houses of the Arian and Indo-European races, with many variations, and constitutes a basic element of the houses of this group of races (see **H. Behn**, in Eberts Reallex d. Vorgeschichte, 14 (1929) pp. 216 and foll.

2) See the article of **David Robinson** in Pauly-Krolls RE Suppl. VII 1940, 226-276. **G. Karo** in Eberts Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 5, 202 foll. Cf. **B. Rider**, The Greek House, Cambridge 1916. **Chr. Tsountas**, Ἱστορία Ἀρχ. Ἑλληνικῆς Τέχνης, Athens 1928. **D. S. Robertson**, A Handbook of Greek and Roman

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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B. THE ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

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S
V
[342]

I will not mention the curved buildings of the prehistoric era, namely the circular, elliptical, horse-shoe and arched forms, although they represent a primitive type ot human dwelling, seen in Greece from very ancient times, and although we could greatly increase our knowledge through the study of the construction of the thached or branched conical and saddle-shaped huts, used with us even to-day, by the Sarakatsanes, the Vlachoi and the Karagounides of Thessaly. For instance, the elliptical hut at Kaminades, Karditsa(1), which is not entirely curved, but has straight lines to connect the two arches and forms thus a rectangular and curved construction, teaches us how, through the influence of the rectangular shapes the arched forms were created as it is shown in the egg-shaped house at Rini in Thessaly (beginning of bronze age) and also what the type of covering in this mixed type of house would have been (2).

Consequently, I shall confine myself to the examination of the straight lined, and especially the rectangular, houses, since these today, as in the prehistoric times in Greece, constitute the most prevailing form of building.

The type of house, known as the megaron, can already be found in the neolithic age in Thessaly, in its main elements, namely the external shape and the internal arrangement of space. It is a rectangularly shaped dwelling, divided in depth, having its entrance on the narrow side and consisting of an ante-room (πρόδομος) with two posts or columns between the two antae (or even without the columns), and of two rooms, one of them larger with a hearth in the middle, and the other smaller (Plate X, 1. 2).

In the most elementary form, this building form is bipartite consisting of one room and one ante-room, and it is found under this elementary form in the palaces of the Mycenean and Homeric ages, as at Phylakopi in Melos, at pre-mycenean Troy II and at Tiryns, where, as at Mycenae, there is another room between the ante-room and the main room (Plate X, 3-5). This simplest form

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Architecture. Cambr. 1929, 2 edit. 1943. **Carl Weickert,** Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland u. Kleinasien 1929. **G. P. Oikonomos,** Ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡραίου πήλινος οἰκίσκος, Contribution to the History of Architecture in Archaeol. Ephemeris, 1931.

1) **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 11, Fig. 2.

2) **B. Rider,** The Greek House, p. 64 Fig. 8; **G. P. Oikonomos,** op. cit. pp. 20 foll. Cf. **G. Mylonas,** Ἡ νεολιθικὴ ἐποχὴ ἐν Ἑλλάδι. Athens 1928.

was kept by the houses of the Geometric and the archaic ages, as it is shown by the models of clay houses and especially that of Heraion at Argos, of the middle of the 8th century (1), and by the house of Peleus, shown on the well known crater of Klitios dated 560 B.C. (2). This is also confirmed by the more ancient temples which, as it is known, have originated from the megaron, and that is why the characteristic of most of the ancient temples is the pronaos, which takes the shape of a prodomos with the two columns between the two antae, as in the more ancient temple of Nemesis at Ramnous or, less often, the shape of a double column prostyle as at the archaic temple of Athena at Sounion (first half of 6th century B.C.) (Plate X 6, 7)(3). In both these temples, sole the σηκὸς was the house of the goddess. 172 342x

That the megaron remained unchanged as a building form in its primary disposition of space during the following periods which do not provide us with house remains in a satisfactory condition, is proved 1) by the palaces of some tyrants of the archaic and classical ages, excavated at Larissa, near Hermos where the tradition of the Mycenean royal palace is beyond doubt, but also where a new tendency appears, the tendency to include the megaron into a larger group of houses, imposed by the need for creation of more living space, and 2) by the houses at Priene in Asia Minor, belonging to the Hellenistic age (3rd to 2nd Cent. B.C.) (Plate XI). The nucleus of the house is also formed here by a square or rectangular (in depth and never in length) room which as a rule has in front of it a προστῷον with closed side walls and, in case of a bigger opening, with one or two columns standing between antae. That is, the form of megaron or of the temple is obviously taken as basis here as well.

The need to create more spaces imposed here the addition, on one of the long sides, of a series of smaller spaces, with a corresponding long corridor on the opposite side (Plate XI 1, 3). It should be noted that the largest room, which sometimes has the hearth in its middle (Plate XI 2) and has a προστὰς in front of it, is distinguished from the others by the name «house» (οἶκος) refering to it as the original nucleus of the dwelling (4).

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1) **G. Oikonomos,** op. cit. pp. 1 and 15.

2) **Chr. Tsountas,** op. cit. p. 107 Fig. 141.

3) **G. Oikonomos**, pp. 25 - 31; **Oelmann,** pp. 67 and foll.

4) **B. Rider,** op. cit. p. 241 foll. Cf. the «αὐλή» with the «μικρόστι» or «ἀμικρόστι» of the Thracian and Macedonian houses, **G. Megas,** Θρᾳκ. Οἰκήσεις p. 36 note 1).

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x 342

This group, forming the main part of the house and always facing South, has in front of it a courtyard (αὐλή) which, according to the size of the building plot, may be surrounded on one, two or even three sides by auxiliary rooms. A peripheral portico, a peristyle, is not found in the more ancient houses at Priene. Only in one case is the one side wing of the building formed by a simple arcade without any room at its back (Plate XI, 3). As it has been proved by the findings of excavations, the houses at Priene were brick-covered and therefore had an inclined, and not a horizontal, roof. The same arrangement of spaces is also found on recently excavated houses, not only in the Greek towns of Asia Minor, such as Kolophon, but also in the Greek mainland. Thus, at Agrinion, two houses of the 4th cent. B.C. were excavated, reminding of the megaron type of Priene (Robinson, in RE, suppl. VII p. 268). A similar arrangement is found in a house excavated at Diocletianoupolis in W. Macedonia, which has a hearth in the middle of the bigger room (1).

In spite of all this, the form of the megaron is not the exclusive shape of Greek house building. Already from the bronze age, and even before, other forms of dwellings were constructed, bearing no relation at all to the shape of the megaron, but showing a clear tendency towards the wide-front house.

Another building type has arisen from this tendency, the type of the «pastas» which appears as complete in the classical ages. The oldest clear remains of this type were found at Olynthos in Chalkidiki which, as it is known, was destroyed by Philip in 348 B.C. These excavations, directed by David Robinson, have brought to light more than one hundred houses, and have proved that in the 5th century, or even before, a building type was developed (or imported from outside) having the disposition of spaces not in depth, but alongside each other. It mainly consists of a series of 3-4 rooms of the wide-front type, one of which, the largest, which is distinguished by the term «οἶκος», constitutes the nucleus of the house and may be considered as the original architectural element or cell in the sense of historical development. The «οἶκος» includes the hearth and the valanium, and has in one corner an optanium or kitchen and the chimney. The other rooms, beside it, are διαιτητήρια that is living-rooms (Plate XII 1).

All these spaces face South and open to a long and narrow portico, which is named «παστάς» and gives the main character to

1) **A. Keramopoullos,** Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας 1938 p. 55.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

the whole building form, which corresponds to the «προστάς» or «πρόστασις» of the megaron type. Usually the παστὰς covers the whole length of the house, but sometimes one or both of its ends are divided off by a wall, thus forming auxiliary spaces such as store rooms (κιθῶνας), exactly as it happens in the modern Greek houses of this form. Finally, by extension of these spaces, other rooms are added in the form of separate wings, added at right angles at the ends of the παστάς. Thus, as a rule, a square courtyard is left in the middle, enclosed on all four sides, and the whole building takes the form of Π. 172 342x

This form has been further developed by the extension of the παστάς also on the side wings of the house and on the southern side of the courtyard, which is thus surrounded on all four sides by porticos or «peristyle» (Plate XII 2). These porticos are built with wooden posts, supporting stone capitals of doric style. The portico of the northern side, however, extending in front of the central and most important part of the house, has, as a rule, a greater depth than the others and is so arranged as to receive the sun in winter and to have shade in summer, as it is exactly stated in the Memorabilia of Xenophon III, 8,9 «in houses with a southern aspect in winter the sun shines into the παστάς, but in summer going over our heads and over the roofs it causes a shadow». And as D. Robinson has ascertained, the roofs of the houses of Olynthos were eagle-shaped.

The wide extent of this form of building is proved by the finding of houses, similar to Olynthos, at Pella in Macedonia, in the North, and at Delos in the Cyclades, and in Kôs(1) in the South. Delos, espiecially, which owes its progress to the Hellenistic period, and was destroyed in 88 and 69 B. C., has, like the towns near Vesuvius, kept its remains intact.

The houses at Delos do not differ much, from the point of view of time, from the houses at Priene, or even better, they are about one hundred years younger; that is they originate from the 2nd cent. B.C. and perhaps from the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C.(2) But, as

1) Below, Plate XII 5, the plan of a house in Kôs is reproduced, as it was measured and drawn by the writer in August 1948. This house, excavated by Moricone, is distinguished by its beautiful mosaics; it displays Europe's abduction, and it probably belongs to the Hellenistic years, yet it underwent changes in the arrangement of the courtyard, which I cannot determine before the systematic publication of the excavation. I am reproducing the present plan in order to show better how this type of house was widely spread in southern Greece.

2) **R. Vallois,** L'architecture Hellénique à Délos, 1944 pp. 205 and foll.

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172
x 342

Fr. Oelmann (Gnomon 1927, 168) was the first to note that the houses at Delos are «from many points of view, diametrically opposite» to the houses at Priene because, while the latter basically retain the megaron type of building, «the nucleus of the houses at Delos, always consists of a big wide-front space, whose front part is, whenever possible, facing South, and which opens on a long and narrow portico».

Consequently, the similarity of the houses at Delos to those at Olynthos is obvious, as it is also shown in the plates attached (Plate XII); and what has been said for the houses at Olynthos, as regards the division of spaces and the whole formation of the peristyle, equally applies to the house construction form of Delos.

As Fr. Oelmann remarks, only the richest and relatively biggest houses at Delos have this internal courtyard surrounded by porticoes on all four sides, that is by a peristyle. But «the main essence of the house at Delos does not consist in the peristyle, i. e. in the conscientious artistic arrangement of the internal courtyard as a space, which is a secondary element, but in the wide-front shape of the central space and in the flat roof». Fr. Oelmann did not yet know the houses at Olynthos. In any case, the peristyle in the 2nd cent. B.C., spread very widely and became an essential element of any somewhat important house (Plate XII 4). From Greece, it was introduced to Italy and became the main part of the house of the Roman nobles.

Such, in general lines, is the development of housing architecture in ancient Greece.

From what has been said, it has been clearly proved that there are two main building types: the type of the megaron and the type of the πατριός. Originated from elementary and simple shapes, they have gradually developed and, in continuous coexistence, they reached more composite and perfect forms of urban dwelling. For lack of sufficient data, we cannot follow equally well, the development of Greek house building during the subsequent period and the Middle-Ages (1); but the survival of the ancient building types in all their variety and vitality in modern Greece, which is clearly shown if we simply compare the plates attached, proves their continuity also

1) About the house in Byzance, in general, see **E. Gerland**, Das Wohnhaus der Byzantiner, Der Burgwart, 16 (1915) No 1 p. 10-19; **Ph. Koukoules**, Περὶ τὴν Βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑτ. Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν ΙΒ' 1936 p. 76 and foll; **An. Orlandos**, Τὰ παλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, vol. III 1937 pp. 54 and foll, 91 where one can realise certain differences in the house system of Middle Ages.

9:Megas I,B-5,4(no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

during the Middle Ages, so that their tradition in Greek soil remains continuous and unbroken from the most ancient times up to-day. 172 342 x

It should be further noted that the wide-front house, so common in modern Greek architecture, did also predominate during the classical period and probably in even previous ages, but while ruins of ancient dwellings lie as silent and enigmatic remains of the life they sprung from, and mostly show intricate the outlines of ancient Greek domestic architecture, modern Greek habitations being alive and active expressions of popular art, reveal by their bold shapes the evolution to actual popular architecture, and thus assist us in our understanding of the ancient shapes; this is the reason why the investigation of modern dwellings is of even greater importance.

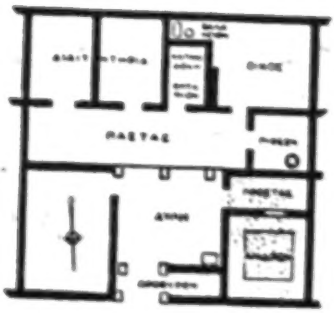

Ground floor of house A VII 4 at Olynthus (between 432 and 348 B.C.)

(D. M. Robinson in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realenc. Suppl. VII(1940) p. 234)

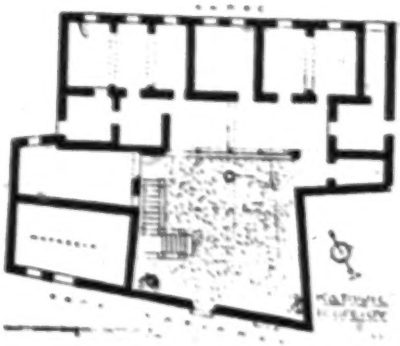

Ground floor plan of a dwelling situated at 96, Adrianos Street, Athens, dating from the 18th century A.D.

(Αν. Ορλάνδος, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. ἀνωμάτων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, vol. V (1939-48) p. 199.

«*The resemblance of the Athenian plan to the Olynthian speaks for itself... The basic arrangement of the vernacular Hellenic house has been preserved by an unseen undercurrent of previous tradition*» Prof. Antony Kriesis in «The Architectural Review» London, June 1948 pp. 367 foll.

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II. THE HOUSE OF THE SLAV PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS

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There have been many studies about the shapes of the popular houses of the Bulgars, Serbs and Albaniers, but no comparative survey has been as yet carried out, to determine their relation to the Greek house.

Jovan Cvijic' in «La Péninsule Balcanique», Paris, 1918 p. 244 has tried to discern the various housing types in the Balcans and to determine their expansion. Among those he includes Greco-mediterranean house type, «probably originating from the old Byzantine houses, which can be found in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones of continental climate, and which also prevail in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula». In his couclusions he is followed by Otto Maull (1).

Franz Oelman (2), however, questions the correctness of Cvijic's conclusions on the grounds that the latter «relies on purely external characteristics, having no value for the comprehension of the historical evolution of the house». A detailed survey is needed of course which should be based, as it was said at the beginning, on rich comparative material, connected with to the details of the plan and the methods of construction, so that we may arrive to concrete and correct conclusions(3).

B
[113]

Such material, as regards the Bulgarian house, is given by the book of Teodor Zlatev, Architect - Engineer, Bălgarskata Kăsta v svoja arhitektonicen i kulturnoistoriceski rasvoj. I: Selska Kâsta Sofia 1930 (pp. VIII+178 figg 153). (The Bulgarian House in its architectural and historical development. I: The Rural House).

B
[342]

Zlatev, in his study of the rural Bulgarian house from an architectural and historical point of view, relates it directly to the houses of the Slavs, who were established in lower Moessia from the 6th cent. A. D, among the romanised or hellenized Thracians, and indirectly to the

1) Griech. Mittelmeergebiet, Breslau, 1922, pp. 62 and foll.
2) Haus und Hof im Altertum, 1927, 1 p. 19.
3) L. Schultze Jena, Makedonien, Jena 1927 p. 89.

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ancient megaron type house of the Indo-europeans. For our object, however, the interesting point is the detailed and concrete description of the farmers' houses of modern Bulgaria, which the writer illustrates with many photographs, plans and sections, so that we may get a clear picture of the architectural shapes and evolution of the Bulgarian house. However, in order, to be clear and to render possible the exact comparison of the Bulgarian house to the Greek one, and considering the fact that the Bulgarian language is not widely known, I shall dwell rather fully on all that concerns this type of house (1). For greater help I am attaching plates, showing the evolution of the Bulgarian house, as it can be drawn from the plans of Bulgarian houses presented by Zlatev.

G 171 342 B 342

A. THE BULGARIAN HOUSE

As it can be deduced from Zlatev's study, the Bulgarian agricultural house does not present the variety of shapes of the Greek house. If we except the troglodyten house which is frequent in some parts of Northern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian country houses belong to the straight-lined rectangular buildings with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof; according to the nature of the ground, they are separated into mountainous and plain types. The lowland types are as a rule just like the Greek ones, one-storey and they are built out of stones or bricks, and roofed with tiles or thatch (2). The mountainous types are two-storey, the ground floor being out of stone and the upper either entirely out of wood or with wooden frames which are filled with unbaked bricks or woven branches, and sprayed on both sides with mud mixed with straw. The roof, in the mountainous areas, is covered with tiles or plates, but in some places thatch is also used.

B [184]

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1) I must here express my warm thanks to Mr. K. Th. Stamatiades who, with his knowledge of the Bulgarian language, has rendered possible my study of Zlatev's book.

G [127]

2) According to **C. Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891 p. 157 and foll. « over the largest part of the country one can see but poor houses in the villages, of brown earth colour without whitewash; their roofs were mostly covered with mere thatch during the time of Turkish occupation. It is only since the latest years after the liberation, that an increase of tile-roofs is seen from year to year.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 **1. The Bulgarian house of the lowlands.**

192 This type of house mostly consists of two wide front spaces and of a prostoon, i.e. vestibule which is open as a rule on both its lateral sides.

[354] One of these spaces has the hearth (ognichte) and is called the kăsta, or more rarely hyza (1), i.e. house. It can hence be concluded that this space originally constituted the entire house. The other space is heated up by a stove and it is called the «soba», which means stove.

[252]

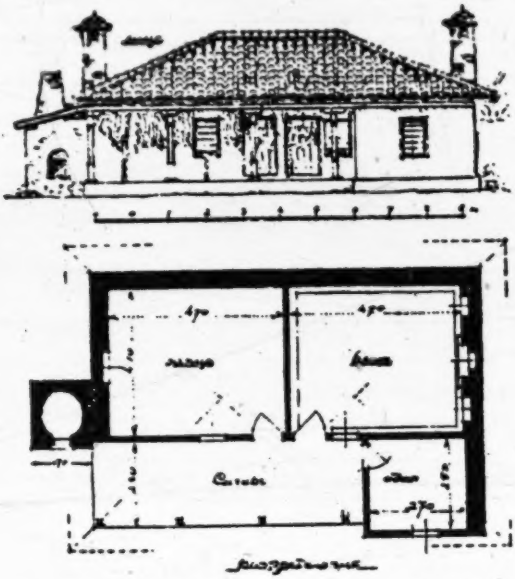

Fig. 33 House at the village Makrolivado (Usúntsovo) in district of Chaskovo (Zlatev, Bălgar. kăsta, fig. 91)

The vestibule extending in front of the rooms, takes up either all the front part or only part of it, and is called by the Greek name «prust» (2) or by the Turkish names zardak, or saivan, or sundurma (3).

1) This word originates from the German hûs, Haus. Small and lightly constructed houses are also called by the Bulgars and the Slavs koliba or chalupa, from the Greek word καλύβη. (**L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité slave, II la civilisation Paris 1926 p.98 note 5).

2) Cf. the «μπροδστι», i.e. the προστῷον, of the Greek houses in the Haimos area and the «μπρόστι» or «ἀμπρόστι» of the Roumloukion house near Thessaloniki (**G. Megas** Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις p. 27).

3) According to **Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, p. 158, «the Bulgarian houses have always an open vestibule (prust, sundurma) formed by the extention of the roof and supported by wooden poles».

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351]

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). 343 [171] G [342] [171]

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kăsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 [19.2] [252] [171] killer i.e. cellar. The oven is also called by a Greek name, «fourna» and here it has also been added on one side of the house (fig. 34). Finally the beautiful portico of this house, due, according to Zlatev, to the influence of the more developed mountainous house (1), brings

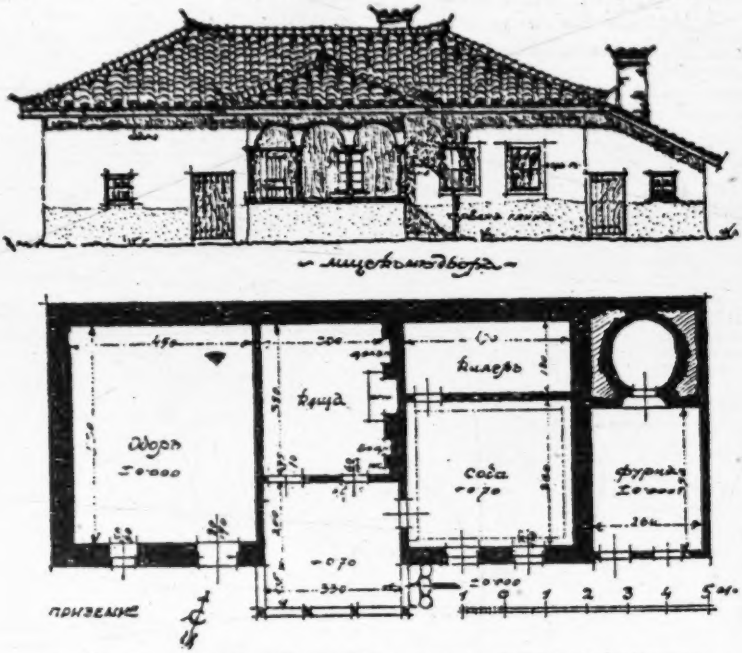

Fig. 34 House in the village of Karatoprak, district of Philippople
(Zlatev, Bŭlgar. kŭsta, fig. 94)

[171] to our memory a similar arrangement of the portico in semi-urban dwellings of Greece (2).

Thus the similarity of the farmer's house in Southern Bulgaria—which is nothing else but the former Northern Thrace, called Eastern

1) «This house» says Zlatev (p. 105), «is fully adapted to the needs and to the economy of a plain's farmer, the monotonous appearance of the pure lowland house; it has taken some elements from the mountainous house, which was more developed, and has influenced it in places where the communications with highland populations rendered this influence possible».

2) See **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 67 Plate A, 3. Comp. with mountainous houses of Agrapha, ibid. figg. 43 and 45.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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Roumelia,—to those houses of the remaining parts of Greek or Turkish Thrace is complete. 342 [171]

This is evident. The whole of Thrace, not only during the Middle Ages, but also during the Turkish occupation, constituted a geograph- [177]

[363]

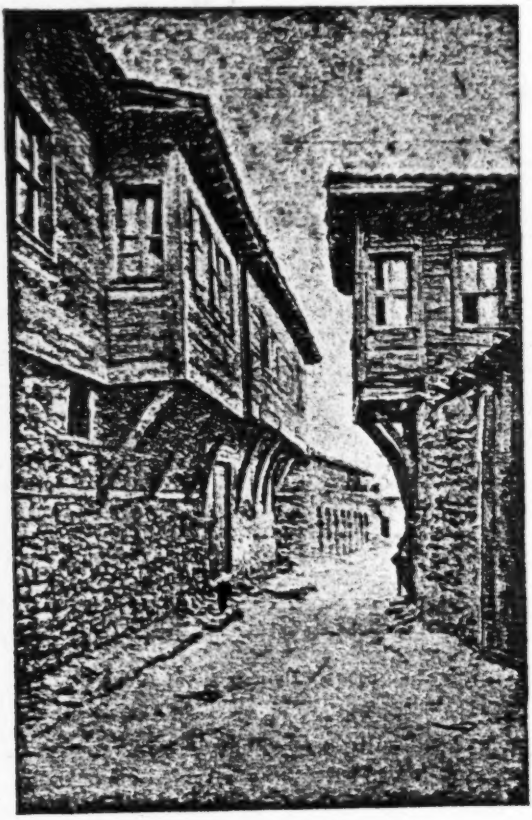

Fig. 35 A street at Messimvria

ical and political entity whose character, from an ethnological and cultural point of view, was purely Greek (1). The Bulgars who established themselves at various times as labourers and farmers in the Thracian [177]

1) See K. M. Apostolides, Ρωμανία—Ζαγορά καὶ τὰ τῆς Θράκης ὅρια ἐπὶ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας (Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκ. Θησαυροῦ 8 (1941-42) 80 foll. 83 foll).

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 177 farms of Turks or Greeks, found the always existing system of housing better and preferable to the simple hut dwellings to which they had been used, and adapted their way of life and of housing to that of the other inhabitants. The same holds good, as we shall see, for the houses of Middle Mountain (Sredna Gora) and for those of the Bulgarian coastal zone from Agathoupolis to Dionysopolis (to-day Baltsik), where the Greeks, until the anti-Greek actions of 1906, were by far predominating over the Bulgars, as regards population, develop-

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Fig. 36 Houses at Baltsik (ancient Dionysopolis)

342 177 ment of economy and culture. (1) That is why we find the ancient type of the megaron house splendidly retained in all the villages near Messimvria, that is in Aivlassis, Naimonas, Bana, Aspros, Ravdas etc., (see p. 7 above) and the houses of towns and villages there, do not differ, as regards disposition of spaces and general construction, from those of the other Greek urban centres. (Figg. 35 and 36).

[363] C. Jirecek already considers the ancient Greek towns of the coast, such as Messimvria, Sozopolis, etc., as the model for all the small towns situated in the Tyrnavos area, as well as of those built on the

1) See J. Cvijic' op. cit. p. 156.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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Southern slopes of Haimos and the Northern side of Rodope, which are characterised by their stone-built two-storey houses, their tile covered roofs, their stone paved narrow streets and the small commercial street (1). He says on the other hand that «the best houses of Philippople present an entirely Southern character and were used as models in the whole area as far as Koprichtitsa and Kalofer» (2).

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[363]

This truth is recognized by Zlatev who writes on page 156 of his book: «The house of Sredna Gora, as well as that of Southern Bulgaria, has without any doubt originated from the influence of Adria-

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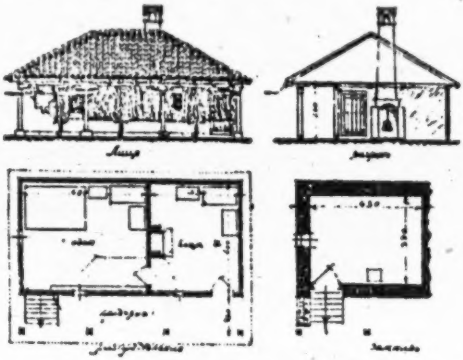

Fig. 37 Plan, section and front of a house in the village of Divlia, district of Radomir
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 83)

nople and Constantinople», by that he means the influence of Greek architecture on the formation of the houses of Southern Bulgaria.

But even to the West, on the plateau of Sofia, the houses of peasants, according to Zlatev and as it is shown by the plans of two typical houses of that area built in 1860 and 1870 and presented here (figg. 37 and 39), «do not differ at all as regards disposition of spaces,

1) **C. Jirecek,** Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891, p. 152.

2) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 163. «From the front-door, one enters a stone-paved courtyard, climbs a wide staircase, comes into an airy veranda supported by wooden beams and through it into the large rooms with big square windows. The well turned edge of the projecting roof and the enclosed or open balconies on the side that overlook the road, complete the pleasant impression caused by this house.» A contrary impression caused by the buildings of the Bulgarian towns is expressed by the author a few lines previously.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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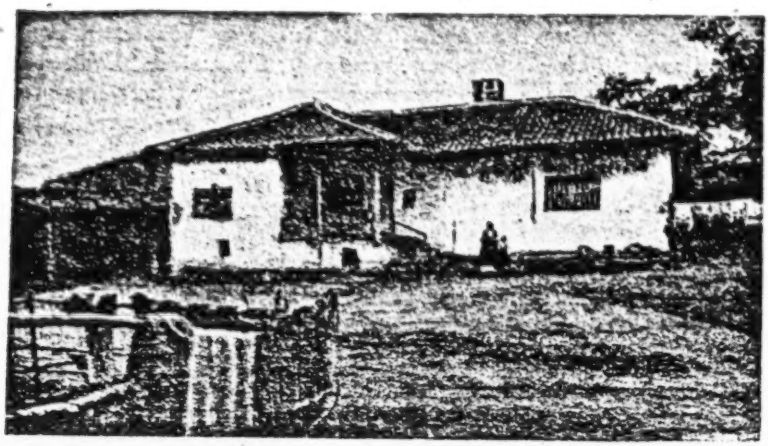

Fig. 38 House in Grigorevo, district Novo Celo ont he Sophia plateau
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăšta fig. 80)

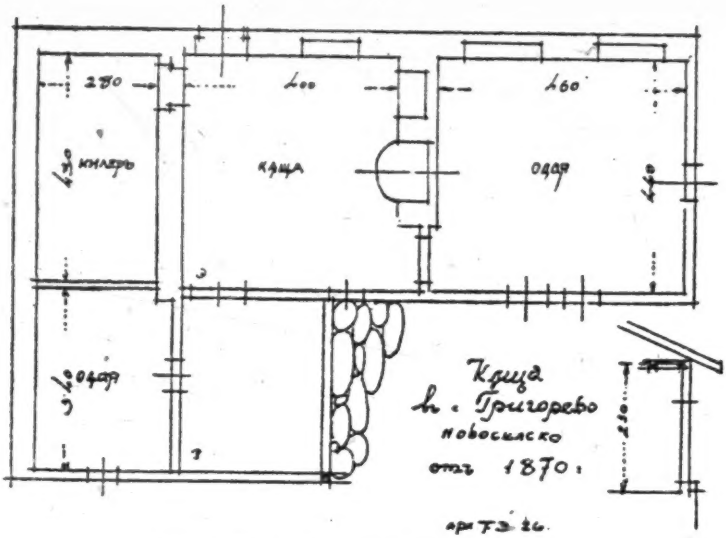

Fig. 39 Plan of the upper house in Grigorevo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăšta fig. 81)

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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from the other purely valley type houses, such as the houses of the Hevros or the Plevna valleys» (p. 95). 342

The house of the village of Divlia, Radomir district, (fig. 37) is a «typical bipartite valley building with a portico all along its frontage» (Zlatev, p. 98), and that of the village of Grigorevo, Novo-Celo district, (fig. 38 and 39) is only slightly elevated from the ground and includes, apart from the two spaces, basic for every valley house (the kăsta and the soba), one cellar in line with these spaces, and a small room on the front of the house which, together with the portico, forms a wing,

Fig. 40 House in Sapantsi, district of Novo Celo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 82)

coming out of the main body of the building. All the rooms have an earthern floor, covered with clay. The hearth is in the kăsta, i.e. the «house», on the wall separating the two rooms and has next to it two built-in cupboards (dulapze). Opposite the hearth, on the other inner wall, there is the pitcher shelf. The bread-oven, the stable and the other buildings, essential for rural life, are to be found in the large courtyard. This is surrounded by a two metres high wall, made of unbaked bricks and covered with tiles (Bulg. keramidi). The entrance door is double, and wide enough to permit the entrance of carts, but next to it there is another door for the entrance of people. The [354] [353] [252] [343] [351]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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entrance is covered by a wide wooden roof, resulting from the influence of the neighbouring houses of Sredna Gora. This village originated from an old Turkish farm estate (Zlatev, p. 97). 342

The same arrangement of space is also shown in the agricultural house of the village Sapantsi in the same area, and as for the outer picture there is no difference from the houses of Thrace (Fig. 40) (1).

The village house presents the same disposition in the whole of Western Bulgaria but the floor is usually here at a hight of

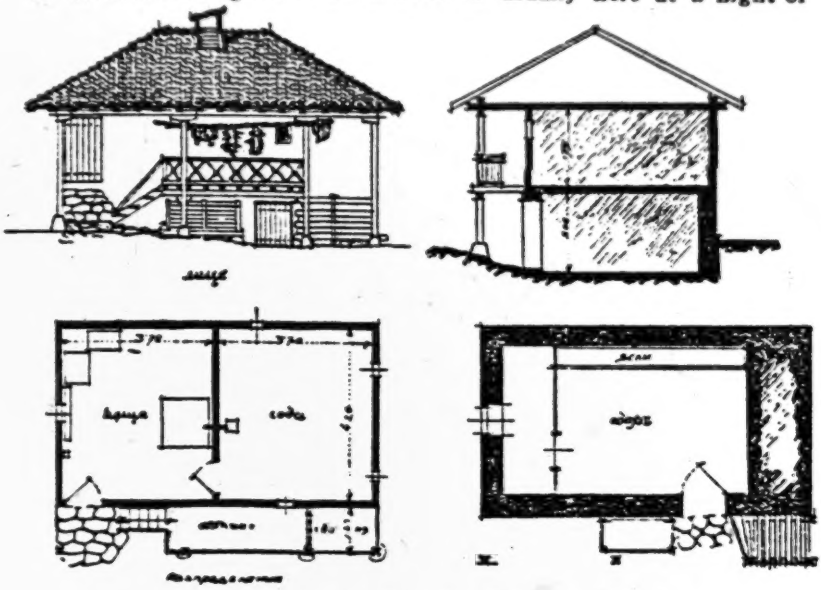

Fig. 41 House in Zianozéne, district of Berkov
Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 84)

1-1.20 metres from ground level and has under it a basement, excavated to a depth of one metre into the earth, and it is used for the stabling of cattle. [231]

1) Evidently, in older days, the houses of the poorer inhabitants of Sofia did not differ from the huts of the villagers. «The low doors of the Christian and Jewish houses of Sofia, says **Jirecek** (op. cit. p. 163), caused surprise to the travellers of the 16th and 17th centuries, who knew the reason for it: these houses were built so that the mounted Turkish bands would not use them as billets on their way to Hungary» (See **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 23-26).

Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16
Serbs EF6

The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianozene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits[1]).

B 342
B [231]
B [354]
B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuc'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house[2]). The number of klijeti existing round the kuc'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster[3]). As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

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The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 20).

2) See **J. Cvijić**, La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

342 years ago, was giving shelter to a 40 members' family and which
[592] was especially built for this purpose (Plate XIII 6) It is an evolution
of the basic type of a house with two spaces (hyza and odaja). The
[513] cellars on the one side of the hyza are a subdivision of the third compartment into smaller spaces, and are used by the various couples of the family only to sleep in. The hyza remains the central appart-
[252] ment and it includes the hearth, measuring 2 m. x 2 m. where the bread is also baked in a special pot (srepnia, podnitsa). The cellars and the oda open to a hyza without any communication between them. The external architecture of this house presents the character-

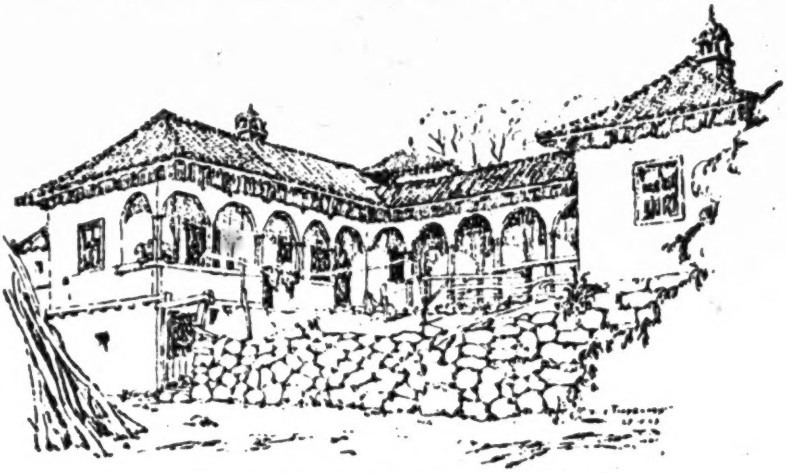

Fig. 42 House in the village of Tiorekovtsi
(Zlatev, Bălg kăsta fig. 77)

istic lack of a prostoon, which, according to Zlatev (p. 91) is the permanent element of the Bulgarian house. The house (Zlatev fig. 78) of the village of Tiorekovtsi, built in 1870, presents the same composition, but with a different arrangement of spaces (See Plate XIII 7).

Another house of this latter village is built according to the second method (Zlatev, Fig. 76 and 77) presenting an apparent archi-
[351] tectural synthesis: «two independent bipartite houses, extending parallel to each other are united on one side by a covered portico thus forming a sort of central courtyard, surrounded on two sides by porticoes which, according to Zlatev, remind us of monasteries and

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clearly show its origin from the Italian Renaissance» (1) (see fig. 42, Plate XIII 8). B 342

In this category of houses of the plains can also be included the troglodyte house, which is seen even to-day in some villages of Nothern Bulgaria. But it forms a separate sort of building as to disposition, construction and arrangement, and it will be mentioned separately at the end of the present survey. [351]

2. The Bulgarian House of the Mountains.

The houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria show a much greater variety of shapes: they are two-storied and, from an architectural point of view, more advanced, than the houses of the plains. The explanation, however, given by Zlatev, that this fact is due to the higher income of the population who live in mountainous areas and become rich through cattle-breeding, can only be accepted if we consider the fact that in the plains of Bulgaria, as well as in those of Greece, there have been big farms belonging to Turks during their occupation, and the farmers were living there as serfs.

The older of the still existing houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria are from the middle or the beginning of last century. If we exclude the houses of the Rodope and the Orvelo areas, that present some peculiarities, the characteristic mark of the highland Bulgarian house is the open portico, which covers all the length of one of the sides of the upper floor, usually the side overlooking the yard. The building has normally no windows opening to the street. This portico also includes the staircase leading from the ground floor to the upper floor. Thus the staircase is almost external, but under the roof of the house (Plates XIV and XV).

The upper storey usually projects over the external wall of the ground floor, along the whole or part of the frontage of the house. This is achieved by the very wide use of timber, both in construction and decoration. The kind of timber used is oak, in the forest districts of Haimos (Balkan) and Sredna Gora, and pine-trees as well as other conifers in the districts of Rodope and Orvelo (Pirin). It would appear that for the abundance of timber, the whole of the highland house was originally made out of wood (1). B [313]

1) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 119, «the wood construction is the original form of house building for the Slavs, both in their villages and their SL 342

[Text continues on p. 69]

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Fig. 43 Front of a house in Bunovo of Sredna Gora
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 57)

section window stove of the ground floor (section)

[252]

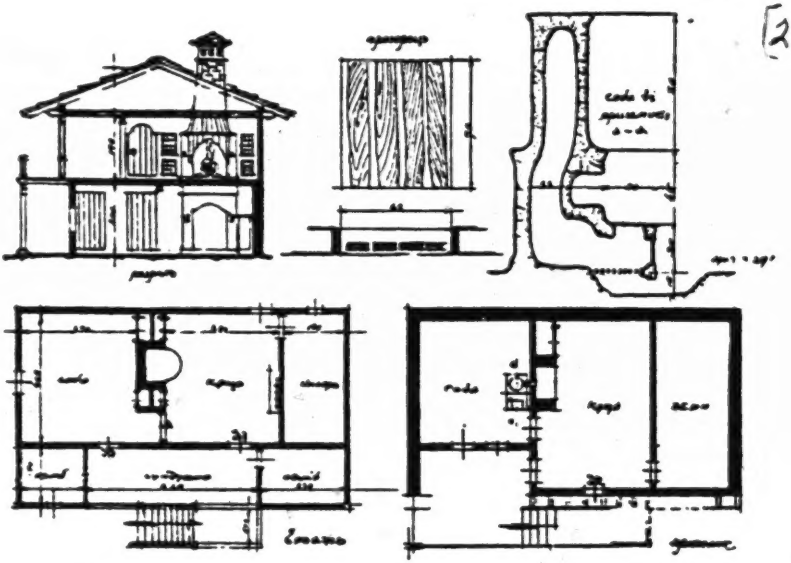

upper floor ground floor

Fig. 44 Plans and section of the above house in Bunovo
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta fig. 56)

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months. B 342 B 231 251 354

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV). B 513 251 353

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba». B 251 353

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπρούστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village G 342 171 B 171

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic'**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48. SL 342 333

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

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342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
B the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[354 built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room
352] with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[352 wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in
252] the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

B C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
192 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles
342 whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

B 1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

[192] 2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρακικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

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[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44). B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuć'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46). B [171] SL 342 354 [177] se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἄγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc. B 192 342

1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105. **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108). B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

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Yugoslavia EF1

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Among Bulgarians, on the contrary, (Fig. 44) the open hearth (ognichte) is always to be found in the main room which, as it is shown by its name (kăsta=house), originally constituted the whole

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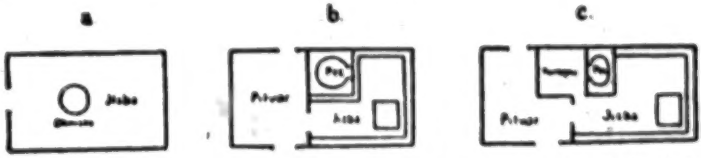

Fig. 45 Three developing forms of a Slovak house in W. Karpathia. jisba=room, ohnisko=hearth, pitvor=ante-room, pec=stove, kuchyňa=kitchen (L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave 2, 107).

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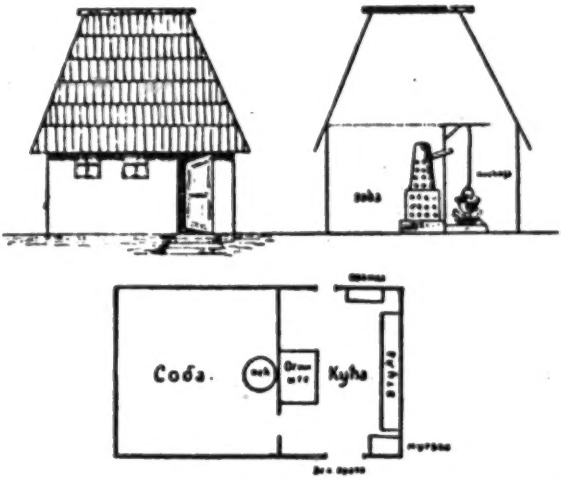

Fig. 46 Plan and section of a Serb house (kuc'a) of Bosnia, after R. Meringer (soba=room with stove, kyha=kitchen)

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[177]

house. This hearth is often built on one of the main walls or in one corner of it and the stove is in the other room, which is called «soba». On the other hand, this combination of hearth and stove in the Bulgarian house is neither old nor is it generally found since, according to Jirecek's descriptions, bublished towards the end of the 19th century: the Bulgarian house «usually consists of a single space levelling with the

ground and having a beaten earth floor and an open fire-place» (1); as L. Niederle remarks (ibid. p. 108, note 1): «in the Balkans the Latin influence is shown in the addition of the soba to the kuc'a; this change, however, is not older than the 19th century» (2).

B 342 [354] [177]

Consequently, even this difference, which is noted at many places, in the system of heating between the Bulgarian agricultural house and the Greek one, is neither original nor basic.

G [342] [171]

The houses of the Rodope area are peculiar in their external architectural shape, as they do not have the open portico of the upper storey, which is so typical for the mountainous Bulgarian houses (3). Obviously it is the lack of security in these districts, where there was a lot of banditry (called Momtsilo, Kirtzalis) (4) since the later Byzantine years, that imposed here, as well as in Western Macedonia equally suffering from the incursions of Albanians, the system of fortified buildings, with their heavy and strong walls, reaching as far up as the roof even on the frontage of the house; an internal staircase; a strong main-door, with loop-holes on each side as well as the arrangement of the veranda (heliakos) into a large ante-room, or drawing room, with fine balconies or kioschks, protruding on its ends (fig. 47) (Zlatev, fig. 61 and 67), exactly as it is seen in the covered balconies and the high sofas of the rich houses in Western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly (5). It is understood that in the simplest shapes of houses

G [171] [342]

1) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 158.

2) The Russian ethnologist **Tokariof**, when describing the Bulgarian house, says: «Almost all the old houses have an open hearth on the wall with a pot hanging over the fire, and with a wide open chimney that has its exit through the roof The bread is usually baked in this hearth. As for the horizontal plan, the house is divided into two parts: the kitchen with the fire-place and the «oda», the room, that now has an iron stove». (Μόρφωση, Γ' 1946 p. 126). According to **R. Meringer** (Sitzungsber. Philos. Histor. Kl. der Wiener Akad. Abh. 2 p. 13) Bulgaria, Albania and the Hercegovina are placed in the category of the countries with fire-place (Kaminländer).

3) According to **Tokariof** «one sees as completely different thing in the Rodope mountains. We have an example in the village of Baskovo. There, the old houses have an extremely complicated plan which is very difficult to be analysed. Houses are very big; they have three or four floors and sometimes the wall of the front of the house has no windows at all. The upper floors sometimes extend over the lower by covered balconies, as it is the custom in the East. Houses are built one against the other, thus forming whole blocks. This architectural style is entirely different from the Eastern-Slav type of house where the plan is always a simple rectangular parallelopiped».

4) See **W. Slatarski**, Geschichte der Bulgaren, I Leipzig 1918 p. 165

5) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 55, 88, 97, 104, 109, fig. 50, 80, 90.

[Text continues on p. 75]

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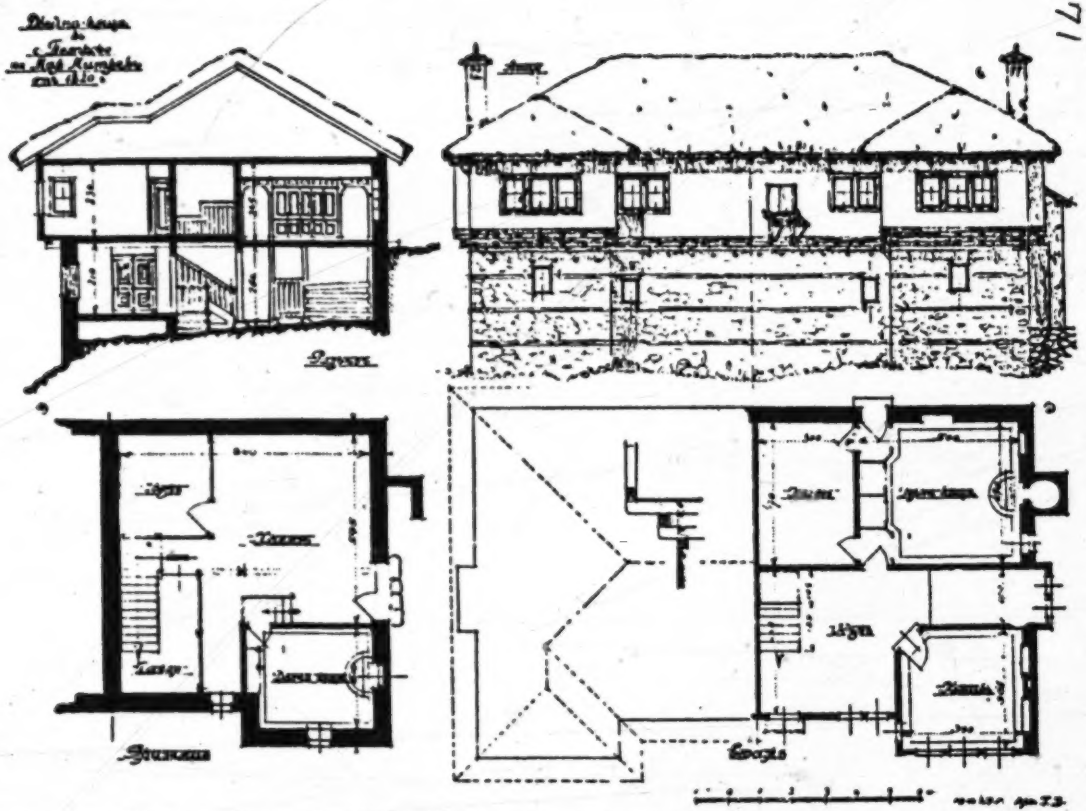

ground floor

Fig. 47 Double dwelling in Petkovo of central Rodope, in 1820

(Zlatev, nälg. Kăsta, fig. 61)

upper floor

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we see here also the open portico in the ground-floor and the external staircase to the upper floor (fig. 48 Plate XVI 1 and 1a, 2); so the similarity of the building shapes of Rodope to that of the rest of Greece is very evident (See Plate XVI, 5. 6; comp. Plate VIIa, 4a, 4b).

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G [342 171]

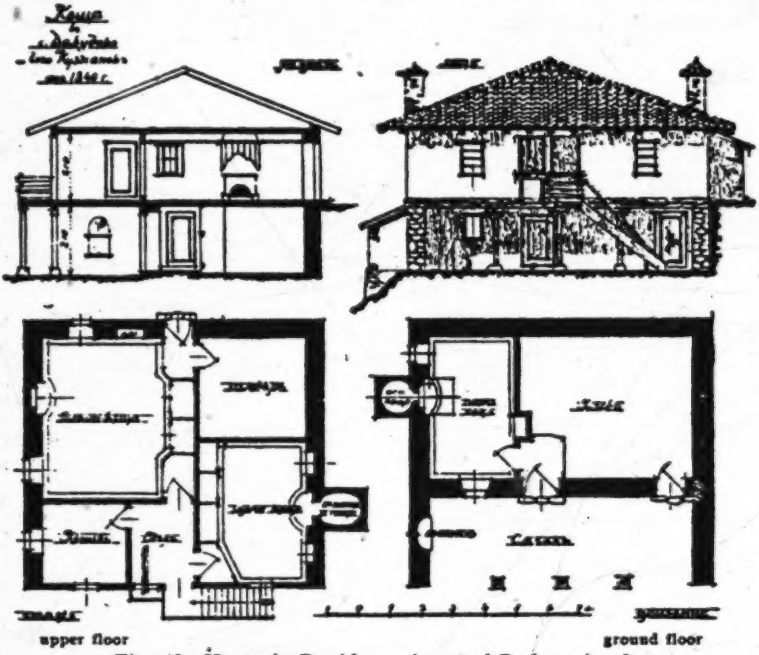

Fig. 48 House in Davidovo of central Rodope, in 1840.
(Zlatev, Bălg. Kăsta, fig. 63).

This may also be said generally for the house of the Orvelo (Bulg. Pirin) district, which, owing to the great use of wood, shows some unimportant variations (1).

3. The Troglodyte Houses.

The troglodyte houses (called by the Bulgars «bourdel» from the Roumanian word «bordeiu») are, by origin and construction, entirely different in shape from those already examined above.

B [192]

1) See Zlatev, Bălgar. kăsta pp. 81-89.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 These houses can still be seen only in the districts of Plevna and of the river Lom; but only a few years ago they were prevalent in the districts of Vidin and Bella Slatina, i. e. in the entire valley of the Danube, from the Serb frontiers to the Ossem River (1).

On the slope of the ground, a 4-5m. wide trench is dug, with an average depth of 1.80-2 m. Another trench is dug perpendicularly to the above, so as to form under the ground all the space necessary for the housing of the people and the cattle, and for the stores. The roof-

[361]

Fig. 49 A troglodyte village near the river Lom in Bulgaria.
(From a picture of the year 1892. Niederle, Manuel II 97).

ing of this lair is done through the help of a frame made of uplaned timber logs: these are placed obliquely, on horizontal beams supported in the middle by wooden poles. The logs are covered with thatch, which is spread over with mud or clay and then covered with earth, so that the roof has a thickness of one meter. The walls of the lair are covered with clay inside and then they are white-washed. The height of the interior of the dwelling is usually of 2 meters.

The arrangement of spaces is typical and may be seen in the

1) About the troglodyte houses, see also **T. Zlatev**, Balgar. kăsta p. 111 foll., **C. Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, 1891 p. 157, and **Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité slave 2, p. 97 and foll.

attached plan of such a house of the village of Dolna Mitropolia in the Plevna District of the year 1895 (fig. 50). 342

This consists of two underground galleries. The first and main gallery has, after the entrance, three spaces, meant for the housing of the family and of the cattle. The first is the anteroom (prust), the second is the stable (zemnik) and the third is the room (breg). The second gallery which is perpendicular to the first, comprises the house (kăsta) with the hearth and the cellar (called zadnik = back side). [231]

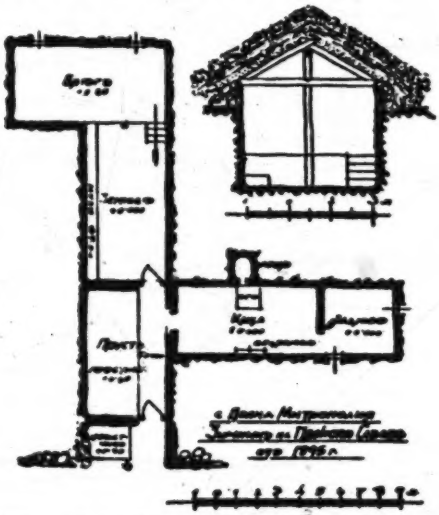

Fig. 50 Village Dolna Mitropolia. Trogle of Prokopi Savoff, 1895
(Zlatev, Balg. Kăsta fig. 98)

The entrance, protected by the roof which is protruding, has, as a rule, an earthen plat-form (prastnik) where the inhabitants sit, or even sleep, in summer. [513]

After a slight slope of the ground, one goes through the entrance into the prust, which plays the role of an ante-room and which, in winter protects the inner spaces from the influence of the atmosphere and in summer, it is used for the habitation of the family, having for this purpose, an earthen sofa. Two doors open from the «prust» to the two main spaces of the house, the zemnik and the kăsta.

The zemnik is never less than 7 m. long and has mangers for the cattle on one side. After this room, one goes to the breg, that [231] [513] [354]

342 has a floor higher by 0.80–0.90 than the rest, and is used as a
[513] bedroom for the members of the family. No wall separates these two
[354] spaces from each other, neither is there any provision for heating.

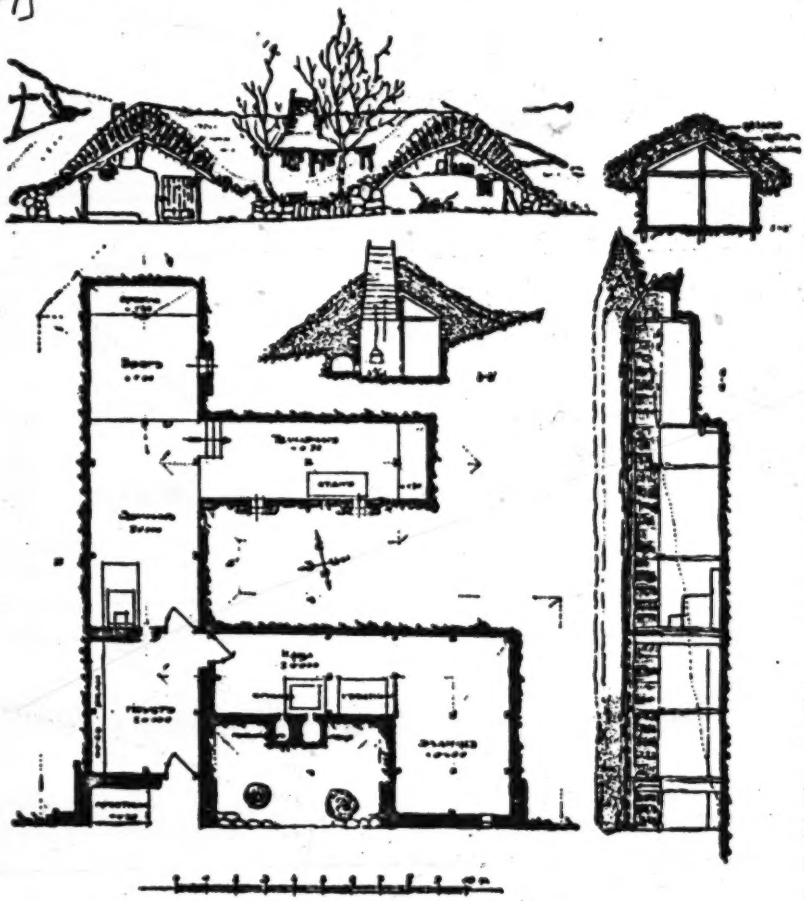

Fig. 51 Trogle of Pentso Tsoloff in the village Dolna Mitropolia, 1876
(Zlatev, Bălg. kăsta, fig. 97)

[354] Instead of heating, the inhabitants keep warm by the heat omitted by
[231] the cattle in the zemnik. For this reason, the male and female buffalo

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97-98.
2) **L. Niederle**, op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. 157. **G. Kazarow**, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

B 342 SL [342] selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and surface dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas, i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia, and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

B [361] More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B 175 648 361 G 175 648 SL [342] B [727] When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this stronghold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the advantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5) «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kidnapped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄντται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

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vader's country(1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century(2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Kanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην, Α' Athens 1944 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

G 175 648 B 175 648 But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-
ing to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

[463] [177] [341] [342] [171] We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

G [342] [171] B 177 341 Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov,** op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G [172] [463] [331] 1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη, Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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the Greek influence on Bulgarian architecture; but he attributes it to the Italian Renaissance elements of art introduced long before from Byzantium to the Western Europe as well. The Bulgarian author, however, not being able to ignore the historical truth completely, admits somewhat vaguely the links that connected his country with Hellenic cilivisation even during the Turkish occupation. He says that: «The far reaching boundaries of the Ottoman empire isolated the Bulgarian race from the civilized world and thus neutralized the various influences. The Bulgarian people, being thus isolated, was placed under the influence of the Byzantine civilization under which it has been in the past and with which it was closely connected» (p. 155).

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The remarks of Jovan Cvijic' are thus proved by the facts; he says the following about the Bulgarian house: «Before the Bulgarian liberation (1878) most of the houses belonged to the farm house (tsiflik) type (1). On the Haimos mountains, however, and in the ends of the Hevros plain, and above all in the Rodope valleys we see big two-storied houses, due to Greco-mediterranean and Byzantine influence».

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B. THE JUGOSLAV HOUSE

About the Jugoslav dwellings, I did not manage to have under consideration a survey so detailed as that I had about Bulgarian housings(2); that is why I shall limit myself, for the time being, to the studies of R. Meringer on the popular house of Bosnia and Herzegovina(3) and to elements given on the Jugoslav houses by some

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1) He means the agricultural house of the slave-farmers of the Thessalian, Macedonian and Thracian valleys and of the other countries that were under Turkish rule. **J. Cvijic**, Peninsule Balkanique p. 250.

2) The relative surveys, which I could not find in the local libraries, are the following:

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1. **M. Murko,** Zur Geschichte des volkstümlichen Hauses bei den Südslaven (Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft, vol. 35-36, Wien, 1906).
2. **K. Rhamm,** Ethnographische Beiträge zur germanisch-slavischen Alterthumskunde I-III, Braunschweig, 1905-1910 (II Altslav. Wohnhaus).
3. **A. Haberlandt,** Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1918.
4. **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaft. Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien u. Serbien, Wien, 1917.

3) **R. Meringer** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina (Wissenschaftl. Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina, VII, 1900, pp. 249 290). **R. Meringer,** Die Stellung des bosnischen Houses und Etymo-

342 general works, such as the previously mentioned books by Cvijic' and
[127] Niederle. Finally I shall refer to the recent remarks of the Russian ethnologist S. A. Tokariof who, in the early days of 1946, toured the Balkan countries and published his «Ethnographical Remarks on the Balkan Countries» in the periodical «Soviet Ethnography» No 2, 1946 (1).

342 Cvijic' accepts that the k u c'a is the original form of the primit-
192 ive house of the Jugoslav population; it includes the minimum of covered space needed, namely only one room. «Later», he says, «this house was extended through additions and auxiliary spaces, built on both sides of this main room either horizontally or vertically. All these appendices have their own name, but none is called k u c'a» (2).

The word k u c'a, meaning «house», is still used among the people to represent the room with the hearth where one enters first
[353] when going into the house. «It appears», says Cvijic', «that the first of these additions it is the store, a room where they used to keep various articles, mainly clothes. This room is sometimes called by the Greek name ciller (cellar) or by other names probably of Turkish origin, such as suldrma, hudzera. Bedrooms were added later, outside the kuc'a, in
[513] the form of small separate wooden houses. These are still in wide
[343] use and are called vajat. Each married member of the zadruga (family group) has its own vajat. Later, other rooms were added to the
[592] house itself and were then used for night shelter. Consequently, the family does not sleep only in the kuc'a, around the fire, or in the vajat. These rooms are called soba or odaja...»

342 «According to all indications, the primitive house of only one room,
171 had the same shape in all the Balkan Slav people. In many areas, however, this ancient shape that was maintained only in the mountainous areas is not remembered any more» (p. 226). The picture of such a primitive house of shepherds in the Skardo Mountain (Shardagh) shows a conical hut made of long bars, with a fireplace in its centre (p. 227).

A. Haberlandt also mentions such huts, used as permanent dwellings by shepherds and poor people in NE Montenegro and in Eastern and Southern Serbia. As it may be also seen from a manuscript of the

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logien zum Hausrath (Sitzungsber. der philos.-hist. Kl. der Akad. d. Wissenschaften, vol. 144, Wien 1902, fig. 2).

1) See translation of this article in the journal «Μόρφωση» Athens 25 Dec. 1946, B, Vol. C No. 3, pp. 125-132.

2) J. Cvijic' La Péninsule Balkanique, Paris 1918, pp. 225 foll.

84 [i.e. - family house - see p.65 - Analyst.]

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Austrian Colonel Boroviczka, these huts were, in 1858, the normal type of house in the Kossovo valley (1).

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The Czech historian L. Niederle is more plain about the present subject. According to him the old typical house of the Balkan Slavs appears as a simple hut (kuc'a) with small auxiliary spaces near it. But when he examines the Slav dwellings in general, he says that «only the Serbs, the Kroats and the Bulgars ignored the ante-room from the beginning (le vestibule)», that is the second room, which was built in front of the entrance of the single room of the Slav house already before the 11th century, at first in order to protect the entrance against the direct influence of the rain, the snow or the cold; but later it constituted a separate space, used for the storing of various articles, for the stabling of cattle and for the habitation of persons in summer months (Fig. 45, b). «We must therefore suppose», says Niederle, «that the Slavs of South had abandoned their primary Northern homeland before the ante-room (vestibule or antichamber) had formed an essential and independent part of the house in the Northern countries. This progress, on the other hand, would not have been possible, as long as the population lived under semi-nomadic conditions and did not build permanent, spacy and strong shelters. Consequently, the transition to the permanent habitation was made from the 6th to the 11th century, that is to say at a period when the main bulk of the Jugoslavs had already descended towards the Danube and even more to the South of it» (2).

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It is thus explained why the ancient Jugoslav house did not follow the evolution of the houses of the Slav peoples living in Eastern and central Europe, but has the primitive form of a Slav house, i. e. the form of a simple hut from the very beginning.

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But also another great progress achieved by the Slav house architecture before the 10th century, under foreign influence this time, remained unknown to the old Jugoslav house: it is the creation, in the interior of the house, of the «izba» with its stove and later with its kitchen, which originated, as we have seen, (pp. 71 foll. above) from a German influence. Niederle says: «Only the old Jugoslav kuc'as have no ovens but just one hearth. This leads us to believe that: the Jugoslavs started their migration to the South before the introduction of the oven or of the stove into their houses» (3).

1) **Franz Baron Nopcsa,** Albanien, Berlin 1925, p. 8.
2) **L. Niederle,** Manuel de l'antiquité slave. Paris, 1926, 2, 102 foll.
3) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 122.

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Another characteristic of the Slav house, the «kleti», a small separate building, that was originally constructed by the Slavs near their own house, without any hearth, and was used as a store-room and at the same time as stable and as bedroom for young couples, it exists in the Serb houses, as well as in the Russian ones. This is a proof that the Jugoslav were aware of its existence already in the 6th and 7th centuries, when they arrived at the Greek peninsula. This space appears, even to-day, either as a store-room, or a chamber without any hearth, to be used especially by married members of the family. Thus in the Serb farm-houses belonging to one zadruga, one may count as many klijets i.e. small wooden buildings round the family kuc'a, as there are couples in the family.

From the above we may conclude that, when establishing themselves on this side of the Danube in lands of the Byzantine empire, the Jugoslavs knew only the simpler, the primitive forms of Slav houses and consequently the entire evolution which is shown by the Jugoslav house, especially in the purely Serb countries, has been accomplished on Balkan soil under the influence of the building methods in use in the Balkan peninsula from ancient times.

We have already said that Cvijic' distinguishes a type of Greco-mediterranean house which «probably originates from the old Byzantine houses». «We can also see this house», he writes, «in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones with a continental climate, as well as in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula».

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According to Cvijic', «the Greco-mediterranean house differs slightly or not at all from the house of the Vardar district (maison vardarienne) for which it is used as the model (le prototype)». The same may be said of the Morava valley house (maison moravienne) whose one component, the portico (auvent), has the obviously Greek name doksat (Greek δοξάτος) while this same component, more to the South, in the Vardar district, is called by another Greek name: krevet (Greek κρεββάτι)(1). As we have seen, even the first of the additions to the kuc'a, namely the place where various articles are kept, is called

1) **J. Cvijic'** op. cit. p. 224 Cf. the κρεββάτα of the houses of Ambelakia, Rapsani, Arta etc. (**G. Megas**, Θεσσ. Οἰκ., pp. 86 foll., 95 foll. and the δοξάτον of the Kastoria noble houses (**A. Orlandos**, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος B p. 181 foll. p. 196 foll.).

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by the Greek name of ciler (κελλάρι = cellar) or by Turkish names, proving that this addition to the local house building was made only later, in the years of the Turkish occupation, when Turkish names replaced the older Greek ones. Y 342 171 192

It should also be noted that the tiles, which replaced thatch and willows for the roofing of the Serb houses, are called by the Greek name of keramid (1). The courtyard of the houses in the Herzegovina, with its stone paved ground, the stone low walls, the creeping vine and the flowers, is also called by the Greek name of «avlija» (2), which is also used in Sarajevo. Se [342] Y [351]

Unfortunately we cannot follow the evolution of the Jugoslav house in detail except in Bosnia and Herzegovina because only these two countries have been surveyed by Rudolf Meringer, as it has been mentioned before. Y 342 184

At first, it must be noted that the construction of houses in these two Slav countries presents some differences, mainly as regards the building materials available in each area The Bosnian house, because of the wooded nature of the country, is in the most cases built of wood and has a very steep high roof, covered with wooden planks. The Herzegovinian house on the other hand is stone-built from the foundations to the roof, which is usually covered with slates. Another, more important, difference, concerns the composition of the house. In Bosnia, the house has two rooms; one of these is the kitchen (kuhinja, kuc'a) and the other the chamber (soba), each room having a different method of heating; the kitchen has an open fire-place (ognichte) and the room has a stove (pec). In Herzegovina, the house has one room and has the fire-place near one of the walls (Kamin) (3). Y [333] Y [354]

The simpler forms of the bipartite dwelling are shown in figg. 52 and 53. The first of these, entirely primitive in the method and the means of construction, has its walls woven like a basket and its high roof is covered with straw, fixed by long poles coming Y 342

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1) According to **Cvijic'** op. cit. p. 231 «the first tile (céramida) was taken to Sumadija by tilers of the districts Pirot and Nic in the first years of the 19th century».

2) **R. Meringer** in Wissensch. Mitteil aus Bosnien VII p. 267. It should be noted that there are many Greek names for utensils and furniture of the Serv and the Bosnian house. f. i. musandra (μεσάντρα), deska (δίσκος), krevet (κρεββάτι) etc. **R. Meringer** in Sitzungsber. d. Akad. Wien 144, 2,31. Se [192]

3) **R. Meringer,** Das volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien pp. 251, 285, 289. Die Stellung des bosn. Hauses, op. cit. p. 2. 30 and foll.

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down from the middle beam. The second house has whitewashed walls, a tall roof covered with roughly planed wooden planks.

This bipartite house has its door opening always on the kitchen and never on the chamber. A wooden roof (tavan) is found only over the chamber and never over the kitchen. (See plan and section of Bosnian house, fig. 46 above).

According to Meringer, the chamber in the above house was formed by the separation of one part of the original one-roomed house (1). But the evolution of the Slav house forms in the Western Karpathians, the study of which has helped also in explaining the heating

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Fig. 52 Primitive two-room little house with walls made of a fence of bars and the roof of willow
(Meringer, Volkstümliches Haus in Bosnien, f. 5)

Fig. 53 Two-room little house in the area of Dolnja Tuzla in Bosnia
(Meringer, Volkstümliches Haus in Bosnien, f. 6)

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system of Slav houses (see fig. 45 above), also shows in a persuasive way that the composition of this bipartite building as well, may have derived from the addition of a space, which was used as an ante-room, to the original room of the cottage.

The increase of space was achieved in the Bosnian house also by the construction of one room or one storeroom in the interior of the high roof, exactly over the sleeping chamber, that is the soba; this is considered by Meringer as the first step towards the formation of a two-storey house in Bosnia (Fig. 54).

In the Herzegovina, as stated, one usually meets the simpler forms of houses, but a certain tendency is felt towards a more elaborate formation of house. Thus, some old houses which, according to Meringer, were originally one-roomed, finally acquired two other three

1) **R. Meringer,** Das volkst. Haus... pp. 253, 286 Nr. 4. Die Stellung des bosn. Hauses... p. 2.

rooms either by additions or by an internal sub-division of the original space (figg. 55 and 56, Plate XVII, 1 and 2) (1). 342

Meringer has already noted the similarity of the Bosnian house to that of Kroatia in the Zagobaria, and concluded that the Bosnian house may well have originated as to its main form from Kroatia, but that in its new country, it has followed a separate evolution (2). In other words, the Bosnian house, in its simple forms is of Slav origin, acknowledging the influence of the Slav houses of the Northern [171]

Fig. 54 A two-room house with another room under the roof, in Varesch (Meringer, Volkstümliches Haus in Bosnien, fig. 51 b)

Danube area; its more developped forms, however, belong to another cycle of housing architecture.

The main element in the evolution of the Bosnian house was apparently the addition of an open portico on its front part, that is to say the addition of a prostoon, which can be seen in the one and two-floor houses. Another evolutionary element is the addition of a third space on the other side of the kuc'a or kuhinja, the side of the kitchen. By these later additions the Bosnian house has obtained its tripartite formation (Plate XVII 5, 6).

1) **Meringer,** Das volkst. Haus p. 273.
2) **Meringer,** Die Stellung des bosn. Houses p. 38.

342 The prostoon was also here that easily moulded and transformed element of the house, which we have already noted at the Greek and

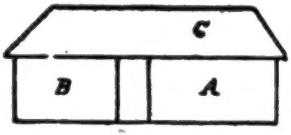

Fig. 55 Herzegovenian house in Predolje, district of Stolac
(Meringer, Volkstümliches Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, figg. 61-63)
First it consisted of one space (A) without a roof, then it was enlarged by a new room (B) and a corridor (F)
H hearth

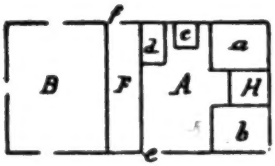

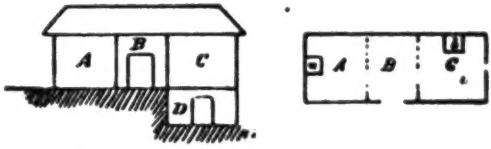

Section Plan

Fig. 56 House in the village of Dreznica, area of Mostari, built some 200 years ago
(Meringer, Volkstüm. Haus in Bosnien, figg. 64-66)

the Bulgarian houses. Here also, it either remains completely open (fig. 57, Plate XVII 6,7) or it is closed on one or both its ends,

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on the ground floor and on the first floor as well. Some additional spaces are thus formed, giving a large variety of forms to the frontage of the houses (Figg. 58 and 60, Plate XVII 8).

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The prostoon, especially in the Moslem houses of the towns of Bosnia, is completely closed at the front on the upper floor because of the way Moslem women live. Thus, a large and wide hall (divanhana) is formed in front of the rooms, with projecting closed balconies, as we have seen them in the houses of Northern Greece and Rodope-

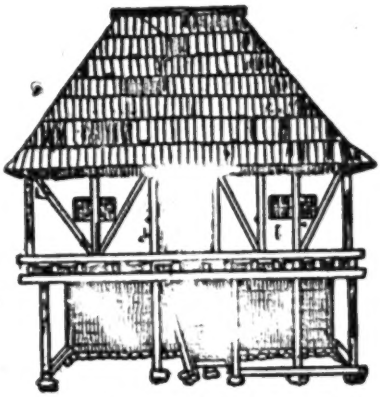

Fig. 57 House with an open portico in Novi
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien, fig. 33)

Fig. 58 Moslem house in Mostari with a prostoon open in the middle of the lower floor and over all the left part of the upper one
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 37)

In the more developed forms, the enclosed spaces which are formed at the end of the prostoon extend over the building line and thus give to the vertical aspect of the house the form of a Π.

Such a developed form of Bosnia house can be seen in the Moslem one of Travnik (Fig. 61) whose plans may be seen in Plate XVII, 9. The ground floor of this house consists of two main rooms (S and St) and of one prostoon, one part of which has been separated and formed a kitchen (K). Two more rooms have been built on the front (S-S) on either side of the entrance, thus giving the form of Π to the plan of the house.

The disposition of space is more elaborate on the upper floor. The divanhana is not one of the sides of the house, but in the centre of the floor. This was the reason why Meringer found it difficult to

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Fig. 59 House in the town Travnik
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 72)

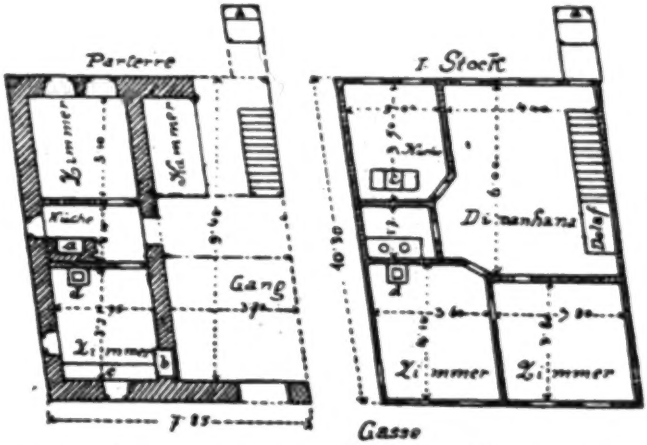

Fig. 60 Plan of the above Moslem house with the prostoon on the upper floor closed on all sides
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 73)

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explain the origin of that type of house. This formation, however, being the last stage in the development of the prostyle wide-fronted house, can be fully understood when one considers the similar forms of Greek houses. We must then suppose that before reaching the above stage, there was a simpler arrangement of space, with the prostoon remaining intact. The increase of space is achieved by the addition of two rooms on the frontage of the house on each side of the staircase,

Fig. 61 Moslem house of Travnik with a covered gate-space leading to the courtyard. See plans of it on Plate XVII Nr. 9
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig 74)

as it can be seen on Plate IV 3e of the Greek house. Later in order to obtain a greater degree of security in the house, the front part of the house was closed by a high wall reaching up till the roof and including the staircase within the building, as it is seen on Plate IV 3 f. Finally, the need to obtain additional spaces, brought about the separation of the two ends of the prostoon and their transformation into rooms.

Thus, a part of the prostoon, remained as an empty space, in the centre of the house, and formed a central room, into which the doors of all the other rooms open and which, owing to its origin, kept the original name of the prostoon, divanhana.

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Thus, the evolution of the Bosnian house from the simpler to the more composite forms, as shown in plate XVII, which we compiled on the basis of plans of houses studied by R. Meringer, does not differ, in its general lines, from that of the Greek houses. That is to say, also the Bosnian house mainly owes its final form to the gradual modification of the prostoon, which extended in front of the rooms, just as with the Greek and the Bulgarian houses.

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Therefore, the remark made by Cvijic years ago, basically retains all its value, namely that the Greco-mediterranean type of house can be seen in Southern Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria and, in general, in all countries that were included in the Byzantine Empire or that had felt the influence of its civilization (1).

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From that point of view, the remarks of the Russian ethnologist S. A. Tokariof are interesting. Tokariof, as we have said, studied four years ago the shapes of the popular houses of the Balkan Slav countries. When describing the Moravian type of house, he says: «The old houses (2) are built mostly of branches and bricks, plastered on both sides with mud The buildings are one-storied as a rule, but often there are houses with basements, dug into the ground. The floor is of beaten

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1) When **C. Jirecek**, in his book Geschichte der Serben, vol. 2. I. Gotha 1918, p. 74 foll. deals with the Serbian houses of the Middle Ages, he says: «Only the narrow houses inside the royal castles were more solidly built. But, according to Guillaume Adam, the courts of the kings and the nobles were enclosed by fences made of wooden posts. Only in the towns of the ex-Byzantine areas does one see «palaces» such as the one preserved in Melenikon; it is a Buzantine house of nobles with two floors, a large reception room and a square tower During that period there were stonebuilt houses of many floors with open and closed balconies in the sea side towns of Cattaro, Antivari and Dulcigno. High houses were also to be seen in towns that were of Greek origin. In the villages most of the houses were wooden huts with a roof of straw. In the area of the Karst mountain, one could see stone houses, built without any mortar and of a rectangular shape. The fire place was the centre of the house. In the houses of richer inhabitants, meals were served, as in monasteries, on tables covered with a tablecloth. It spite, however, of this general imitation of the Byzantine ways of life, when Greeks visited the court of king Stephen Ouros (1268) their impression was that it was poor and primitive». (page 81). Cf. **Fr. Krauss**, Slavische Volkforschungen Leipzig. 1908, p. 4 foll.

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To prove the fact that Greek masons («majstori» and «protomajstori») worked in great numbers at the building of the fine churches, monasteries, palaces and other buildings in Serbia, see **C. Jirecek**, op cit p. 73.

2) I copy the text of the translation as it was published in «Μόρφωση» 1946 p. 130 and foll.

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earth. The roof is always of the saddle-type and is covered with tiles. In the old days, as it is said, the roofs were covered with thatch and wood. The roof is supported by coupled beams. Originally, the house was divided into two parts: the kitchen and the room». SL 342

«It is characteristic, he says, to note the open fire-place at the kitchen wall, which is usually kept even after the kitchen has been made into a room. An iron stove is also used now. The house is usually approached through a covered terrace, occupying part of the front wall and supported by small arched pillars, that gives a very characteristic appearance to these buildings. In the old days, most of the houses had a balcony or a covered portico extending all along the front of the house. These disappeared in the course of various changes, but their traces can often be seen as yet». SL [354] [351]

«The characteristic mark of the house is given by the fire-place, that is all black from the smoke of years. A chain hangs over the fire-place .... Also the bread is baked there; a big, semicircular cover is used for that purpose. This cover is placed over the bread, and live coals are placed over the cover which bakes the bread». SL [354] [252]

When further examining the architecture of the Croat villages, the Russian investigator finds «many common elements with the Eastern — Slav shapes — many more than with the Serbs and the Bulgars. The new houses are made of stone, but many old houses have remained which were not made of round bars but of adzed wood logs, or of wood planks, placed aslant. The ends of the logs protrude irregularly. Roofs are all of the eagle type and project from the walls very strongly. Most of them are covered with tiles, but there are some made of thatch. The one-storey houses prevail, and the plan of the house is very primitive. One can often see houses with only one room, but, as a rule, we see houses with two or three rooms. One of the rooms is called «hiza» (as the entire house), and the other, «hizitsa». If there is a third room, this is either an intermediate passage with a fire-place or a cellar... The most interesting point is that almost all the old houses have a petchka (stove) of about the same type as the Russian one. On the wall facing the stove and diagonally, we can see the ikons and photographs hanging there. This is similar to the Russian «good corner»... (p. 132). Y C 342 171 Y C [354] [353]

The general conclusion Tokariof draws from his remarks on the architecture of the Balkan Slav peoples is particularly didactic. He says: «The popular architecture of the Croat village, near Zagreb, completely differs in its whole from the architecture prevailing in Y C SL 342 171

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the Balkan peninsula. We find here a whole series of elements and conditions, entirely unknown to Serbs and Bulgars: buildings made of adzed wood, two sided thatch roof, Russian type of stove (petschka) instead of a fire-plase (tzaki), «good corner» facing it, etc. Similar phenomena exist in Slovenia (see the works of A.N. Harouzin) but do not further to the South, over the Savo River. One is driven to think of a movement of civilization, from North to South that has probably some relation to the invasion of the Slavs. Further to the South, over the Savo and the Danube, this flow was exhausted and Slav colonists, who had reached more southward than all others, the forefathers of Bulgars and Serbs, assimilated some shapes of civilization that previously existed there (stone architecture, houses with fire-place, etc.). And the forefathers of Croats and Slovens, who do not belong to this vanguard of colonisation and did not go so far to the South, retained the ancient Slav building forms» (p. 132).

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Thus, from a mere examination of the forms of popular architecture the Slavonian ethnologist drew conclusions about the cross-breeding of civilizations on the Balkan peninsula and about the influence on it of «previously existing» forms of civilization that caused, as he says, the «exhaustion of the flow of civilization» (?) moving from North to South. The envoy of the Soviet Academy does not say, or perhaps does not judge necessary to say, what was exactly the character and the origin of this indigenous civilization that taught the Slav colonist vanguard higher forms of human habitation. But it is expressedly proved that, while the Northern Slavs owe much of the important progress of their national house building shapes to foreign, and especially German, influences, the Slavs of the South, when developing the form of their rural and their urban house, had the Greek houses as a model before their eyes.

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III. THE HOUSES OF THE ALBANIANS

The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians (1), belong, as well as the Greeks, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Haimos Peninsula, but they have not developed their own civilization either in ancient times nor in medieval years. Living almost isolated on a mountainous and inaccessible country, the Albanians have retained for many centuries their ancient customs, and even to-day they represent the patriarchal level in the evolution of civilization (2). This is the reason why everything connected with the life and the dwellings of the Albanians presents a particular interest to the numerous foreign tourists and ethnographers who, from time to time, have made relative surveys. 101

The most complete survey on the dwellings of the Albanians is, as far as I know, the book on Albania by Franz Baron Nopcsa (4). In this book, the author has summed up his previous impressions on housing in Northern Albania (1), and, at the same time, took into 342 114

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1) The question of the origin of Albanians has not yet been clarified. Some recent linguistic surveys question the origin of the Albanian language from the Illyrian and accept a rather close relation between the Albanian and Thracian languages. C. Patsch (see **Herbert Louis**, Albanien, Stuttgart, 1927, p. 41) has found traces of Thracians near the Adriatic sea. [174]

2) See **K. Amantos**, Οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1923, pp. 129-189. **A. Keramopoulos**, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες. Athens, 1915, p. 198. Compare the journeys of **K. Steinmetz**, **E. Liebest**, and **Fr. Nopcsa** in «Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von C. Patsch, vol. I 3. 6 10. 11. **Baschmakoff**, A travers le Montenegro et le pays de Geuges, St. Petrsb. 1911 and **H. Louis**, pp. 36-40.

3) **Frans Baron Nopcsa**, Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, Geräte, Nordalbaniens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925. Nopcsa is followed by **H. Louis**, on the subject of Albanian houses (p. 53-59).

4) **Fr. Baron Nopcsa**, Aus Sala und Klementi (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von Patsh, vol. II) Sarajevo 1910. Haus und Hausrath im Katholischen Nordalbanien (volume 16) Sarajevo 1912.

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342 consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, espe-
[114] cially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1909, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty
A years. According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey
[133] house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.

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[127] Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the
Y Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters.
[342] Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

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[171] 3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh 13) Sarajevo 1911.

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walls or woven branches and were thus converted into a cave dwelling, which is also met in many places of the Herzegovina (1).

But also the trogle, that other form of semi-underground dwelling which, as already said, was from time immemorial used by the Thracians in Scythia Minor and Dardania, is also to be found in the plain between the Scodra lake and Tuzi, which is near the frontier in the area of the Hoti tribe, and it constitutes to-day a form of temporary housing.

Nopcsa describes the construction of this hut as follows: «A trench is first dug in the ground, having 6 m. length, 3 m. width and 0.30 m. depth, in a parallelopiped (see fig. 62). A stone wall is then built on all sides of the trench, it excels the ground by 0.30 m. on the long sides and on the short sides by almost 2 m., and is continually reduced in its width. The main wooden beam is then fixed on the short side walls, and a saddle type roof is erected, covered with hay. Earth is then accumulated on the outside of the walls, so that the ends of the roof come into contact with it. The earth is soon covered with wild plants, and its artificial character is covered with green in a very short time; only roofs project then from the ground, and nothing else is seen in the inhabited areas. The hight of the hut in the inside is from 1.3 m. to 2 m. The entrance is constructed on one of the short sides, not higher than 1.2 m. It looks like an opening which is not closed by a door, but simply with thorny bushes during the night. On the wall that faces the door a fireplace is built. In winter time shepherds and flocks live together in those huts, whose little space is thus sufficiently warm and protected from the glacial North winds sweeping the Hoti valley.

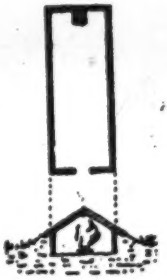

Fig. 62. Plan and section of a semi underground hut near Tuzi (Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 1)

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The last type of temporary houses of Northern Albania is that of huts built over the surface of the ground. The form of these huts is a parallelopiped; they are constructed of wood and their walls are of reeds or woven branches covered with a clay layer. These huts are widely used in summer pastures and lowlands near the sea.

1) **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, 275 and foll. Fig. 69.

342 Whenever the building material available on the spot is stone, the shepherds build their huts with simple stone walls covered with roughly cut wooden plants.

It is at first sight very difficult, according to Nopcsa, to find any basic difference between a stone-built shepherd's hut and a primitive one-room, stone-wall, permanent house of the Albanians. For the only difference it is that the permanent house is larger, higher and the frame-work of its roof is more strongly built. Its construction has also an immediate relation with the nature of the ground. Namely, the building material locally available will determine whether the house (called «shpi») will be out of stone, or out of wood and of reeds. Thus, in the plain district of the seaside (Mati), where there is no [556] stone at all, even richer inhabitants have to content themselves with houses made of wood, although, for lack of security, stone-built houses are everywhere considered as ideal, since they offer protection both against stray shots and fire.

The Albanian house is then in its simplest form an one-room dwelling, with its entrance either on the side of the roof gable or on the side where the rain water is drained off. But while half-underground shepherd huts have always their entrance on the side of the roof gable, even simpler clay and lime built Albanian houses have it always on the side of rain-water drainage.

Such one-room dwellings of stone and clay constitute the house of poorer classes of the population in the mountainous region NW of Scodra round the river Drilon, the Cem valley and many other regions of Northern Albania. The roof is sloping on two sides and the main pole corresponds to the length of the house, so that its two ends rest upon the short side walls. The roof is usually covered with branches.

In such mountains, where there is a complete lack of forests and therefore difficulty in obtaining timber in order to construct a frame for a large roof, inhabitants are obliged to construct a small stone-built house of a special type, whose geographical spreading out corresponds, according to Cvijic', to the area of the Karst Mountain. According to Haberlandt, this type of house was the characteristic dwelling of ancient Illyrians.

Both men and animals live in the above single-room, although [231] the stable is often separated from the human habitation by a thin, not very high wall made of woven reeds.

In some areas, a special entrance is opened for the animals in

342 the above single-room house; thus there are now two doors in the house, corresponding to the internal, in fact only theorical, division of the room [1] (fig. 64). The floor consists of well beaten earth.

In later years, this internal division of the room was materielised by the erection of a real wall dividing the room into two serarate [354] spaces. In some areas, this dividing wall runs parallel to the long side of the house; two dwellings are thus formed, each having a separate fireplace (Plate XVIII 5). But the most common division of space is that done by a transversal wall, i.e. running at right angles

Fig. 63. Houses near Dinoshi, in the area of tribe Gruda
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 34)

to the main pole. This wall is always built of lighter material (woven branches or planks) than the outer walls.

[354] Of the above two rooms one contains the fireplace and it is the [574] dwelling of men and the guest-room for visitors. The other, with no fireplace, is a sort of ante-room and it is used as cellar and dwelling for women. (Plate XVIII 3).

171 The entrance is always in the ante-room, through which one 342 enters the main room where the fireplace is. This is, according to 354 Nopcsa, a difference to be noted when comparing the above house to the corresponding Serbian and Croatian, which has the fireplace in the ante-room, as we have seen. This difference is also to be noted in the tripartite Albanian house. In Jugoslav and Rumanian regions,

1) The two separate doors can also be seen as a rule in houses of the villages in Attica. See **St. Kyriakidis**, Σπίτια καὶ καλύβια τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐν Ἡμερολ. Ὁδοιπ. Συνδέσμου, 1926, p. 67.

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342 354 [171] the central-room, which has the entrance and the fireplace, is used as a kitchen, and the two rooms on each side are living rooms. On the contary, in Albania and in Herzegovina—had Nopcsa known the Greek house he would have added Greece (¹)—there are rooms with fireplaces on each end of the house; a simple entrance between them is, according to Nopcsa, (and others before him), a proof that this room was previousley used as a stable (p. 39) (Plate XVIII 13). It must be noted that the fireplace has been moved from the party wall and is now always against the external wall of a short side, because this one is, as we have already said, more stoutly built than the middle one. This is the reason why in Middle Albania where, as

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Fig. 64. Winter dwelling of the Nikshi baïraktar in Bregumatja
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 18)

354 noted by Hahn, the entire hut is usually built of timber, the wall of one narrow side, where the fireplace is built, is always made of stone or bricks.

Nopcsa attributes the construction of two-storey buildings in Albania not to a need to increase living space in hight, as it would be probable in a country where a horizontal increase is not always possible, because of the mountainous nature of the ground, but to the same reason why the floor of a wheat-store is built high over the ground, namely to the need for protection from dampness (²).

An example of a simple two-storey house is given by the plan

1) Nopcsa knows the Greek dwellings only from the book of **De la Guilletière** Lacédémoine ancienne et nouvelle, Paris 1676, noting here and there some happy comparisons in building and other habits of Albanians and Maniates (pp. 39-54).

2) See **Fr. Oelmann,** p. 73, On the Composition of Multi-floored Buildings.

of a house at Kolaj (in Mali Rencit) (Plate XVIII 6) where some 342
families of the Klmeni tribe spend their winter. The ground floor comprises a store-room and a stable for the horses. The two rooms of the upper-floor have each their own entrance. The ascent to the upper-floor is made by a stone-built twin-arm staircase, inorganically attached to the outside wall of the frontage. Fireplaces are also here situated on the narrow sides of the house, just as in ground-[354] floor houses and huts.

Apart from the above two-room houses, there are also in Albania two-storey houses with one or two rooms, having at their long side wall at the frontage, an open portico, a prostoon. The roof of this veranda is supported by wooden poles. In Albania we meet both forms of it: with both its sides open called then a «zardag»; the other, when its sides are closed by walls, known as «shamashin» (Figg. 66 and 67, Plate XVIII 7 and 8).

The ascent to this veranda is made by a stone-built staircase, inorganically touching it; the staircase is either massive or it forms a semi-circular arcade under the landing. Nopcsa is right when he considers the one-floor wide fronted prostyle houses as a forerunner to the above type of Northern Albanian house; the former can be seen in Proseku, to the South of the area he surveyed, also in Middle and Southern Albania, and has infiltrated from the South to the North of the country.

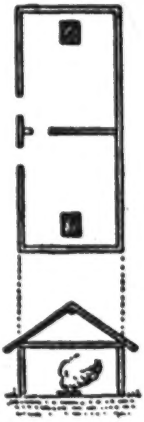

Fig. 65. Plan and section of a two-room dwelling (Nopcsa fig. 19)

Nopcsa is also right when he considers the prostoon, veranda, as that element of the building, whose different variations contribute to the increase of living spaces and lead to the perfection of the housing form.

According to Nopcsa, the first move towards a more composite form in the Albanian houses can be seen in the old house of the Mali Kencit area (Figg. 68 and 69). An external stone staircase leads to the veranda, which is supported by stone pillars and is enclosed on both sides (shamashin). Wooden poles support its roof; but the openings between them are closed with wooden planks on both ends. Two store-rooms or cellars have thus been formed, receiving light from small openings, sky-lights. Separate doors lead from the veranda to the two rooms of the first floor, that communicate by an inside door as well. Both rooms have fireplaces situated exactly at the [354]

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342 [354] middle of the external narrow side walls. There are no chimneys. The smoke escapes through the roof. Stone walls and wooden planks divide the ground floor under the veranda as well as the first floor into various spaces used as stables or store-rooms.

Nopcsa says (p. 41) that if, during the process of evolution the prostoon of our Albanian house is enclosed by wooden planks or by

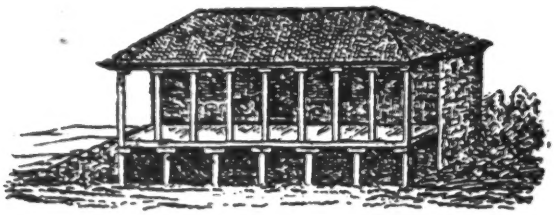

Fig. 66. House with prostoon in Brebula
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 25)

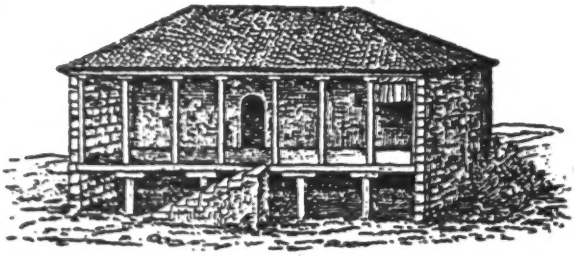

Fig. 67. House with prostoon in Toplana
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 24)

a wall on the front, it is possible that such a house originally one-roomed, is on its plan very similar to a two-roomed house divided in length; but the absence of a fireplace in the front room as well as its use are even then enough for us to recognize the evolution which took place».

This is very clearly shown in the plan and the vertical section of the first-floor of a house in Vuksanlekaj (in the South of Podgoritsa) (Fig. 70). This was originally a single-room house. Later, one part of the room was divided off, thus forming a small room with no fireplace. In this house, the veranda is not supported by wooden

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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poles in the front but by a solid wall. The fact however, that this 342
supporting wall is only of secondary importance is proved by the existance of a middle wall, extending all along the length of the house; this wall is stone-built throughout and enables us to recognize it as one of the original external walls of the house. The roof of the

Fig. 68. Main facade of a house of a well-to-do Shkreli in Mali Rencit
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 26)

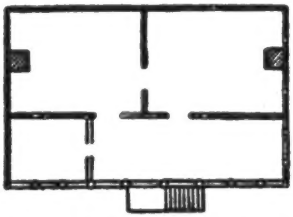

Fig. 69. Plan of the above house
(Nopcsa, fig. 26)

veranda is supported by wooden poles standing on the floor of the house. The ascent to the first floor shows here an important progress, because the staircase comes through the floor of the veranda and is thus included within the house.

By enclosing the space under the veranda other protected spaces are created and used as stables.

«Examples studied so far», says Nopcsa (p. 73) «show how many

342 types of housing may evolve by combining a two-room house to a prostylon house » (i.e. with a veranda). Starting from this idea, he proceeds to the explanation of how more elaborate housing types were created, such as those seen in the Scodra valley.

To illustrate this, Nopcsa gives the plan of the upper floor of a house in Kastrati (Fig. 71) and remarks that: « The plan of this house shows that it belongs to the same type as the Prel Ivanaj house we saw above (Fig. 68-69) and that the veranda is substituted

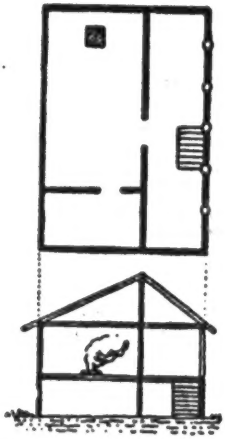

Fig. 70. Plan and section of a house in Vuksanlekaj (area of the Hoti tribe) (Nopcsa, fig. 28)

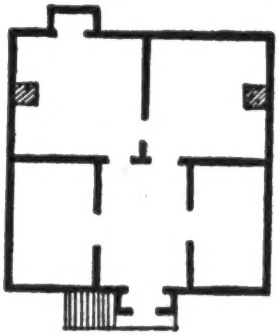

Fig. 71. Plan of a house in Kastrati (Nopcsa, fig. 30)

[712] by a space enclosed by walls ». The staircase is also here external but, in order to protect the people, when they leave the house from the bullets of ambushing enemies, this staircase has been included into an enclosed entrance, which protrudes from the house in the form of a separate cabin outside its front wall. The small additional [514] cabin at the back of the house includes the lavatory.

This enclosed entrance which, according to Nopcsa « constitutes an original Albanian construction », is shown on Fig. 72, picturing a house of Kolaj. This entrance also includes a passage which ends at an enclosed staircase. This house, with its four rooms, two in the front and two in the back, can be considered, according to Nopcsa,

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as the most perfect type originating from a prostyle house. Even the 342
difference in the size of the windows proves that the walls on the side of the veranda were built later than the rest of the building.

The description of another house of Bregumatja (p. 46, Fig. 33) illustrates the inner disposition of living space, and shows a similar evolution: the veranda has been closed by a wall on the frontside. Part of the inside, however, has remained as an entrance hall. A room with two windows «a la franca» was made on the right of the hall, and a cellar on its left. Yet these spaces were not separated by solid walls, but by thin mud-covered trellis. The room is characterised by

Fig. 72. View of a house in Kolaj
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

its roof, its large and glass panelled windows and by its containing [352]
a high table with a few high chairs, just as «the good room», destined for distinguished guests. This form and furniture are typical for all these extra rooms. The two large rooms at the back of the house are communicating by a door, but they do not have any ceiling. One of these rooms serves as men's room, and the other as women' s room, but at the same time as a kitchen and cellar for everyday life articles.

This multiple formation, as shown in this advanced type of Albanian house, evidently corresponds to the needs of the Albanian family, 342
which is based on patriarchal customs. Moreover, if we take into consideration the life conditions of Albanias, the house pictured on Fig. 592
72 could include, according to Nopcsa, 20-30 inhabitants, as the only

342 reason for building another house would be the dissolution of family
[592] bonds.

Consequently, the system which exists in the Slav countries, to
[171] build separate, additional, small dwellings for young or married members of the family, is foreign to the housing customs of the Albanians.

As Nopcsa remarks (p. 49), a more developed and organically disposed house, like that pictured in Fig. 72, cannot easily be expanded, because of the serious difficulties created by a corridor running along it, as well as for the position of fireplaces and staircase. That these difficulties may be overcome, is shown by the house of Trushi (in Zadrima) Fig. 73.

[354] In this house, fireplaces have been moved to the front long wall and placed between two windows. Two staircases have been built

Fig. 73. Big house in Trushi, in the plain of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

in addition, with two prostoa opening at the centre. A twin house has thus been formed, each of which it is completely separate from the other. By the wooden extensions of both prostoa, some of which
[251] project and are supported dy wooden beams, there are formed some washing places known from our own villages; or cupboards, for victuals, that are protected against mice on the one hand, and are in a cool air draft on the other.

Similar constructions are seen in the veranda of an old two-storey house of Scodra (Fig. 74). This house is more than 125 years old and it is built at right angles, because of the smallness of the building plot. The ground floor includes a weaving room, an oil press, a stable, a wood store, etc.; living rooms are all in the upper floor.

In the front its centre is taken by a large open room, also disposed 342
at right angles, whose roof is supported by wooden poles. Both ends of the front part of the house are occupied by brick-walled rooms. The construction of a stone-built staircase, leading to the upper floor, is characteristic of the construction mode. The staircase consists of two branches, it is internal and pierces through the floor of the veranda. Its steps are supported by two quarter-circle arches, and the landing by a semi-circular arch. If Scodra were not mentioned in [171]
the picture, we would imagine this house to be in Yannena or Arta (1). It is well known, that steps placed on arches are widely used at

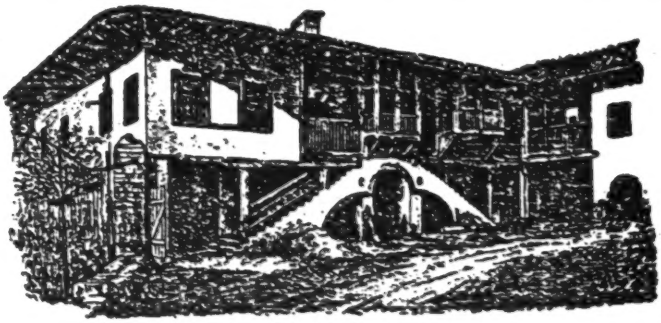

Fig. 74. Old house of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 36)

the houses of Mystras; they remained in use at the popular houses [171]
of Greece until the beginning of 19th century, a characteristic element of Byzantine architecture which, according to An. Orlandos, «not only resulted in economy of space and building materials, but also gave lightness and grace to the staircase» (2).

The house of Middle Albania presents a similar evolution as [184]
that of Northern Albania despite the great difference in habits and customs displayed by the population on either side of the Genouses (3).

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1) **A. Zachos,** Ἠπειρ. Χρονικά vol. 3 (1928) Table 5, 6 and 8 **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος vol. B. pp. 186, 189, 191 **Ang. Hadjimihali,** L'Art Populaire Grec, Athènes, 1937 p. 59 Fig. 24. Comp. **Ang. Hadjimihali,** Ἑλλ. Λαϊκή Τέχνη, Athens 1931 p. 175 Fig. 179 Ρουμλούκι, Τρίκερι, Ἰκαρία.

2) See **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχεῖον Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος. Volume C. 1937 p. 60 and foll.

3) See **A. Keramopoullos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι γείτονες, p. 200.

A 342 [171] We conclude this from the description of J. von Hahn who visited Albania during the middle of the 19th century. «Albanians», says Hahn, «just like Greeks, seem to prefer the two-storey house. This takes the form of an elongated rectangle, divided into two parts both in the ground and in the upper floor. In the ground-floor one of them is a stable and the other a store-room.

»The two rooms of the upper floor have a long veranda in front of them, supported by wooden poles and opening on the yard. A staircase, covered by an extension of the roof, leads up to the veranda; two doors lead to rooms that do not communicate with each other. The women of the household sit and work in this veranda during almost the whole year.

A [369] »A considerable increase of space is effected at the veranda (as far as I know, only in urban houses) by the fact that the house itself does not comprise two, but three spaces, of which the third, a central one, does not regularly constitute a closed room, for there is no party wall between the two corner rooms and the veranda. The floor of this room is about one foot higher than that of the veranda, and it is used by the family for their meals, when the season of the year permits it. Now, if an increase of space is necessary, part of the veranda is separated and converted into a room, which is sometimes extended on this side of the veranda towards the courtyard; or the veranda is left intact and two corner rooms are built on either side of the staircase; these rooms are also facing the conrtyard, so that the veranda takes now the shape of a cross.

A [171] »This is the form which is taken as a besis in the final shape of the Turkish house (1), because even in the case when this or that or all the sections of the crossform building were converted into rooms, some indications in the consistence of the walls, the cornice and the

1) **J. von Hahn** abuses here the word «Turkish» when he means the completed form of house which has developed after a long process of evolution during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine years in Greek countries. The truth is that the Turks adopted the closed form of house, which opens into an internal courtyard, because of the secluded life their women live. The covered verandas and open rooms of Byzantine houses were especially pleasant to them, as they had a comfortable and protected view. The presence of this architectural element in the popular urban architecture of Greece, as remarks Prof. G [342] **A. Keramopoullos,** Αἱ δρύφρακτοι τῶν οἰκιῶν in rev. Archimidis 21 (1920) 61. is continuously witnessed from the 6th century B.C. up to this day. Turks have never been known as good house builders. Comp. **Gl. Markopoulos:** Ἡ λαϊκή μας ἀρχιτεκτονική, Athens 1945 p. 94.

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decorations allow us to discern that these rooms were[1] separated later on. When he was considering Hahn's descriptions, that prove of a most acute observation power this investigator of Greek and Albanian folklore was endowed with, Nopcsa already found some elements that bring the house of Middle Albania near that of Kastrati described above (p. 71), in what the development of the prostoon is concerned. Judging from the plans of houses in Dyrrachion and Rethi given by the Italian G. Rosati[2] in his survey, Nopcsa arrives at the conclusion that «the shape of such a house constitutes the regular type in Middle Albania»[3]. If seen more closely, the shapes of houses taken as a basis by Hahn show, however, a much more advanced stage of development than that of the best houses of Northern Albania; and the plans of these houses, I have drawn on Plate XVIII No. 16-19, are basically the same as the types of Greek house on Plates V 5[b] and IV 3[b-f]. It must also be noted that the completed shape of the Bosnian house (see above p. 91, Plate XVII 9) entirely corresponds to the type of house characterised by Hahn as Turkish (Plate XVIII 19).

A 342 171
G [342 171]

When examining the expansion of the prostyle wide-fronted house, Nopcsa finds that this house may be spread all over the Balkan peninsula, from the Peloponese to the area North of Skopje, but thinks that houses with a veranda are much more numerous in the Italian peninsula than in the Balkan[4]. This is perhaps the reason why he accepts the opinion of Haberlandt, who recognises a «Roman and an Italian medieval element» in Albanian housing architecture.

As I have not been able to see the survey of A. Haberlandt,

A 342

1) **J. von Hahn,** Albanesishe Studien. Jena 1853 pp. 73 and 169 and foll.

2) I could not find the survey of Rosati, Condizioni agronomiche dell' Albania, 1915.

3) **Nopcsa,** op. cit. p. 46.

4) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus and Hof im Altertum, p. 71, the portico which extends along the side of the rain-water drain (Längslaube) is the natural prolongation of the eagle-type wide-fronted house, especially if this house still comprises a single room, or if this room has been sub divided only internally. This may be seen in High Germany, High Italy, especially with Yugoslavs (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria), and Rumanians, as well as with the inhabitans of New Caucasus (The Tcherkg); more rarely with the Tcechs and the Poles, and not at all in Russia and Northern Germany. But while Oelmann mentions Southern Soudan, Beast Africa, India and even China, he never mentions Greece, and completely ignores everything connected with modern Greek architecture.

342 I am not in a position to conclude as to the correctness of his results. In any case, the arguments put forward (p. 51) by Nopcsa in its support, cannot be considered as strong in my opinion. In the first [192] place, the word plas, which in Albanian means palace, may have originated from ancient Dalmatian. But the Latin word «palatium» has been naturalised in the Greek countries already since the Augustan days, and this does not prove that there was any Latin influance upon their building modes, as neither the word «δοσίτιον» (alb. shpit) originating from the Latin word hospitium, has any relation to Roman architecture.

Housing types impressed on medieval coins of some Albanian towns can be but little proof since, according to his own remark, houses such as the one represented on a coin of Scodra (end of 14th century) can be found even to-day in the area of Delvinon in Epirus; namely, they are connected with Greek monumental architecture.

342 712 This question will be better clarified, in my opinion, by the examination of another housing type, the Kula, which is widely spread in Albania.

The house in Albania does not serve as a protection against weather only, but it should also provide security against enemies. This double purpose obliges the Albanians to build even less comfortable houses, if these are to enable their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful night and, if needed, to defend themselves in case of emergency from them. In Nothern Albania the most primitive system of defence at home consists in a mere hiding place, built with solid materials within the very house. This shelter is usually of 2.5 m. long and 1.5 m. high and it is covered with slabs of stone. The place is entered through an opening of 0.75 m. square, so that the entire [513] shelter does not differ in appearance from an oven. The head as well as male members of the family spend their nights in this shelter.

It is evident that the use of such a kind of quarters cannot continue over a long time. For this reason, even when they were to build a most primitive single-room house of stone, Albanians have tried to [361] obtain security by other means, i.e. by keeping the enemy as far from their houses as possible. The means to this aim are: building of the house in a secluded spot on a highest possible site, but not too far away from the fields, so that inhabitans may be able to reach their house in the shortest possible time in case of emergency; small windows, arranged in such a way as to afford covering fire on all approaches; a strong roof, difficult to reach, in order to

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to 342
fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. 712
Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house. [514]

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th century (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% [682] of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses [627] with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years.

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 [177] and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of [463] view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 114 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλὰ τὸν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν νῦν ἔοικεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called kula, was occupied by Celts...) **G. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἐνὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοῦνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called Kala, at the West of Antiocheia...)

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in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania.

A 342 712 177 [463]

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of

A [192]

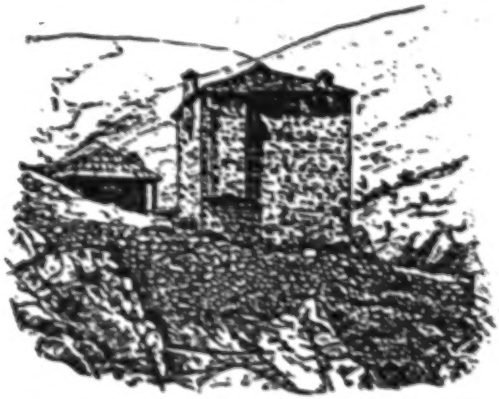

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession [illegible] on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership

A [192]
G [331] [467] [484]
A [463]

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST]

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

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G
342
712
171

as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghiá and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (4). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

A
[177]

A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors and is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ κελλία καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas.** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1921 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Starles on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 231), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. IB 85. See also **D. Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

A
342 living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and
selamlik for the men)(¹).
171 It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we
177 except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong
G probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to
177 Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite
types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and
G historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian archi-
[331] tecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

1) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by Ekrem bei Vlorë p 57 and Plate VI.

[p. 119]

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APPENDIX

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[P.120]

NOTE

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There is an appendix with plates at the end of the book. It is their purpose to illustrate the evolution of the Greek, Bulgarian, Yugoslavian and Albanian houses, from their simplest to their most composite forms.

None of the plans on the plates is schematic. They all display existing types or modifications. Abbreviations of the works or collections where the reader may look for them are given as an illustration to the plates. The position of each plan within the relevant diagramme helps in understanding it from a genetical and evolutionary point of view.

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ABBREVIATIONS

USED INTO ILLUSTRATIONS OF PLATES

Aeon	O Aeonas mas. Period I 1947, II 1948.
Aet	D. Loucopoulos, Aetolian Houses.
Andr	G. A. Megas, The Popular House in Andros (unedited).
Arach	M. Ioannidou, The Houses of Arachova (in Parnassis).
ArchByzMon	An. Orlandos, Archiv of Byzantine Monuments in Greece. Vol. II 181-194. III 53-114. 187-193. IV 196-210. V 198-205.
Athens	Ares Constantinidis. The Old Athenian Houses.
ChronEp	Ar. Zachos, Architect. notes. Yannena, in Chronicles of Epirus.
ComArch	Ministry of Reconstruction. Community Archiv (unedited).
Cycl	V. Vafiadis, Städle auf den Kykladen.
Cypr	C. Hadjiïoannou, Agricultural and Pastoral of Cyprus, in Laographia, vol. XI p. 81.
Dod	G. A. Megas, The Popular House in the Dodecanese.
Exhib	Greek Popular Art Society. I Exhibition, Athens.
Ikar	Ang. Hadjimihali, Greek Popular Art. Roumlouki, Trikeri, Icaria.
Karp	M. Mihailidis-Nouaros, Folklore Collectanea of Karpathos, vol. II.
Kastor	Art Gallery of the Greek People, 1: Noble-House in Kastoria.
Kav	A. E Tsakalotos, On the hygiene of the towns of Kavalla, Pravi and their surroundings. Athens 1921.
Lang	St. Kyriakidis, Language and pop. civilisation of Modern Greeks.
Lass	D. E. Tripodakis, The Peasant House in Lassithi (Kreta).
Lemn	G. A. Megas, Popular Architecture of Lemnos.
L'Hellén.	An. Orlandos, La maison paysanne dans l'île de Rhodes. L'Hellénisme Contemporain 1947 pp. 224-231.
Maced	L. Schultze-Jena, Makedonien.
Mycon	Ares Constantinidis, Two villages on Myconos.
PopArch	Gl. Marcopoulos, Our Popular Architecture.
RurD	Ministry of Reconstruction. Rural Dwellings (Under print).
RurH	Chr. Evelpidis--Sp. Tsaousis, The Rural House.
Sam	Ang. Hadjimihali, Greek Popular Art. Samos.
Skyr	Ang. Hadjimihali, Greek Popular Art. Skyros.
Ten	Ant. Sochos, The Popular Art in Tenos.
TechnChr	H. Hampe in Technical Chronicles.
Thess	G. A. Megas, Thessalian Houses.
Thrac	G. A. Megas. Thracian Houses.
WasmM	Ar. Zachos in Wasmuts Monatshefte f. Baukunst. VII, 1922.
Zag	Art Gallery of the Greek People, 2: Houses of Zagora in Pilion.

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RurD (Rural Dwellings)

A Thrace

a Dikaia
b Castanies
c Horestias
d Didymoticho
e Soufli
f Pherai
g Alexandroupolis
h Sappae
i Xanthi

B Macedonia

a Chrysoupolis
b Cavala
c Drama
d Prosotsani
e Sidirocastron
f Nigrita
g Kilkis
h Polycastron
i Goumenitsa
j Veroia
k Siatista
l Tsotylion
m Grevena

C Epirus

a Metsovo
b Conitsa
c Doliana
d Jannina
  d¹ Curenta
  d² Dodone
  d³ West Zagori
  d⁴ Campochoria
e Paramythia
f Preveza

D Crete

a Castelli (Kissamos)
b Palaiochora (Selino)
c Chania
d Rethymno
e Moires
f Heraclion
g Viannos

ComArch (Community Archiv of the Ministry of Reconstruction)

A Rumeli and Eubœa

a Attika and Bœotia
  1 Tanagra
  2 Schimatari
b Doris
  1 Galaxidi
c Phthiotis
  1 Macracomi, Platystomo
  2 Styrphaca
d Aetolia
  1 Artotina, Crokylion
e Acarnania
  1 Vonitsa
  2 Xeromero
  3 Aetolicon
f Eubœa
  1 Carystia

B Peloponnese

a Corinthia
  1 Vellon, Zeugolatio, Vrachati
  2 Tricala
b Argolis
  1 Hag. Nicolaus
  2 Prosymne
  3 Scotini
c Calavryta
  1 Livardji
  2 Klitoria
d Achaia
  1 Magira near Patras
  2 Docanaiica near Patras
e Arcadia
  1 Arvanitokerasia
f Messenia
  1 Meligala, Vlacherna
  2 Carveli of Calamata
  3 Lada
  4 Calyvia of Socha
  5 Magula of Calamata
  6 Nedousa and Latha
  7 Piges
g Laconia
  1 Pyrricho of Gythion
  2 Kephala of Oetylon

C Ionian Inseln

a Cephallonia
  1 Cranaia

ILLUSTRATIONS OF PLATES

(Reference is made to the number of the picture.
g.=ground floor, u=upper floor, u 1=first upper floor)

GREEK HOUSE

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PLATE I

a

1 ArchByzMon III 50 B. Lemn 2 g. 5 u. 6 u. 7 u. 11 u.
2 Thrac 17 g.
3 Aet 3 g. Thess 39 g. u. Thrac 30 u. (see Thrac. p. 28 note 2)
4 Thrac 27 u. Lemn 6 g. 7 g. 8 g. 9 g. 11 g.
4a Lang 2.
4b Thrac 27.
5 Thrac 11 g.
5a Thrac 25 g.
5b Thrac 23 g.
6 Thrac 26 u.
6a Thrac 26 g.
7 Lemn 8 u. 9 u. 10 u.
8 Lemn 12 u.
9 Lemn 13 u.

b

1 RurD. C a 1 g.
2 RurD. C b 1 g. Thess 41 g. Thrac 17, 1 g. 29 u.
2a Thrac 17, 2 g.
3 Thess 40 u.
4 RurD. A g 11 g.
4a RurD. A g 11 g.
5 RurD. A g 9 g.

PLATE II

1 RurD. A h 15 g. B j 15 u. C d¹ 1 g. 5 g. u. d² 1 g. e 1 g. 5 g. f 1 g. Arach. 1 g. ArchByzMon III 50 A. 99. 10. ComArch A b 1. B c 1. e 1 f 6 g 2. Maced Plat 9 g.
2 RurD B e 7 g. C d² 8 g. Arach 9 g. ComArch B f 2. 3 5. 6. 7. Thess 10 g. 31 g.
2a RurD. A a 6 g. h 7 g.
2b Aet 18
3 ComArch B f 4. Thess 34 u.
3a RurD. A e 6 g. d 18 u. B b 4 g. c 10 g.
4 RurD. A c 10 g. d 6 g. e 4 g. B c 14 g. e 12 g. j 6 g. Thess 11 g. 55 u. Maced Plat 32 u
4a Thess 19 g.
4b RurD. A e 6 u.
5 Thess 17 g.
6 RurD B b 5 g. C d² 9 g. 10 g. Thess. 34 g. 37 g. 42 g.
6a RurD. A b 2 g. b 8 g. d 18 g. Thess 79 g. Cav V g.
6b RurD A b 10 g. B c 14 g.
7 Thess 18 A g.
7a Thess 18 A g.
8 RurD. A a 3 g. d 6 g. 10 g. e 8 g.
8a RurD. A b 6 g. c 5 g. d 9 g.
8b RurD. B h 10 g.
8c RurD A b 4 g. f 6 g. B j 16. Thess 18 C.
8d RurD. A h 9 g.

PLATE III

×342 1 Aet 3 u. 22 g. RurD. A a 5 g. d 4. B c 2. g. 1. j 1 g. 10 u. C b 1 u. c 1 g. u. d[3] 2 g. d[4] 1. 5. 6. 8 g. 9 g. e 2 g. 4 u. 6 u. f 2 g. 3 g. 7 u. Com Arch B b 2 g. d 2 f 1. Thess 14 g. 15 g. 29 g. 43 g. 52 g.

1a RurD. B c 7 g. f 4 u. h 17 g. u. C d[1], 2 g.

1b Aeon II n° 3 g. (Missolonghi).

2 RurD. A g 1 g. h 1 g. B h 4 g. C d[1] 6 u. 7 g. u. d[2] 9 u. 10 u. d[3] 1 g. u. d[4] 6 u. Athens 7 g. Arach 2 u. Thess 32 g. u. 51 g. 56 g. u. Thrac 16, 1 g. 28 u. Cav IV g.

2a RurD. A e 9 g. u. g. 2 g. B e 8 u. j 13 u. C b 2 u. c 2 g. u. d[2] 2 u. e 3 g. Athens 16 u. Aeon II n° 1 u. (Drama) ChronEp III p. 299 pict. 2 Thess 68 g. 85 g. u.

2b RurD. A c 9 g. B f 1. g. 7 g.

2c Aeon II n° 2 g. (Paxi). ComArch C a 1.

2d RurD. B g 14 g.

2e Aet 20.

3 RurD. B b 1 g. f 5 g. u. g. 10 u. i 5 g. Thess 36 u. Thrac 4. Maced Plat 83 g.

3a RurD. B b 4 g. d 5 u. e 8 u. g. 11 u. i 5 u. j 13 g. C d[2] 6 u. Athens 20 g. Thess 16 g. 38 u. Thrac 1 g. 5 g. 16, 2 g. Maced Plat 9 u. 83 u.

3b RurD. A d 16 g. f 4 g. B a 1 g.

3c RurD. A b 2 g. c 2 g. d 5 g.

3d Athens 5 u. 10 g. 21 u. 32-33. Thess 38 u 54 g. 76 u.

3e RurD. C a 3 u. d[2] 2 g. Thess 38 g. 48 g. 76 g. 79 u.

3f RurD. A a 7 g. b 3 g. 9 g. d 16 u. f 5 g.

4 RurD. A h 5 g. B g. 12 u. i 2 g. Thess 13 g. 18 B i. 55 g. Maced Plat 81 g.

4a RurD. A h 10 g. B e 2 k 10 g. u. Thess 27 g. Castor 28 g.

4b RurD. A h 10 g.

4c Thrac 20.

5 RurD. A b 8 u. d 17 g. u. k 8 u. B k 8 u. C b 6 g. d[2] 5 g. Athens 8 u. ArchByzMon III p. 188 Thess 36 g. Thrac 6 g.

5a RurD. A b 9 u. B c 5 g. 12 u. d 5 g. e 8 g. h 1 g. k 9 g. u. m 5 g. C d[1] 10 u. Aeon II n° 1 g. (Drama). Thess 44 g. 73 g.

5b RurD. A b 3. 9 g. f 5.

5c RurD. B c 6 g.

6 Thess 78 g.

6a RurD. B b 6 g. Athens 2 u. 17 u. Aeon I n° 12. Thess 81 g.

6b Aeon I n° 12 u Thess 49 g. 50 1st u.

6c Thess 50 2nd u.

7 Thess 37 u. 44a. 1st u. 48 u. Maced Plat 82 u.

7a Thess 42 u. 44a 2nd u.

PLATE IV

1 RurD Aa 2 g. 5 u. 7 g. u. b 4. g 3 g. h 16 g. Ba 5. c 3. 16 g e. 1. g 2. h 5 g. j 5 g. 15 g. 16 g. k 1. 4. 1 1 g. 5 g. u. m 1 g. C c 3. d[2] 11 u. d[3] 8 u. d[4] 7. f 4 g. 8 g. u. Aeon I n° 5 Arach 8 g. ComArch Aa 1. 2. c 1. 2. e 1. 2. 3.

1a RurD Be 1 g. j 16 g. u. C b 3 g. u. 8 g. c 3 g. u Thess 18 C g. 26 g. 45 g. 46 g. 47 g.

3 RurD Be 7. u. C d[3] 11 u. Thess 47 u. TechnChr. Year 7 4 (Mycenae) Cav IV u.

2a RurD Aa 6 u. Ba 3 g. g 4 g. 17 u. k 11 g. u. 1 8 g. u. C d[4] 3 u. f 9 g. u. Aeon I n° 11 g. (Thessalia). Thess 42 u.

2b RurD A a 1 g. c 1 g. i 1 g.

2c WasmM VII 247 = Thess. 89 u.

3 RurD A h 15 u. 16 u. B d 1 g. 3 g. u 4 g. u. i 5 u. Athens 39 Thess 69 u.

3a RurD B b 3 g. Athens 18 u. 25 g. u. Arach 12 u. Thess 70 g. Thrac 7 g.

3b RurD A h 2 g. B a 2 g.

3a RurD B b 6 u. Athens 11 u. Thess 81 v 1st u. 87 u. Cav V u.
3d Castor 5 1st u. 13 2nd u.
3e Aeon I nr 2 p 56 57. ChronBp III (p. 297) pict. 1.
3f Castor 35 2nd u.
4 RurD. A h 6 g. Thess 57 u. 58 u.
4a RurD. C d² 10 g. u. Athens 29. 30. Thess 59 u. 71 g.
4b RurD. B d 6 u. Thrac 8. 19 g. 21 g. Maced Plat 43
4c RurD. A h 4 g.
4d RurD. B d 6 g.
5 RurD. A g 8 u B b 4 u. 5 u. c 10 u. 11 g.
5a RurD. B b 4 u. 1 3 g. C d² 11 g. Thess 44 a 2nd u. Cav III u. 342x
5b Thess 88 g.
5c RurD. C b 6 u.
5d RurD. C d² 7 g.
6 RurD. A a 3 g. c 3 g. 10 g. d 10 g. e 4 g. 8 g. B a 6 g. c 14 g. j 6 g. l 2 g.
6a RurD. A b 5 g. c 4 g. 13 g. d 19 g. C f 6 g. ComArch A b 1.
6b RurD. A b 6 g. 10 g. c 5 g. d 9 g. f 8 g.
6c RurD. B h 7 g.
7 Thess 18 C.
8 RurD. B a 7 g.

PLATE V

1 RurD. B i 6 g.
2 ArchByzMon II p. 185. 186
2a Thess 64 g.
2b Thess 65 g.
2c Thess 86 g.
3 RurD. B C 4 g. Thess 66 g. 67 g.
3a Thess 62 u.
4 RurD. B i 6 u. Castor 33 g.
4a RurD C d² 5 u. 6 u. 7 u. Thess 80 a, 1st u. 88 u. Castor 29 2nd u.
4b RurD. C a 3 u. d² 5 u. 6 u. 7 u.
5 RurD C c 6 u. Thess 60 u.
5a Athens 12 g. Thess 63 g 72 2nd u.
5b Thess 81a 2nd u.
6 Athens 38 g. Thess 72 g.
6a Thess 82 u.
6b Thess 80a 2nd u.
6c Castor 5 2nd u.
7 Exhib 19 g. WasmM. VIII 248= Thess 90. 91 u.
7a ArchByzMon IV p.201 Castor 28 1st u.
7b Athens 38.
8 RurD. B j.

PLATE VIa

1 RurD. A g. 4 g B g. 3 g. C b 8 u. d² 8 u. d³ 3 g. e 7 u. f 16 μ. Com Arch A c 1. f 1. B a 1. 2. b 1. c 1. e 1. Aet. 22 u. Arach 10 u. Thess 43 u. 45 u. 46 u.
2 RurD. C d² 4 g. d³ 6 g. Aet. 25 u. Arach 9 u. ComArch A c 2. B a 2. b 1. 3. d 1. f 2.4.5.6. g 2.
2a RurH. 14 ComArch A f 1.
2b RurD. C c 4 g. ComArch C a 1.
3 RurD. B j 12 u.
4 PopArch 18 u.
5 ComArch B d 2.

PLATE VIb

1 RurD. B b 8 g. c 15 g. j 15 g. k 1 g. Thess 41 u.
2 RurD. A g 6 g. B j 17 g.
3 RurD. A a 4 g d 11 g. 21 g. f 9 g. B c 9 g. 15 u. e 5 g. h 10 g. j 9 g. 17 u. k 5 g. u 6 g. u 1 4 g. 7 g. u.

x 342 m 4 g. u. C a 4 g. u. d[a] 11 g. u. ComArch B f 2 Aeon I n[r] 9 g. (Athens). Thess 77 g. 78 u.
3a RurD. B l 6 g. u.
3b RurD. B k 12 g. u.
4 RurD. A g 5 g. h 14 u. Aeon I n[r] 8 (Zakynthos) g. II n[r] 3 u. (Missolonghi). RurH. 13.
4a Aeon I n[r] 8 1st u. (Zakynthos).
4b Aeon I n[r] 8 2nd u. (").
5 RurD. A d 22 g. 23 g.
5a RurD. A c 11 g.
6 RurD. A h 13 g. Thess 77 u.
6a RurD. B e 6 g.
7 RurD. B k 2 g.
7a RurD. B k 2 g.
7b RurD. C d[a] 7 g.
8 RurD. B f 2 g.
9 RurD. B c 14 u.
9a RurD. B c 4 u. (first collection).
9b RurD. B c 1 u. (first collection).

PLATE VII a

1 RurD. A d 8 g. i 1 g. C d[a] 10 g. 13 g.
2 RurD. A d 7 g. Aeon II n[r] 5 g (Calamata).
2a Thess 28 g.
2b RurD. B d 2 g i 7 u. ArchByzMon V 199 203
2c Thess 20 g. 21 g.
3 RurD. A f 10 g. B d 8 u. i 7 u.
3a Thrac 10. Athens 27 g. 34 g.
3b RurD. A b 1 g. h 3 g. B j 4 g.
3c RurD. B g 13 g. Thrac 9 g.
4 RurD. B i 7 g.
4a RurD. B b 10 u.
4b RurD. B b 9 u.
5 Aeon II n[r] 5 u. (Calamata)
5a RurD. A c 6 g.

PLATE VII b

1 RurD. C d[a] 4 g.
2 RurD. C d[a] 4 g.
2a Thrac 13
2b RurD. A h 12 g.
3 Athens 14 u. Thrac 13
3a ArchByzMon II 188. Arach 12 u
4 RurD. A h 11 g.

PLATE VIII a

1 RurD. D d 1 g. f 1 g. g 4 g. u. Aeon I n[r] 10 g. (Skyros) Dod 4 g. 24 u. L'Hellén. III pl. 9 Cycl. 1 g. 7 g. u. Skyros 13. Œlmann, Haus 37 c (Cimolos).
2 Cycl 2 g. 3 g. 8 g. L'Hellén. I. p. 228, III p. 176 pict. 11.
3 Cycl. 8 u. 9 g.
3a RurD D d 8 u. g 5 g.
4 Dod. 26 g.
4a RurD. D f 9 g. g 6 g Cycl. 12 g
4b Dod. 26 u.
5 Laogr. XI, 81.
5a Cycl. 25
5b RurD. D g 2 g.
6 Dod. 24 g. 28 g. L'Hellén. III, pl. 10 Lemn. 15
6a RurD. D d 3 g. f 2 g. (first collection)
7 Cycl. 10.
7a Cycl. 11, 24 g.
7b Cycl. 24 u.
7c Cycl. 22.
8 Cycl. 13.
9 Lassithi 5.
10 Cycl. 17.

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PLATE VIII b

1 RurD. D b 8 g. 9 g. u.
1a RurD. D e 2 g.
2 RurD. D a 4 g. f 3 g. 8 g. Cycl. 23 g.
2a Cycl. 5 g.
2b RurD. D d 11 u. f 8 u.
2c RurD. D d 11 g.
2d RurD. D a 8 g.
3 RurD. D e 9 g.
4 RurD. D e 9 u.
4a RurD. D b 3 g.

PLATE IX a

1 RurD. D c 1 g. 13 g. u. d 6 g. u. e 1 g. 5 g u. f 4 g. u Dod. 1 g. 2 g. 3 g. 22 u. Icar 185 L'Hellén. III pl. 7 and 8. Mycon IV Sam. 2. 3. 9.
1a Dod. 5 g. 6 g. Lassithi 2.
1b Dod. 8 g. Karp. II 63.
1c Dod. 7 g. L'Hellén. I p. 226.
2 Dod. 9 g. 10 g. 36 g.
2a Dod. 12 g. 13 g.
2b and 2c Ten pp. 17 and 22.
2d Lass 3.
2e Andr. House of D. Barou at Catakoilos.
2f Andr. House of Fr. Costaras at Apolkia.
2g Andr. House of J. Canakis at Palaeopolis.
3 RurD. D a 7 u. d 8 g. (first collection p. 6), f 11 u Dod. 23 g. u.
3a Dod. 14 g. 19 g. 20 u. 21 u.
3b RurD. D f 11 g.
4 Dod. 13 g.
5 RurD. D d 3 g. 10 g. u. f 5 g. 6 g.
5a RurD. D d 9 g. f 9 g. g 6 g.
6 RurD. D d 2 g. Dod. 35.
7 Dod. 27 g. u.

PLATE IX b

1 RurD. D d 4 g. u. 8 g. e 4 g. Aeon I nr 3 (p. 92 93), 6 (p. 188 189). Dod. 16 g. 17 g. 18 g. 31 g. 33 g. 37 g. Cycl. 28 g.
1a RurD. D a 6 g. c 2 g. 14 g. d 7 g. e 6 g. Lass 3.
2 RurD. D d 6 g. (first collection p. 6).
3 RurD. D a 2 g. 3 g. b 2 g. 10 g c 7 g. 8 g. 9 g. d 11 g. Dod. 15 g. 29 g. 30 g. 34 g. Karp II 347.
3a RurD D d 5 g. (first collection) 12 g e 3 g.
4 RurD. D d 3 g. (first collection p. 4).

PLATE IX c

1 RurD. D c 4 g. 5 g
1a RurD. D a 1 g. c 3 g. 15 g u.
2 RurD. D g 3 g.
2a RurD. D b 11 g. c 10 g d 2 g. (first collection) Techn Chr. VII 8 g.
3 RurD. D b 12 g. u. f 7 g.
3a Dod. 32. Mycon VIII
4 RurD. D e 8 g.
4a RurD. D c 16 g
5 RurD. D c 17 g.
6 RurD. D e 10 g. u.

PLATE IX d

1 RurD. D b 13 u.
2 RurD. D a 5 g. b 4 g.
3 RurD. D b 5 g.
4 RurD. D b 6 g. d 13 g. u.
5 RurD. D f 10 g.

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ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

PLATE X

1 and 2 Chr. Tsountas, Ἰστορ. ἀρχ. ἀλλ. τέχνης, figg. 3 and 4. B Rider, The Greek House, fig. 5: Plans of neolithic houses at Dimini in Thessaly.

3 Tsountas, 33. Rider 19: Megaron plan of the palace at Tiryns.

4 Rider 23: Megaron of the palace at Phylakopi on Melos.

5 Tsountas 5. Rider 24: Prehistoric houses at Troy (second city).

6 Tsountas 120: Temple of Nemesis at Ramnous.

7 Oikonomos, Ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡραίου πήλινος οἰκίσκος 16: Temple of Minerva at Sounion.

PLATE XI

1-4 Rider 42, 43, 44, 46. Tsountas 389: Houses at Priene

PLATE XII

1 and 2 Robinson, Pauly-Wiss.-Kroll RE Suppl. VII (1940) pp. 258 and 265: Houses at Olynthos.

3 Rider 49, b: House at Delos near the Inopus.

4 Rider 48. b. Robinson, op. cit. p. 271: House at Delos at the summit of the hill.

5 Plan of a House in Kôs (See p. 51 above, note 1).

BULGARIAN HOUSE

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PLATE XIII

1 Zlatev, fig. 83: House at Divlia, district of Kioustendil, of the year 1860.

2 Zlatev, fig. 91: House at Ousountsevo, distr. of Chaskovo, of the year 1780.

3 Zlatev, fig. 81: House at Grigorevo, district of Sofia, of the year 1870.

4 Zlatev, fig. 95: House at Dolnja Mitropolia, distr. of Plevna, of the year 1903.

5 Zlatev, fig. 94: House at Caratoprak, distr. of Philippopel, of the year 1912.

6 Zlatev, fig. 16: Old zadrouga house at Zaïel in the NW Bulgaria.

7 Zlatev, fig. 78: Zadrouga house at Tiorekovtsi in the NW Bulgaria, of the year 1870.

8 Zlatev, fig. 76: Zadrouga house at Tiorekovtsi in the NW Bulgaria.

PLATE XIV

1 Zlatev, fig. 84: House at Zanozene, distr. Berkov, of the year 1890.

2 Zlatev, fig. 21: House at Etera, distr. of Gabrovo.

2a Zlatev, fig. 26: House at Grandets, distr. of Cotel.

3 Zlatev, fig. 23: House at Neikovo, of the year 1915.

4 Zlatev, fig. 44: House at Panega, distr. of Teteven.

4a Zlatev, fig. 46: House at Glosiene distr. of Teteven, of the year 1860.

5 Zlatev, fig. 47: House at Glosiene, distr. of Teteven.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

PLATE XV

1 Zlatev, fig. 19: House at Etera, distr. of Gabrovo.
2 Zlatev, fig. 56: House at Bounovo in the Srednja Gora.
3 Zlatev, fig. 88: House at Bercets of the Vratsa (N. of Sofia), of the year 1890.
4 Zlatev, fig. 35: House at Zeravna, in Balkan.
5 Zlatev, fig. 39: House at Zeravna, in Balkan.

THE HOUSE IN RODOPE

PLATE XVI

1 Zlatev, fig. 63: House at Davidovo in Middle Rodope, of the year 1840
1a Zlatev, fig. 64: House at Davidovo in Middle Rodope.
2 Zlatev, fig. 65: House at Vatak, SW of Philippopel, of the year 1882.
3 Zlatev, fig. 67, I: Old house in Rodope.
4 Zlatev, fig. 67 II: House of Kalyva type in Rodope.
5 Zlatev, fig. 67 III: House of city type in Rodope.
6 Zlatev, fig. 61 House at Petkovo of the year 1820.
7 Zlatev, fig. 62: House at Petkovo of the year 1820.

BOSNIAN HOUSE

PLATE XVII

1 Meringer, Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, fig. 63: Old house at Predolje in Hercegovina.
2 Meringer ibid. fig. 66: Old house at Dreznic'a.
3 Meringer, fig. 7: Two-room little house of Taingans at Dolnja Tuzla.
4 Meringer, fig. 41: Two-room house at Jajce.
5 Meringer, figg. 46 and 48: Three room house at Dolnja Tuzla.
6 Meringer, fig. 49: Three-room house at Travnik.
7 Meringer, fig. 71: Plan of the ground and upper floor of a house at Travnik.
8 Meringer, fig. 73: Plan of another two-storey house at Travnik.
9 Meringer, figg. 75 and 76: Plans of another house at Travnik.

ALBANIAN HOUSE

PLATE XVIII

1 Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 1: Plan and section of an underground hut near Tuzi in Northern Albanien.
2 Nopcsa, fig. 2: A pastoral hut in Livadi Boga.
3 Nopcsa, fig. 17: A winter-dwelling of the Klmeni in Bregumatja.
4 Nopcsa, figg. 18 and 19: Winter-dwel-

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ling of the Bairaktari of Nikahi in Bregumatja (see above pp 100 foll. figg. 64 and 65).

5 Nopcsa, fig. 22: Plan of a house at Bajza, district of Kastrati.

6 Nopcsa, fig. 23: Plan of a two-storey house at Kolaj.

7 Nopcsa, fig. 25: House with a veranda at Brebula.

8 Nopcsa, fig. 24: House with a veranda at Toplana.

9 Nopcsa, fig. 28 House with a veranda at Vuksanlekaj (Hoti). (See above p. 104 fig. 70).

10 Nopcsa, fig. 27: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Mali Rencit (Above, p. 103 fig. 69).

11 Nopcsa, fig. 26: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Mali Rencit (Above p. 103 fig. 68)

12 Nopcsa, fig. 30: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Kastrati (Above p. 104 fig. 71).

13 Nopcsa, fig 29: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Serna.

14 Nopcsa, fig. 31: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Kastrati.

15 Nopcsa, fig. 31: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Kastrati.

16-19 Plans of Houses of central Albania according to a description by J. von Hahn in «Albanesische Studien», Jena 1854, I pp. 169 foll.

WHO IS WHO

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PLATES

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GREEK HOUSE

TYPES OF NARROW FRONTED HOUSE WITH SLOPING ROOF.

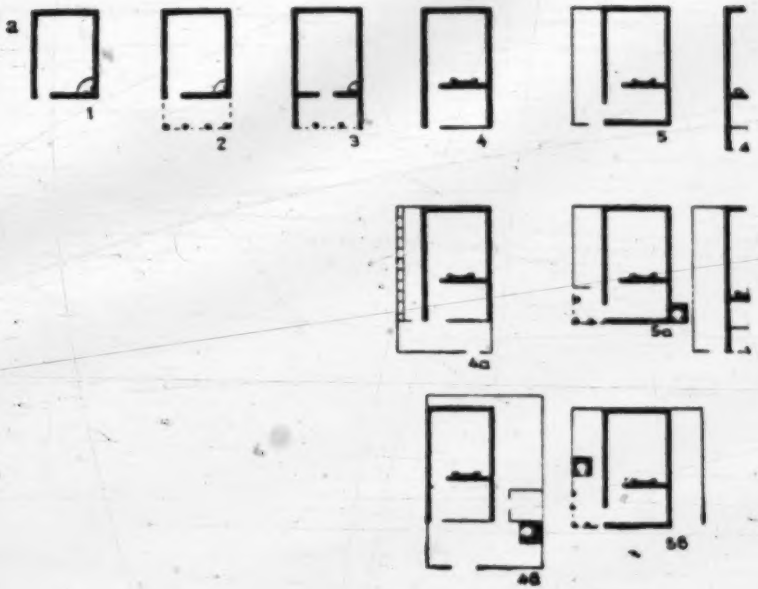

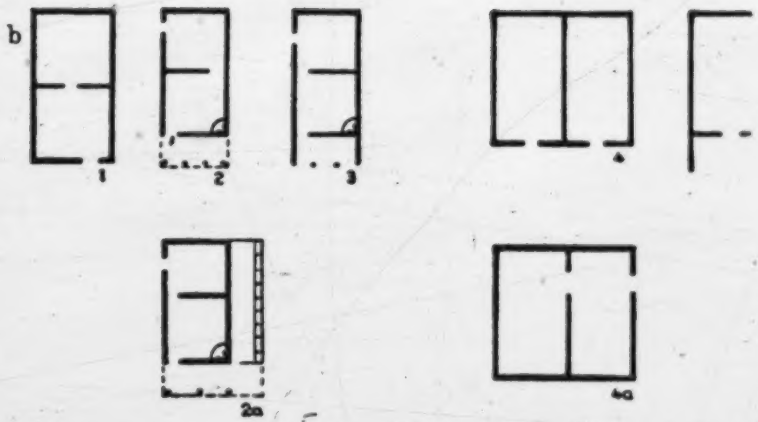

[END PLATE 1-A]

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PLATE I

OPING ROOF.

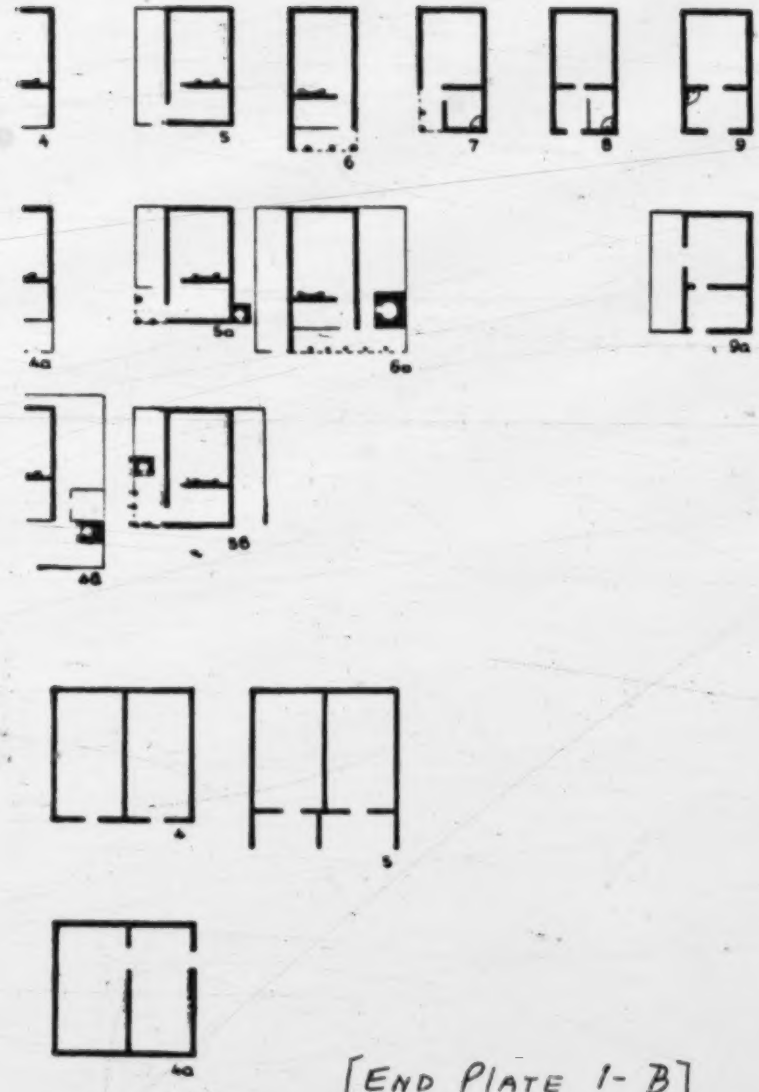

[END PLATE 1-B]

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

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GREEK HOUSE

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED HOUSE WITH SLOPING ROOF:

THEY ORIGINALLY CONSISTED OF ONE ROOM.

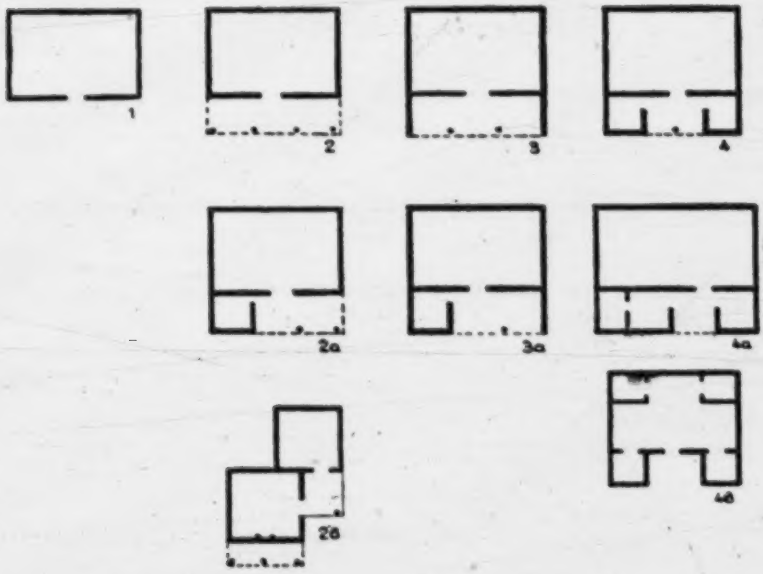

[End plate 2-A]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

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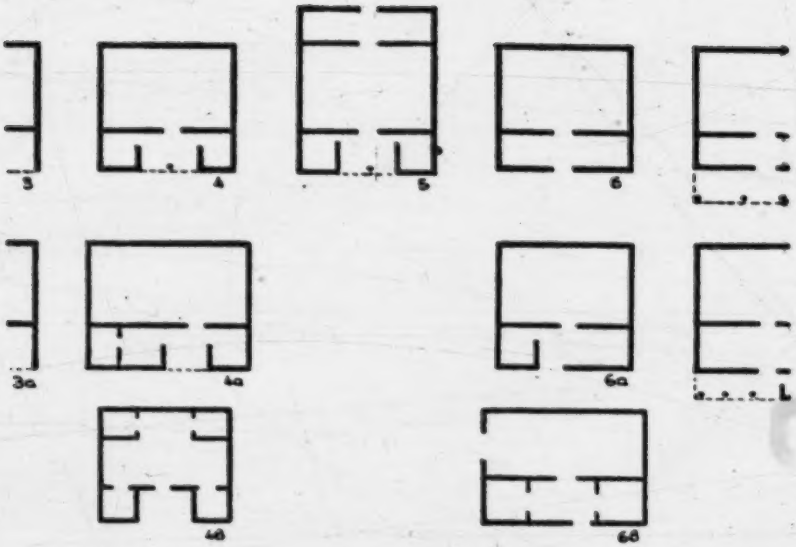

[End Plate 2-B]

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PLATE II

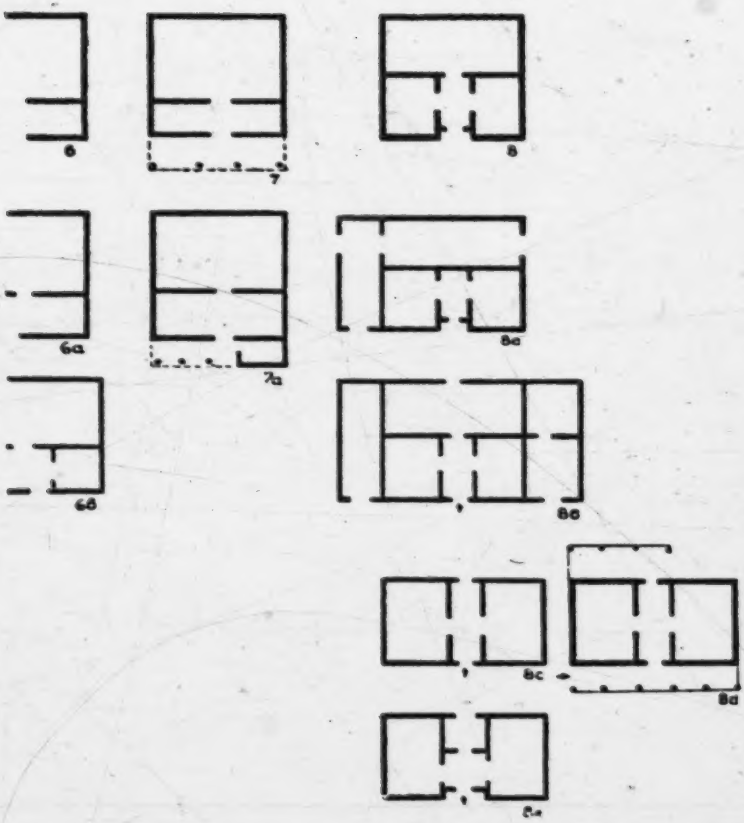

[End Plate 2-C]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

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GREEK HOUSE

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED HOUSE WITH SLOPING ROOF;

THEY ORIGINALLY CONSISTED OF TWO ROOMS.

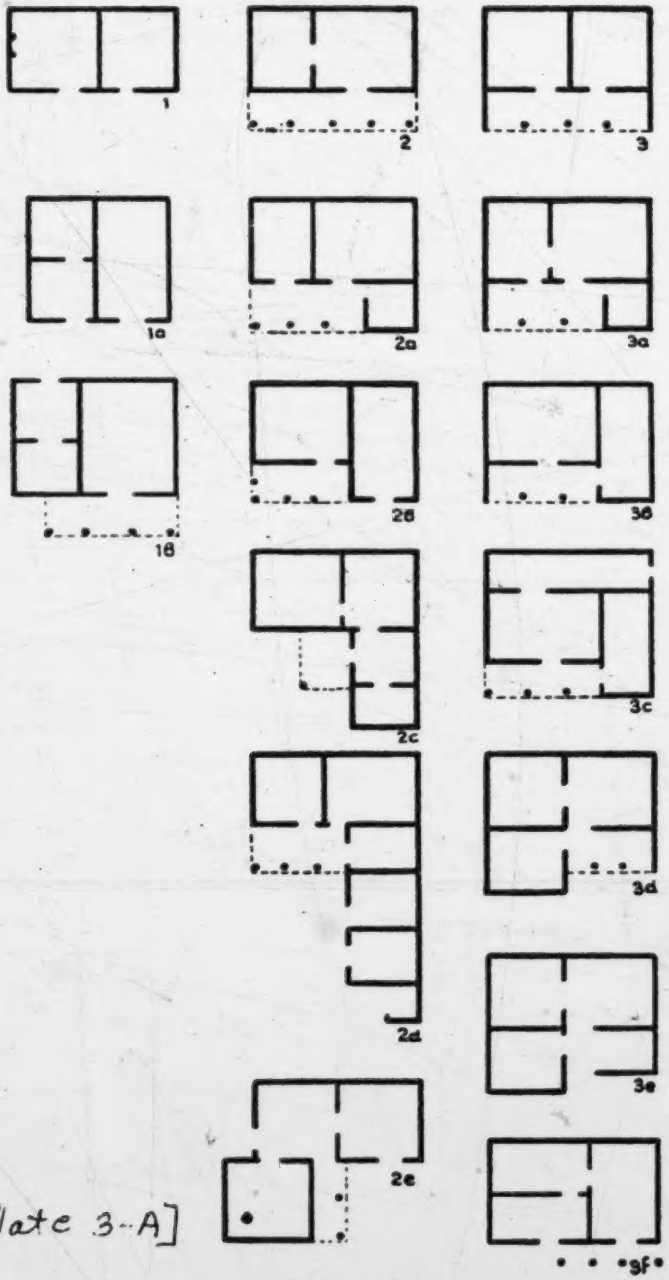

[End Plate 3-A]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

×342

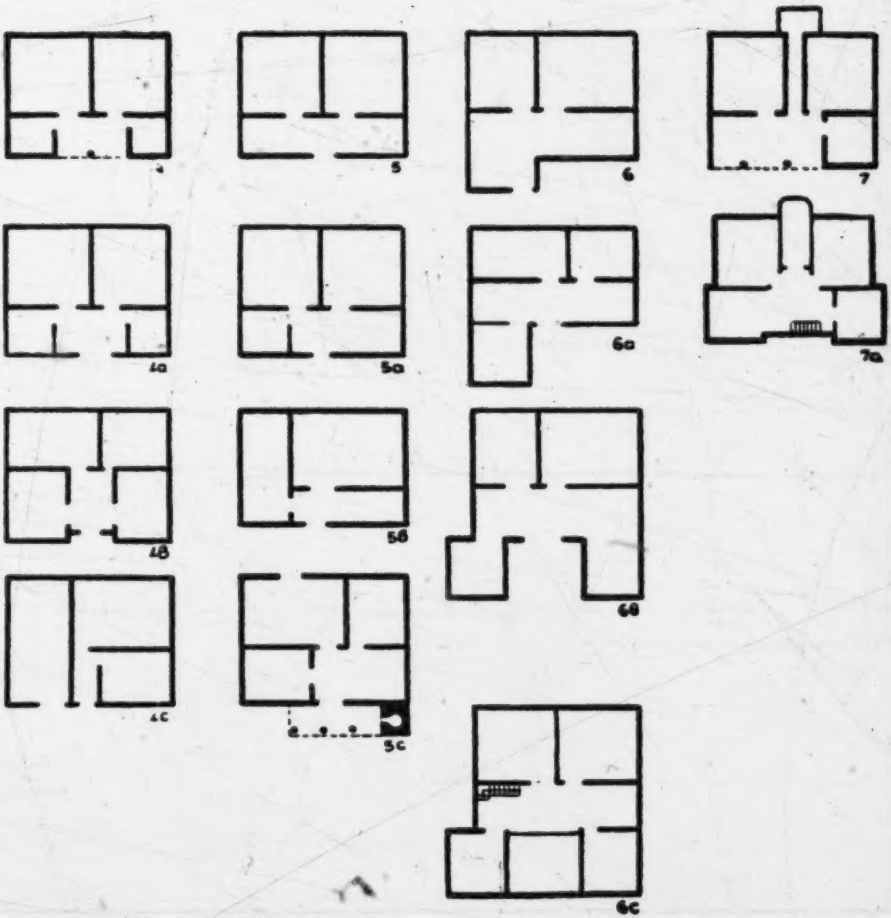

[End Plate 3-B]

*342 GREEK HOUSE

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED HOUSE WITH SLOPING ROOF;

THEY ORIGINALLY CONSISTED OF THREE ROOMS.

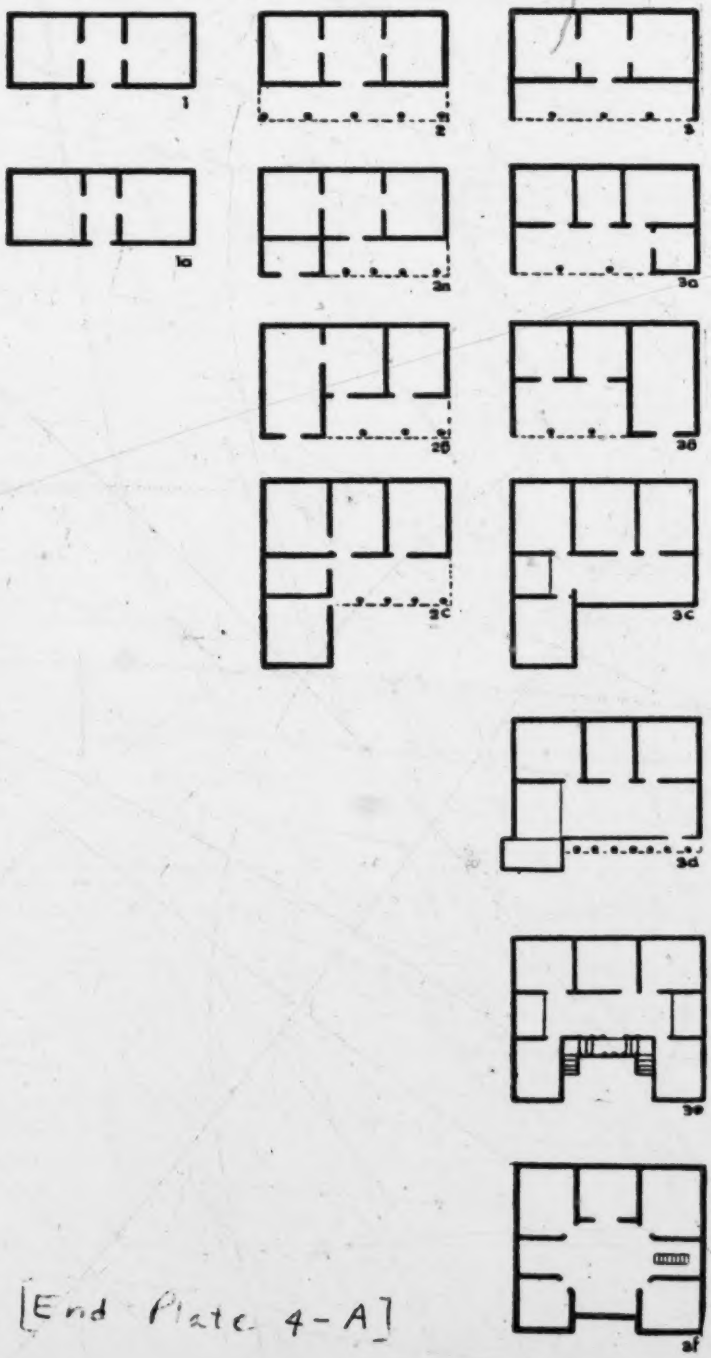

[End Plate 4-A]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

*342

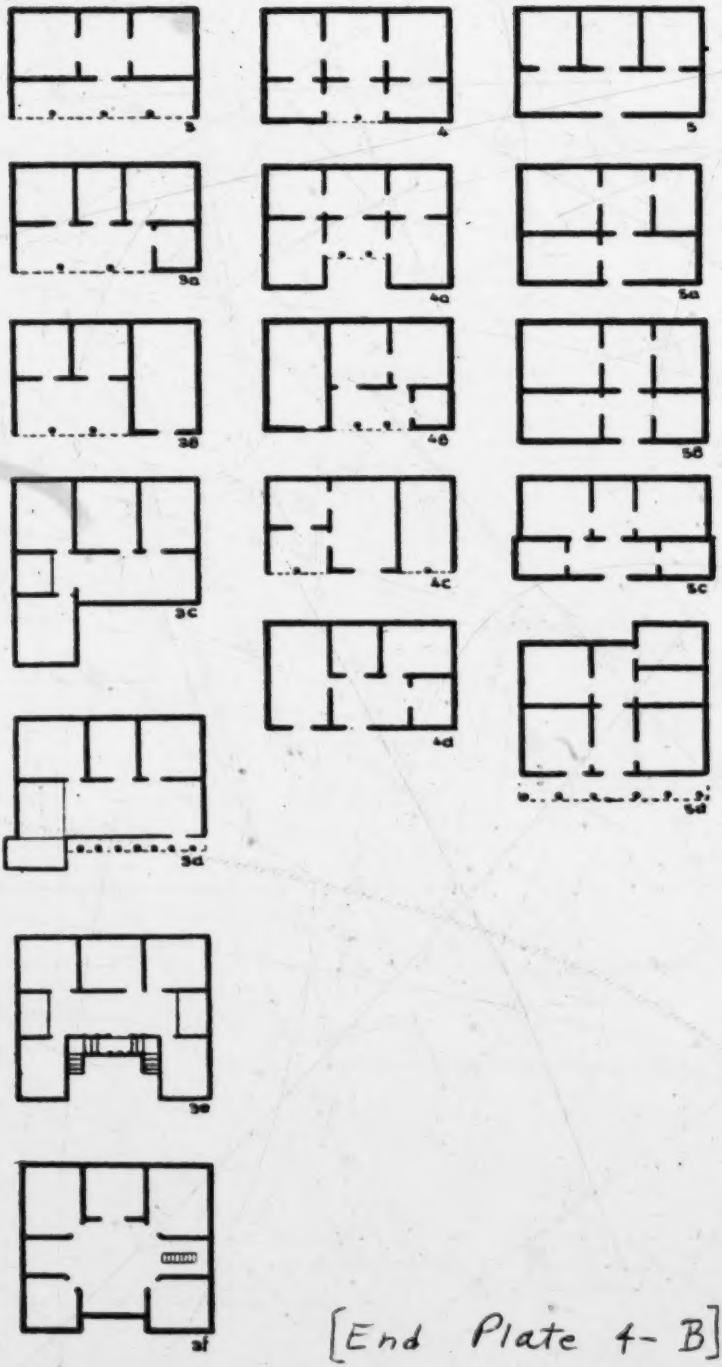

[End Plate 4- B]

*342

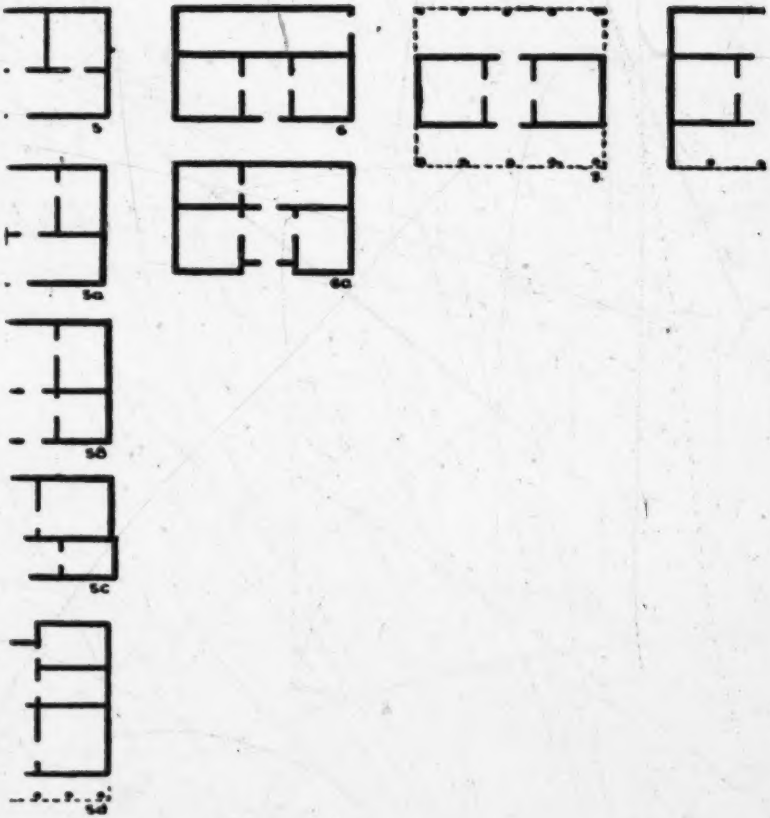

[End Plate 4-C]

PLATE IV

x 342

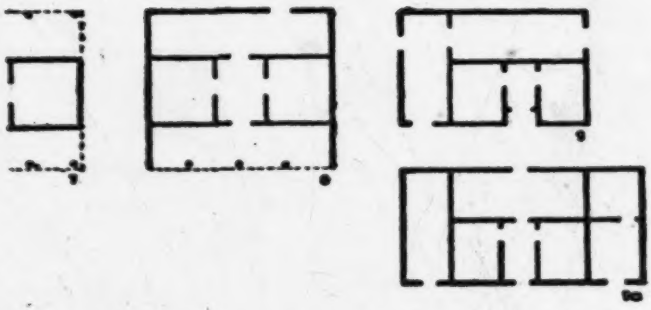

[End Plate 4-D]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

*342

GREEK HOUSE

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED HOUSE WITH SLOPING ROOF; ORIGINALLY THREE SPACES, THE CENTRAL OF WHICH WAS OPEN TO THE PORTICO (PROSTOON).

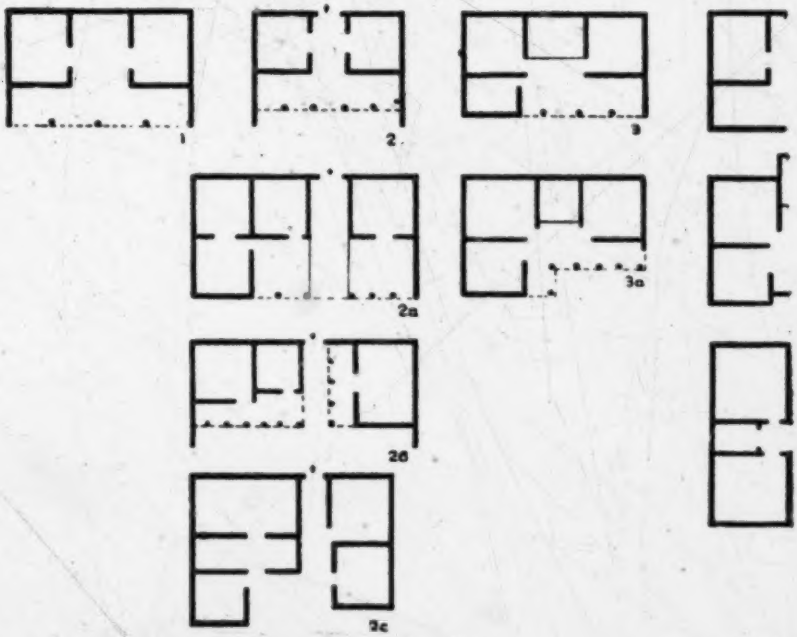

[End Plate 5-A]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

*342

THREE SPACES,

[End Plate 5-B]

342

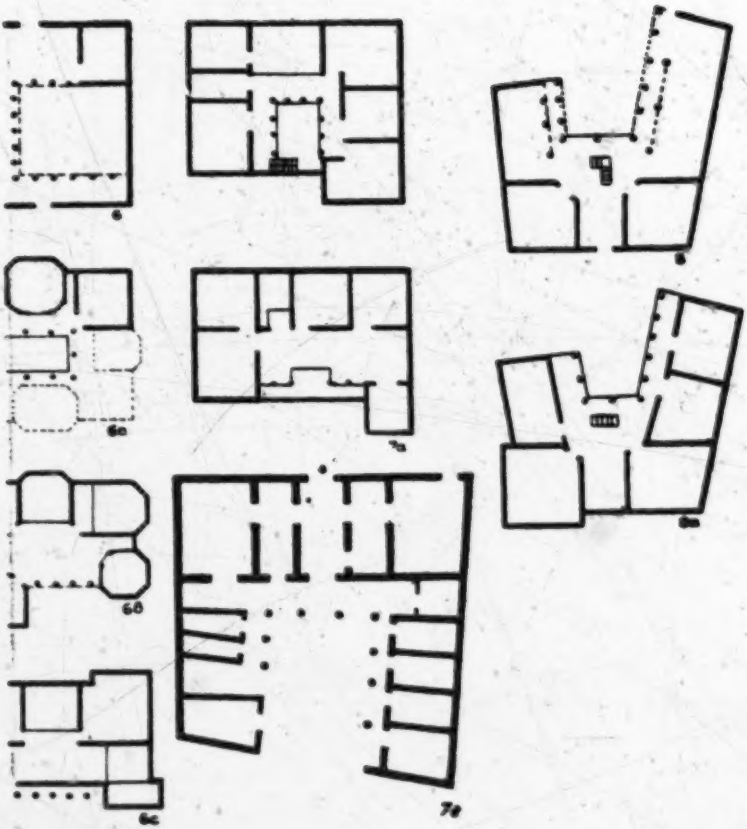

[End Plate 5-C]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

*342 GREEK HOUSE

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED HOUSE WITH SLOPING ROOF; a) CENTRAL RO

ORIGINALLY THREE ROOMS b) ONE OR MO

a.

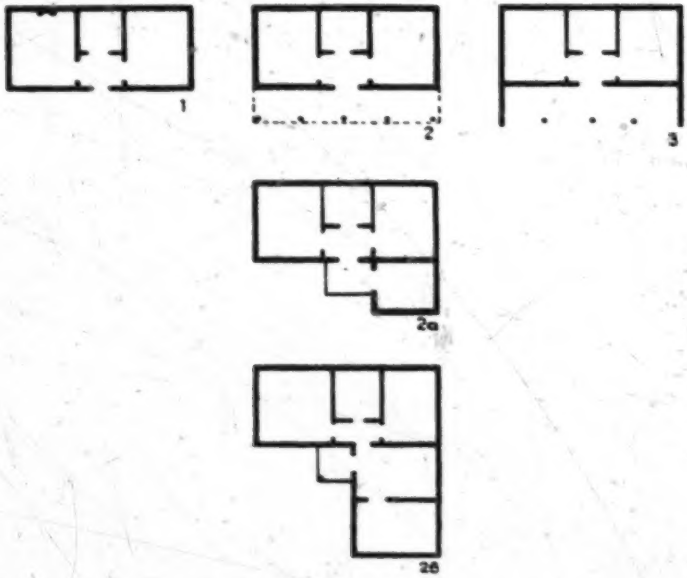

b.

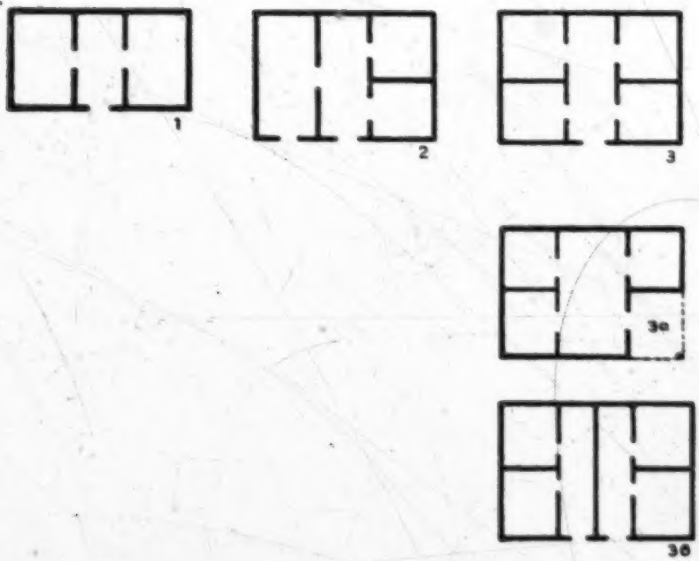

[End Plate 6-A]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

*342

a) CENTRAL ROOM DIVIDED INTO ANTE-ROOM AND ROOM

b) ONE OR MORE SPACES DIVIDED INTO ROOMS

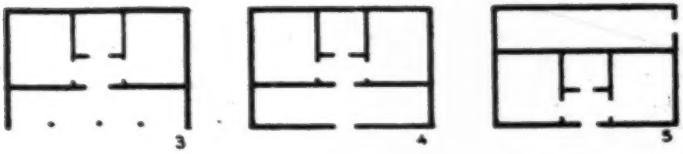

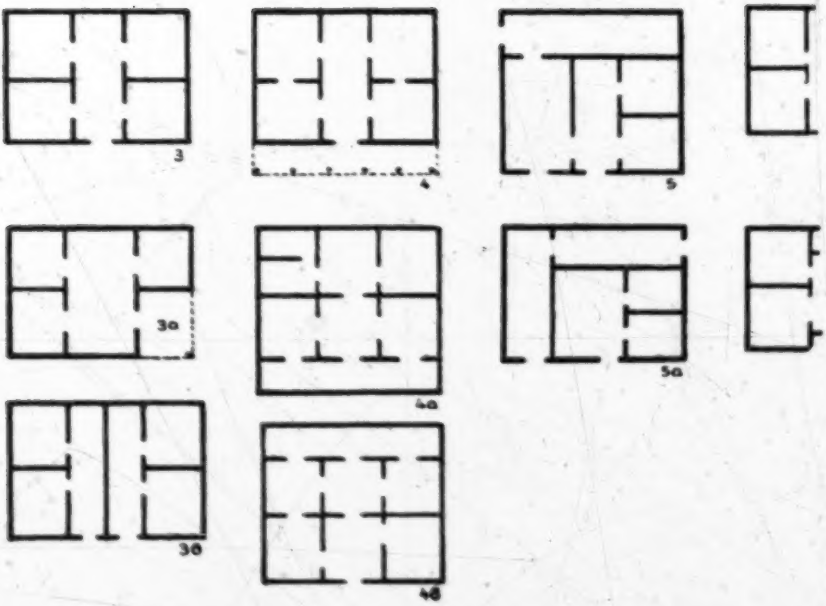

[End Plate 6-B]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

*342

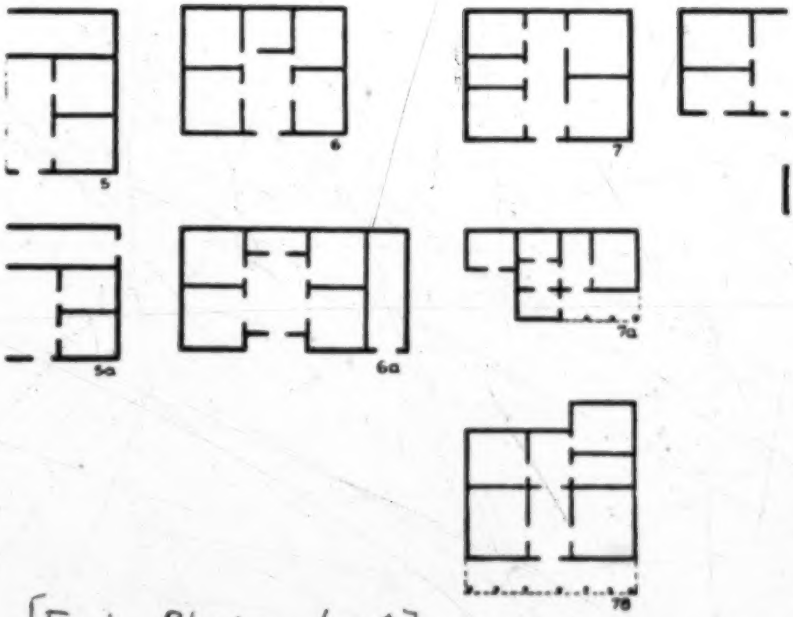

[End Plate 6-C]

*342

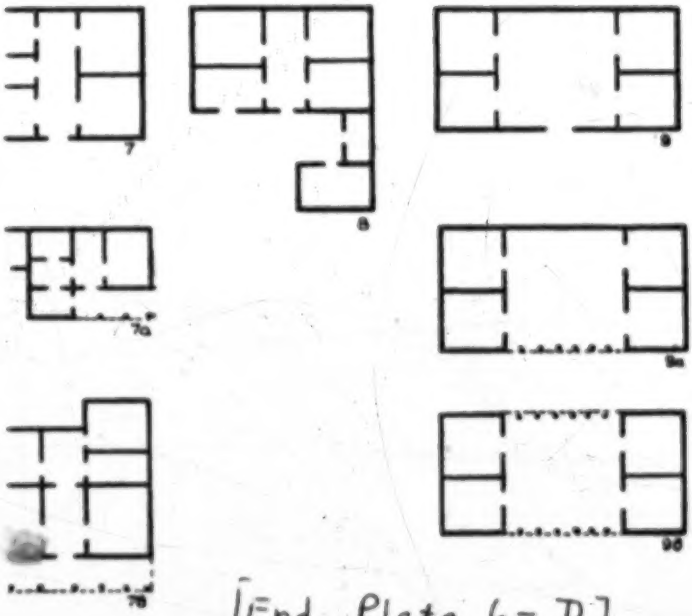

[End Plate 6-D]

x 342

GREEK HOUSE

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED HOUSES WITH SLOPING ROOF,

CONSISTING OF FOUR SPACES OR MORE

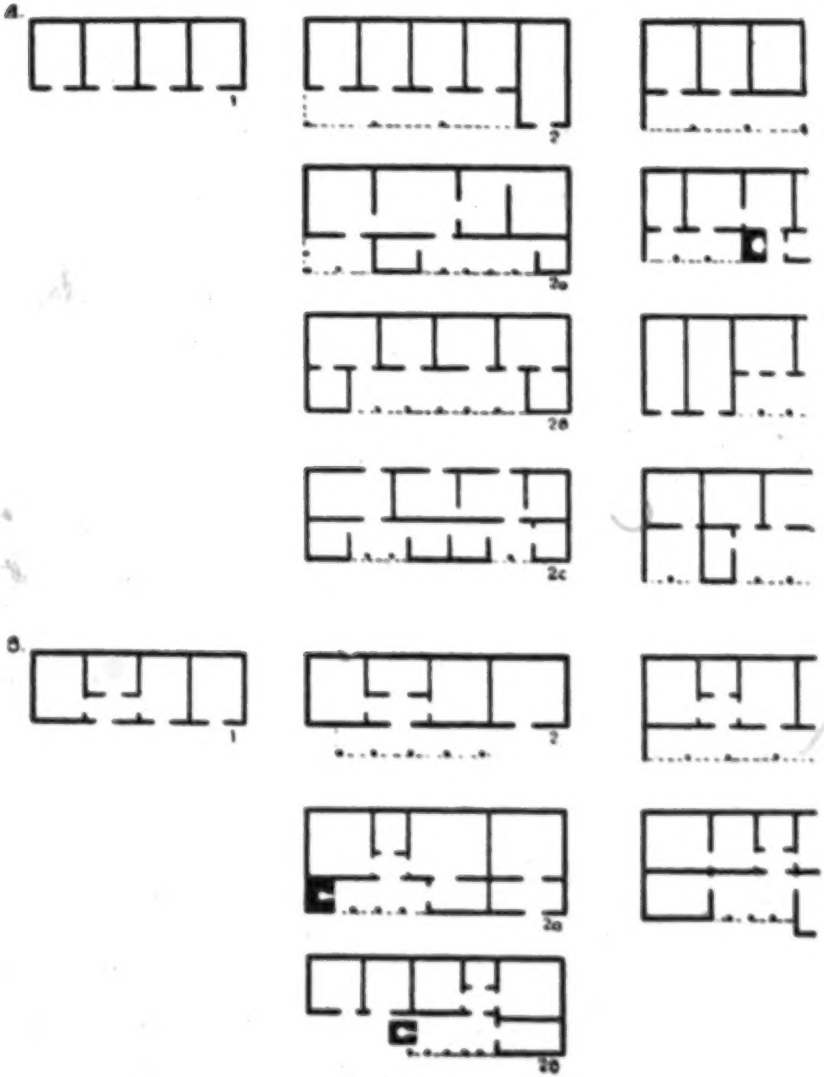

[End Plate 7-A]

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[End Plate 7- B]

*342

PLATE VIII

GREEK HOUSE

TYPES OF NARROW FRONTED HOUSE WITH FLAT ROOF

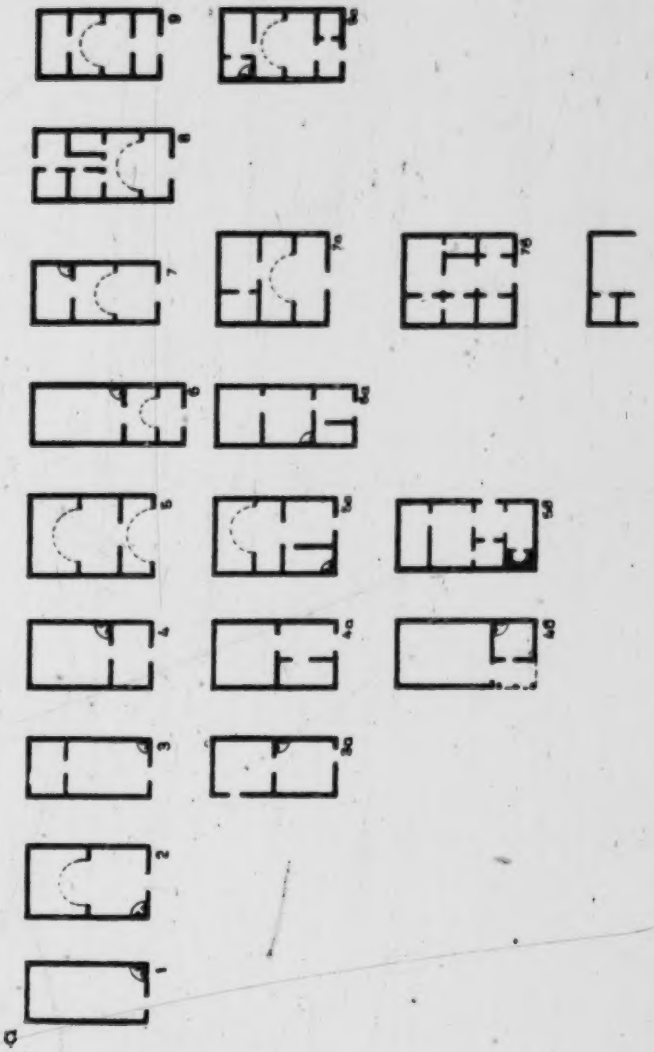

[End Plate 8-A]

*342

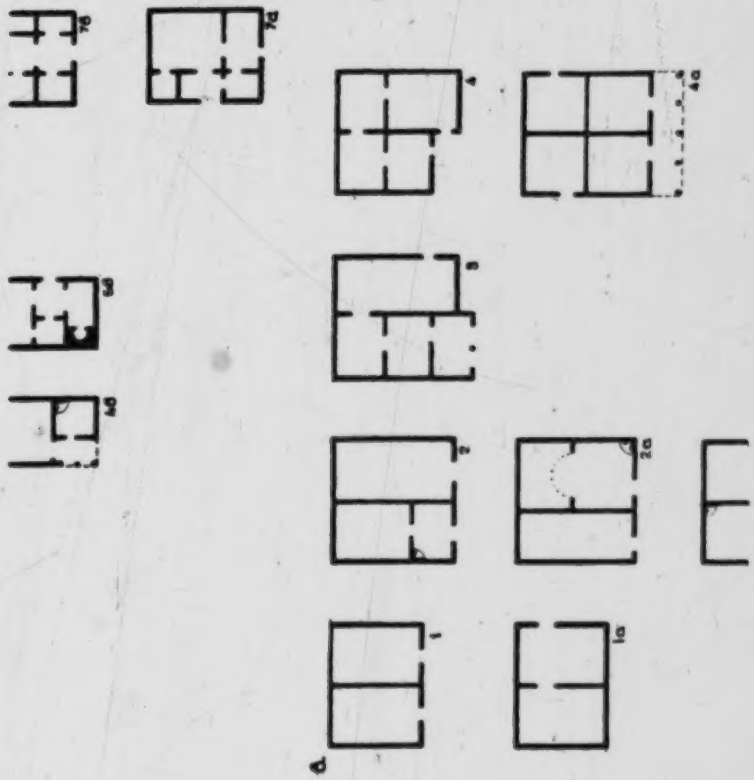

[End Plate 8-B]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

×342

[End Plate 8-c]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

PLATE IX

x 342

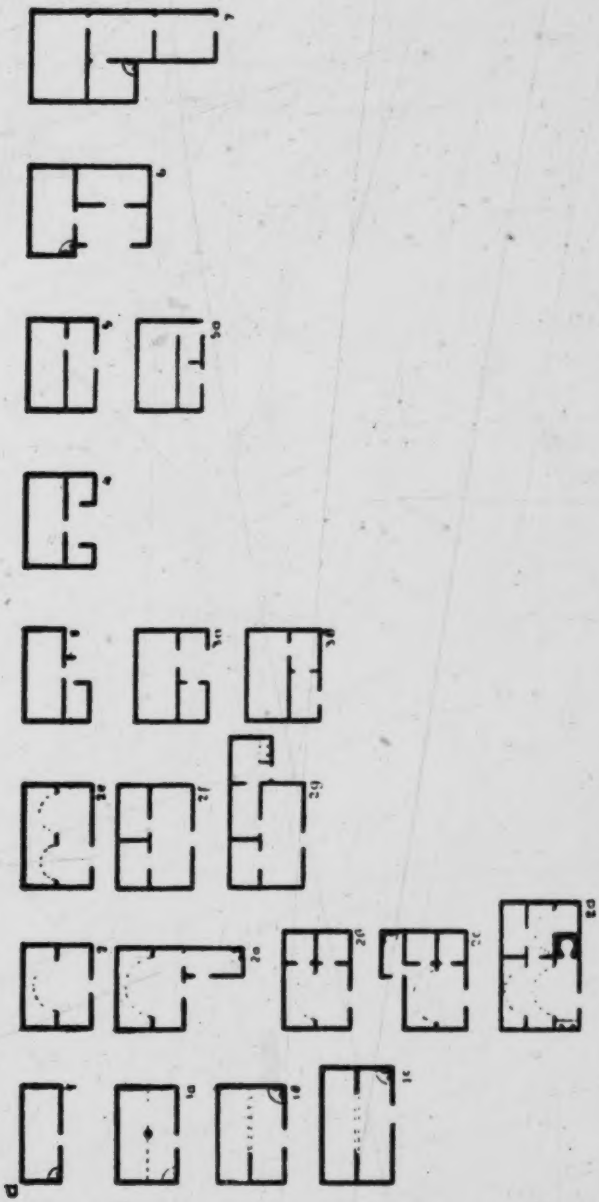

GREEK HOUSE

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED HOUSE WITH FLAT ROOF

[End Plate 9-A]

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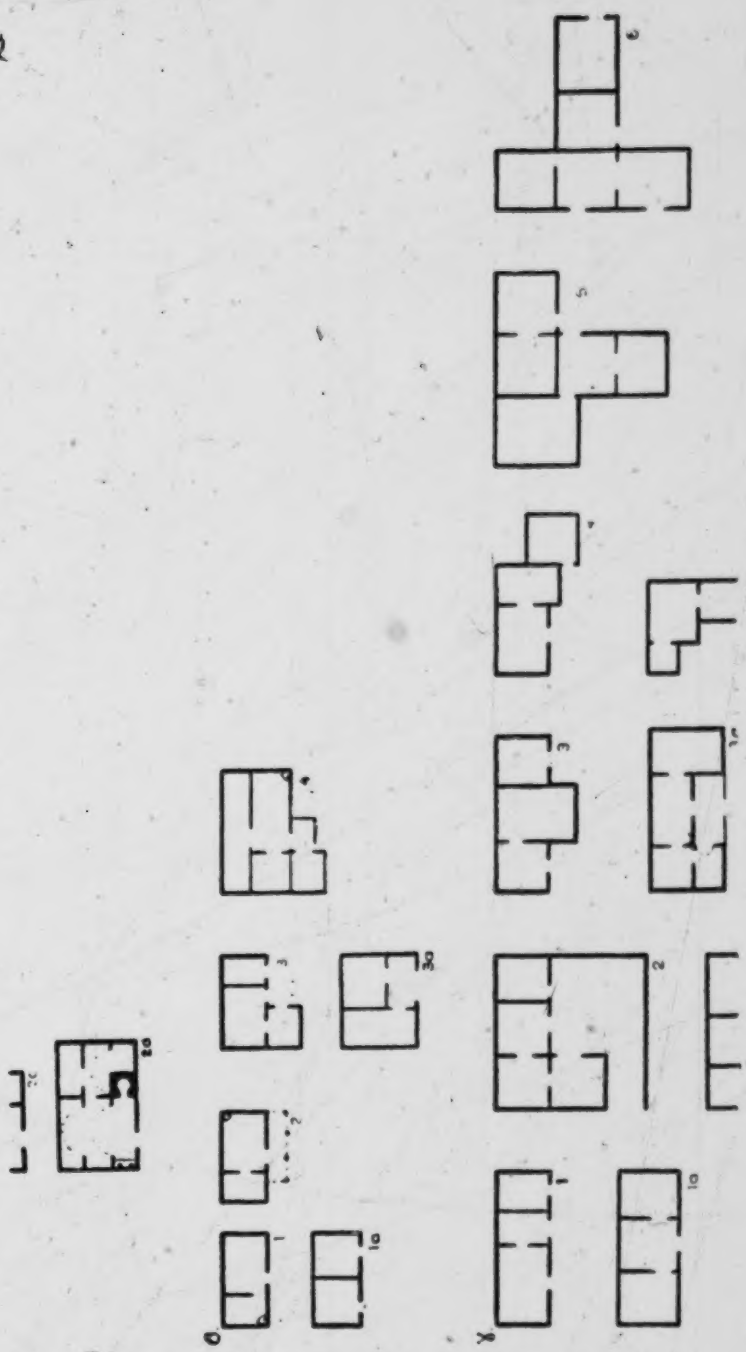

[End Plate 9-B]

x 342

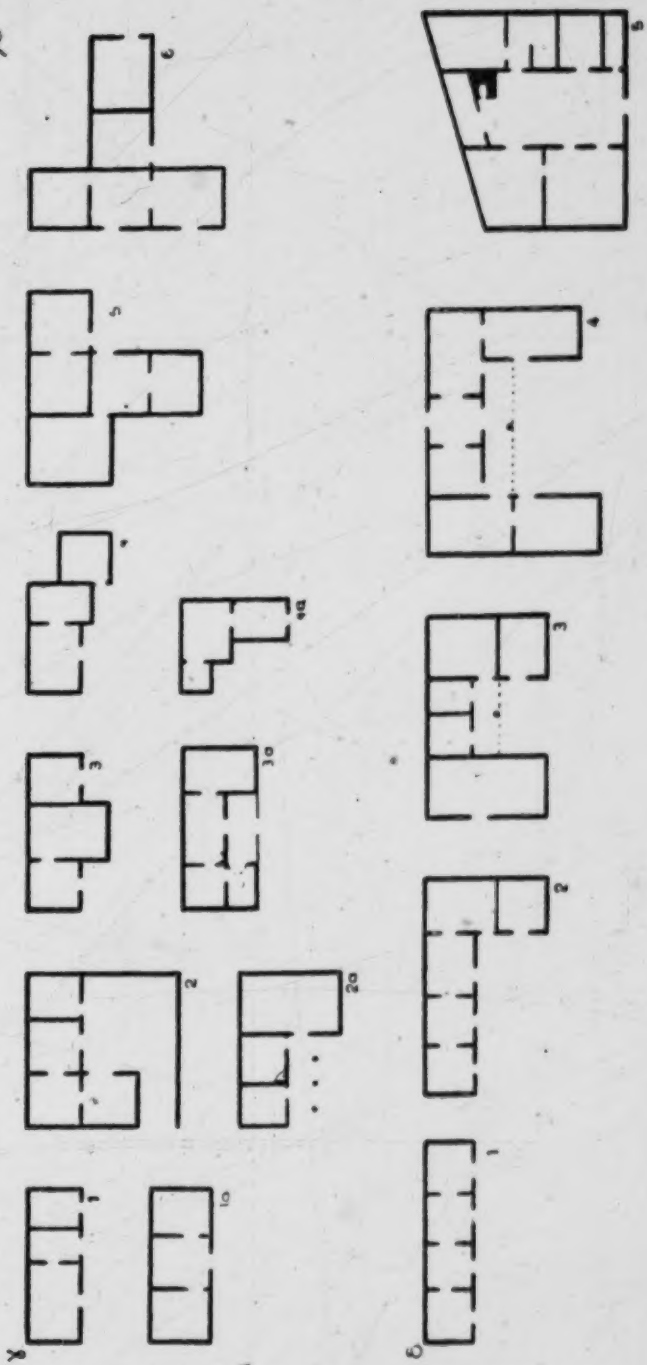

[End Plate 9-C]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

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172

ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

PLATE 2

TYPES OF ANCIENT MEGARON

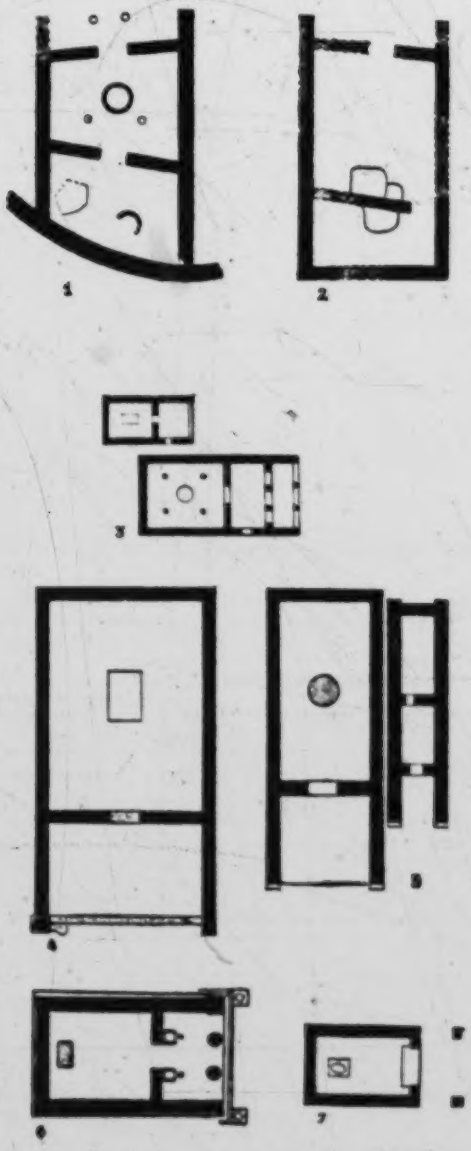

[End Plate 10]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

X 342
172

ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

PLATE XI

MEGARON TYPE HOUSES OF PRIENE

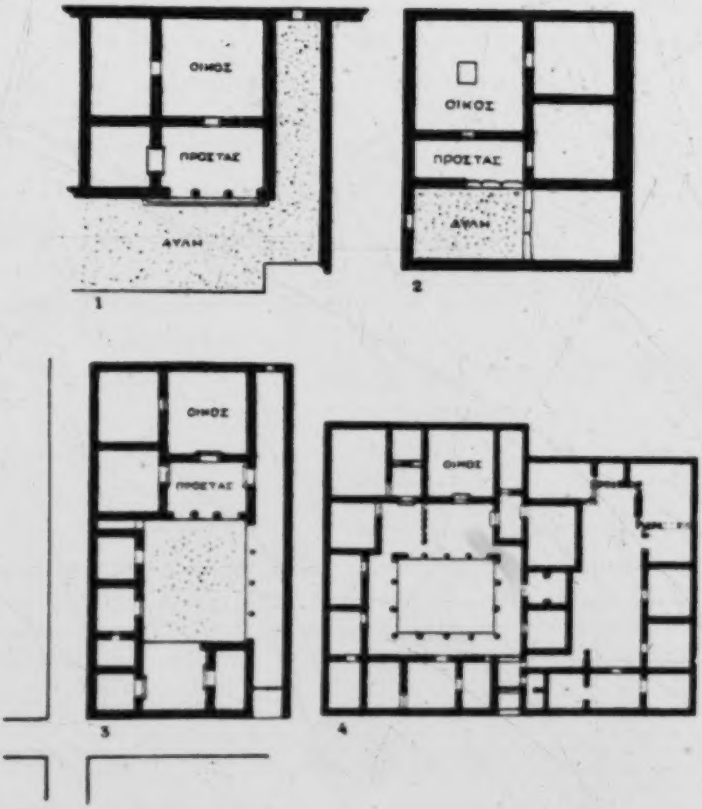

[End Plate 11]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

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172 ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

«PASTAS» TYPE HOUSES OF OLYNTHOS; DELOS; KOS.

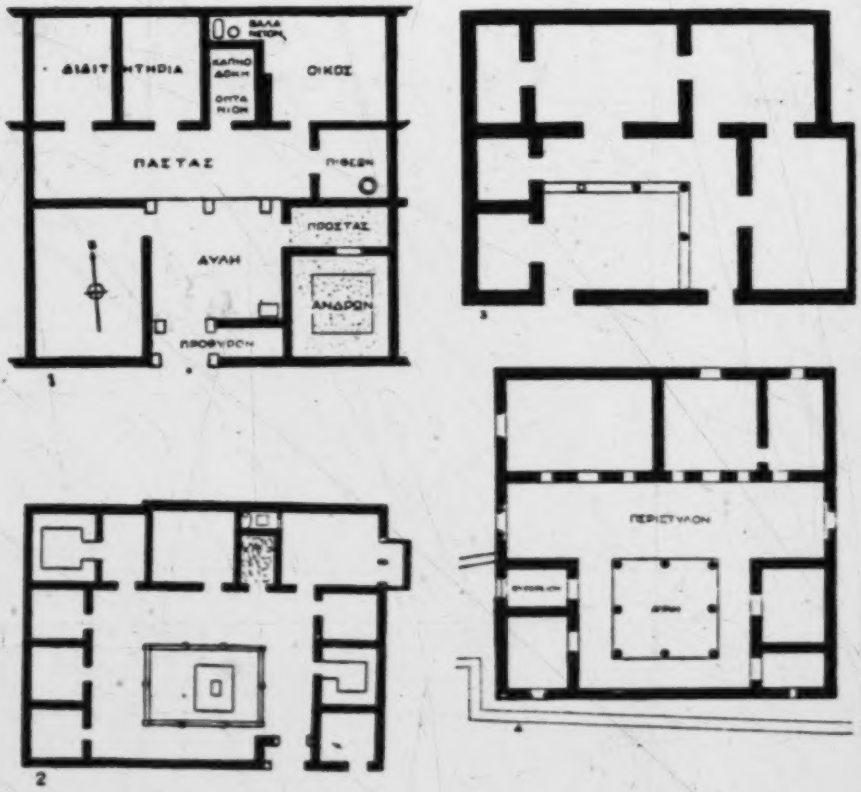

[End Plate 12-A]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

*342
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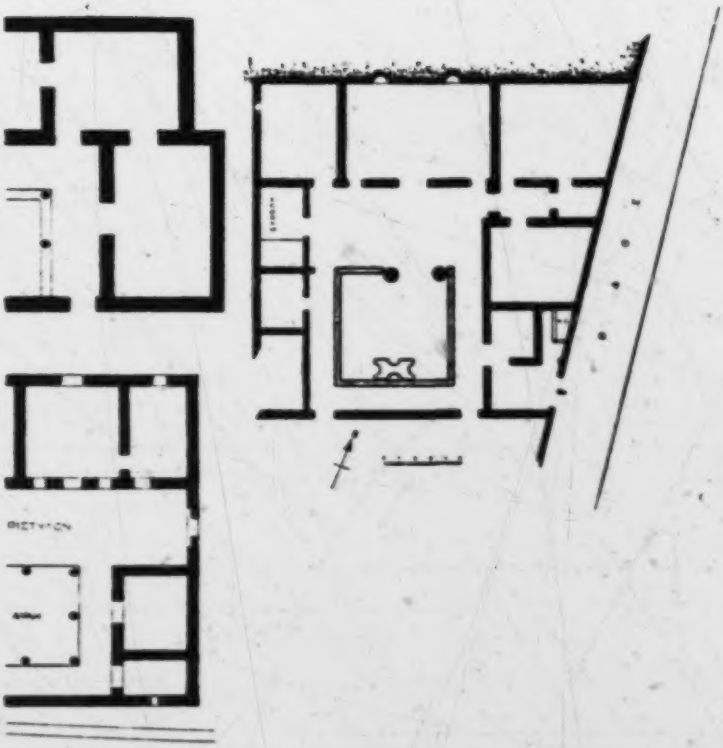

[End Plate 12- B]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece

Bulgaria EE1

342 BULGARIAN HOUSE

PLATE XIII

TYPES OF WIDE FRONTED (OR ONE-STOREY) PLAIN HOUSE

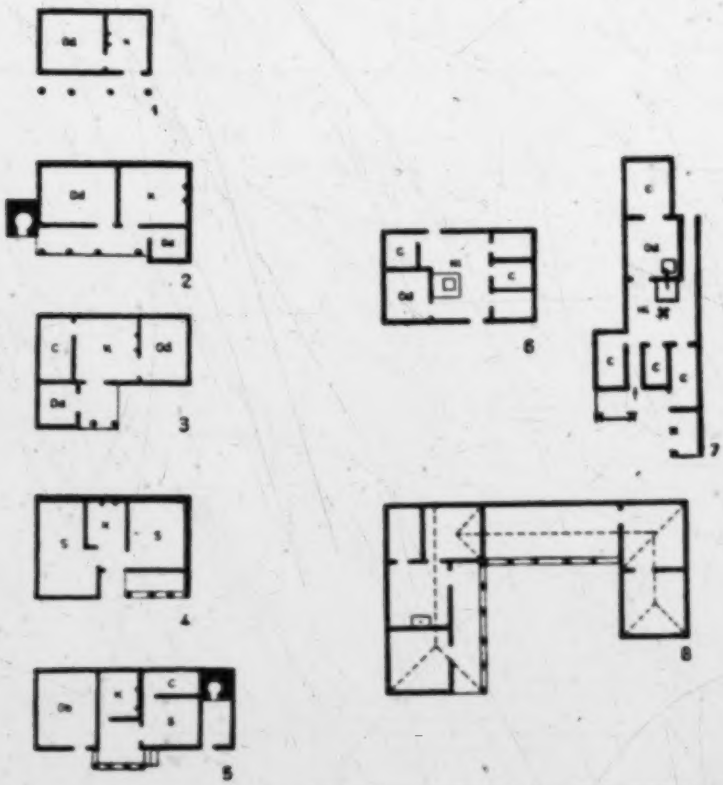

MEMORANDUM

C cilier, cellar
Hi hiza, house, the main room
K kasta, house, the main room
Ob obér, stable
Od odaja, room
S oba, room with stove

[231]

[End Plate 13]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece

Bulgaria EE1

342 BULGARIAN HOUSE

PLATE XIV

TYPES OF MOUNTAINOUS (OR TWO STOREY) WIDE FRONTED HOUSE; ORIGINALLY TWO ROOMS ON THE UPPER FLOOR.

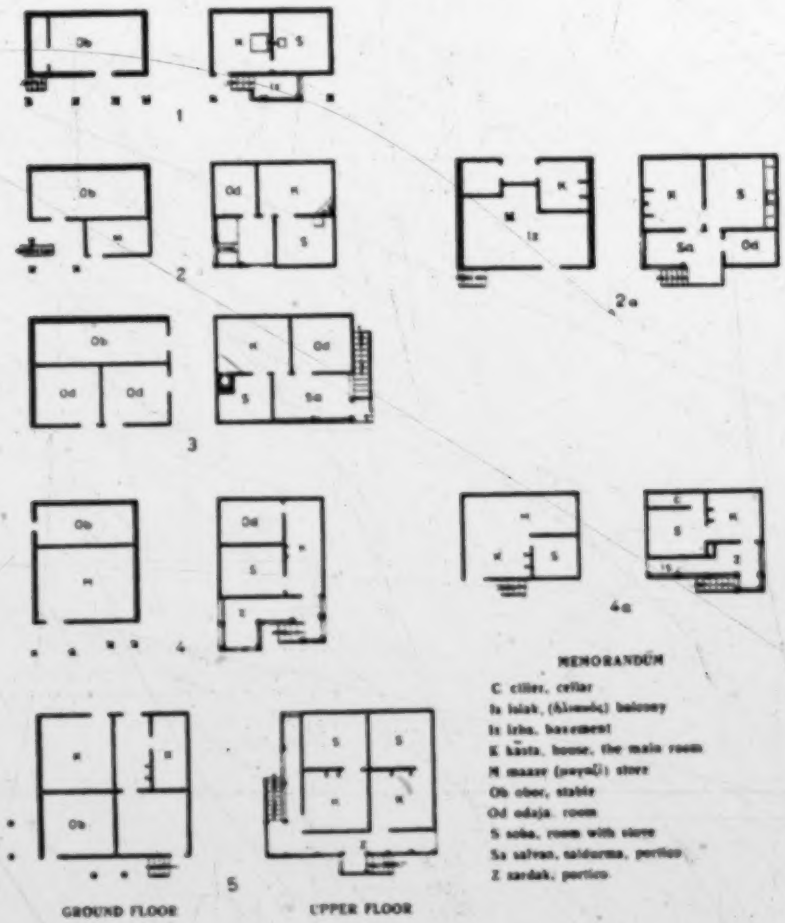

MEMORANDUM

C ciller, cellar
Ia lalak, (klamdaj) balcony
Iz irha, basement
K kasta, house, the main room
M maazer (peyraÛ) store
Ob obor, stable
Od odaja, room
S soba, room with stove
Sa salvan, saldurma, portico
Z zardak, portico

[231]

[End Plate 14]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

BULGARIAN HOUSE PLATE XV 342

TYPES OF MOUNTAINOUS (OR TWO STOREY) WIDE FRONTED HOUSE, OF ORIGINALLY THREE ROOMS IN THE UPPER FLOOR.

MEMORANDUM

A hamber, store
C cliler, cellar
Is isba, basement
K kästa, house, room with hearth
Kl klosh, klosk
Ob obor, stable
Od odaja, room
P prust (gangover) portico
S soba, room with stove
Sa salvan, saiovma, portico
Sk skrivalkhite, hiddenstore
Z zardak, portico

[231]

[End Plate 15]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1

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MEMORANDUM

A kamber, store
d dvor, courtyard
H hajet, (xeyaér) portico
Iz izba, basement
K kašta, house, a main room
Kl kloubk, (xeiaw) balcony
Kl klet, a little room
M maaze (xeyaG) store
Ob obir, stable
Od odaja, room
odar, (eBie) saloon
Pl plevala, hayloft

[End Plate 16]

9:Megas 1.B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Yugoslavia EF1

THE BOSNIAN HOUSE

IN ITS ARCHITECTURAL EVOLUTION

PLATE XVII

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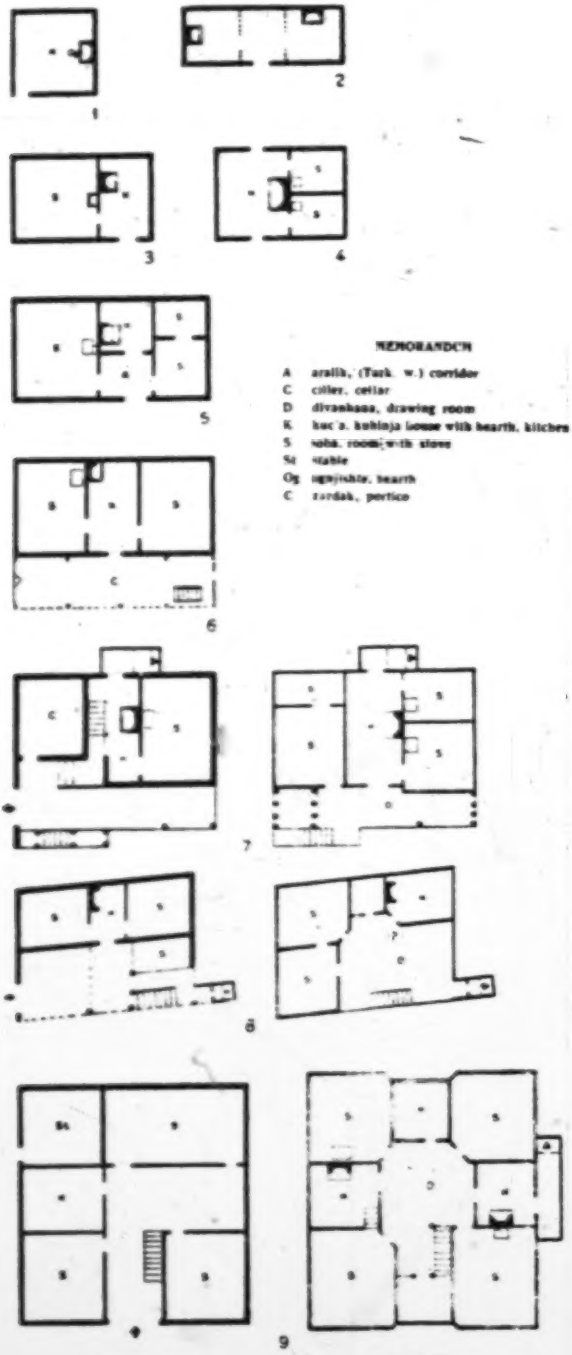

GROUND FLOOR

UPPER FLOOR

[End Plate 17]

9:Megas I.B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece

Albania EG1

THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

PLATE XVIII

IN ITS EVOLUTION

342

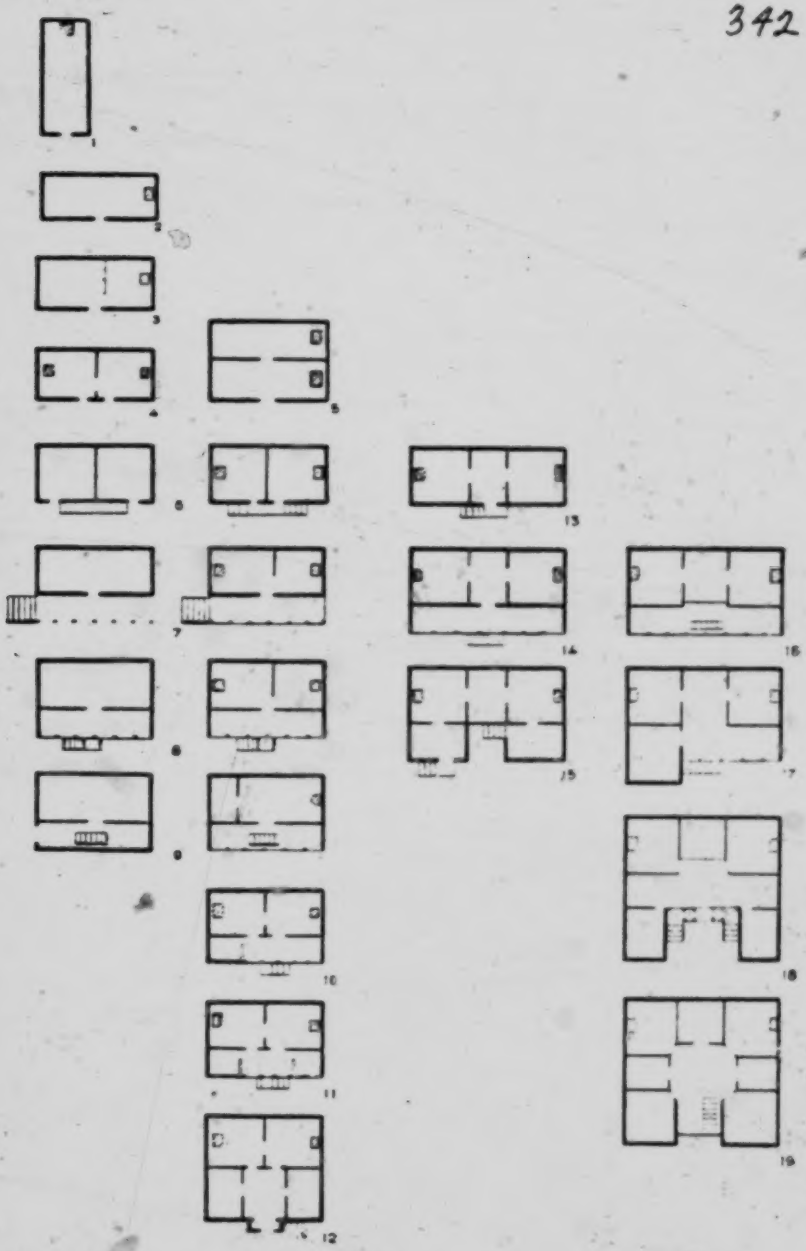

GROUND FLOOR UPPER FLOOR UPPER FLOORS

[End Plate 18]

ΠΡΟΣΤΩΟΝ (prostoon) - open portico

ΣΟΦΑΣ (sofa) - an open space between rooms or a recess whose floor is slightly higher than the remaining floor, and is used as a special living space or for the reception of guests during holidays.

ciller - cellar, a storeroom

Bulgaria	EE1
Yugoslavia	EF1
Albania	EG1

113, 342

/For each end plate illustrating house plans in source 9:Megas, the author lists his sources of information in an appendix. See 9:Megas, EH1 Greece, category 116, pp. 120-134./

Crete EZ5
Cyprus MC1

113, 342

/For a brief description of the house types of Crete and Cyprus see 9: Megas, EH1 Greece, category 116, pp. 35-46./

9: Megas
171

EH1 Greece EH1

/For a discussion of the relation of the Greek house to the houses of other Balkan peoples, see category 116, pp. 1-118./

9:Megas

EH1 Greece EH1

184
369

/For information on differences between house types of rural and urban areas, and between different geographical areas of Greece, see category 116, pp. 1-53./

9: Megas

EH1 Greece EH1

231, 252, 351, 354

/For the location of ovens, hearths, courtyards, stables and chicken coops in Greek houses, see category 116, pp. 6-46 and end plates 1-9./

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/For information on the various forms of the Greek "popular" house, see category 116, pp. g-h, 1-53, 120-132 and end plates 1-9./

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

CULTURAL PATTERNS AND TECHNICAL CHANGE

A Manual prepared by
The World Federation
for Mental Health,
and edited by
MARGARET MEAD

[Title page]

UNESCO

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

GREECE[1]

The culture of the Greeks is here presented as an integrated whole. 105
The Greeks have been selected out of the European nations now engaged in introducing technical change, because they represent a unique case. They have the most ancient civilization of the European continent, yet their technical development at present is one of the lowest. The history of their industries and factories goes back more than 2,500 years; yet they now resist industrialization. They are [101]
European, yet they look toward the Middle East and share a number of attitudes with the people of this area. They are Christians but with a special kind of Christianity, highly ritualized and impersonal, and incorporating much of local origin.

Individualism is prized and rampant; yet there is no atomization. 105
Self-esteem is paramount, and rests on freedom and self-dependence; 156
yet Greeks do not seek freedom from the family, and do not lose self-esteem when they are dependent on the family. They have their own unique individualism. They are highly co-operative, but the basis and formulation of their co-operative activity are different from those of the Western European nations.

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[1] The study of Greek culture is based largely on interviews, correspondence, and memoranda, conducted and prepared in the autumn and winter of 1950-51. Newspapers and magazines of this time were also consulted. Two Maternal and Child Care Manuals of recent years, several collections of folk songs, and a popular humorous work were intensively analysed. Accounts by people engaged in introducing change were consulted. The writer, herself a Greek by birth and upbringing, has depended also on her own firsthand experience of the culture. The manuscript was submitted to two Greeks for comment and criticism. 123 125

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. 178 177 [120]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. 184 177 369 [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed. 184 186 [487]

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not 184 369 805

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
[805] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
[177] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
577 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
[643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
186 and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
577 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo*: his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
195 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
577 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger. 156 195 579

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*. 156 579 [521]

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not. [619]

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*. 156 577 578 [762]

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of 156 577 722 727

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
517 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
727 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

178 To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of
156 living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as
511 a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of
517 God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until
727 the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and
746 to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated
[173] to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

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IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader. 195 826 156 828 579

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold." 535

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen." 195 826 828 85 854

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart." 195 828

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that 152 828 579

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

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of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful 177
in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable 571
changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political 666
bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal 571
loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of 571
humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only 577
recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a 73
plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience 577
867

are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

WORK

183 461 [828]

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest. [177] [517]

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth. [828] [538] [533] [538]

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion. [167]

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end. 805 461

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act. 805 252

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!" 805 195 [269] [355]

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. 805 [405] [301] [353] [655] [804]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other [202]

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [177] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [577] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 556 457 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter 855 practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular 852 liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [996] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father [527] leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserving by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry. This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

584 increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in
882 Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so widespread that the family, in effect, has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

842 The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred; traditionally, sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters, it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity, and the woman is held responsible. People say "the poor man", pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept "maternity difficulties" without asking for medical help, lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book
581 on maternal and child care, *For the Mother*, urges that before marriage, both family histories be examined for possible sterility.

For the Mother urges young people to choose mates with a view to progeny. As a sanction, it mentions that the ancient Greeks urged eugenic marriages; and that the term "eugenics" was invented by Xenophon. Young people are advised to see a doctor before making the final decision. They are further advised to choose according to firmness of flesh and orderliness of features and limbs, for seriousness tempered with cheerfulness, for optimism implemented by effective energy. Marriage with kin, and with people having family histories of tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, psychasthenia, is to be avoided.

843 According to this manual, a young woman beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indisposition, accompanied by the non-appearance of the menses: this the husband diagnoses for her with great joy. Next come the food whims and the nausea, and this is the time to go for obstetrical advice. The first two months are the critical ones for the life of the embryo; therefore, a mother is urged to take a vacation in the second month. After that she may resume her normal activities, taking care only to avoid over-exertion and jerky movements
[515] In the last month she should not immerse herself in bathing, because of the danger of infection; for the same reason, she should avoid sexual intercourse in the last three weeks. In the last two weeks she
[513] should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy, never more, lest she become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings, she should not play cards, she should drink nothing stronger than light wine, she should eat meals as balanced as is consistent with her means and her

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843
and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained [943]
by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 844
in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. 759
In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369]
many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844
something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged.
Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846
regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854
pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856
suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is
at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369]
there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
[856] the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however,
[869] to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
[862] easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
[862] period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
[843] be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings. The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude, and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 853
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and su[illegible]le [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displa[illegible]-ment; the children are usually with the mother, working [illegible]n her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the ac[illegible] place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its [illegible]ctions; and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the nake[illegible] baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A
861 mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the
[1184] presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older rela-
[865] tives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The disobedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child
553 is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with
[608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]
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[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 871
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before
education became centralized. The printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[212] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[217] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most
of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[779] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece
the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until
recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics,
well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or
city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where
two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the
Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as
the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two
armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers.
A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on
the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian
monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the
difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[814] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
scholarly standard.

RELIGION

771 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity
among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of
Greek [illegible]

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness. 000

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, 771
urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without 788
a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, [182]
"making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the [241]
Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints 782
are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels [346]
which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called [793]
in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women 796
and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, how- [794]
ever, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in [852]
and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be 771
taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters [793]
of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the [195]
Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that
he worships her like the Virgin.

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after [461] one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then [369] stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal.

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 261 855 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have [369] been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread.

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

villages the bread is brown and home-baked, and it may form the complete meal, with olive-oil for dipping. If there is any other food, there is only one dish, containing a variety of ingredients which usually make for balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish *(fasoulada)* for example, contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and, eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese, provides a complete nutritive meal, except that the proteins are not animal ones; and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit, or a leaf of lettuce, or cheese; this, however, is nothing to look forward to but, at most, puts a period to the meal. It is the bread, the "food", that is the point of the meal. Greeks in foreign parts, who have taken on rich foreign desserts, often top their meals with a bite of bread.

In the provinces, very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served, if at all, as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays, or when guests arrive, or on other festive occasions, there may be roast and potatoes; these are baked together and constitute the whole meal, with the ever-present bread. Fish is eaten in the villages wherever it is available. Processed fish—salted, dried, canned—is a great favourite, and salted roe, made into a "salad" is greatly enjoyed, and forms a regular item during Lent. Milk is consumed in the form of cheese and *yaourti*, a custard-like cultured milk; little is drunk. But the milk used is that of sheep and goats, which, according to Kaloyereas, is richer in fat and protein than cow's milk. In the villages, fruit and vegetables are eaten plentifully when in season; dried fruits and nuts are eaten, olives, cheese while it lasts, and a variety of legumes. There is skill in cooking, and since variety within a meal is not valued or demanded, the simple meals are much enjoyed, and wealthy emigrants, who have succumbed to the luxuries of the American meal pattern, often long for their peasant meals.

In the cities, the Greeks have learned to eat meat and to drink more milk. Here cow's milk and a taste for it have been introduced, and in the country around Athens and Salonica, the peasants raise cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities, and people, in their desire to take on American ways, eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of texture. Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names, Quaker Oats, pronounced unrecognizably. As *vromi*, it is food for animals, and the word is reminiscent of "stench". According to Dr. Katsigra, much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten; this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe. City people eat mostly white bread. In general, city food, which conforms in externals more closely to the list of the nutritionists, actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been

262 369 much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not 262 785 allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the pro- 796 vinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the [197] latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

262 Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential 511 for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set [196] up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

178 Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want 185 is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has [196] lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

abstract calculation, is meaningless to people for whom experience is body-patterned. More than this, such plans represent external limits and directives, and to this extent are hampering and even frightening. Charts and diagrams are now common in Greek books, but the lineal diagram as a blueprint of action is not within the framework of Greek life; the nearest most Greeks come to a diagram is a map, which is diagrammatic of something concrete. Foresight is good, and is extolled in proverbs; preparation is always present. But this is following along a known trail, repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example, when a girl is 10 or 12, she may start working on her dowry; a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life, to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way, a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal, arising from the rhythm of life; it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform. 178 185

This attitude presents difficulties, such as, for example, in industrialization in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule; they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without supported expectations. 178 [185]

Again, Greeks are motivated by demonstrated, concrete results, not by diagrams of future benefits, or by statistics. The great success of the DDT programme was due to its quick, clear, obvious results. Much of the success of new practices initiated under the auspices of the Near East Foundation may also be attributed to their principle of demonstration. [144]

Another attitude concerned with the introduction of change is that of coping with what is there. Americans are ready to change anything that does not measure up to specifications, or even anything that can be exchanged for something more efficient, more convenient, newer. Greeks accustom themselves to inconveniences and cope with them; they do not do away with them. Greeks, after a visit to the United States, see their countrymen putting up with the same difficulties, the same time-wasting operations, the same discomforts, but when they ask: "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used; a chipped dish can still hold food, a suit may have a few spots and still be clean, a woman may have a number of ills and still have health, and people can still travel when the steamships are crowded three times their capacity, and cannot provide the beds for which the passengers have paid; why make a change? As there is no superlative, so there are not exclusive oppositives, and one learns to cope with the common ailments, the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; 829 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre- [195] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the [854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem- 178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation- 507 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There [312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water [365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

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The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse. 178

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions. 178 203 831

There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future. 178 184 [789]

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings. 178 476

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 59 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [807] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing [579] cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

179 476 577 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece. There is pride in the many co-operatives, spread throughout the country; there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there, and there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means, that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village, to be prevented from destroying its resources, and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare. There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government. All this is true. According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units, the Greeks were, and to some extent are now completely co-operative. Families and villages were responsible for their own indigent; a prominent peasant would impoverish himself to build a village school or improve the water system. They made their own decisions and carried them out; they chose their own leaders. The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century. But later, the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern, taking no account of the existing units of co-operation, or of the existing patterns of self-participation. The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact, in co-operating. The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair. Actually the rate, which was eight per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928, and is now as high as 18 per cent, with incidental fees, which peasants get from the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set with the welfare of the farmers in view, or according to their decision. In 1936, more than 3,000 of the 3,761 were credit co-operatives under the central supervision of the state. The others, such as the producers' co-operatives, were mainly compulsory. Such were the citrus growers' associations in Crete, the wine growers' association in Samos, Levkas, Attica, and Chalkis. There are now marketing co-operatives and machine-owning co-operatives, as well as a growing number of processing co-operatives. In general, the co-operatives are firmly controlled by the central government and the farmers are not even allowed to co-operate to the extent of electing their own officers. As a result, the attitude toward external authority has been evoked, and, in most cases, co-operation has to be compulsory as all government legislation has to be compulsory, and the so-called co-operative decisions are circumvented like all government decisions. Another attitude has also been evoked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed the dictatorship; deprived of responsible decision and participation, these people fell into the pattern of accepted dependency; such people, unaware that they are "co-operating", say: "The government is

taking good care of us." The government itself, aware of this shifting of responsibility and lack of participation, urges the people, in its organ, *The Battle for Survival*, to work for their own welfare and to turn to the State only for guidance, or when they can do no more for themselves. It tries to put this co-operation on a par with war, both in the title of its bi-weekly publication, and in the phrasing of its admonition. But the disrupting centralization, the hated interference, remains. "Compulsory free labour" is demanded of the farmers, and there is a whole class of compulsory co-operatives for the betterment of the villages. These are circumvented with the ingenuity born of long experience. However we also have a recent report of a village where everyone gets up when the church bell rings at four in the morning, to work, without compulsion, on some village project, with pride and enthusiasm. The work is done under the leadership of a villager respected for his ability and disinterestedness. It appears that when the co-operative pattern which is already present is utilized, the villagers will work together for the common welfare.

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Preface

When a sabbatical year became due in 1952–53, I inevitably chose the Balkans, picked Greece, and ended up studying village life. The Balkans had interested me since 1929, when I first went as an instructor to The American College of Sofia, where I spent six years (1929–32, 1934–37). There was also a year's tour as Agricultural Attaché in the American Embassy in Belgrade (1945–46). 114

As for Greece, I had dreamed of getting to know her better ever since the days when I was an undergraduate major in Classical Greek. Two voyages of discovery in 1930 and 1937 made me even more anxious to live there for a spell.

And as for Greek village life, this was a natural subject in view of my training and principal research interest. At first, I expected to study only one or two easily accessible villages, using the same tested techniques in which I had been trained as a sociologist and which I had employed in writing *Balkan Village*, the account of a single community studied in depth. But a thorough survey of the literature in both Greek and other languages, conducted with the help of a competent Greek bibliographer, showed that no general work on Greek village life had been written in over fifty years and that relatively few articles on particular places or regions had appeared. This explains why I was ready to move from the security of precise social-science procedures to the more vulnerable area of personal interpretation, subjecting my conclusions to the scrutiny of at least a score of men and women, each familiar with many aspects of Greek rural life, who agreed to read the rough drafts of this work and test my comments against their experience. A six-week field trip 121 [122] [128] [114]

1:Sanders 7-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

121 throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959
[114] gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.

124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
[432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

● 121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary,
because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
[166] rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are
[578] three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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About the Series

THESE CASE studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

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About the Author

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Ernestine Friedl is associate professor of anthropology and sociology at Queens College in New York. She holds the Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University. Before coming to Queens, she taught at Wellesley College and at Brooklyn College. She has done field work among the Chippewa Indians of northern Wisconsin, and has published material on that tribe. Her field work in Greece was done in 1955-1956 and has resulted in several articles for professional journals as well as this book. Dr. Friedl has served as secretary-treasurer of the American Ethnological Society and is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

About the Book

Life in Vasilika has a flavor of its own. As Dr. Friedl points out in the introduction, one has two reactions in viewing this way of life for the first time—a strong sense of its familiarity and a surprised awareness of its strangeness. In the exploitation of these two dimensions, she has given us a compelling and intellectually satisfying analysis of a village in a contemporary national society that has ancient historic roots.

In this book the author makes one concrete part of life flow into another—from land resources to cotton cultivation, division of labor, concepts of cleanliness and order, the furnishing of homes, the dowry system, the ceremonies and festivities. And everywhere the evaluations that the people of Vasilika place upon these parts of life are made clear. In this way a patterned way of life as a whole emerges, and the reader learns about what the people do, and with what resources, at the same time he is learning about what the people think and feel about what they do.

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Introduction

THE WAY OF LIFE of a rural village in modern Greece exists in a setting significantly different from that of the cultures and societies anthropologists have been accustomed to study. Cultural and social anthropologists traditionally have concentrated their professional interests on what are usually called the primitive peoples of the world. These include the Indians of North and South America, the Eskimo, the indigenous populations of Africa south of the Sahara, of Australia, and of the islands of the Pacific. What all these peoples had in common was not crudeness or inferiority; nor were they necessarily at the beginning stages of human cultural evolution, as the Latin root of the word "primitive" would suggest. 121

By the fifteenth century, when European explorations began in earnest, many of these primitive peoples had long since developed assured food supplies through the domestication of plants and animals, and had densely populated, complex stratified societies with sophisticated cosmologies and art styles. The Maya of Yucatan had conceived the mathematical concept of the zero, and both they and the Aztecs of Mexico had a rudimentary system of writing. But whether the primitive people were simple hunting and gathering populations who depended on wild foods, or whether they were pastoralists using their flocks for subsistence and for products to trade, or whether they were the sophisticated West Africans or Incas, the characteristic that they all had in common and that lay at the base of what was called their "primitiveness" was the fact that the cultures of these peoples had received no significant recent influences from either of the two early centers of cultural development on the Eurasiatic continent.

One of these centers was the Near East, where it appears that seed grasses such as wheat and barley were first domesticated, and where sheep, goats, and cattle were first controlled by men. The techniques for raising and cultivating these plants and animals spread south to Egypt, east to India, and west to Europe, where they furnished the original subsistence base for the development of the Egyptian, Hindu, and ancient Greek and Roman cultures. North China

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121 was a second center where similar plants and animals were domesticated. Whether the Chinese subsistence base diffused directly from the Near East, or whether it is at least partly a separate development is not yet clear from the archeological evidence. In any case, the new techniques served as the subsistence base for the development of Far Eastern civilization. Some four thousand years ago systems of writing were invented in both these centers: the alphabet in the Near East and the logograph in the Far East. These systems spread in different directions but had not yet reached the American Indians, the Eskimo, the Africans south of the Sahara, the Australians, or the Pacific islanders by the time of the first European explorations.

For many primitive societies, then, the subsistence base was different from that of the Old World. In the New World, the more complex societies depended on different groups of domesticated plants and animals, on maize rather than wheat, for example, and on the llama and the alpaca, rather than cattle. Further, with the exception of the Maya and the Aztecs, the primitive peoples had developed no writing systems of their own. Nor did these peoples participate in the major world religions that had developed in the course of the last four thousand years of Eurasiatic history and that eventually depended upon sacred and semisacred written texts. With few exceptions the religions of the primitive peoples were derived neither from the Judaeo-Christian and Islamic traditions nor from the Hindu-Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucian.

Because European and American scholars were deeply steeped in the origins, history, and contemporary patterns of their own cultures, for them the main value of the study of the primitive peoples lay in the contrasts they provided with the ancient and modern variations of the way of life derived from the Near East.

The different historical provenience of the cultures of the American Indians, the Polynesians, and the rest made them exotic and interesting and, at the same time, gave to European scholars a natural laboratory of human cultural variation in which to test generalizations and hypotheses largely derived from analyzing the written records of their own tradition. Whenever cultural forms or social structures among the primitive peoples were similar to those known in the European tradition, some form of explanation other than similar historical derivation had to be found. In addition, the efforts to reconstruct the history of primitive societies and cultures and to analyze their contemporary functioning led to the formulation of new hypotheses concerning the history and evolution of cultures and societies in general, and concerning the nature of man himself.

In the last two decades many cultural anthropologists have turned to the study of societies whose cultures are in the main line of Near Eastern tradition. They have done so because of a conviction that the techniques and insights developed through the study of primitive societies are useful for the description and analysis of all societies. Although some anthropologists have ventured into the study of groups in urban centers, the majority of those interested in learning the ways of life of the co-heirs of their own civilization have concentrated on what have been called "folk" or "peasant" societies, or, to phrase it more descriptively, the rural populations of modern nations. Application of anthropological tech-

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niques to such groups has raised some new problems in method and interpretation. 121

The customary discussion of these new problems includes questions concerning the appropriateness of delineating a small rural village as the unit for observation when, as in Latin America and in Europe, such villages may not be economically, socially, politically, or culturally isolated from the larger societies of which they are a part. Awareness of this problem has led to special emphasis on the analysis of types of association between the territorially based group which is the main focus of the study, and similar neighboring communities, towns, and cities, and also on the analysis of the way in which national economic, religious, educational, and political institutions impinge on the life of the small unit. Such information and discussion are inherent parts of this study.

Another significant question is the extent to which the village chosen can be considered typical either of similar neighboring communities or of the culture of the entire nation, or of both. When national cultures cover large areas of varied terrain and have huge populations distributed in villages, towns, and cities, it is likely that there will be some regional and community variation in culture and social structure. It is therefore sensible to ask whether in describing the ways of life in the Greek village of Vasilika one also succeeds in describing the essential culture of other farm settlements and the values and attitudes of all Greeks now living in Greece. When we give lectures on Vasilika either to professional or to lay groups, someone always asks, "How did you choose your village?"

Anthropologists have concerned themselves with the methods of choosing communities for study in such a way as to guarantee some degree of representativeness. One solution to the problem has been to compare certain features of the village with the numerical and percentage distribution of those features in the nation as a whole. One might compare the age and sex distribution of the village population with that of the entire nation, or the age at marriage, or the size of families, or the proportion of farmers to shepherds, or the average real income, and the like, and conclude that if the village resembled the nation in these respects, it had some claim to representativeness.

Another solution, the one used in this study, is to choose a settlement which seems from my reading, my observation, and my discussion with Greeks to have frequently recurring features of rural villages, even if such features are not necessarily characteristic of all such settlements. One hopes that intensive study of such a community will be a contribution to the understanding of rural culture and social structure in the nation, and that some values and attitudes of the people observed will be shared by the total population. The discovery of which of the values and attitudes are shared and the more general question of typicality can be postponed until similar studies are done of rural communities in different regions and of town and urban populations of different occupations and social positions (cf. Sanders 1962).

We chose Vasilika in Boeotia for special study both because it exhibits 121
some of the features just mentioned, and also because it is suitable for the appli- 105
cation of anthropological field work techniques. Its common Greek plains village

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121 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

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mist—these specialties already exist and their practitioners can be consulted. Nor 121
does the anthropologist have to discover the structure of the language for himself, nor is his vocabulary limited to what he can learn directly from the people he studies. An anthropologist working in old national cultures is able to concentrate his energies in the field on that aspect of his profession for which he is specifically trained and best fitted: the observation of the behavior of those he lives with for the purpose of discovering its regularities, its range of variation, its internal interrelationships, and its association or articulation with the culture of the nation of which the village community is a part.

There are, however, some unexpected mental hazards in doing anthropological field work in a society whose culture is a contemporary variation on one's own basic tradition. We had two opposite reactions to the way of life of the village; one was a strong sense of its familiarity, and the other was a surprised awareness of its strangeness. The sense of familarity grows out of the similarity of so many cultural elements with those one knows from home; the sense of strangeness partially from the often slight variation in the form of the elements, but more particularly from the way the elements are combined, from the new patterns created by a different organization of the items and by the different contexts in which they appear.

A trivial example may illustrate the point. If the cultural element under 121
discussion is adult footwear, we are immediately conscious of familiar elements. 291
Shoes and slippers are purchased, not manufactured by each family; men and 292
women do not wear the same types; the man's shoe is a standard low oxford tie, [432]
and the women wear leather pumps with medium high heels, or cloth slippers. The shoes, pumps, and slippers are within the range of styles for such items available in the United States. But the contexts in which the Greek villagers wear their shoes and slippers provide surprises. Men in Vasilika wear ordinary oxfords for work in the fields, for walking in mud, rain, and even snow during the winter—with no other foot protection. When the fields are flooded for irrigation, men remove their shoes and work barefoot. Within their houses, men do not change into slippers; they do not own any. Women, on the other hand, wear cloth slippers both indoors and outdoors, around the house and in the fields, in all weathers and in all seasons. Their leather pumps are saved for church, for holidays, and for journeys. On such occasions women wear pumps regardless of the weather. They daintily pick their way through muddy, unpaved village paths and stand for hours in unsubstantial pumps on the stone floor of the unheated church each Sunday throughout the cold, rainy winter.

Ways in which the same cultural elements are differently combined in 121
the Greek village from the way they are in the United States will be noticed as family organization, values, and the like are discussed. The hazard this kind of situation creates for the anthropological field worker is that he may not even become aware of certain characteristics of village culture because their superficial familiarity leads him to take them for granted. For example, once I learned that farm animals and stores of farm produce were not kept in the houses, I [343]
assumed they must be maintained in buildings of distinctive design. Although

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121 this turned out to be partially true, it was not entirely so, and many of the stone
343 structures I had labeled as homes, because they had the same form as houses, were actually stables and storehouses.

128 The material presented in this book has been selected and organized in such a way as to emphasize the major interests and preoccupations of the villagers, rather than to demonstrate explicitly the ways in which knowledge about the village can be helpful for the solution of general anthropological problems of theoretical import. I am using the data on which this brief ethnography is based in connection with such problems elsewhere.

A final note is in order. In describing the people of Vasilika I have avoided using the term "peasant" for two reasons. First, the layman's concept of the peasant often includes the traits of stupidity and stubborn resistance to change that are by no means characteristic of the people of Vasilika. And second, social scientists have not yet arrived at a definition of the term that is generally accepted among them. References to the current discussion of this latter problem appear in the reading list.

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
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The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece[1]

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FOR some time anthropologists have been trying to refine their understandings of the relationships of peasant communities to the nations of which they are a part. Pioneer acculturation studies in Latin America pointed up the significantly different possibilities in this regard between physically isolated communities and those with access to roads and bus service and the like. The stress here was on analysis of the selectivity with which rural populations took over and adapted culture traits encountered in the cities (Redfield 1930:218–223; Beals 1951:5).

In a recent article Eric Wolf emphasizes the contrast between economically isolated rural communities producing primarily for subsistence and those which, because they produce cash crops, must maintain credit and market connections outside the local communities. Wolf stresses the cultural and social ramifications in the local community which he believes develop from the degree of its economic dependence on the town and its representatives (Wolf 1955:461–466). In a later article, Wolf describes as "a web of group relations" the actual mechanism by which peasant communities are connected to the towns (Wolf 1956:1066). In Wolf's discussion, the groups participating include not only the peasant and his economic mediator or "broker," as Wolf calls him, but also the political functionaries who act as intermediaries between the rural community and the national controls centered in the cities.

Redfield, in his most recent summary and analysis of the literature on peasant communities, characterizes these communities as societies ". . . in which there are long-established relations with an elite whose culture is that of the peasant carried to another level of development" (Redfield 1956:60). This elite he conceptualizes with a cultural rather than a structural emphasis. He defines it not primarily in terms of its economic and political power, but rather as the group of educated people who interpret to the villagers both urban customs and the great national literary and artistic traditions, and who also manage those affairs of peasants which are connected with the national institutions (Redfield 1956:60–65, 101–102). Both Wolf and Redfield make the point that the mediating groups need not be outsiders in the physical sense. Wolf notes that economically successful peasants who remain in the local community have become "brokers" (Wolf 1956:1075). Redfield mentions the "intelligentsia" who may live in the villages although they consider themselves among the urban educated classes (Redfield 1956:61–62). He also mentions that the elite may be relatives of the peasants (Redfield 1956:134). Wolf, by contrast, in his description of the characteristics of open peasant communities, suggests that the accumulation of wealth and the necessity for display which presumably

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lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57). 121 369

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations. 114 369 602

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all. 369 602 554 [571] [571]

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 369 554 433 000

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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it. 369

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956). 602 554 [121

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957. 114

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955–56, supported by a grant made under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. My husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the field work.

[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinos, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia. 463

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FOREWORD

In 1946 the Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund focused their attention upon Greece as a crucial area in the developing world tension. That was before the declaration of the "Truman Doctrine" brought American support to replace the traditional British influence; well before Greece became an ally within NATO. A Twentieth Century Fund team visited the country, and *Report on the Greeks* by Frank Smothers, William Hardy McNeill and Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill was published by the Fund in 1948. 121

Eight years later, in the summer of 1956, Mr. McNeill was in a position to revisit Greece. It seemed useful to encourage him to bring up to date the earlier account. The present volume is in the nature of one man's attempt to see objectively but sympathetically the impact of American aid and of western policy upon a people at once variable and tenacious, blending old and new in a pattern uniquely its own.

In the nature of things, the end of the story cannot yet be told. Yet this interim record may help cast needed light. The foreign economic policies of the United States are being tested on a worldwide stage. The villages and towns of Greece provide one corner where experience has been gained – a corner that is by no means the least instructive, nor the least hopeful in its implications.

AUGUST HECKSCHER, *Director*
The Twentieth Century Fund

330 West 42 Street, New York
August 1957

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

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the result of curing practices, but the means used depend upon and have some consequences for the economic, religious, and social organization of the society, for its belief systems, and for the psychological characteristics of individuals.[4]

Studies analyzing the social roles involved in illness and of the nature and extent of hospital care in the United States have led to the same conclusions.[5] Therefore, in the interests both of successful therapy and of humanity, it is usually recommended that scientific knowledge about illness and the practices associated with its cure be introduced in such a way as to take account of the latent functions of the indigenous behavior. But how practically to implement this recommendation is always a problem.[6]

[121]

The Boeotian situation, to be sure, did not result from conscious planning along the recommended lines. It is here suggested, however, that this situation provides, in certain respects at least, the virtual equivalent of a case study in the successful operation of the recommended principles. The following description is presented with this in mind, and does not purport to be in any sense a total study of illness in the society described.

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Comparison of Home Care and Hospitalization

Let us first look at the treatment of illness in a Greek village home. Much as in the United States, the first day or so of fever or other sign of illness is treated with bed rest and home remedies. Aspirin is known, and in the Greek village of 1956 penicillin and other antibiotics are sold in the village store, and their use comes under the head of home remedies. But, significantly enough, the antibiotics will be administered only if some relative of the family (not necessarily a physician

[113]

4. For a discussion of manifest and latent functions see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949, pp. 21-81. See also A. H. Leighton and D. C. Leighton, *op. cit.*, and B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 477; also Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.

5. Lawrence K. Frank, "Psycho-cultural Approaches to Medical Care," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 45-55 (1952); Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1951, pp. 428-479; Talcott Parsons and Renee Fox, "Illness, Therapy and the Modern Urban American Family," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 31-44 (1952); Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science in Medicine*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954, pp. 170-193.

6. George M. Foster, "Relationships Between Theoretical and Applied Anthropology," *Human Organization*, 11 (3), 5-16 (1952); B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

[p. 24(B)]

8:Stephanides--2 I, Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/3/

A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI.

PART I.

Introduction:

The author was born in Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. His parents were the descendants of some of the first colonists that were established by the Greeks in ancient times. His ancestors lived in the same village for many centuries and it was for the first time in many centuries that he went with the rest of his people to Greece. The exchange of population between Greece and Turkey marks one of the rare historical accomplishments of the Greek people. The establishment of a million and a half people under the prevailing economic conditions of that period was a gigantic job for a small nation like Greece to accomplish. 114 167 648

The author, as a refugee among his people, had a chance, after getting his education at Cornell, to work with them to share with them the difficulties they met in their new environment. He shared the life that was mixed with tears, toil, sweat and patience. He also shared the marriages, the holidays and the dances at the village square. His eight years of experience in the village of Megali Vrisi and his share in promoting agricultural, recreational, health and educational activities led him to the description of the village of /4/ Megali Vrisi 123 [121].

The Rural Sociology Courses under Dr. Sanderson have influenced him more than anything else to see, describe and evaluate the social make up of the life of the people of Megali Vrisi. 114

/4 cont./

Selection of the Village

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The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics.

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The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241
munity is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

114 Folklore Archives of the Academy of Athens, by the Society «Greek
*342 Popular Art», by the Ministry of Reconstruction and independently by various Greek or foreign scholars of Folklore and Architecture.

●121 When I began these studies at the Didymoteichon area, some 25
*342 years ago, my purpose was different: it was to study the customs and habits of the people, in relation to their religious practices. But, when I entered the house of the peasants, I had to face a multitude of questions, pertaining to the methods of popular construction, the disposition and arrangement of space, the stabling of the cattle, the storage of cereals and their protection from humidity and rats, questions to be solved not only by reference to climate, soil, biology or history, but which had an immediate relation to the other factor, the one that dominates and regulates all the others, the factor of man.
[476] Thus, I felt an attraction towards the house as a dwelling and at the same time as a work that came out of the hands of the peasants who build their own houses in this area, as in many other parts of Greece, on the system of mutual social assistance.

My attention was especially drawn to the variety of architectural forms, presenting an interconnection and an inter-relation, and showing an organical evolution, natural to every human activity.

The examination of these houses would help me in discovering the original form, from which the present type of dwelling has gradually evolved. If a house presented a modification or an increase of spaces, I had to find out how these modifications or additions were made, how the new spaces were adjusted to the original nucleus of the house, how they were later included in the house as a whole and formed with it a new and increased type of dwelling. That is why I did not limit my study to one or two most representative types, but extended it to all the modifications and variations, as I tried to find the way followed by popular architecture from the simpler to the more composite forms.

At the same time, I studied the ways and methods of house building, how the roof, the hearth, the storeroom, the oven and the loom were constructed. Thus in spite of the many technical difficulties I had to overcome, I found that the study of popular dwellings was the most interesting and fascinating, and at the same time, the least explored part of my folklore researches. The folklorist may thus clearly see in this study how the man of the people, following traditional types and systems he inherited from his ancestors, adapts them every time to the actual facts and means at his disposal, so that they may satisfy his needs and the needs of his family

in order to help him in his activities; thus he creates deviations from the traditional type, variations from the original form. The scholar may see the solutions which the man of the people finds for the various problems connected with house construction, with storage of cattle foodstuffs, shelter of cattle and arrangement of space. He may see his very spiritual and productive forces in action and in full application. For, the methods and means which the popular builder uses in solving these problems, reflect the thought, the practical mind, the creative force, the sence of beauty of the man of the people. This is why it is difficult for me to understand how it is possible that a study of art and material life of the people can be separated from the whole folklore research, as if it was a separate subject; because the things as such are of great interest for folklore study as constituting elements of popular civilization studied by it, and on the other hand, because the man of the people, whose spiritual and creative forces are investigated by Folklore, is acting behind these things. 121 342*

Researches on the popular house are naturally of great importance both for ethnology and for the general history of civilization, but the same holds true for all the subjects of folklore research, especially for those transmitted from people to people.

It is evident that each effort to proceed to a general synthesis of the forms of the Greek house and of its relation to the houses of the other peoples of the Balkans and of Asia Minor assumes the collection of various and abundant comparative material, pertaining to the arrangement of the plan as well as to the methods of construction. I think however that such an attempt, at least as far as the Greek side is concerned, is not premature to-day.

The war and the occupation, and later the communist rebellion, supported from abroad, apart from the other calamities, had as a result the destruction of a great number of houses. The private houses, public buildings, schools, churches and communal buildings destroyed amount to 430.000. The destruction is so big that in future we shall know the architectural forms of some areas only by surveys made in those areas. 121 362 727 653

The urgent need to reconstruct the ruins and to rehabilitate the agricultural economy of the country, made necessary, even during the occupation, the reorganization of the Survey Office of the Town Planning Service, and the creation, immediately after the liberation, of the Ministry of Reconstruction, whose program of works includes the knowledge of the locally prevailing types and forms of popular

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions
were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously
carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus
compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to
the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
*342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[597] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the
daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build
his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are
obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bun-
galow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the
area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards im-
prove, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a
comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a
new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing
prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can
follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the
intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphic-
ally on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can
find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. (1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein. — I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. vii]
[p. vi is blank]

Preface

When a sabbatical year became due in 1952–53, I inevitably chose the Balkans, picked Greece, and ended up studying village life. The Balkans had interested me since 1929, when I first went as an instructor to The American College of Sofia, where I spent six years (1929–32, 1934–37). There was also a year's tour as Agricultural Attaché in the American Embassy in Belgrade (1945–46). 114

As for Greece, I had dreamed of getting to know her better ever since the days when I was an undergraduate major in Classical Greek. Two voyages of discovery in 1930 and 1937 made me even more anxious to live there for a spell.

And as for Greek village life, this was a natural subject in view of my training and principal research interest. At first, I expected to study only one or two easily accessible villages, using the same tested techniques in which I had been trained as a sociologist and which I had employed in writing *Balkan Village*, the account of a single community studied in depth. But a thorough survey of the literature in both Greek and other languages, conducted with the help of a competent Greek bibliographer, showed that no general work on Greek village life had been written in over fifty years and that relatively few articles on particular places or regions had appeared. This explains why I was ready to move from the security of precise social-science procedures to the more vulnerable area of personal interpretation, subjecting my conclusions to the scrutiny of at least a score of men and women, each familiar with many aspects of Greek rural life, who agreed to read the rough drafts of this work and test my comments against their experience. A six-week field trip 121 [122] [128] [114]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

121 throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959
[114] gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.

124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Preface and Acknowledgments

THE FIELD WORK on which this book is based was conducted largely in 1955-1956 under a Fulbright grant, with supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I am very grateful for this assistance. Return visits were made to the village for several weeks in the summer of 1959, and for two days in July 1961.

Margaret Mead and Hortense Powdermaker were most generous with their time during the initial stages of the project. In Greece, John Caskey, Peter and Eva Topping, Eurydice Demetracopoulou, Korali Krokodilou, and Olympias Kokkevi gave valuable advice, assistance, and encouragement.

John Melios, Nomarch of Boeotia at the time we resided there, helped in selecting the village and introduced my husband and me to the villagers. Our gratitude to him is very great both for this initial help and for his continued interest. Our thanks go also to K. Chlimintzas of the Agricultural Bank of Greece in Levadhia.

The family of Athanasius T. Triantaphyllou, who took us into their home in Vasilika, put us greatly in their debt for many kindly services besides.

Discussions with many scholars have contributed much to this book, though of course I bear sole responsibility for the points of view presented. I should like to mention Henry and Renee Kahane, Sidney Axelrad and Sylvia Brody, and John Andromedas, Fred Gearing, Popie Mohring, Irwin T. Sanders, and Conrad Arensberg.

My participation in the Wenner-Gren Conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean at Burg Wartenstein, Austria, in 1959, and in the similar conference at the Athenian Social Science Center in Athens in 1961, helped me greatly. Special thanks are due to Julian Pitt-Rivers and to John Peristiany, the organizers of the two conferences.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

[162] Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the [197] inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the [122] Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us [125] live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with [184] other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural [171] settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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THE

TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

122 Finally, the officers and staff of the Twentieth Century Fund contributed wisdom and careful scrutiny as well as money to the enterprise, and have caught at least some of my errors and inconsistencies before it was too late. For this, no less than for the grant that made my trip financially possible, I am the Fund's debtor.

000 Yet while all those whom I have named, as well as many personal friends in Greece whom I feel it best to leave anonymous, certainly helped to bring this book to birth, none of them is in the least responsible for the judgments and opinions I have expressed. Nor is the Twentieth Century Fund, in publishing this book, in any way committed to defend the accuracy of my analysis of Greek affairs. The final decision on matters of substance and emphasis was by necessity my own.

WILLIAM H. MCNEILL

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

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Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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* Ernestine Friedl, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at Queens College, New York.

114

1. This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955-56. It was supported by grants made to me under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Dr. Friedl's husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the research throughout.

[122]

2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250.

[113]

3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim;* Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 241.

[p. 24(A)]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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● 123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.

124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the
[186] wide world.

The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural
[463] pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are
[702] farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible uni-
829 verse. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable
186 servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from
511 and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out
[829] in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

●123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their
184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 ver-
sion of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picur- 184
esque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 369
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, cho-* [361]
rikos, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approxima-
tions of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions
about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of over-
idealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of
burdens and dull plodders through life.[18]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland,
away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* in-
terchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall
have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other
countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local po-
litical units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens,
whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had
reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over
20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small
village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more atten-
tion than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peas- 369
ant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways.
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 184
174

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take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw. 821 [539]

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . . [245] [243] [132]

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune. 731

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless. 731 133 [361]

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!) 731 821 [123]

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123 731 777

Kokinya is a village of about one hundred houses not far from Kozane in Western Macedonia. The prefect of Kozane heard that a serious storm had hit the village and went out with his agriculturist to see what damage had been done, taking me along. As the agriculturist got estimates of crop destruction (50 percent of the wheat, 80 percent of the corn), we began to find out the peasants' explanations for this storm. One old man put it simply when he said, "it was God's will."[9] Even though the storm had occurred two days before, the people were still dazed at the thought of so much labor going to waste, to say nothing of the loss of the expected income from the crops. They did not seem bitter, nor altogether resigned. The visit of the nomarch (prefect) and his hour's discussion with the men brought a ray of hope. After many matters had been looked into, the nomarch asked just before he left: "I'm going to write up this report and make request for aid from the proper ministry. What are you people of Kokinya going to do?" They answered: "We are going to go to our fields, work with our vineyards. The rain has made new ravines. We must carry soil and fill in. Now we will have to work harder."

This statement reminded me of a conversation one evening on an apartment terrace halfway up Lykabettos Hill, a hill standing all by itself in the center of Athens. The Acropolis was clearly outlined in the moonlight, and the lights on the sea far in the distance told of the movement of boats in and out of the harbor. There we discussed the Greek peasant's idea of fate with a group of educated Greek friends — one of them the novelist Elias Venezis. As the backdrop for the present point of view we went back to the ancient idea of the three Fates and the classic themes of Greek tragedy.[10]

The Greeks with whom we were talking were careful to distinguish between the passive fatalism of the lands farther to the east and the active fatalism of the Greeks, pointing out that the Greek peasant made no abject surrender to nature or other forces about him. Even though the individual knows the odds are against him, he must stand up and face his destiny with dignity and correctness, whether the forces which would crush him show any mercy or not. We were reminded of the common saying, "syn Athena kai cheira kinei," which means, "with Athena move your own hand too." Thus it was neither incongruous nor contradictory to hear one Kokinya peasant say, "it is God's will," and to hear his neighbor say "now we will have to work harder."

On such a mental adjustment to the mountains, plains, and the sea, which we shall take up in order, is the survival of the Greek people largely based.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

123 house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he
574 young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impres-
609 sive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

173 Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be
361 legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

361 Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to
167 rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

361 There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advis-
461 ability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the stand-
[484] point of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Fre-
[489] quently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary. [407] [445]

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type. [407]

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[7]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the
[727] houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the
[526] village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
463
423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
● 123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us
124 there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently
[491] the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under
669 the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely
[361] off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders; but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist
727 guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still *stood in ruins — six years later.* We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

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these views during the last century and the early part of this century, when the struggle for independence was reverberating through Epirus, Macedonia, and other areas frequented by these nomads.

A detached assessment of the situation, and yet one without much tangible evidence to support it, would place these Wallachians as descended from Balkanites of Roman times, who were Latinized by colonists, army garrisons, or some other continued type of association. When the Slavs came pushing into the Balkans during the sixth century, the Wallachians retreated to the mountain areas and continued (or took up) sheep raising and remained relatively unmolested. Since they could not wrest an adequate living from their barren surroundings, many of the men found it necessary to migrate elsewhere for work. Some were gone many years, and some would go away for only part of the year, but almost all of them learned some trade, becoming important as builders and artisans all over the Balkans. Of even greater importance was their role as caravan owners and drivers. They raised not only sheep but many horses which they concentrated at certain points such as Thessalonike, loaded them with merchandise, and conveyed the goods through well-defined routes to Vienna or down to the Adriatic. Considerable wealth was amassed in this way. Some of their settlements two hundred years ago — for example, Moschopolis in present-day Albania — were centers of culture and wealth. With the coming of railroads, their caravans were no longer so necessary; and with the growing unrest in the Balkans during the past hundred years, free passage from one country to another was increasingly difficult. Although the various treaties following the Balkan wars and World War I provided for the free movement of these nomads from one country to another, particularly with their flocks, the borders had in effect been closed to them even before the start of World War II.

This, in a brief and general way, is the background of these Vlach nomads. In the days under the Turks, early in the century, when Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece were claiming large chunks of Macedonia, each tried to make a case for large groupings of its own people. The Vlachs, chiefly Greek Orthodox in religion and with a knowledge of Greek as well as their own Romance language, were claimed by the Greeks as their own. Many Vlachs agreed with this, despite the appeals made by Rumanians to the contrary.

My chief contacts with the Koutso-Vlachs during 1953 were in Metsovo, one of their most celebrated villages, and along the roads of Greece. On the road between Arta and Ioannina, for example, one bold young shepherd girl named Maria, seeing women (my wife and the interpreter) in the car with me, asked for a ride. She was Koutso-Vlach and was on a nine-day trip back to the summer village in the mountains which she considered her permanent home. We passed some of her companions leading

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horses on which very small children were perched somewhat precariously on wooly blanket-rugs stacked up on the saddles. On one horse we saw several hens tied to a saddle and I wondered what the horse thought of being turned into a mobile poultry yard; cows, heifers, and goats were also a part of the procession under the care of the women. The women were carrying their share of the load, some with babies, others with water kegs strapped to their backs. The lowly donkeys were carrying the tent poles. As we passed the long straggling march of people and animals, we blew our horn and enjoyed the open-mouthed astonishment of the other Vlachs as they saw one of their number riding in such state.

V 484 221 233 V 233 427 G 241 427

She explained to us how they stopped before midday and rested, and then after milking the sheep traveled during the night. When we wondered whether or not the children enjoyed the six-month shift, she said, "They learn to make the move for it is a necessity." "How many times have you moved like this?" we asked. "As many times as I have years — twenty-three." She was amused at our ignorance. Her family also was having trouble over the rental of winter pasture, for the farmer from whom they had been renting wanted to put the land into crops. With an air of assurance, she added, "But we are holding it under the rent law." Before the last war legislation had been passed forbidding a farmer to put into cultivation pasture that had been rented for three consecutive years to a shepherd, unless he proved to the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture that he absolutely needed it. This action had to be taken a year in advance and the shepherd had to be notified.

V 484 221 G 123

After a while, our lively passenger told us that she wanted to get out at the next turn, for that was the rendezvous point at which the women would stop to unload the pack animals, set up camp, and wait for the men with the flocks to catch up with them before noon. Our conversations with other members of this group dealt more with the problems they were facing as a shepherd people than with the customs and beliefs which set them off from their fellow nomads. In Metsovo, to be described later in connection with a funeral I witnessed, we saw other aspects of Koutso-Vlach character which need not concern us here. Of the three nomadic groups they have been most V 114 fully described and documented in the literature, notably in the monograph book by Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans* (1914), which was 361 based on extended acquaintance with the people of Samarina, another well-known Koutso-Vlach village.[8]

V 221 182

Four of the effects of this migratory life which Wace and Thompson list seem to hold true for all of the nomadic groups even in 1953, and they deserve brief mention. Such a migration, for instance, presents a wider outlook on life in general in contrast to the utter stagnation normal in remote villages. At the same time, it is a serious financial drain, for two houses must be kept up; nevertheless, what is lost in cash is perhaps gained in

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the 851 baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of godparents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those 608 who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free [662] to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, still- [842] birth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume [845] that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty- four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her [782] desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the [833] morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People stand- [777] ing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church [574] for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to [123] be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the [846] child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does [783] not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

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Mutual Aid and Cooperatives in Rural Greece

The Greek village provides many evidences of mutual aid, although the Greeks are not renowned for their cooperative tendencies. Indeed, those commenting on Greek national character usually state that the Greeks cooperate only in a crisis. If there is no crisis at hand, they have to make one in order to get the job done. This view is partially correct, since some examples of mutual aid respond directly to a sense of urgency, while others follow traditional patterns at a leisurely pace. For instance, a group of potato diggers near Neochori were brought together to meet a sudden need. 476 181

A Potato-digging Group near Thebes

It was March 28, 1953. We had turned off the main highway between Thebes and Athens and were headed eastward along a secondary road in search of some villagers whose relatives in California had insisted that we carry their greetings in person. Before we had found the right village, we noticed more than forty people busily harvesting potatoes in a nearby field. We stopped the car, walked into the field, and were greeted by Yannes P. Katseles, the owner, who lives in Neochori, the village just up the way. The men were digging the potatoes; the women were picking them up and cleaning them; and a commission merchant standing on his truck was 244 476 [123] [462]

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[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less
476 interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby
forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at
[462] hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of
[465] what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that
466 we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how
476 the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close supervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The
[123] owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in
[539] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pic-
[126] tures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is
[785] served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 the British Admiralty, 1930); and M. L. Newbigin, *Southern Europe: A Regional and Economic Geography of the Mediterranean Lands* (3rd ed., London, 1949).

3. One still finds many similarities between the peasants of Hesiod's time (see his "Works and Days") and those of today.

4. Many allusions to nature are found in the passionate novel about the Communist guerrilla war by Panos D. Bardis, *Ivan and Artemis* (New York, 1957).

5. "The Holy Virgin's Hand" is mentioned on p. 123 of G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903). This book gives a number of examples of the peasants' use of and adaptation to nature.

6. For a delightful essay on the flowers of Greece, see "Flowers of Ancient Greece," *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 23, 1954.

7. For an earlier account of peasant cosmological beliefs, see the article by N. G. Politis in *Attikon Emerologion* (1882); also G. Kapsalis, "Meteorologikes paroimiakes Phraseis" (Meteorological Proverbial Phrases), *Laographia*, XIII (1950).

8. One of the most authentic documents on Greek village life came into my hands through a mutual acquaintance of T. K. Papaspyropoulos, the author. This account is in Greek typescript, from which the passages used in my book have been translated with the permission of the author. Mr. Papaspyropoulos teaches singing in one of Athens' secondary schools and has specialized in folk music. I accompanied him on a visit to his village, where I had a chance to observe at first hand many of the sights he so colorfully describes.

[875] [123]

9. A very common phrase among the peasants is *Ean thelì o Theos* (If God is willing), to which one replies *Vevea, proto o Theos* (Yes, of course, first God).

10. Interesting observations on the use in Homer of the ancient Greek terms *atē* (divine temptation or infatuation, cause of irrational actions) and *moira* (portion or lot) are found in E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951).

11. The facts and figures used in this section are taken in large part from *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, 1947), and *Story of the American Marshall Plan in Greece, July 1, 1948 to Jan. 1, 1952*, Press Release No. 1300, MSA (Athens, July 20, 1952).

12. For the problem of soil erosion, see Constantine I. Nevros, "Soil Erosion in Greece," *Soil Conservation, VI* (1940), and F. G. Renner, "Erosion, Trojan Horse of Greece," *National Geographic*, December 1947. For forestry, see W. Miller, *Greek Town and Country Life* (London, 1905), pp. 229–232.

13. E. G. Mariolopoulos and A. N. Livathinos, in *Atlas climatique de la Grèce* (Athens, 1935), give a good description of the Greek climate.

14. For two views on the sun (Helios) and St. Elias, see the articles by N. G. Politis in *Laographika Symmikta B'* (1921), and E. Rein, "Zu der Verehrung des Propheten Elias bei den Neugriechen," *Ofversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, XLVII (1904–1905).

15. Percy F. Martin, *Greece of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1913), pp. 267–68, discusses the company-tenant relations worked out at Lake Kopais as of 1913.

[427]

16. One friend wrote in 1959: "Fresh fish has always been expensive. Earlier this winter there was a sudden 50 percent price rise. We ourselves cannot afford fresh fish and buy frozen fish brought in by Greek boats from the Atlantic, which is now available in many parts of Greece. It is a scandal that abundant fresh fish at reasonable prices is not available to the Greeks."

[435]

17. This gorgon is really a sea nymph or mermaid (*gorgona* in modern Greek) and not one of the classical gorgons of terrifying aspect (Medusa and her sisters).

18. Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, trans. from the Greek by E. D. Scott-Kilvert (London, 1949), p. 94.

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Preface and Acknowledgments

THE FIELD WORK on which this book is based was conducted largely in 1955-1956 under a Fulbright grant, with supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I am very grateful for this assistance. Return visits were made to the village for several weeks in the summer of 1959, and for two days in July 1961.

Margaret Mead and Hortense Powdermaker were most generous with their time during the initial stages of the project. In Greece, John Caskey, Peter and Eva Topping, Eurydice Demetracopoulou, Korali Krokodilou, and Olympias Kokkevi gave valuable advice, assistance, and encouragement.

John Melios, Nomarch of Boeotia at the time we resided there, helped in selecting the village and introduced my husband and me to the villagers. Our gratitude to him is very great both for this initial help and for his continued interest. Our thanks go also to K. Chlimintzas of the Agricultural Bank of Greece in Levadhia.

The family of Athanasius T. Triantaphyllou, who took us into their home in Vasilika, put us greatly in their debt for many kindly services besides.

Discussions with many scholars have contributed much to this book, though of course I bear sole responsibility for the points of view presented. I should like to mention Henry and Renee Kahane, Sidney Axelrad and Sylvia Brody, and John Andromedas, Fred Gearing, Popie Mohring, Irwin T. Sanders, and Conrad Arensberg.

My participation in the Wenner-Gren Conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean at Burg Wartenstein, Austria, in 1959, and in the similar conference at the Athenian Social Science Center in Athens in 1961, helped me greatly. Special thanks are due to Julian Pitt-Rivers and to John Peristiany, the organizers of the two conferences.

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121 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

[162] Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the [197] inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the [122] Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us [123] live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with [184] other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural [171] settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

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Since the two
245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
[221] earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[248] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[465] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
[436] relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[461] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[558] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
[462] *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[626] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
[571] grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[461] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[492] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
[445] tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[465] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314] trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

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Vasilika's inhabitants and some of the congruent attitudes. The householders of Vasilika take it for granted that they will use part of their produce, in kind or in cash, to pay for the services of various specialists. They rarely make repairs on their houses or on their equipment; they rarely make shelves or simple pieces of furniture. In short, they do not have the habit of pottering and tinkering about the farms either from necessity or because they enjoy it. Vasilika's farmers and shepherds consider themselves specialists; they view themselves with pride as experts in farming and sheepherding, and assign the same dignity to the expertness of others. To say of a man, *"Kseri ti dhulya tu,"* "He knows his work," is a compliment, and the villagers use the phrase often. They do not expect a man to know how to do anyone else's work. One specialty is considered enough.

Such a point of view means that a farmer, if his saddle strap breaks, does without a saddle or borrows someone else's until the saddle-maker comes by, even if it means several weeks of inconvenience. In one of Vasilika's households, the stone wall of one side of an oven was accidentally broken by a tractor plow one day in April of 1956. At the end of July, the wall had still not been repaired —even temporarily—because the stonemason with whom the farmer was accustomed to deal had not yet had time to come to fix it. In the meantime, the women baked their bread in a neighbor's oven. We learned later that the entire oven was finally rebuilt in the spring of the next year.

When a farmer wants to cover his earth floor with cement, or when he wants the walls of his house whitewashed for Easter, he often pays to have these jobs done by a "master." On one occasion, a stonemason was persuaded to put screens on the windows of the house we lived in, but he went to a carpenter to have wooden frame pieces cut to the proper length. A final illustration indicates not only the existence of this point of view, but also the way in which those in Vasilika might greet a different one. The village house in which we lived had several broken windowpanes when we moved into it. Since the winter rains were due, we thought it imperative to get new glass in. My husband went to Levadhia, purchased glass and putty, and replaced the broken panes. The farmer who owned the house watched my husband work. He kept making the sign of the cross and repeated again and again in awed tones, "A professor who is also a master glazier!" The farmer himself had never thought of repairing his own windows, and for anyone in as exalted a position, from Vasilika's point of view, as that of "professor," to make such a repair had for the farmer a touch of the quality of a miracle.

With the increasing use of machinery on the farms, the villagers may be forced into learning mechanical skills; but the emerging pattern seems to be one in which the tractor operators and a village man who learned mechanics in the Greek Air Force have enough skill to make minor repairs and are called on by other farmers when they need help with their pumps. Major repairs must still await a mechanic from Levadhia. For the Vasilika farmers, however, the inconvenience of having to wait for expert personnel to repair machinery is not a source of special irritation. American farmers, who have been accustomed to acting as their own mechanics, are now beginning to deal with machinery so complex as to require expert repairs. Such dependence is new and annoying for

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871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
594 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.
[554] Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

[166] The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[369] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the his-
594 tory of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However,
[123] emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inherit-
369 ance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
428 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown
511 up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

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Vasilika

621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the
476 interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the
571 life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha,* that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni,* people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages, and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,
●123 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
685 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were
621 thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
000 to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

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malice of the Devil and falling into strange novel doctrines, revolted from the unity of the Holy Church, and was cut off; and is now like a tattered rag of the sail of the spiritual vessel of the Church, which formerly consisted and was made up of five parts, four of which continue in the same state of unity and concord, and by these we easily and calmly sail through the ocean of this life, and without difficulty pass over the waves of heresy till we arrive within the haven of salvation. But he who is the fifth part, being separated from the entire sail . . . is unable to perform his voyage, and therefore we behold him at a distance, tossed with constant waves and tempest till he return to our catholic, apostolic, oriental and immaculate faith, and be reinstated in the sail from whence he was torn off: for this will make him secure and able to weather the spiritual storms and tempests that beset him. . . .

Gregory, by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Oecumenical Patriarch, writes on September 26th, 1869, to "the most holy Archbishop, the Metropolitan of Canterbury, and Exarch of the Christians of the Anglican Confession in Great Britain, the Lord Archibald Campbell," to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the English Book of Common Prayer which that dignitary had caused to be sent him. After having examined the said book to "ascertain how far it inclines to or diverges from genuine evangelical and catholic teaching" the Patriarch reluctantly confesses that it contains statements which appear "to savour too much of novelty"; these statements, he concludes, "throw us into suspense, so that we doubt what we are to judge of the rule of Anglican orthodoxy".

These passages are characteristic of the Greek view of Christendom. While the Orthodox Church faithfully preserves the tradition of the undivided Church—"neither adding anything, or taking anything from it"—the western world, encouraged by the evil example of its chief bishop, has confounded the faith once delivered to the saints with "strange, novel doctrines", the fruit of human reasoning; and when holy tradition has once been set at naught there can be no certainty and no "right worship": the saving truth of God is henceforth mingled with the vain imaginings of sinful men.

[123] In the spring of 1950 I made an expedition to the westward of Siatista with a small escort of local militia. The leader of the party questioned me as to the state of Christianity in England.

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SOME UNFAMILIAR PERSPECTIVES

"The English," he demanded, "are Catholics?" 795

"No," said I, "though there is in England a Catholic minority far larger than in Greece." 798

"The English are *diamartyromenoi* (Protestants), then?"

"Indeed, no," said I, knowing something of the associations of the term for the Greek mind; "the English are not Protestants."

The *kapetanios* was perplexed; and then, after a moment's reflection he suddenly exclaimed with enormous satisfaction:

"So, then, the English are simple Christians!"

Needless to say, where the prevailing ignorance is so abysmal much can depend—for good or ill—upon chance encounters and odd scraps of information. There are those whose knowledge of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* would seem to be limited to the fact that she is divided as irrevocably as Caesar's Gaul into three parts, high, low and broad: though the significance of these mysterious divisions eludes their comprehension. Others know her only through the widely publicised activities of certain of the more idiorrhythmic of her dignitaries. Occasionally, however, a happier encounter affords the suspicious Greek ecclesiastic a glimpse of something which he can recognise as familiar amid the obscurity in which the west is veiled: which may even prompt him to inform his wondering flock, when he preaches to them the following Sunday, that in the mysterious providence of the *Pantocrator*, though all the territories of the patriarch of the west have fallen into heresy, some remnant of primitive orthodoxy has been preserved in those islands whence came Byron and Codrington and the *Kyrios* Churchill.

It was my custom when travelling in Greece to carry with me several copies of a Greek translation of the Scottish Communion Office. The recipients of this work included the abbot of a certain monastery, whose hospitality I had enjoyed: a rigorist who regarded all that lay beyond the pale of Orthodox Christendom as unrelieved darkness and heresy. It was some months before I stayed at the monastery again, and my visit coincided with a festival. After the liturgy the abbot invited several of those who had been present in church to the guest-chamber, where coffee and cognac were served by a deacon. The inevitable catechism ensued: 123 795 798

"The *Kyrios* is not a Greek?"

"No, he is a stranger."

"From what country?"

"He comes from England."

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123 "Ah! from England."
795 "Yes, he is a *theologos* from Oxford."
798 "He is Orthodox?"

At this point another of the visitors, a high-school teacher from Cyprus, rashly asserted in a loud voice that the English were all Luthero-Calvinists. "It is evident, Sir Professor," said the abbot, "that you are ill-informed in regard to the belief of the English Christians. *I*, however, have closely studied the liturgy of the British nation which, it is beyond doubt, is no other than that of St. James, the Lord's brother. The Christians who have such a liturgy are evidently orthodox in faith, even though their canonical status, owing to their remoteness and isolation, is somewhat irregular."

795 It is perhaps only fair to add that other travellers have on occasion
798 met with a less encouraging response to their efforts to diffuse a more exact knowledge of our own liturgical life. Dr. Hunt, for example, who visited Mount Athos at the end of the eighteenth century, and who relates that: "In conversation with their prelates and well educated caloyers [from *kalogeros*—literally, 'good old man'—a common word for a monk], I so often found what I judged to be religious moderation, that I was once induced to show them a Greek version of the English liturgy; but when they saw that we kept Easter at the time fixed by the Gregorian or Romish calendar, and that we laid down no precise rules about the mode of fasting . . . I saw such a disposition for controversy arise, that I ever afterwards abstained from all allusion to similar subjects." Times have changed but little on the holy mountain, and the traveller may still encounter monks who, when topics such as fasting on Saturday are in question, will yield nothing in polemical ardour to the most celebrated patterns of orthodoxy who flourished in Byzantine days.

795 Now it is surely evident that the Greek Christian's conception of Christendom differs radically from any that prevails in the west: not least from that of the English churchman who, if he looks beyond the bounds of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, finds his view blocked by the leviathan of Old Rome on the one hand and Protestant Nonconformity on the other. All that the Greek has in mind when he speaks of the Church lies unseen and forgotten beneath the horizon of this shrunken world. Vanished is that more spacious Christendom wherein the one faith was confessed and the one eucharist offered from Malabar to the misty

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

Mary". To the simple Greek, however, it is *the* feast of the *Panaghia*, which not the Marys only but also the men and boys named Panaghiotis keep as their name-day: a very much more important occasion in Greece than the mere commemoration of one's birth after the flesh. The importance of the festival is emphasised by a fast of two weeks' duration immediately preceding it.[1] The other liturgical commemorations of the *Theotokos* centre on particular events. March 25th, for example, apart from the national associations which have made it one of the greatest days of the year among Greeks, is essentially the memorial of the Annunciation: "To-day," runs the dismissal hymn, "is the chapter-head of our salvation and the revelation of the eternal mystery. The Son of God becomes the Son of the Virgin, and Gabriel brings the good news of grace". So with the other evangelical commemorations. The liturgy of August 15th, on the other hand, seems to sum up the whole work in the pattern of man's redemption of her who contained Him whom the heavens cannot contain, and who, through the mysterious operation of the life-giving Spirit, herself became the dwelling of the infinite Creator.

All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured;
Both the assembly of the angels and the race of men.
O hallowed temple and logical paradise, the boast of virgins,
From whom God took flesh and became a little child,
Who is from all eternity our God.
For He made thy womb His throne
And fashioned thy body broader than the heavens.
All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured:
Glory to thee!

*

On August 13th, 1949, furnished with a document wherein the officer commanding the Drama gendarmerie called upon all whom I should encounter in my travels to give me all conceivable manner of assistance, I embarked in the antique vehicle which then connected the village of Kato Nevrokopi with the rest of Christendom (it was blown up by a Communist mine a few months later). During the early stages of our somewhat wayward progress through the narrow streets of Drama it became evident, from the sounds which came from overhead that, in addition to the forty-four Greek passengers who occupied the

[1] [ie before Aug. 15th 41 - ANALYST]

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monks still further reduced to twenty-one. A decade of war has added a catastrophic chapter to this melancholy tale of gradual decline, for it was not possible that the monks should remain aloof from the calamities which have befallen their native land during those terrible years. The day was long since flown when the monks could look down from the security of their rocky retreats upon scenes of slaughter and pillage as armies came and went on the plain below; and, turning away with the sign of the cross and a *Kyrie eleison*, go back to their labours. The unscalable heights were impregnable no longer.

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I spent several days at the monasteries in January 1950, accompanied by a young theologian from the Russian Academy in Paris. Heavy falls of snow had blocked the Metsovo pass—the one road that leads northwestwards from Kalambaka across the heights of Pindos, connecting the plain of Thessaly with Ioannina and Epirus—and the cold was intense. We had slept the previous night at Trikkala, where the Metropolitan had shown us a number of charred manuscripts which had been salvaged from the monasteries. Our first concern upon reaching Kalambaka the following morning was to seek out the curate of the place, Father Christos Benda, whom we discovered wrapped in a blanket at his fireside. He was not a little startled at the sudden apparition of two Frankish visitors in the doorway of his cottage, and regarded somewhat gloomily our proposal to sleep at the monasteries for the duration of our stay, assuring us (not without reason, as we subsequently discovered), that the monks had little enough bedding to protect their own persons from the bitter winds which swept the exposed summits. He promised, nevertheless, to come with us to look for the *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron who was said to have descended from his airy retreat that morning in order to deal with some piece of monastic business. First, however, we were taken to see the fourteenth-century basilica with its remarkable marble *ambon*, and to visit the school, where we found classes of 150 children overflowing the one available building (which had perforce to serve as primary school in the forenoon and as high school for the rest of the day), and packed into two small chapels which had been furnished with desks. The children were delighted at the diversion caused by the appearance of the *xenoi*. Papa Christos carried us off in search of the abbot who was finally run to earth in a tavern where, monastic business satisfactorily despatched, he was disposing of a dish of vegetables.

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inevitably elapse before the Bishop could hope to be in a position to make a detailed statement. He instructed his secretary to provide me with a report embodying such information as had reached him. Grevena itself had suffered a heavy bombardment during the retreat of 1941 and the cathedral church of the Annunciation had been seriously damaged (the old cathedral of St. George had been destroyed by fire several years earlier). On the outskirts of the town lay a little church dedicated to St. Archelaos of Larissa. This had become the parish church of the refugees. Here, from 1947 onwards, the refugee clergy had assembled daily to sing mattins and evensong, and on Sundays and festivals to celebrate together the divine mysteries. This church, as I subsequently discovered, also served as a centre for the distribution of rations to the vast multitude of the homeless who dwelt in the nissen huts on the edge of the town. On my way back to the metropolis I ran into a large group of refugee clergy. They had got wind of my projected expedition and begged me to visit their villages and to bring back news of their condition after three years' abandonment.

I returned to the regimental headquarters at dusk, armed with my report, and spent an hour poring over maps with a young captain from Volos. We finally decided upon two itineraries, each of several days' duration. The first would enable me to see something of those parts of the diocese which were still uninhabited, and about which the Bishop had little information; the second, to visit several villages north and west of Grevena to which the refugees had lately returned. Arrangements having been made for a nine o'clock start the following morning, I returned to the metropolis for supper and discussed the Zoë movement and the architectural projects of the Metropolitan of Siatista with the Lord Theokletos until it was time for bed.

Saturday, February 4th, dawned fine and dry. The first stage of my journey was accomplished in a jeep driven by an *Epeirotes* who had concealed two British soldiers in his house at Iannina during the occupation. Less than five miles from Grevena the track which we were following gave up the ghost and further progress was impossible. At this point we were met by a sergeant and two soldiers, mounted on mules and leading a handsome bay mare caparisoned after the European manner. It took us an hour to climb to the village of Mavranaioi, which was strongly garrisoned (it had been partly inhabited since the previous October). After lunching with the officers of the garrison I resumed

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THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

He had set out from Palaiochori at half-past two that morning, and with the moon often obscured by clouds and with drifts of snow lying deep in places, it was well past ten before he reached the town. We had taken refuge from the bitter winds that scoured the valley of the Peneios and brought sudden flurries of snow down the pass from the mountains above Metsovo, in one of the dimly lighted taverns that open off the main street, and were deep in conversation with the president and schoolmaster from a village away to the north-eastward of Kalambaka when Papa Costas arrived. We shared a further bottle of ouzo and he invited us to lunch in his cottage. 123 793

He had come down, he told us, to do some shopping, and was off to Trikkala the next morning. He would return to Palaiochori early the following day. Why did we not come with him and see with our own eyes the ruined villages of Pindos? Mitsos—a cousin, we subsequently discovered—would be in Kalambaka with the remaining animals the next evening and there would be mounts to spare if we would come. We were not afraid of *katsapliades*? We fairly jumped at the suggestion —*katsapliades* indeed! I sat down there and then and addressed a hasty note to the Lord Theokletos, Metropolitan of Grevena, which was carried off by Athanasi and put aboard the afternoon bus to Trikkala, informing him that I should be several days later in reaching his diocese on the fringes of Macedonia than I had supposed. We laid our plans for the journey, and the light was failing as we set out to climb to the monastery of St. Stephen where we were expected that evening.

Two days later we left the monastery at daybreak: all the monks were ill, and, since Basil was away in Trikkala, we had ourselves to unbar the massive doors that open on to the encompassing abyss. Forty minutes after leaving St. Stephen we were breaking our fast at Papa Costas' cottage: scraps of pork, bread soaked in oil, cognac and retsina. [262] Our priest-carpenter had brought back from Trikkala a great saw, and a pig to be fattened against the following winter. The pig, despite loud protestations, was tied up in a sack and slung from his owner's saddle: [492]

"He has a splendid voice—we must make a *psaltes* of him when we get him back to Palaiochori."

We led our horses out along the Metsovo road. Papa Costas' niece, Katina, had been staying at the 'town-house' for the festival and was returning with her uncle to Palaiochori. [484] On the outskirts of Kalambaka we overtook a party of homeward-bound refugees, their beasts heavy-laden with bedding and great copper pans. A little way out of the town

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

123 we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river
793 Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the
swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and
484 screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river
the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to
dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly
difficult stretch of terrain.

About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages
[342] and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside
what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had
been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn
timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins.
Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years
and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the
cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened
[262] one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out
walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge
crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the
boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the
day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and
white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our
way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts
delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—
winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy
ridges of Pindos far above us.

123 It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the
793 tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—
was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless.
[875] Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage
where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young
girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the
fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa
Costas divested himself of his outer *rason*, and, commending ourselves
to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay
down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a
[262] few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas,
[346] Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

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little church was a melancholy sight: the stone eikonostasis had survived the fire but every trace of woodwork had perished. Our priest-carpenter had just completed two new lecterns for the singers and an episcopal throne: there was plenty of work to be done as soon as Leonidas—who had been discharged from the army with wounds in both hands—was home again and fit to return to his trade.

We went on to the school where sixty-four ragged children were huddled round a smoking stove. There had been no teacher in the village between the first and second periods of exile; the schoolmaster, we were told, had disappeared in 1946 and nothing had been heard of him since. Had he gone to the mountains, we asked? Nobody knew—he had disappeared. Kleoniki Zambra, the girl we had met the previous evening, had just been sent to reopen the village school. The windows of the building—roughly re-roofed by the priest and his sons—were blocked with stones and cardboard from packing cases which had contained powdered milk; light was an altogether secondary consideration when warmth was in question.

"Last Friday", the *didaskalissa* assured us, "it was so cold that the children cried aloud and we were obliged to give up." There seemed to be no books or slates or paper—there was indeed no equipment of any description save for the stove and a few wooden benches—but the school was again performing its liturgy, and the whole village was conscious that an important step had been taken along the road that led back from the anarchy and insecurity of a decade of war towards the halcyon days which none of the children who crowded the schoolhouse that January morning was capable of recalling.

Time and time again as I travelled about the ruined villages of Pindos during that terrible winter of 1949–50 it was brought home to me how essential an element the school constitutes in the pattern of Greek village life. Almost invariably the first thought of the returning refugees, once they had succeeded in improvising some temporary shelter from wind and snow, was for the church and the school. They would rest content with the most wretched living quarters, provided only that the house of God were decently furnished and their children were receiving regular instruction; but a village without a priest and a schoolmaster was a village only in name.

Urquhart arrived in Metsovo astride the sagacious Aristotle, in the summer of the year 1830, to find that mountain township in a state of the utmost panic and alarm: the houses barricaded, the sheep, cattle

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727 and horses dispersed and hidden among the rocks; the town occupied
872 by the troops of "a Turkish Binbashi". And yet, amidst all this martial activity and excitement the good people of Metsovo were occupied with repairing one of their schools. "It is incredible", comments this traveller, "how ardent and universal among the Greeks is the desire of instruction . . . even in the wildest spots that man has chosen for a habitation or a refuge." The universal destruction of the village schools during the recent troubled years has done nothing to abate this passionate desire for instruction, which may still be reckoned one of the most striking and attractive features of the Greek character.

123 We did not linger long in Palaiochori. Mitsos was returning to
484 Kalambaka for supplies with a train of pack-animals, and before the sun was fairly round to the south side of the parsonage (where the *psaltes* lay late abed, reflecting upon his astonishing deliverance from the perils to which travellers are subject) the horses were saddled and we were ready to depart.

Some four miles down the valley, where the waters of the Aspropo-
[888] tamos divided, lay the cottage of Nicolas Kokoravas—the *geros*, as he was known in the villages round about. An ancient personage with a great reputation for wisdom, it was whispered that he spoke no less than seven languages. We had made the acquaintance of this venerable polyglot the previous evening, and had paused for a few moments outside his dwelling while one of his numerous grandchildren, a fair girl clad in Vlach costume with two children clinging to her voluminous skirts, had brought us apples as we sat astride our beasts, and Papa Costas had scribbled a hasty note addressed to the president of the village of Chrysomelia (an hour's journey to the eastward) to warn him of our impending visit and asking that an escort might be sent to meet us the following day at the cottage of the *geros*.

"Mitsos will leave you at the house of Papa Nicolas, where the waters divide", explained our priest-carpenter; "there you will await the animals from Chrysomelia."

"At what hour will they come?"

"At twelve, without doubt."

The schoolmistress borrowed Boris' camera and took our *etikos* as we perched upon our high wooden saddles. The children peered out at the door and through the chinks in the United Nations' packing cases. Mitsos led the way down the path between the high drifts of snow towards the bleached plane trees and the polished boulders of the

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torrent bed, and we followed while Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood beneath the great tree in the village square and waved farewell: 123 484

"Kalo taxidi; o Theos mazi sas!"

A good journey; may God go with you.

At dusk we rode into Chrysomelia—a large village lying at 900 metres—after a journey which will long linger in my memory. For the best part of an hour Antony the Zealot (our guide) had questioned me relentlessly as to the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the jurisdiction of the *metropolites* of Canterbury, whilst the mules floundered in deep snow as we climbed laboriously towards the village, the buildings of an abandoned monastery far below among the pines. We had been delayed at the cottage of Papa Nicolas, the *gevs*, till it was close on three o'clock. There had been a misunderstanding as to the rendezvous, arising, apparently, from the fact that the curate of the neighbouring hamlet of Aidona was also a Papa Costas.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Antony, and the Zealot was preparing to celebrate his name-day. In a tiny chapel on the outskirts of the shattered village vespers was drawing to a close. The village church, dating from 1580 and dedicated to St. George, was a total ruin. We stayed for the liturgy next morning and all the men and boys of the village accompanied us to church. After a distribution of the blessed bread Papa Athanasius Tsergoulas, the pastor of this mountain flock, took us to see his dwelling—a tiny cell of mud bricks set amidst the ruins of the house which he had built some thirty years earlier—and there we sat around a table in the pale sunlight outside the newly-opened tavern and sipped ouzo with the village elders, while crowds of wild, ragged children played amongst the ruins of the church—there were nearly 300 of them and it was eight years since the school had ceased to perform its liturgy. 727 796 346 [342]

Chrysomelia had been one of the most important villages of this region, with a population of 1,050. It had suffered at the hands of the Germans at the same time as Palaiochori. The people had begun to return in October. Scarcely a house in the whole village had escaped destruction. 727 722

The devastation was no less widespread at the hamlet of Kato Perlangion, where we slept the following night, wrapped in rugs on the 727 346 123

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727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I
had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community
gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great,
[796] in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
793 He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a
time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary *didaskalos*.

727
346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

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[211]

About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. [872] The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had just been released from the army. He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. The priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. [793] For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena.

875
123 ●

The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. [484] The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

123 inhabitants malevolently. As we dismounted outside the cottage of Papa Costas we were greeted by a score of old friends headed by Basil the resourceful, just descended from Aghios Stephanos and bound for Trikkala to negotiate some delicate piece of monkish diplomacy. Papa Costas' daughter and two cousins from Trikkala were bent over their [252] sewing, and a dish of bean soup simmered on the stove.

123 Boris bade us farewell that afternoon and set out for Larissa, whence he would travel southwards the following day to sunny Attica and the 513 populous cities: back to that strange, mad world where men spent their days poring over antique folios and writing solemn dissertations; effeminate creatures who slept at night between linen sheets and pillowed in soft down, clad in ridiculous garments fit only for infidels: not indiscriminately, men and women together, upon the hard earth, snugly rolled in warm rugs beside a roaring fire; a pampered and degenerate race.

123 As the sun went to his rest that evening amongst the snows of Pindos I sat for the last time amidst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi and related the strange and terrible things that we had seen [252] during the past few days, while Father Anthimos boiled some eggs in an empty salmon tin, the stylite cats lurked in the shadows, and old Papa Iannis stroked his venerable beard and murmured an occasional *Kyrie eleison!*

*

793 The country parson of Pindos, writes an early nineteenth-century traveller, displays a truly primitive simplicity. He is at once the director, adviser, friend and companion of those who till the same fields or pursue the same occupations as himself. The unaspiring *papas*, endued, as it were,

> . . . in spite of his ignorance with an evangelical instinct, sympathised with the sorrows and shared in the joys of his people, and abandoning himself to them, made up for any deficiency of ecclesiastical dignity by a fraternal affection which was rendered doubly dear by the misfortunes and misery of those on whom it was bestowed. In the evening, when the labours of the day were finished, the pastor of the mountain assembled with his parishioners at one of their unadorned chapels on the hills. . . . On the festival and the feast, when

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[p. ix]
[p. viii is blank]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the willingness of literally hundreds of people in Greece to answer questions and search their records on my behalf, this little book could not have been written. The warmth and extravagant hospitality with which Greeks of every rank and station receive a stranger is, indeed, a source of never ending surprise to one accustomed to the atmosphere of an American city, and I wish hereby to thank all those, both friends and casual acquaintances, who thus contributed to my knowledge and understanding of the Greek scene. 123 [574] [609]

More particularly, I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of busy officials of the Greek government who took time to talk with me, and more than once set wheels in motion to provide statistics and other special information I requested of them. In Salonika, Mr. Orphanides of the Agricultural Bank, and in Athens Mr. Leviratos of the Ministry of Coordination and Mr. Liakis of the National Statistical Services were especially helpful. 115

Among the members of the American community in Greece, I am particularly indebted to Mr. Bruce Lansdale, Director of the American Farm School in Salonika, and to Mr. Doggett of the aid mission. Mr. John Enepikides, of the American Embassy, also went far out of his way to help me find information I needed.

I must also gratefully acknowledge the assistance and friendship of Mr. John Skiriotis and Mr. John Boudouroglu, who made it possible for me to participate in the rapid fire of normal Greek conversation by translating my questions and interpreting the answers when I could not keep up with the pace. 124

8:Stephanides--2 I.Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/3/

A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI.

PART I.

Introduction:

The author was born in Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. His parents were the descendants of some of the first colonists that were established by the Greeks in ancient times. His ancestors lived in the same village for many centuries and it was for the first time in many centuries that he went with the rest of his people to Greece. The exchange of population between Greece and Turkey marks one of the rare historical accomplishments of the Greek people. The establishment of a million and a half people under the prevailing economic conditions of that period was a gigantic job for a small nation like Greece to accomplish. 114 167 648

The author, as a refugee among his people, had a chance, after getting his education at Cornell, to work with them to share with them the difficulties they met in their new environment. He shared the life that was mixed with tears, toil, sweat and patience. He also shared the marriages, the holidays and the dances at the village square. His eight years of experience in the village of Megali Vrisi and his share in promoting agricultural, recreational, health and educational activities led him to the description of the village of /4/ Megali Vrisi 123. [121]

The Rural Sociology Courses under Dr. Sanderson have influenced him more than anything else to see, describe and evaluate the social make up of the life of the people of Megali Vrisi. 114

/4 cont./

Selection of the Village

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[123]

The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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[423]
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The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics.

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[167]

The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

GREECE[1]

The culture of the Greeks is here presented as an integrated whole. 105
The Greeks have been selected out of the European nations now engaged in introducing technical change, because they represent a unique case. They have the most ancient civilization of the European continent, yet their technical development at present is one of the lowest. The history of their industries and factories goes back more than 2,500 years; yet they now resist industrialization. They are [101]
European, yet they look toward the Middle East and share a number of attitudes with the people of this area. They are Christians but with a special kind of Christianity, highly ritualized and impersonal, and incorporating much of local origin.

Individualism is prized and rampant; yet there is no atomization. 105
Self-esteem is paramount, and rests on freedom and self-dependence; 156
yet Greeks do not seek freedom from the family, and do not lose self-esteem when they are dependent on the family. They have their own unique individualism. They are highly co-operative, but the basis and formulation of their co-operative activity are different from those of the Western European nations.

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[1] The study of Greek culture is based largely on interviews, correspondence, and memoranda, conducted and prepared in the autumn and winter of 1950-51. Newspapers and magazines of this time were also consulted. Two Maternal and Child Care Manuals of recent years, several collections of folk songs, and a popular humorous work were intensively analysed. Accounts by people engaged in introducing change were consulted. The writer, herself a Greek by birth and upbringing, has depended also on her own firsthand experience of the culture. The manuscript was submitted to two Greeks for comment and criticism. 123 125

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

121 throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959
[114] gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.
• 124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 of Alekos, the first few owners get good income from custom plowing, but
241 with many tractors there is not very much supplementary income to go
[434] around. These steel horses in Greece plow more deeply, give more leisure, help spread scientific farming throughout the plains, and service an increasingly larger proportion of the 950,000 farms of the land. But with one tractor to every 70–80 farms, it is not surprising that Yannes, the tobacco grower from Alistrate, still waits for his horse so that he will not have to stand idly by while another finishes plowing a field.

The Harvesters of Chalkidike (Macedonia)

Social changes, and especially those connected with mechanization, frequently wear two faces — one bright, the other dark. In Athens I had heard from fellow Americans about the growing use of machinery, the previously mentioned over-all increase in agricultural production to more than 37 percent above the prewar figure, and the steps being taken to rationalize agriculture to an even greater degree. These programs represented not only heavy investments of dollars and drachmas, but also considerable self-sacrifice on the part of American and Greek staff members with a missionary zeal for their work and a willingness to work overtime. There was no question of the need for Greece to become a part of the scientific revolution in farming, but it was at times perplexing to find that little thought was being given to the social effects of this revolution on the people in the rural areas.

178 Once out in the provinces, away from the bright programs of Athens, I
241 saw the dark face of mechanization. While riding with the director of agri-
243 culture of Larissa on the drive previously mentioned, I was somewhat
464 shocked to hear him say that he was glad the recent storm had visited the area.

"Why is that?" I asked. "Doesn't it make it harder to harvest the grain?"

"Yes, that's the point," he replied. "Now it will have to be done by hand in many places, giving work to some of the people from the mountain villages in this area who depend upon the harvesting to earn their supply of wheat for much of the year. Without the bread from this wheat they cannot live."

Again, a nomarch of Thessalonike talked to me of the people displaced by mechanization. He tried to see the good as well as the bad, indicating that machines without any question had raised the yields by putting more land under cultivation and by making better farming methods possible. He, too, however, used much the same words as had the official in Larissa, pointing out that he was glad to see the rains in Macedonia since it meant that harvesting would be done by hand.[a]

One bright June morning found us in Niketas, a small coastal village in
243 Chalkidike where mechanical threshing was in progress on the edge of the
124

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

village. We hired a caique, with both sails and motor, to take us on the three-hour trip to Neos Marmaras, a picturesque refugee village. Hardly were we aboard when a group of excited peasants came to ask if they could go with us. Our one crewman seemed to have no objection so we told them to join us. 243 124 [501]

Almost at once these lively individuals explained that they were from the village of Parthenon. They had been spending the past twenty-five days helping the peasants around Niketas harvest their grain and were no longer needed now that threshing had begun. Before talking about their work, however, we had to exchange the rites of hospitality. We had spread out a blanket on which we placed a large piece of bread bought just before departure and a portion of white cheese given me by the teacher in the village. Although the peasants looked thin and hungry, they refused our food. One man, carefully eyeing our bread, said, "Here, take some of my bread; yours isn't well done." [464] [574]

Six or seven of the people of Parthenon, sprawled around the blanket while we ate, tried politely to hide their curiosity. Our lunch finished and the purpose of our trip explained to them several times, it became our turn to ask them questions. We started with a woman in her thirties, a widow. She was dressed in a poor cotton dress, was barefoot, wore a kerchief on her head, but her proud look and direct answers were those of an independent spirit. She was obviously very anxious to get back to Parthenon and several times expressed her gratitude for the lift. "Thank you very much. You have saved us four or five hours of walking on this warm day." She had had to leave her four children at home twenty-five days ago and had had no word from them since then, even though her village was only a relatively few kilometers away. Apparently she had gone on working in the harvest fields for winter bread, clinging to the belief that "no news was good news," but her drawn face showed her long concern: "I left them with only a piece of bread to eat. I don't know how they made out." 243 855

"How old are your children?"

"My eldest child is fifteen, the next is eleven, and the other two quite young."

"Does the fifteen-year-old take care of the rest while you are away?"

"He would if he could, but he must look after the cows of my brother who is a soldier, and so the eleven-year-old takes care of the younger two." [857]

We learned that there were some relatives living in the village who probably kept an eye on the youngsters but did not assume full responsibility for them.

We were told that these villagers did not look forward to this trip. It is a trial, an ordeal that must be endured if they are to have any bread, for the men cannot find work in Parthenon that will provide them with money to buy bread. 243 464

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little 243
likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as 465
a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?"
"Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that
he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agree-
ment is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat
they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting
it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea.

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in 243
late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals 464
or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever
there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman 594
as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he
sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls
they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring
back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have
a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home
village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," 243
interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating 466
that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night
as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger [412]
of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker pro-
vided for himself.

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, 124 ●
our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away
on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit
them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the
wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help
they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance
to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When 464
mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested 178
by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many
thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where
their services are no longer needed.

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us
●124 there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along
[491] the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely
669 off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still
727 stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semiannual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*fousstanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked sony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[3] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14..
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of panfomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou poulíou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou poulíou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

To cure terrific abdominal pains, or "twisting the navel": 755

The constant pains and vomiting are said to be due to the untwisting of the navel. If the patient is to recover, his navel must be retwisted. Only a few people know how to do this. The one effecting the cure presses the navel with the index finger of his right hand, holds it firmly and starts walking around the patient. As he turns around he halts — at the head, at the feet, and at each side. He goes around like this seven or eight times and the patient recovers. (Aetolia and Arcadia) [753] [826]

Only special women can do this. The one who helps puts a rag around her finger, twists the navel several times until she feels it catch. Then she withdraws her finger and puts a compress on the navel: This compress is composed of blue paper into which some incense melted in *mastiko* has been placed. (Spetsai)

Even though some of these practices are restricted to particular regions of Greece, and are carried out by only a few people in a given village, they do constitute a folk approach to healing. But there is one important belief, general throughout Greece, which is associated with illness: the Evil Eye. 751 In one family, in a village near the town of Thebes, some of the members 754 wore amulets which the priest had blessed and into which communion bread had been sewed. Elsewhere in Greece I saw amulets containing splinters of holy wood or earth from Jerusalem, worn around the neck. [753] The women in explaining the Evil Eye said that one cannot always tell who casts the Evil Eye, but that there are some people in the village suspected of doing this and that they are to be avoided or else watched carefully.

If a child is believed to be under the spell (that is, shivers and does not feel well), the person suspected can be brought before the child and asked 755 to spit three times to get rid of the curse, or the child can be taken to the [753] priest who reads a blessing. Perhaps the cure thought most efficacious is a [793] secret formula which an older woman passes on to a younger one with the instructions that it is never to be improperly revealed. Not all village women know the formula but only those who have been particularly selected by the wise women, or an older relative, for this purpose. In this village home, [124] the women after much whispered discussion, decided details of the formula would do no harm since we were outsiders and would be leaving soon. Here are the basic elements:

Christ and the Virgin Mary
Passed through a crossroad;
They spread their golden apron
And ate. Crumbs fell on the apron.
They took those crumbs
And tossed them into the sea.
The sea waters were stirred up
And man was cured.

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to
755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry-
[751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and
[827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

244 466 476 [262]

being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

124 244 476

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

244 476 602 621 [124]

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

244 476 [562]

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

[578]

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

244 issuing invitations usually avoid other women with whom they have had
476 a recent quarrel, although they do not hesitate to invite two women on good
578 terms with the hostess but not on good terms with each other. These women can usually stay far enough apart in such a large group that they do not have to associate with each other or air their differences. Men are said to be less inclined to let previous disagreements affect their invitations, even inviting those with whom they may have sharp differences. Their main concern is to get the job done. Just the same, they rely chiefly upon relatives and neighbors. The women in Yannes' living room all agreed that there was no one in the village who had the reputation for not paying back the work that others had contributed, which shows the seriousness with which this obligation is assumed and discharged.

● 124 But no interview in a Greek village is a one-sided affair. The visitor has to answer questions if he has asked them. Never have I heard questions fly quicker and faster than on this visit to Neochori when the women sensed that I had finished my inquiry about potato diggers. My interpreter was quizzed about her life in Athens, where she got her clothes, how she had learned to drive a car, and about members of her family. I was asked about my income in America, what kind of kitchen my wife had, and about many details which she could have answered much better than I if she had been able to accompany us up from Athens on that particular afternoon. This
[181] occasion showed that when the Greek villagers began to express themselves on their home ground, in a familiar setting, they stood out as inquisitive, interesting personalities who shared many of the same concerns as fellow human beings in other countries despite their noticeable differences of dress, speech, and other cultural manifestations.

000 In driving back to Athens we had to pass the same potato field which had been the cause of this excursion. I thought at the time that a study, at a later date, of changes in the mutual-aid groups would tell much about changes in Greek life in general. Will mechanization eliminate the necessity of group harvesting? Will economic considerations so rule a later day that Yannes will invite only efficient workers from throughout the village, or will he continue to use relatives and neighbors because of his close social bonds with them?

Traditional Patterns of Mutual Aid

476 Throughout rural Greece one finds many examples of mutual aid. Even
539 proverbs attest to the value of cooperation: "bean by bean the bag is filled"; "many streams make up the river"; "many stones knock down the walnut." Union in strength is stressed as well: "where there are many, God's blessing"; "where there are many, many riches"; "the many are the ones who will take Constantinople."

It is understood, too, that each party will live up to his end of the bar-

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
[124] asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
[621] in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Notes

Chapter I. The People of Greece

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1. This version of the legend was told by an old shepherd to a hunting party which had taken refuge in his hut from a storm brewing over Lake Stymphalia in the northern Peloponnesos. Mrs. Bessie Adossides, who served as my interpreter, had been in the party and told the story to me. For a less colorful version, see A. W. Gomme, *Greece* (London, 1943), p. 11. [124]

2. A prominent subgrouping running through these three divisions is that of the Asia Minor and other refugees who were settled in Greece in the 1920s. Also, divisions among the city Greeks appeared following the French Revolution, when commercial opportunities opened up, creating a new merchant bourgeoisie in contrast to the "old patriarchal class whose members were the political administrators of the Sublime Porte and whose strength lay in landed wealth and special prerogatives." See S. G. Chaconas, *Adamantios Koraïs: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York, 1942), p. 38. [563] [441] [565]

3. S. Manolas, in a personal conversation, pointed out three factors accounting for the settlement in cities of Greeks coming to America: as "late" immigrants, there was little land available to them for homesteading; they came over individually — not as families — and could not run a farm; they were not here to work the land, for Greece was still their home. They wanted to make money and go back, staying on here to take care of "one more dowry, one more acre to buy." For many, time ran out and they did not go back. To these one might also add the Greek's unfamiliarity with the mechanized agriculture found in the United States and the greater ease with which he found employment in the cities.

4. This point of view is borne out in an article by Anton-Hermann Chroust, "Treason and Patriotism in Ancient Greece," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April 1954: "The democrats, like the oligarchs, bore their native city a quite strange kind of love: the desire to dominate it completely and, if necessary, to exterminate their political antagonists. . . . It would be difficult, indeed, to find a prominent Athenian politician, irrespective of his political persuasion, whose public actions were not motivated by partisanship or loyalty to some faction or club within the city rather than by true patriotism," p. 287.

5. The books dealing with the history of Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania usually discuss the role of the Greek clergy in the spread of Greek culture. As one example, see N. Forbes and others, *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford, 1915).

6. A good characterization of the city Greek by Dorothy Lee appears in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 79: "The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. [114]

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoreseis* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Delton*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 in his *In the Mountains of Greece*, has mentioned that he found only one village in the Peloponnesos which did not produce an English-speaking inhabitant.

2. These references are to John D. Photiadis, "The Coffee House and Its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece," (unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University, 1956) p. 41.

3. See Near East Foundation, *et al.*, village studies (Athens, 1951–52).

4. Photiadis, p. 42.

5. This description by Dorothy Lee will be found in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), pp. 60–61 (Mentor edition).

6. V. T. Valassis, "The Living Past and Technical Change," (unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1956), p. 16.

7. The reader familiar with contemporary social theory will quickly note the extent to which these observations derive from Emile Durkheim and those sociologists who work in his tradition.

8. Photiadis, p. 84.

9. From the village study by T. K. Papaspyropoulos, "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished manuscript.

Chapter XVI. Social Change in Rural Greece

1. The three types of social change used here are adapted from N. F. Washburne, *Interpreting Social Change in America* (Garden City, 1954).

2. See Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities; Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey* (New York, 1939).

[124] 3. In almost every one of my hundreds of interviews during an eleven-month period in Greece, I touched on the topic of social change. In a country such as Greece, one cannot understand the present without a knowledge of what has changed. A summarizing chapter such as this cannot fully convey the deep emotional overtones surrounding the discussion of what it was like to flee as a child from Asia Minor, to have one's village occupied by an Axis army, or to experience the fury of Communist guerrillas on the run.

4. A. C. de Vooys and J. J. C. Piket, "A Geographical Analysis of Two Villages in the Peloponnesos," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, LXXV (1958), 44–45.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

6. This figure is much more favorable to the villagers than that prevailing between the two world wars. In the Balkans generally during that time, the proportion of peasants was higher and their share of the total national income lower than the figures here cited in the text.

7. Ernestine Friedl, "The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece," *The American Anthropologist*, LXI (1959), 31.

8. An excellent though brief description of some of the most important programs of planned social change in rural Greece through the 1950s is found in the mimeographed paper entitled "Community Development Programs and Policies in Greece," prepared for the Eastern Mediterranean Study Tour on Community Development (Athens, 1955). Among other things, it tells of the merger into a Small Common [65] Utility Projects program of four previous programs: the Agricultural Land Improvement Program, the Small Sanitary Projects Program, the Relief through Employment Program (under the Ministry of Welfare), and the Small Community Projects Program (under the Ministry of Interior). The third program particularly has created much international interest. See Glen Leet, "Greece Finds One Key to Development," *United Nations Bulletin*, X (1951); Paul H. Guenault and Howard W. Beers, *Community Development Programmes in Greece with Special Consideration of Welfare Through Employment* (New York, United Nations, 1953).

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
[758] rangement [*kondoia*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[465] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[79] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points. I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in
[701] every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the willingness of literally hundreds of people in Greece to answer questions and search their records on my behalf, this little book could not have been written. The warmth and extravagant hospitality with which Greeks of every rank and station receive a stranger is, indeed, a source of never ending surprise to one accustomed to the atmosphere of an American city, and I wish hereby to thank all those, both friends and casual acquaintances, who thus contributed to my knowledge and understanding of the Greek scene. 123 [574 609]

More particularly, I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of busy officials of the Greek government who took time to talk with me, and more than once set wheels in motion to provide statistics and other special information I requested of them. In Salonika, Mr. Orphanides of the Agricultural Bank, and in Athens Mr. Leviratos of the Ministry of Coordination and Mr. Liakis of the National Statistical Services were especially helpful. 115

Among the members of the American community in Greece, I am particularly indebted to Mr. Bruce Lansdale, Director of the American Farm School in Salonika, and to Mr. Doggett of the aid mission. Mr. John Enepikides, of the American Embassy, also went far out of his way to help me find information I needed.

I must also gratefully acknowledge the assistance and friendship of Mr. John Skiriotis and Mr. John Boudouroglu, who made it possible for me to participate in the rapid fire of normal Greek conversation by translating my questions and interpreting the answers when I could not keep up with the pace. 124

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Selection of the Village

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The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics. 621
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The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

[101]
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1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less
476 interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby
forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at
[462] hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of
[465] what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that
466 we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how
the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close su-
476 pervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The
owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in
[123] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be
[539] noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pic-
[126] tures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is
[785] served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day. 825 787 [777]

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there. [777] [776] [422]

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder. 825 773 [788] 771 [521]

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates. 82

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[1] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in 821 127

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

821 one of the high schools in Athens. T. K. Papaspyropoulos has written of
[127] his native settlement near Kalavryta in the Peloponnesos.[8] A literal translation has been used in order to retain some of the flavor of the village informants.

The sky. Our mother told us that the sky was a big dome which covers the earth like a lid of a cauldron. This dome has for ornaments the sun, the moon,
[772] and the stars. High up in this dome God has his throne and sits with Christ, the Virgin, with all the saints and the angels. Near the throne of God is Paradise with the souls of the good people and the saints. Hell is down below in the deepest part of the earth, together with the devils and the sinners. May God protect us!

The sun. The sun is the god of the day. He throws light on the earth and warms the people. The sun brings cereals and all the goods which are upon the earth. Without him we would be dead from cold. The sun does not only warm us but tours the whole world and brings greetings to all those who are away
[533] from their home. He also tells us what he sees. We have many songs for the sun, such as those which begin "My sun, three times my sun, and my world-roamer." "The working people watch for him."

[271] Everybody is afraid of the sun. We do not drink water while facing him, neither do we look straight into him because we get blind. In summer time the sun either burns our cereals or our heads. But in winter we beg him to come out and warm us up. We sit there by the sunny spot and he bakes our bodies. We
[533] also sing him a song: "Come on out, my sun. Just come out a little bit so that we can take a walk near the threshing floor." Sometimes it rains heavily and the sun is out at the same time. Then we sing to him: "Sun, sun and rain, when the poor get married. Sun, sun and moon, when the donkeys get married. Sun, sun and drizzle, when the female teacher gets married."

The moon. Just as the day has for a king the sun, the night has the moon as its king. The moon is a more agile king than the sun. It takes a walk on the sky shining and chasing the clouds and makes people come out of their homes.
[512] With the moon the women spin at night; the children play on the threshing floors; the men water their fields; the muleteers can see and go to their work; and the shepherds enjoy the slopes together with their sheep while playing the flute. But the moon can also harm. The biggest harm is done to the thieves because it throws its light and does not allow them to rob for they can be seen. "The thief enjoys darkness and the wolf the upheaval" [distracting disturbance]. When the moon comes out for the first time we say: "Welcome to the new moon. We are happy to see you. Bring us good." Many seek to find money. They get hold of it and say: "As the moon gets full may my purse get full of coins." When the moon disappears those who are in the mountain and see it set say: "May you fare well and return better and achieve better things." "My moon, my shining moon, and beautifully adorned, did you by any chance see Andrew and his ship?" . . .

[539] *The milky way* (the priest's straw). Do you see those stars that divide the sky into two? We call them the priest's straw. Once upon a time a priest went to stay for a couple of days in a monastery. When he left, because he couldn't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 75]

[V]

The Peasant at Work

A description of how the land is owned and what it grows gives only one side of the agricultural picture. To round out the chapter just concluded, one needs to see the peasants at work, to follow them from tobacco field to olive orchard, to see how they plow and harvest, and what they do to the part of the earth they own. As they live and work in their small fields, the peasants develop their own way of looking at man and the world. This sets them off from the city dweller or the seafarer, for certain basic rural attitudes prevail all over Greece whether the farmer's energy goes into producing citrus fruits and olives in the south or tobacco and hardy grains in the north. Closeness to the land in the physical and often in the spiritual sense is one such attitude already described. Matching this is the villager's closeness to the changing seasons and weather and his dependence on them. For a truly genuine account we rely again upon T. K. Papaspyropoulos, who has vividly described contemporary life in Kleitoria. The entire following section on the seasons is a translation of his words.

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The Cycle of the Seasons in the Peloponnesos

Winter. During winter we have finished all our tasks and we gather in our homes. We have sown, we have gathered our maize, beans, and what other goods God has given us — onions, garlic, potatoes, quince, pomegranates, and so on. We have put our cheese to age; we have rendered our

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1:Sanders Z-5,d (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 786 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing." [18] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[19] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at Pierae College. 783 748 [873]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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The works below relate to mainland Greece and not to the islands. They deal with some aspect of rural life, though not exclusively. Omitted are many interesting travelers' accounts from the past century, as well as all publications in Greek. Where such sources have been used in a direct way, however, they have been cited in the notes. 1/4

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[127]

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1/4 [see pp. 335-355 - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture."

W. Miller, in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), gives a penetrating description of Greek urban life fifty years ago.

7. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited* (Athens, 1954), p. 35.

8. Bruce Lansdale, director of the American Farm School of Salonica, maintains in a letter that the qualities I have set forth for the city Greek hold for the villager as well: "Almost any villager can give you some very sound ideas on how the Greek government should be run as well as how the American, the Russian, the British, and any government in the world should be run. I remember hearing from villagers at the time of the Dewey-Truman election campaign that they were quite sure that Truman would win the election, which in fact he did. I would furthermore say that the intellectual curiosity of the villager is every bit as great if not greater than that of the urban Greek. This is in part because he does not have the pseudo-sophistication of the urban Greek."

9. For an anecdote illustrating the Athenian attitude toward the peasant, see H. D. F. Kitto, *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), pp. 138–139.

10. One Greek friend, well known for his frankness and objectivity, reacted to my characterization of the city Greeks as follows: "I, as a Greek knowing my Greeks, would add that he is a spendthrift, since a great percentage of the Athens families are living beyond their income; he is an individualist; he is suffering, and has since his appearance, from megalomania which pushes him into starting to build marvelous things without funds." [511]

11. For further information about the Islanders, see Andreas Adonidis, "Fishermen of the Aegean," *Geographical Magazine* (London), XIV (1941), 86–91. One of the most complete studies in English of the folklore of any Greek island is that by Philip P. Argenti, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949). See also J. Theodore Bent, "On Insular Greek Customs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XV (1885–1886); and Nikolas G. Chalkeos, *Hydroika Laographika* (Concerning the Folklore of the Island of Hydra (Hydra, 1931), chiefly a collection of customs surrounding the engagement, wedding, pregnancy and childbirth, death, the church, holidays, the sea, and the building of a house. Peter Gray's *The People of Poros* (New York, 1942) is a highly entertaining account of a sojourn just prior to World War II on this attractive island southeast of the Peloponnese. See also Obert Lancaster, "The Island Greeks," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXII (1948), 59–64; and H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean* (London, 1890).

12. Of course, many areas and even villages on the mainland have special characteristics for which they are noted and which have developed through long years of relative isolation. The Maniates from Mani in the southern Peloponnese afford one such example. See P. L. Fermor, *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (New York, 1958).

13. By far the most helpful book on Greek peasant life was written by Rennell Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892). It has proven a bench-mark against which to gauge my own impressions sixty years later. [127]

Jacques Ancel is one of the few historians writing about the Balkans who takes the peasant into account. See his *Peuples et nations des Balkans* (Paris, 1926), pp. 107–114. Considerable insight into the nonmaterial culture of the mountain people of Thessaly is gained from A. Hadzipaklis, *T 'Aspropotamo Pindou* (The Village of Aspropotamo in the Pindus Mountains), 3 vols. (Trikkala, 1946–1950). See also V. Valaoras, "To Hellenikо Chorio" (The Greek Village), *Ellin-Ellinika* [illegible] (Hellenic-American Monthly Review), VII (1956).

14. No purpose would be served in a book of this sort in trying to trace the controversy and weigh the arguments for and against the Greek claims of direct descent from the ancient Hellenes. On the one hand, we have the extreme (and today unaccepted) view of Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer that Slavic invaders from the north [114]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Chapter III. The Village Setting

1. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900), p. 333.

2. In a village of Central Greece (Schematari), for instance, where the people number about 1800, I found in 1953 four small grocery stores, four coffeehouses (any one of which might also serve as a tavern), one bakery, one post office, one elementary school and one secondary school, one church, one motor-driven mill for grinding corn and wheat. There is one telephone, no electricity, four or five battery radios.

3. Numerous references are made throughout this book to information taken from thirteen Greek village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The studies were made in 1951 and 1952 and issued in Athens in mimeographed form, first in Greek and later in English. The first seven were directed by William J. Tudor and the last six by E. J. Kilpatrick. A general summary of content and complete bibliographical data may be found in my article, "Village Social Organization in Greece," *Rural Sociology*, December 1953, pp. 366–375. In most cases this series will be referred to here collectively as "village studies," but the individual titles are as follows: "A Village in Central Greece" (19 pp.), "A Village in the Arta Plains" (8 pp.), "A Macedonian Village" (14 pp.), "A Village in the Agrinion Area" (16 pp.), "A 'Control' Village of the Mesolongi Area" (12 pp.), "A 'Control' Village in Macedonia" (14 pp.), "A Village in the Serres Plain" (9 pp.), "A Mountain Village, Grammoe Area" (16 pp.), "A Mesolongi Village (Irrigated)" (19 pp.), "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos" (17 pp.), "A Mountain Village, Lamia Area" (13 pp.), "A Livestock One-Half-Irrigated Village" (15 pp.), and "A Village in the Plain of Verin" (14 pp.).

4. T. K. Papapyropoulos, "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished ms., no date.

5. UNNRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp. 9–10.

6. Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, 1929).

7. H. D. F. Kitto before World War II commented on the peasant's strong desire for good roads: "The village of Prousson is large, but not prosperous, in spite of the fertility of the soil. The only shop contains next to nothing; even the lemons were scraggy. Time after time we were told: 'If only we had a road! Then we could send our stuff away.' Eight hours by mule — transport is slow and expensive, and for the fruit which Prousson produces in profusion, nearly useless." From *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), p. 43.

In 1952 Pierce College students working in their adopted village in Northern Greece invited the Presidents of ten nearby village councils to come to a meeting in the adopted village. They arrived with difficulty, and most complained because their villages were off the road where people didn't see them.

8. *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, revised by Public Health Division, Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece (Athens, June 1952), mimeographed, pp. 12–13.

9. A report prepared by an American engineering firm for the Greek government on a proposed hydroelectric project points out: "The rural villages obtain their water from artesian wells, drilled or driven tube wells, springs and streams. In most of the villages the water supply is both inadequate and subject to contamination. As none of the villages have standard pressure distribution systems, much time and labor is expended in carrying water from wells and springs. Most of the rural homes are small and poorly lighted, and sanitary facilities are primitive."

10. *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, p. 25.

11. Useful works on the Greek house are: K. Doxiades and others, *Dodekanesos: to oikistiko kai plastiko problema* (The Dodecanese: The Problem of Housing from the Point of Design) (Athens, 1950); D. Loukopoulos, *Aiolikai oikeseis, skeve kai trophai* (Aeolian Housing, Tools, and Food) (Athens, 1926); D. E. Kalimoundakes,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[167] [464] ernment is at the present confronted. For Greece *has no surplus population*, and, if the country is to prosper, the services of every able-bodied man and boy are needed for the proper development of its natural resources. Weekly emigrant steamers carry large numbers to Western lands and bring but few back . . . with the consequence that many agricultural districts are left without labourers to till the soil" (p. 133).

For more on this emigration, see Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America: The Story of the Re-Patriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956); and Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, 1911).

18. The figures used in this presentation of land use are taken from *Greece Today* (August 1954); from Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954); and from data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. In these three sources the years differ, as do some of the categories of land use, but the details prove interesting.

19. The study on idle lands made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece appeared in mimeographed form in 1952 and was based on detailed reports turned in by the field representatives of the Civil Government Division of the Mission. The report was issued by William M. Tait, who was then deputy director for field service. Other informants point out that in Epirus, and probably elsewhere, thousands of acres are owned by Greek-Americans in the United States, and Greek villagers do not feel free to make use of such idle lands.

20. For a discussion of these exports, see E. J. Bell, "Greece, Exporter of Farm Products," *Foreign Agriculture*, March 1958, pp. 5–6.

[428] 21. The use of lots in dividing up a patrimony among brothers in a Boeotian village is described in an article by Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXVII (1956).

Chapter V. The Peasant at Work

[127] 1. The unpublished manuscript from which this comes is "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria).

2. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 8.

3. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited*, p. 14.

[874] [407] [492] 4. Dr. Charles House, former director of the American Farm School in Salonica, played a great part in preparing the way for mechanization in Northern Greece, since the students at this school were taught how to operate and repair tractors long before they began to appear in so many villages. He said that one argument for the use of the tractor in preference to the draft animal was the fact that the animals ate up too much of the farm produce.

5. For the full World War II picture, see C. S. Stephanides, "Agricultural Machinery in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (November 1948), 250–253.

6. Supplementary labor is an important element in the economy of many families and even whole villages. In the Peloponnesos people from the mountain villages can harvest olives and help with the pressing of the oil, receiving pay in kind. When they help with the vineyards they are paid in money, as they are in Macedonia when they help plant tobacco. Near Ioannina there are villages specializing in certain crafts from which many men go during the winter to ply their trades.

[465] [438]

[127] 7. "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," (1952, mimeographed), prepared by A. Argyropoulos. One of the village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The following comment about this village (Dafnon) by John D. Photiadis is helpful: "I have served as a county agent in that area and I think that Dafnon is not a representative village. It is considered the poorest village in the area and the most stricken by the reduction of prices of Turkish tobacco. This is because

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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tobacco is the only product they can raise due to the lack of additional land. I think this is the reason why the Mission sent somebody to do a study of the village in 1952" (personal communication). [127]

Chapter VI. The Changing Life of the Shepherd

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1. It is of interest to note the breakdown by products on a percentage basis for the total income from sheep. Figures for Greece are taken from C. S. Stephanides, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (July 1948), 153–155, as is the quotation about the characteristics of the Greek sheep used in the text of this chapter. Kentucky figures are from C. D. Phillips and J. L. Pearson of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture. [234] [433] [236] [281]

	Greece	*Kentucky*
Milk and milk products	43.10	
Mutton	14.26	
Lamb	24.77	84.00
Wool	8.68	16.00
Hides	7.19	
	100.00%	100.00%

2. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the human factors in the small livestock industry, the table below will give some basic information for those interested in livestock numbers and products. These data are based on official Greek Ministry of Agriculture figures.

Total Number of Sheep and Goats, Greece (In Thousands)

Period	Sheep	Goats
1935–38 (average)	8,304	5,111
1938	8,139	4,356
1945	6,262	3,066
1946	7,228	3,462
1949	6,785	3,629
1954	8,738	4,643
1957 (estimate)	9,300	4,900

3. See P. J. Iliopoulos, *L' Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951). Three other studies that deal with sheep production are: P. H. Kontos, *Dasos kai ktenotrophia eis ten Hellada apo oikonomikes kai politikes apopseus* (Forestry and Livestock Production in Greece from the Economic and Political Aspect) (Thessalonike, 1932); G. D. Kyriakos, *E Ktenotrophia mas* (Our Livestock Industry) (Athens, 1941); V. Handziolos, *To Provlema tes ktenotrophias en Helladi* (The Problem of the Livestock Industry in Greece) (Athens, 1941).

4. The description of the three systems of grazing practices (Vlachs, village ranchers, and village farmers) is taken from the American Embassy, Athens, Report No. 1056 (February 29, 1952), p. 13.

5. The study of transhumance as a habitat adjustment is almost a field in itself and will not be tackled here. Suffice it to say that I recognize the difference geographers make between transhumance and nomadism. Nevertheless, in the next section on the "nomads" of Epirus, I have followed conventional practice in thus alluding to these people, although most of them may actually be practicing transhumance rather than nomadism. V [101] [221]

6. An interesting source in this connection is Jovan Cvijic's *La Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918). This was published in French before it G [114]

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
[127] sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions
were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously
carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus
compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to
the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[583] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the
[597] daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build
his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are
obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bun-
galow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the
area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards im-
prove, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a
comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a
new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing
prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can
follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the
intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphic-
ally on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can
find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. (1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein. — I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Liddedale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

ancient megaron type house of the Indo-europeans. For our object, however, the interesting point is the detailed and concrete description of the farmers' houses of modern Bulgaria, which the writer illustrates with many photographs, plans and sections, so that we may get a clear picture of the architectural shapes and evolution of the Bulgarian house. However, in order, to be clear and to render possible the exact comparison of the Bulgarian house to the Greek one, and considering the fact that the Bulgarian language is not widely known, I shall dwell rather fully on all that concerns this type of house (1). For greater help I am attaching plates, showing the evolution of the Bulgarian house, as it can be drawn from the plans of Bulgarian houses presented by Zlatev.

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A. THE BULGARIAN HOUSE

As it can be deduced from Zlatev's study, the Bulgarian agricultural house does not present the variety of shapes of the Greek house. If we except the troglodyten house which is frequent in some parts of Northern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian country houses belong to the straight-lined rectangular buildings with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof; according to the nature of the ground, they are separated into mountainous and plain types. The lowland types are as a rule just like the Greek ones, one-storey and they are built out of stones or bricks, and roofed with tiles or thatch (2). The mountainous types are two-storey, the ground floor being out of stone and the upper either entirely out of wood or with wooden frames which are filled with unbaked bricks or woven branches, and sprayed on both sides with mud mixed with straw. The roof, in the mountainous areas, is covered with tiles or plates, but in some places thatch is also used.

B [184]

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1) I must here express my warm thanks to Mr. K. Th. Stamatiades who, with his knowledge of the Bulgarian language, has rendered possible my study of Zlatev's book.

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2) According to C. Jirecek, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891 p. 157 and foll. « over the largest part of the country one can see but poor houses in the villages, of brown earth colour without whitewash; their roofs were mostly covered with mere thatch during the time of Turkish occupation. It is only since the latest years after the liberation, that an increase of tile-roofs is seen from year to year.

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

GREECE[1]

The culture of the Greeks is here presented as an integrated whole. 105
The Greeks have been selected out of the European nations now engaged in introducing technical change, because they represent a unique case. They have the most ancient civilization of the European continent, yet their technical development at present is one of the lowest. The history of their industries and factories goes back more than 2,500 years; yet they now resist industrialization. They are [101]
European, yet they look toward the Middle East and share a number of attitudes with the people of this area. They are Christians but with a special kind of Christianity, highly ritualized and impersonal, and incorporating much of local origin.

Individualism is prized and rampant; yet there is no atomization. 105
Self-esteem is paramount, and rests on freedom and self-dependence; 156
yet Greeks do not seek freedom from the family, and do not lose self-esteem when they are dependent on the family. They have their own unique individualism. They are highly co-operative, but the basis and formulation of their co-operative activity are different from those of the Western European nations.

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[1] The study of Greek culture is based largely on interviews, correspondence, and memoranda, conducted and prepared in the autumn and winter of 1950-51. Newspapers and magazines of this time were also consulted. Two Maternal and Child Care Manuals of recent years, several collections of folk songs, and a popular humorous work were intensively analysed. Accounts by people engaged in introducing change were consulted. The writer, herself a Greek by birth and upbringing, has depended also on her own firsthand experience of the culture. The manuscript was submitted to two Greeks for comment and criticism. 123 125

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Preface

When a sabbatical year became due in 1952–53, I inevitably chose the Balkans, picked Greece, and ended up studying village life. The Balkans had interested me since 1929, when I first went as an instructor to The American College of Sofia, where I spent six years (1929–32, 1934–37). There was also a year's tour as Agricultural Attaché in the American Embassy in Belgrade (1945–46). 114

As for Greece, I had dreamed of getting to know her better ever since the days when I was an undergraduate major in Classical Greek. Two voyages of discovery in 1930 and 1937 made me even more anxious to live there for a spell.

And as for Greek village life, this was a natural subject in view of my training and principal research interest. At first, I expected to study only one or two easily accessible villages, using the same tested techniques in which I had been trained as a sociologist and which I had employed in writing *Balkan Village*, the account of a single community studied in depth. But a thorough survey of the literature in both Greek and other languages, conducted with the help of a competent Greek bibliographer, showed that no general work on Greek village life had been written in over fifty years and that relatively few articles on particular places or regions had appeared. This explains why I was ready to move from the security of precise social-science procedures to the more vulnerable area of personal interpretation, subjecting my conclusions to the scrutiny of at least a score of men and women, each familiar with many aspects of Greek rural life, who agreed to read the rough drafts of this work and test my comments against their experience. A six-week field trip 121 [122] [128] [114]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)943 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 this turned out to be partially true, it was not entirely so, and many of the stone
343 structures I had labeled as homes, because they had the same form as houses, were actually stables and storehouses.

128 The material presented in this book has been selected and organized in such a way as to emphasize the major interests and preoccupations of the villagers, rather than to demonstrate explicitly the ways in which knowledge about the village can be helpful for the solution of general anthropological problems of theoretical import. I am using the data on which this brief ethnography is based in connection with such problems elsewhere.

A final note is in order. In describing the people of Vasilika I have avoided using the term "peasant" for two reasons. First, the layman's concept of the peasant often includes the traits of stupidity and stubborn resistance to change that are by no means characteristic of the people of Vasilika. And second, social scientists have not yet arrived at a definition of the term that is generally accepted among them. References to the current discussion of this latter problem appear in the reading list.

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/4 cont./

Selection of the Village

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The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128 •

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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[423]
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The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics. 621
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The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p.12]

II

Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

13 In a literal sense, the rainbow in the rock is the magical coloring of the Greek landscape, the crystal-clear air, and the intensely blue sea. Anyone who paints the Greek sea as it actually looks runs the risk of skepticism from critics abroad who might well say, "no sea could be so blue, in so many shades," particularly if all they have for comparison is the gray Atlantic. An artist friend told of a young Swedish painter who came to Greece after considerable success in landscape painting in Italy and France.[1] For six weeks he tried to paint, but nothing looked right. It was only after he developed new techniques that he began to catch the spectrum of opalescent colors, the strong variations in light and shadow, and the sharp delicacy of forms visible at a considerable distance. Anywhere in Greece the physical environment is impressive, not as a backdrop to be taken for granted, but as a sensation to be enjoyed in its own right.[2]

182 [829 13] Perhaps this is why so many Greeks are ready to accept geographic determinism as an explanation of their difficulties. There, spread out for all to see, are the effects of climate, of differences in terrain, of dwindling or unprotected resources. And the temptation is strong to assume that all troubles would pass away if only the earth were more fertile or if heaven shed its rain more plentifully. But the explanation is not quite so simple. Those turning to the philosophy of history for an answer might be told by

I:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

someone like Arnold Toynbee that Greece's early greatness grew out of the stern necessity to respond to the challenge of a partly hostile environment and a population growing beyond its means of subsistence. 182

Although the study of Greece's past shows that the cultural, or man-made, aspects of life have been tremendously important, one must nevertheless give the physical environment its just due. This leads to a consideration of some of the cold, hard facts about the rock that is Greece.

The Regions of Greece

Each of the regions of Greece, shown on the accompanying map, has its own assortment of mountains, plains, and a stretch of coastline; each has its own history and traditions; each has its own problems posed by the 101 13

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as por-
•13 trayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty

[433] [243] and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

Thessaly, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesus, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons. 563

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export. 433 13 433 [439] [241]

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks. [505] [651] [464] [505]

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since 648

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[I]

The People of Greece

The Legend

When God was building the earth, he lavished all goods such as water, pasture, forests, and rich soil on the countries of the world. Then suddenly he remembered that he had forgotten Greece. What could he give to this country since he had given all the riches to the others? He started stroking his beard thoughtfully. All at once an idea struck him when he saw the rainbow hanging over his head. Reaching up, he chopped a piece off, stooped and picked up a little soil and many stones, and kneaded the whole thing together in the palm of his hand. Then, opening his palm, he blew the mixture into the sea, and Greece came into being.[1] 539 773

In its symbolic meaning, the rainbow of the legend is the Greek people who are as colorful as the sun-drenched rocks on which their nation grew to greatness.

The fact that the Athenian civilization with its poets, philosophers, dramatists, and sculptors had its origin in a city of less than two hundred thousand people on the rocky Attic plain has been a source of wonder to all who know anything of ancient Greece. But today there is also a miracle of Greece at which to wonder. In our twentieth century we see a land of 51,182 square miles supporting eight million people; that is, an area the 175 [13] [16]

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
131 Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
161 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
311 has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
15 Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
181 three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[3] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two
167 thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take up farming.[4] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in
829 most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[5] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

someone like Arnold Toynbee that Greece's early greatness grew out of the stern necessity to respond to the challenge of a partly hostile environment and a population growing beyond its means of subsistence. 182

Although the study of Greece's past shows that the cultural, or man-made, aspects of life have been tremendously important, one must nevertheless give the physical environment its just due. This leads to a consideration of some of the cold, hard facts about the rock that is Greece.

The Regions of Greece

Each of the regions of Greece, shown on the accompanying map, has its own assortment of mountains, plains, and a stretch of coastline; each has its own history and traditions; each has its own problems posed by the 101 13

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1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Like many of the older agricultural areas of the world, this area is densely populated and now has far more people than its depleted resources can adequately support. . . . At the present time, nearly 10,000 people are attempting to support themselves on 25,000 hectares (62,500 acres) of land, some of it waterlogged, most of it eroded, and all of it reduced in productivity.[14] 161 241 511

Yet this population pressure is of relatively recent occurrence. One writer in 1842 described the large amount of land then available in the Greece which at that time consisted of the Peloponnesos and Central Greece: [131]

The industry of the 100,000 persons engaged in agriculture is almost completely lost to view in the extensive wilds of Greece; and the universal remark of tourists is, "What a pity that the cultivation of the soil is so neglected! what a rich and fertile country! what myriads of colonists might prosper here!"[15]

What happened between 1842 and 1952 to change the population picture so drastically? The population of Greece grew not only by natural increase but by the acquisition of new territory. The story can be told most simply by figures contained in the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook* for 1952; in 1861 there were 60 people per square mile in what was then Greece; in 1951 there were 149 people per square mile in what is Greece today. [131]

Students of population remind us quite properly that mere density per square mile is not a safe guide to the actual or the potential standard of living. The highly industrialized areas of Western Europe support several times the density of Greece and their people have many more modern conveniences. In a rural country, the density in terms of arable land is a more revealing indication of living conditions.

In the United States there are 17 acres of arable land for each farm person, but in both Greece and India there are only 1.3 acres. Our major farm problems come from surpluses; Greece, too, has her surpluses, although, like most countries moving away from a peasant economy, she is deficient in certain food supplies. One ray of hope for the less-privileged countries is the possibility that they may increase production per acre from 13 to 14 bushels (the present grain yields in Greece) closer to 30 bushels, a figure surpassed by the United Kingdom, Denmark, and the Netherlands, where scientific agriculture is practiced. But even here basic soil types set certain limits.

The present situation seems likely to become even more acute. In Greece between 1951 and 1961 there was a population increase of 9 percent, a figure which may grow larger if death rates are lowered faster than birth rates. Without a rapidly expanding economy to absorb these added people into productive jobs, the Greeks will feel their economic limitations even

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

[P. iii]
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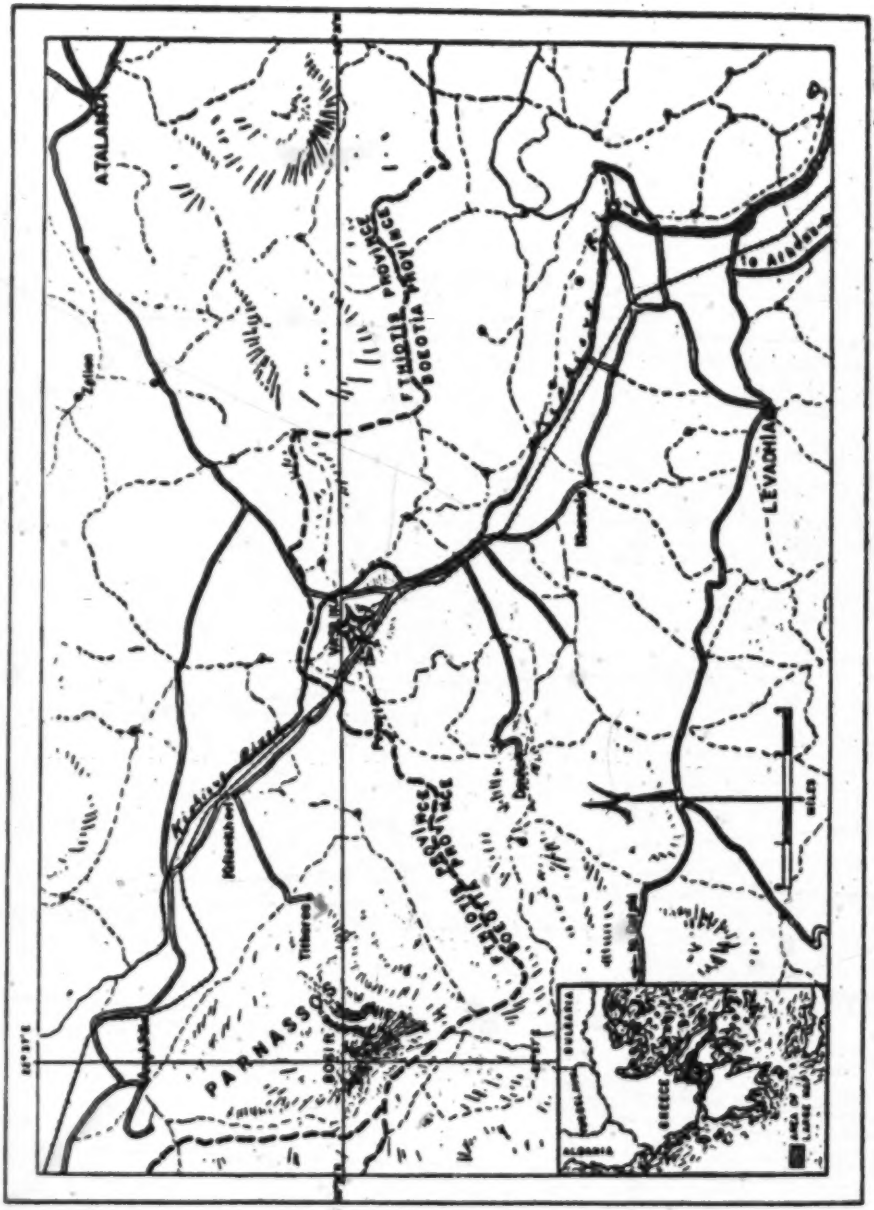

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634

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw. 821 [539]

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . . [245] [243] [132]

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune. 731

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless. 731 133 [361]

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!) 731 821 [123]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Mountains

133 The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any [311] agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields [132] below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war 185 Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article [311] in *Soil Conservation*, holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc- [293] [175]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 175

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[12] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel. 137 185 [233]

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy. 137 311 233

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries. 135 [471] [439]

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[13] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco. 132 [134] [249]

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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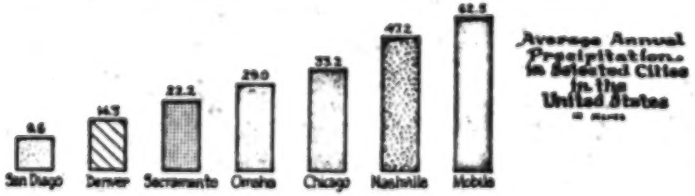

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

132

Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] [291]

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another, at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community. 621 654 178x

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today. 361 [132] [133] [243]

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress. [487] [356] [712]

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the 361 423 [712] 000

/5 cont./

The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. 496
The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards 133
the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is sur- 134
rounded by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys. [137]
Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been go-
ing on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into
the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the
Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the
hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent
the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot [312]
of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago.
With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water
disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of
the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the
numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the
water buffaloes.

The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed
from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the near-
by hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters.
In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and 134
60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding
rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is
not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil
is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility
of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many
centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with 132•
plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow.
The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not
uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and [241]
germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farm-
ing.

The railroad station close to the village enables the village 438
to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location 443
[496]

To the Land of the Eagle

000 evening after one of the most delightful walks that could ever fall to one's lot.

177 Ginger-beer is a survival from the time of the British administration which ended more than sixty years ago. The Victorian habit of closing all windows at night—night air being considered poisonous—is another. At sunset all the windows at the Pension Suisse were religiously closed and shuttered, including those of my bedroom which, as the weather was quite warm, I promptly opened again, and kept open. A more satisfactory legacy from the British occupation is the game of cricket, which is popular to this day.

● 132 There are only two months in the year in which the weather is really hot, and only two of so-called winter. Bathing is possible from April to November. At the beginning of May I found the water quite warm, although the Corfiotes think it madness to venture in before July.

512 In the summer the inhabitants close their shops and places of business during the middle of the day. But at five in the afternoon the town wakes up again and the whole population turns out into the cafés, the squares, the streets, and the esplanade. Here the folk stroll about, or sit at tables under the trees drinking coffee or Greek brandy, until ten or eleven o'clock at night when they go home to supper.

[533] They are fond of dancing. In the dance season they dance for many nights in succession, and no dance breaks up until

545 seven or eight in the morning. They have also a theatre to which a company from Athens or Rome occasionally comes. On these nights the play begins at what is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw.

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . .

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune.

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless.

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!)

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P 21]

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1 Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Mountains

133 [311] The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[1] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

[132] Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 185 [311] [293] [175] Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article in *Soil Conservation*, holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] [291]

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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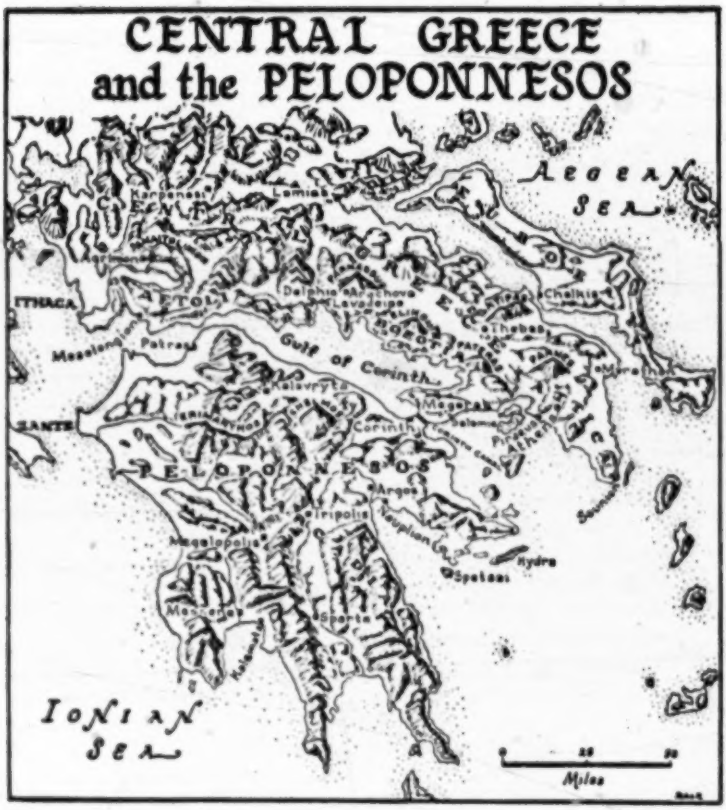

184 would have normally been paid to the mountain people, to Patras and sold it for
433 its weight in gold. As a result, the highland villagers faced serious difficulties.

About this time a band of five young guerrillas came by the village and
511 demanded hospitality. The villagers took them in and killed a lamb so that
722 they could dine in plenty. After a few months, the same band put in another appearance, but this time the people could only provide a cock for the dinner. On the third visit, much later on, a wheat dish had to be the main course. Finally, on a fourth visit, when the members of the band were served only onions and garlic, they turned to the villagers and said: "You are hungry. Do you see those villages on the plain below? Why don't you go down there and take the food away from them, take their land, and let them come up here and live?"

An old villager answered: "Yes, we may be able to go down there and beat

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversa- 272
tion, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then pro- [462]
ceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

Vlachs EH15
1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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2. Kyparissia (Cypress Village) of Peloponnesos, amid its pattern of mountain, and field, and cypress trees that hide a cemetery.

3. The square of Metsovo, Epirus, village of the shepherd Koutso-Vlachs; the children quieted while a vivid funeral procession passed along this road.

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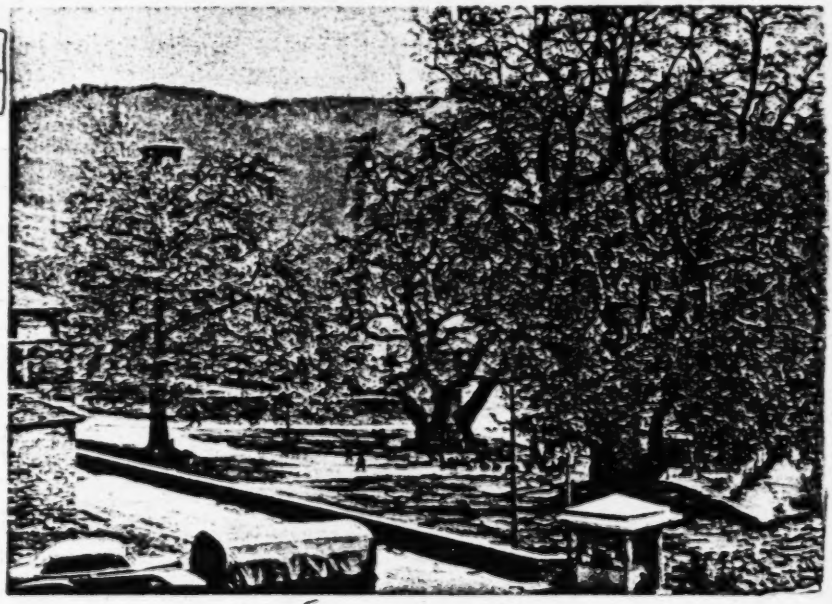

[p. 272 - B]

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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6. Plowing an olive grove near Lechonia, Thessaly. The olive harvest will draw a crowd of young people to the grove to rake or beat or gather as their foreman orders.

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7. A wheat combine traces the plain of Thessaly, below Mount Parnassus.

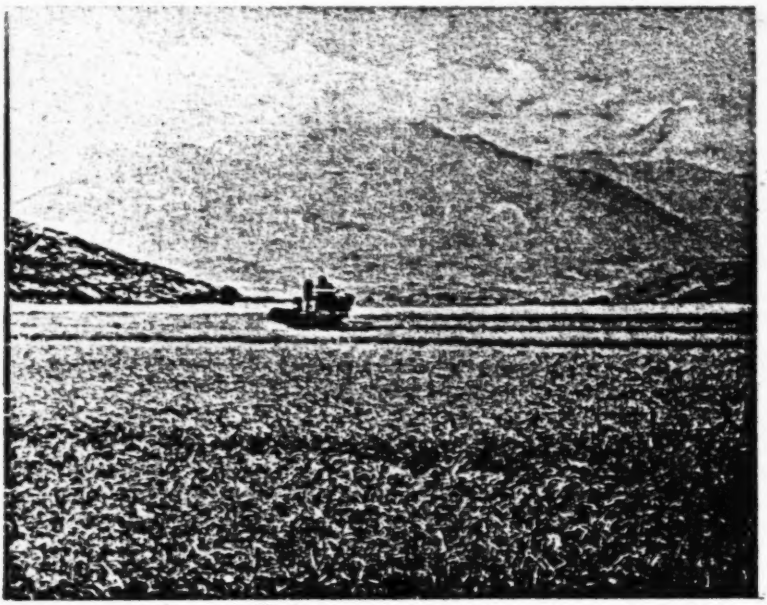

[p. 272-D]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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8. On the tenth day after transplanting, Macedonia; his hoe is said to be short-handled so that he can watch the fragile tobacco leaves as he moves.

[p. 272-E]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

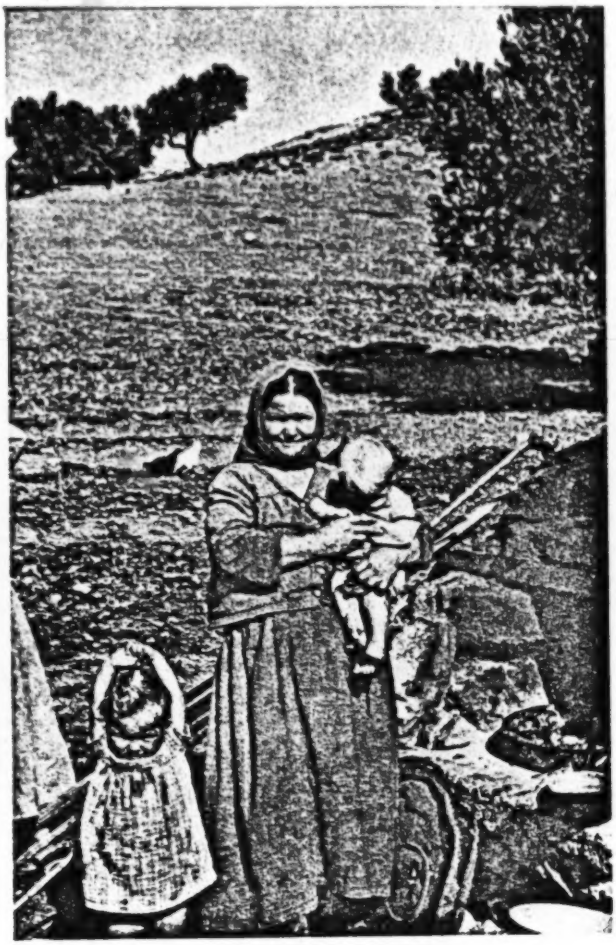

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11. At the oven for Sunday afternoon lamb and rice, Attica.

[p. 272-G]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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19. Porto Raphti, Attica, at the close of day.

[p. 272-L]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

> As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

Social Drift

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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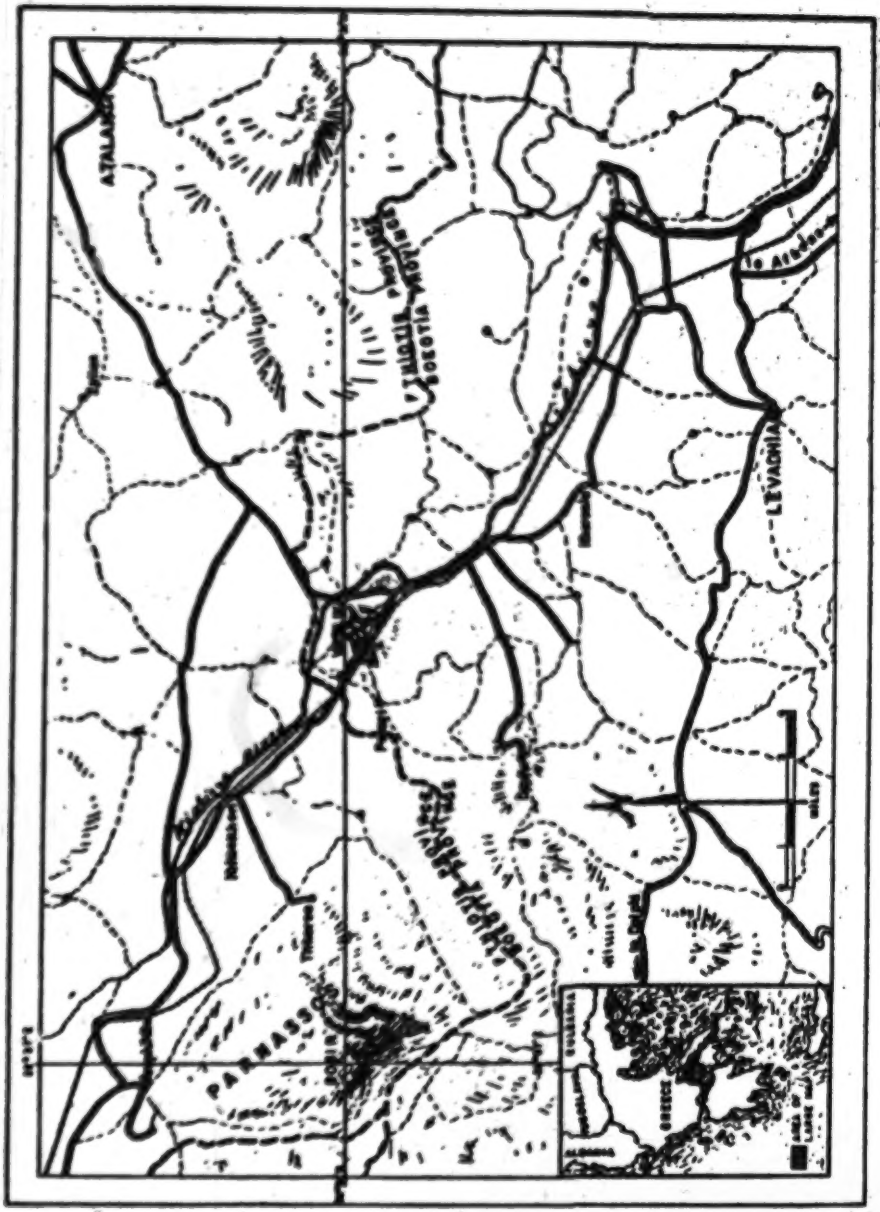

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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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Vasilika with Parori and Mt. Parnassos in the background

Women hoeing.

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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are [621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to [361] the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of [423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the [133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece, [134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting [312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently, [134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

241 Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton 312 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural under- [406] ground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for [363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not 621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider- 361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen, 182

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1969 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

IV

THE ORGANIC BODY

000

Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

THERE is an old story, still to be heard in the mountain villages, which 773
tells how God fashioned the dry land; how He put all the earth through the mesh of His sieve: here a pile of fine rich soil, the granary of Africa, and there another which was Sicily. When all was done there remained within the sieve a heap of stones and dross: God threw them over His shoulder, and there was Greece. *Tout ce païs*, remarks an old traveller, *est plein de hautes montagnes.*

It is important to bear in mind the physical characteristics of the 133
setting within which the Greek Church carries out her work of re- 361
conciliation and renewal. Greece is a land of high mountains and narrow coastal plains; of few towns and wretched communications. The majority of her people live, as they have lived from time immemorial, in small rural communities widely dispersed among the mountains, winning a laborious subsistence from the parched and stony soil which scarcely covers her rocky skeleton. More than half of the whole [311]
area of Greece is utterly barren; much of what remains consists of forest and poor pasture; less than one-fifth is under cultivation. Greece and poverty, the saying runs, have ever been sisters.

At the time of the last census approximately one-seventh of the total 162
population of Greece dwelt in the Athens-Piraeus region, the pheno- 369
menal growth of which during the last 100 years has set it strangely apart from the rest of the country—even though "the equipages of Athens", as the Abbé de St. Michon observed, "have not quite the freshness nor the elegance of those seen in the Champs Elysées". Salonica had a population which was approaching 300,000; the next largest town, however, was Patras with less than 80,000 inhabitants. Most of the remaining towns, a large proportion of which are situated in the fertile plains of Macedonia and Thrace, are market towns and centres of rural industries but little more.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

VII

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A THESSALIAN THEBAID

It seems a place of such stupendious solitude, as if the situation thereof had been designed for the retirement of Monks or the Cells of Anchorites.

PAUL RYCAUT

For the Quiet and innocency of their Life, the natural Beauty of the Place, the Rocks, Mountains, Streams, Woods, and curious Plants, joyn'd with the Harmonious Notes of Nightingales, and other Birds, in whole Quires, celebrating, and as it were, welcoming the forward Spring, to speak the truth, so charmed my melancholick Fancy for a time, that I had almost made a Resolution never to part with so great a Happiness, for whatever the rest of the World could present me with. But, in conclusion, it prov'd too hard a Task for me, so soon to wean myself from the World.

GEORGE WHELER
A Journey into Greece, 1682.

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THE traveller who follows the shallow streams of Peneios beyond Trikkala, with its Byzantine citadel, towards Kalambaka at the head of the Thessalian plain, will observe, long before the ruined cottages and hastily improvised dwellings of that oft-destroyed township come into view, a singular group of fantastically shaped rocks rising abruptly from the plain. As he draws nearer and the mountains close in on either hand he will distinguish what appear to be human habitations occupying seemingly inaccessible sites among these monstrous crags and pinnacles. Above Kalambaka itself the limestone cliffs tower toward heaven, "asperous, craggy, and barren"; a few monasteries and hermitages clinging as it seems miraculously to the very brink of the abyss, in defiance alike of the violence of the elements and of the laws of gravity. These are the Meteora monasteries, so extraordinary in their situation that one is disposed to accept the local belief that God formed

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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these strange rocks for the peculiar benefit of the communities of 133
stylites who, in the fulness of time, were to build their chapels and 361
hermitages upon their barren summits. Assuredly, there are few places 792
on earth so admirably fitted to serve as a refuge for those who are called
to the solitary life and to the labour of the angels as this rocky wilderness 346
above Kalambaka.

The early history of the monasteries is lost in obscurity. We cannot 175
say at what period the first solitaries found their way to this remote 792
corner of Thessaly. It seems clear, however, that certainly before the 346
end of the thirteenth century, and perhaps considerably earlier, there were many hermits scattered about this wild region. *Staghi* (as Kalambaka, the ancient Aeginion, was known in the Middle Ages), seems to be a contraction of *eis tous aghious*—the name is still preserved in the official title of the Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi. It may have been many years before the unorganised eremitical life crystallised into anything in the nature of regular communities. Many of the monasteries trace their origins to the troubled epoch during the latter part of the fourteenth century when the Emperor of the Serbs carried on an intermittent campaign against the successors of Constantine from his base at Trikkala, a few miles further down the valley of the Peneios, and the desert of the solitaries was invaded by armed bands and by men whose warfare was not with principalities and powers. The hermits took refuge among the high rocks. How they first succeeded in establishing themselves on some of the apparently unscalable heights which are now surmounted by the crumbling ruins of their cells is one of the unfathomed mysteries of monastic history—though there are explanations to be heard in the mountain villages of Pindos.

Between 1356 and 1372 there came to Staghi a monk trained in the [133]
great coenobia of Mount Athos, Athanasius by name, who founded
on the summit of the Platys Lithos—the vast mass of rock which towers
to a height of more than 1,800 feet to the north of Kastraki—the
monastery dedicated in honour of the Transfiguration of our Lord and
Saviour which has ever since been known as the Great Meteoron. As
darkness descended upon the glories of New Rome, and the church of
the Holy Wisdom—"the most fayr Chirche and the most noble of alle
the world"—fell into the hands of the infidel, the desert blossomed and
a flourishing group of monasteries sprang up among the barren rocks.
The Great Meteoron prospered and served as a model for other foundations, thanks to the wisdom of its founder and to the benefactions of

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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later in the day. There was, alas! no bedding at the monastery, said Father Ambrose: everything had been carried off by the Communists, to equip a field-hospital which they had established in the mountains to the northward; "What is to be done? But we will find something for you when you return this evening."

We spent the rest of the day scrambling about the rocks and visiting long-abandoned monasteries and hermitages. At St. Nicolas—fast falling into ruin, and where one must tread with circumspection—we found a few paintings remaining in the two chapels and the refectory, as well as an iron chest containing liturgical books and an eikon of the Forerunner; elsewhere, nothing save slowly crumbling masonry and the all-enveloping silence. We paid a fleeting visit to Kalambaka and returned to St. Barlaam a little before sunset laden with cognac and cigarettes. Like the Great Meteoron, this monastery, which crowns the towering cliffs of Drakospelaia, was until quite recent times inaccessible save by net and windlass. It is a sixteenth-century foundation, having been built about 1517 by two brothers from Ioannina—Nektarios and Theophanes—on the site of the fourteenth-century hermitage founded by the solitary from whom the monastery takes its name. In 1950 it was inhabited by six monks. The *Igoumenos*, Father Christopher, told us he had been at the monastery for twenty-one years, and for another twenty years at a convent to the westward of Trikkala. He was seventy-seven—twelve years older than Father Ambrose, an Athenian who was ordained many years ago at Moni Petraki in the shadow of Lykavettos. This was the only one of the monasteries where we came across any novices. Father Bessarion (who came from a village near Larissa and who had seen service with the British army in the Middle East), had been received only five months earlier, as had another young deacon, a native of Chios. There were in addition two simple monks, one of them more than ninety years old.

That night it snowed heavily. Father Bessarion produced a threadbare carpet which, folded double, afforded us a little protection against the bitter cold; and he and a shepherd from Kalambaka, who was living at the monastery, kindled a huge fire which blazed on the open hearth of our cell until morning, while the wind howled along the deserted galleries, the ancient timbers groaned and shivered, and it seemed that an exceptionally heavy squall would send the whole monastery with its domed chapels and its frail scaffolding of cells and domestic buildings spinning off into the abyss. When daylight came we seemed to be sus-

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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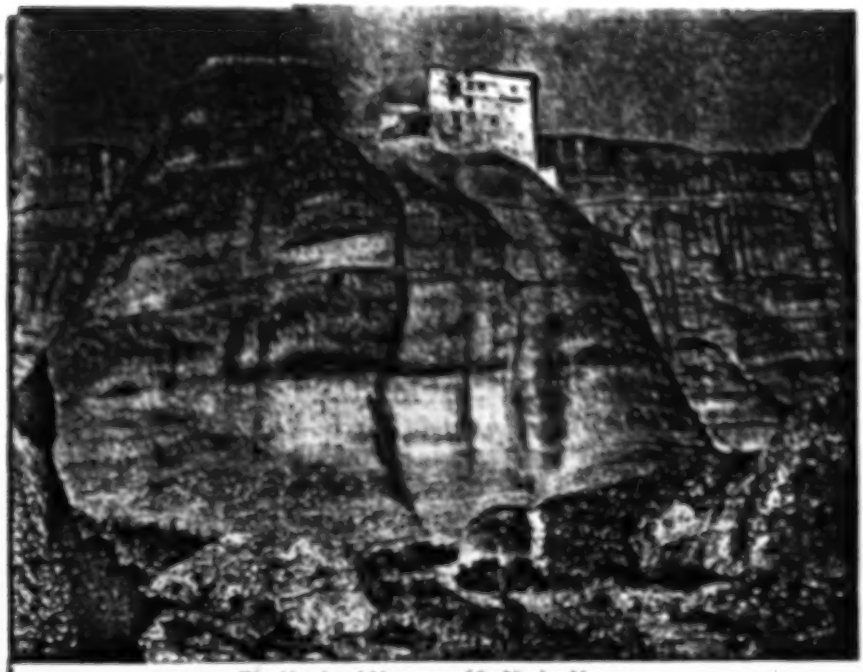

IV Abandoned Monastery of St. Nicolas, Meteora

V St. Barlaam, Meteora

[facing p. 118]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community. 621 654 178x

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is land-locked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today. 361 [132] [133] [243]

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress. [487] [356] [712]

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the 361 423 [712] ooo

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not [191] more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

/5 cont./

The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is surrounded by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys. Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been going on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago. With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the water buffaloes.

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[137]
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The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the nearby hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters. In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and 60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

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The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow. The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farming.

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[241]

The railroad station close to the village enables the village to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location

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The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Mountains

133 The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece
[311] as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields
[132] below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

●134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war
185 Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article
[311] in *Soil Conservation*, holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc-
[293]
[175]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[12] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[13] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are
[621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to
361 the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of
[423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the
[133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece, north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of
[134] Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting
[312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently,
[134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton
241 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural under-
312 ground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere
[406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for
[363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not
621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider-
361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen,
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/5 cont./

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What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 825 787

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 464

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 my journey with an escort of seven soldiers, and with a corporal of the gendarmerie as guide.

At three o'clock we reached Mavronoros, the 'Black Mountain'; a small village, quite deserted and in ruins. Somewhat surprisingly, [346] the church (which was dedicated to St. Theodore) had survived the bombardment. A single projectile had apparently found its mark and a portion of the vault had collapsed, but the walls were sound enough and the paintings which covered them had not as yet suffered greatly from exposure to the elements. A chapel on the hill above the village was completely gutted and almost every house was in ruins. So complete was the destruction that we were unable to identify the remains of the school.

484 A brief halt and we set out towards Ziakas, where I was to spend the night. We followed a water-course for some distance before intercepting the mule track. The ground had thawed since morning and the going was laborious. On a ridge commanding a wide prospect of this abandoned countryside we met the relief escort from the Ziakas garrison, and I reluctantly relinquished my handsome mount for a mule saddled after the school of Macedonia. We crossed the Venetikos by an ancient bridge and reached the headquarters of the garrison, a kilometre below the ruins of the village, a little before sunset.

727 It was too late to see anything of Ziakas that day, but the isolated community was delighted to have a visitor and the evening passed merrily enough. The night was chilly and I slept fitfully. From the [136] [231] mountains, which rise to close on 5,000 feet above the village, came the howling of wolves and jackals. Two wolves had ventured into Mavranaioi itself a few nights earlier, and, despite the vigilance of the sentries, had attacked and killed one of the mules picketed amongst the cottages. There had been neither sheep nor goats in these mountains for more than three years.

The morning was cold and cheerless without trace of sun. I took leave of my hosts about half-past nine and was accompanied to the village by a young lieutenant from Salonica. Ziakas had not only been burned by the Germans; it had more than once been the scene of heavy [346] [532] fighting within the last three years. The church stood at the entrance to the village. It was completely ruined, but a few paintings still clung to the walls of the apse, and, amidst the waste and desolation wrought by man's sin, the Son of the Virgin, the Alpha and the Omega, raised His hands in blessing. The destruction of the village—one of the

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and 602
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [596]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the [178]
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [621]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro- [582]
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [736]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under [737]
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in. 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Mountains

133 [311] The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

[132] Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 185 [311] [233] [175] Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article in *Soil Conservation*, holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 175

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[13] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel. 137● 185 [233]

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy. 137 311 233

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries. 135 [471] [439]

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[14] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco. 132 [134] [249]

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

132

Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,¶ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[6]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago.

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[7] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow.

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria*, did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

G 233 474

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

G 233 241 177 178 [291] [234]

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*fossanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

G 124 137

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

G 517 233

The "Nomads" of Epirus

G 563

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

S V G [233] [221]

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[4] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

/5 cont./

The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. 496
The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards 133
the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is sur- 134
rounded by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys. [137]
Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been go-
ing on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into
the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the
Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the
hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent
the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot [312]
of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago.
With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water
disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of
the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the
numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the
water buffaloes.

The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed
from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the near-
by hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters.
In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and 134
60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding
rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is
not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil
is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility
of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many
centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with 132
plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow.
The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not
uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and [241]
germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farm-
ing.

The railroad station close to the village enables the village
to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location 438
443
[496]

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

To the Land of the Eagle

of sanctity, moved slowly away to the vestry, and the acolyte took up a strategic position at the door with a plate in his hand. Very much in doubt as to the amount expected, I contributed a note, and the ceremony was at an end.

It was a curious experience, and made the more interesting by subsequent speculations about the psychology of the priest. How much of his devotion was genuine? How much, if any, was mere acting? Can a man make money out of sacred relics and yet revere them—not for their money-making value but for their holiness? Was the reverent tone of the voice assumed, was it the result of practice, or was it the manifestation of a deep-rooted faith? As I left the church and the carefully-maintained religious atmosphere began to wear off, these and many other questions crossed my mind. They still remained unanswered.

In Albania much of the scenery resembled England. The fields were often bordered by hedges, and familiar trees, such as oak, ash, willow and poplar, were common. In Corfu, however, I found no such resemblance. Olives, cypresses, and eucalyptus, are unknown in the English countryside, nor have we in England hedges of cactus and prickly pear, clumps of spiky aloe growing wild, orange trees, loquat trees, or the wild fig. All these, and many more, grow around Corfu.

The loquat is a curious fruit half-way between a plum and a pear. I encountered it for the first time in Valona. When really ripe it is very good to eat and quite harmless, but it is said to be unwise to eat it warm from the tree—an

GREECE EH I

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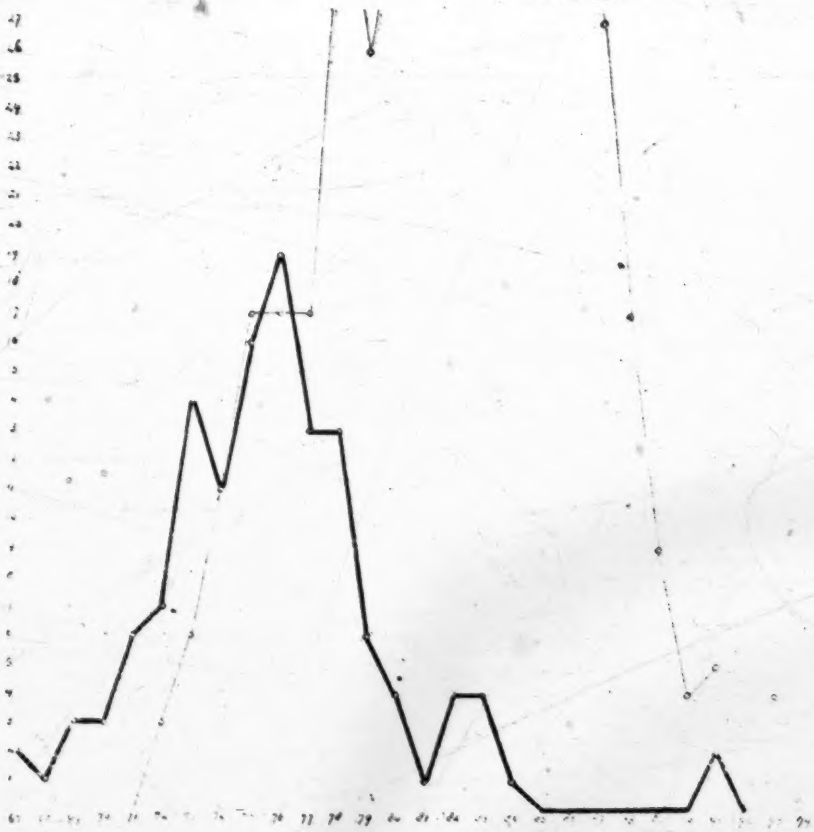

Fig. 17. The thin line gives the curve of 366 Greek heads measured by Apostolides and Stephanos and 100 measured by Duckworth. The big line gives the curve of 70 ancient (mostly helladic) Greek skull indices gathered by Stephanos plus 60 helladic and protogeometric skulls by Furst and Kumaris.

26: Kappers D-5 (1929-30) 1932 M1 Middle East

GREECE EH 1

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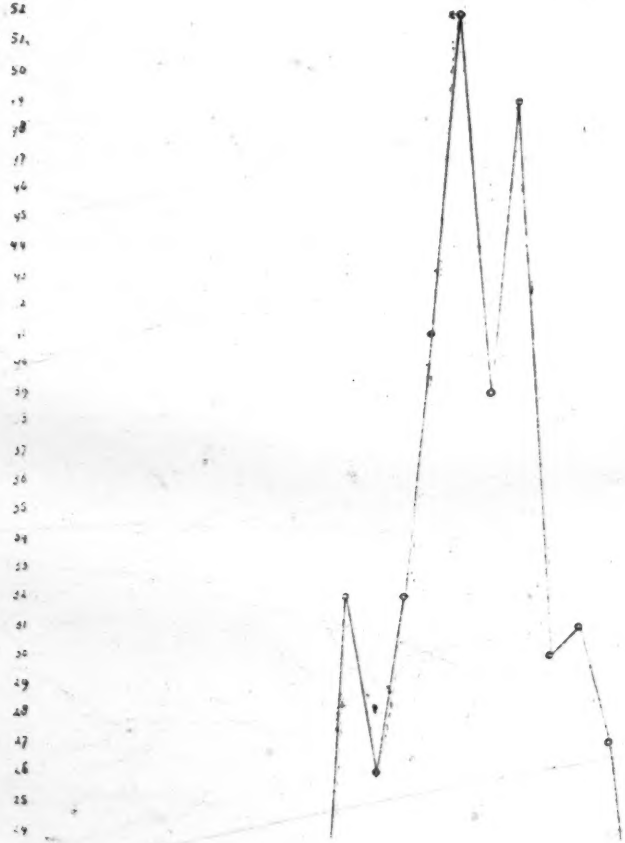

p. 22(B)

Another component of the Anatolian population is mesocephalic (index 78—79). That this component does not fail in Anatolia (apart from the Kurds) is not strange. We may have to do here with Kurdish influence or with similar Iranian elements, so abundant in Northern Persia. M 144 174

Perhaps in ancient times this element has been still more numerous in Anatolia, where it may have been represented also by the Galati, the Carians and in Syria perhaps by the Philistines. The latter, according to *Salaman*, may be related to the Minoan population of Crete[1]). Curiously, the 78—79 index is still prevailing in Crete (*Duckworth, Hawes*, and *von Luschan*).

Also among the Greeks of Asia Minor of which I only examined 88 individuals (males) the 78—79 index is still quite evident in addition to the Caucasian subbrachycephalics. Although the mesocephalics still form a peak among the European Greeks, the latter are predominently subbrachycephalic (82) as appears from the large curve (fig. 17) in which I arranged all the European Greek indices (466) gathered by *Apostolides, Stephanos* and *Duckworth*. 141

There are, however, good arguments to show that the subbrachycephalic Caucasian invasion of Greece started in and after the late Helladic period (corresponding with the late Minoan period in Crete), with the invasion of the Achaeans (2000—1500 B.C.). In the smaller (big line) curve added to fig. 17, I arranged all the middle helladic, late helladic and protogeometric indices available in literature (*Stephanos,, Kumaris, Furst*), 130 skulls altogether. This additional curve shows that the vast majority of the ancient Preachaean population of Greece was mesocephalic. To what race(s) they may have belonged is not quite sure.—

They usually are called the Mediterranean (sometimes the Pelasgian) race and are supposed to form still the main stock of the Southern Italians.—

It is however probable that there are more than one element in the ancient Minoan and Helladic population. *Sergi*[2]), who considers this population to be of Eurafrican origin, recorded several archeological and anthropological arguments to prove that this ancient population of Crete and Greece was related to the Proto-Egyptian and Proto-Libyan people. Also *Duckworth* (1912) emphasized the analogy between the Minoan Cretans and the ancient Egyptians, and Libyans.—Sir *Arthur Evans* clearly showed their cultural relation with Egypt.

In Upper Egypt the average index of the ancient skulls in 73, in Lower Egypt, however, according to *Elliot Smith* there was an addition to the 73 index, also a 75.6 index group, that is considered also by this author to be of E 144 174 141

1) Which however certainly contained a probably larger hamitic (proto-Egyptian) and perhaps also a Phoenician stock.

2) *Sergi*. Primitive inhabitants of Europe. The Monist. Vol. 9. 1899, p. 301; *Sergi*. The Mediterranean Race; Scott, London, 1901, and *Sergi* the Mediterranean Culture and its diffusion in Europe. The *Monist*, Vol. 12, 1902.

G
E
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alien origin.—This 73 index people may be represented in ancient Hellas by the 73 index peak. They may have been more numerous in Crete than in the mainland of Greece, as the average index with the ancient Cretans according to *Duckworth* is no more than 73.4[1]) (65% of the Minoan skulls being dolichocephalic, 26% mesocephalic and the rest brachycephalic).—

The mesocephalic (76) skull index group—more numerous in ancient Greece[2]) than in Crete—, may have been a different race, the more so, as according to *Furst* their burial places were also different. It is, however, very difficult to say what race this was, as on one hand the 76 skull index peak is also very outstanding with the Phoenicians (and Syrian Beduins) and on the other the living head index corresponding with this index (between 77 and 78) occurs with the mesocephalic group of the Kurds and the corresponding North Persian Iranians.—

Looking for pictures of old Minoans Dr. *Frankfort* called my attention to a similarity between the Minoan "Amorgod" (c.f. *Hall*'s Aegean Archeology Pl. 14) and one of *Von Luschan*'s Kurds. *Salaman* compared the Minoan Cup bearer to Philistine pictures. On the other hand the profile of this cup bearer resembles still more pictures of Syrian Beduin types in my possession.—

So the Iranian (Aryan) and Phoenician relations with the mesocephalic old Cretans and old Helladic population is still an open question[3]).—

As far as concerns the subbrachycephalic invasion in Greece (and Crete) which, according to Archeologists started with the Achaean invasion, but since has continually increased, there seems to exist little doubt that it brought chiefly subbrachycephalic Caucasians to this country. This may also explain Homer's frequent allusion to fair hair and blue eyes with the Achaeans. They may have entered Greece both from the North (Danube districts) and via the Ionian islands.

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According to *Ell. Smith*[4]) and *Gunther*[5]) the Achaeans formed part of a larger Ionian stock.

A later invasion was the Dorian (± 1200 B.C.). *Ridgeway, Hawes* and *Casson* agree that the Dorians came from the North, probably from Illyria or further North (*Casson*) from the Hallstatt regions. *Hawes* is inclined to

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1) According to *Hawes* a little higher.

2) As far as concerns Iranian elements in Greece we also have to think of the manifold historical relations with Persia.—

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3) The question may even arise if there is any racial relation between the mesencephalic Kurds and Phoenico-Aramean Semites. The prevailing blondness of the mesocephalic Kurds is a myth and among the mesocephalic Kurdish skulls photographed by *Chantre* there is at least one that closely resembles the Phoenician type. Besides, North Syria and Kurdistan are not so far apart and difference of language does not necessarily mean difference of race.—

4) *G. Elliot Smith* Human History, 1930.

5) *Günzler* Rassengeschichte des Hellenischen und Römischen Volkes, 1929.

In the large curve in fig. 79 I reproduce the cephalic indices of about 500 modern Greeks measured by APOSTOLIDES [1]), STEPHANOS [2]), DUCKWORTH [3]) and SCHIFF [4]).

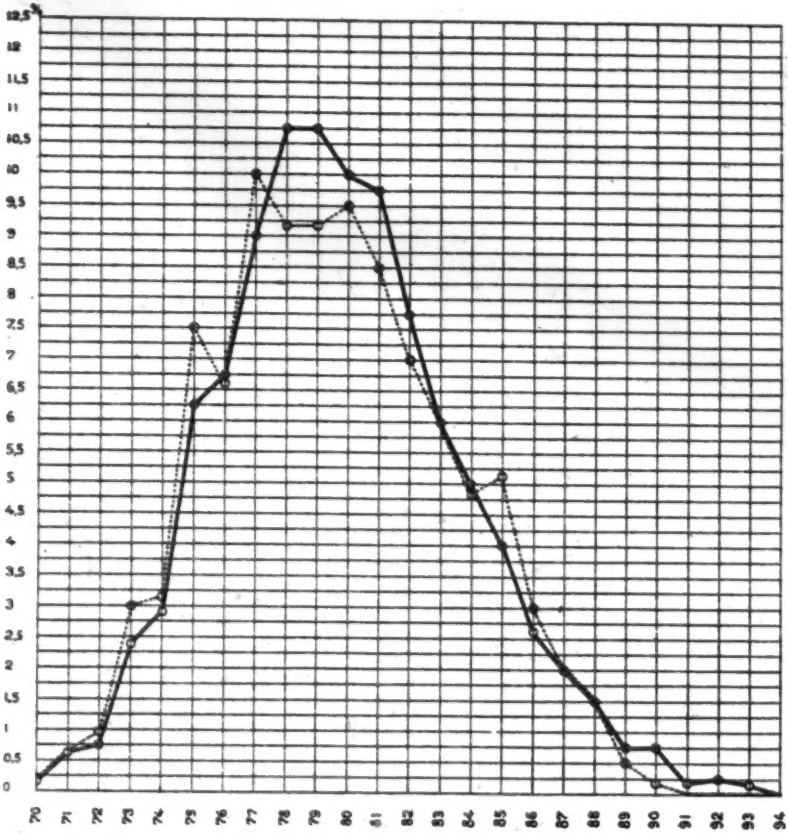

Fig. 78. Continuous curve: Cephalic index curve of 2000 Bulgarians, showing the presence of an Iranian or Scythian (Nordic) race in the Balkan peninsula. After CWIRKO GODYCKI. Dotted curve: indices from South West Bulgaria only.

[1]) APOSTOLIDES. Quelques mesures sur le vivant prises en Grèce. Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris, T. IV, 1883, p. 614.

[2]) STEPHANOS. Grèce. Dictionnaire encyclopédique des Sciences médicales, Paris, Tome X, 1884, p. 435.

[3]) DUCKWORTH. Report on anthropological work in Athens and Crete. Report of the British Association for the advancement of Science, 1903, p. 404. The index figures of the 100 male Greeks measured in Athens are found in his report for the Brit. Ass. of 1912, p. 265.

The individuals measured by DUCKWORTH were school-boys. They are largely responsible for the 84 indices.

[4]) SCHIFF. Beiträge zur Anthropologie der südlichen Peleponnes. Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, Bnd. 46, 1914, p. 14.

GREECE EH I

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[141]

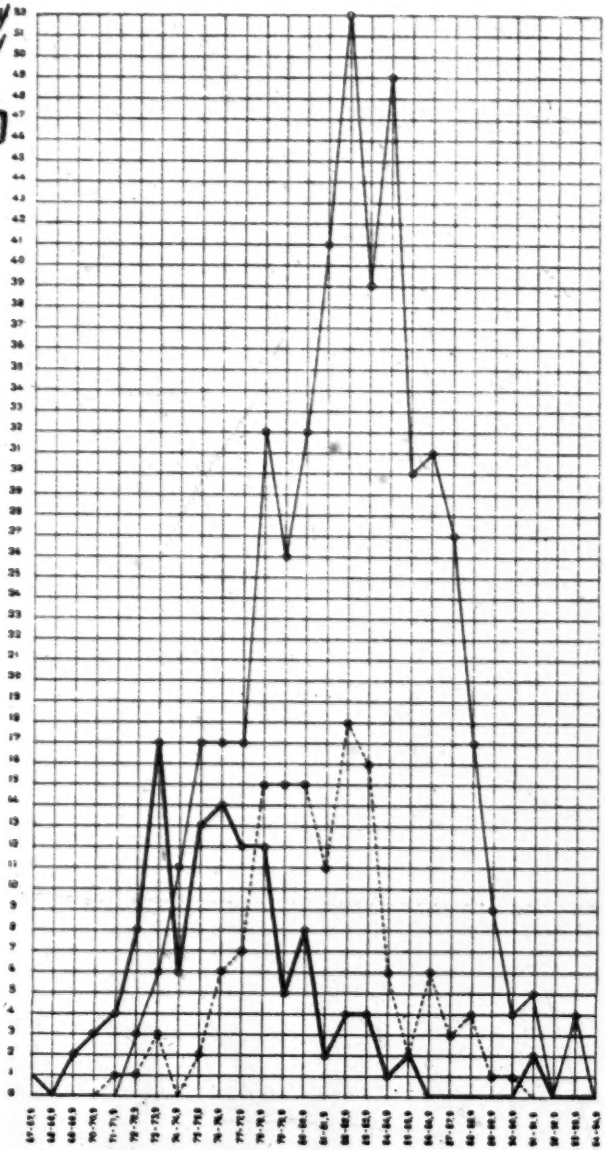

Fig. 79. Thin continuous line: cephalic indices of recent Greeks measured by APOSTOLIDES, STEPHANOS and DUCKWORTH. Dotted curve cephalic indices of Greeks from Meligala and Mani in the Peleponnesos by SCHIFF. Thick continuous curve: indices of the Helladic skulls.

1:Sanders Z-5ᴊ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

142
291
302

[574
609]

9. Our hosts in a Peloponnesian village: *Xenos* is the password for stranger and guest. Their hospitality was radiant; their posing was a serious project.

10. Mr. Papaspyropoulos and his wife. He wrote the account of Ano-Kleitoria, Peloponnesos.

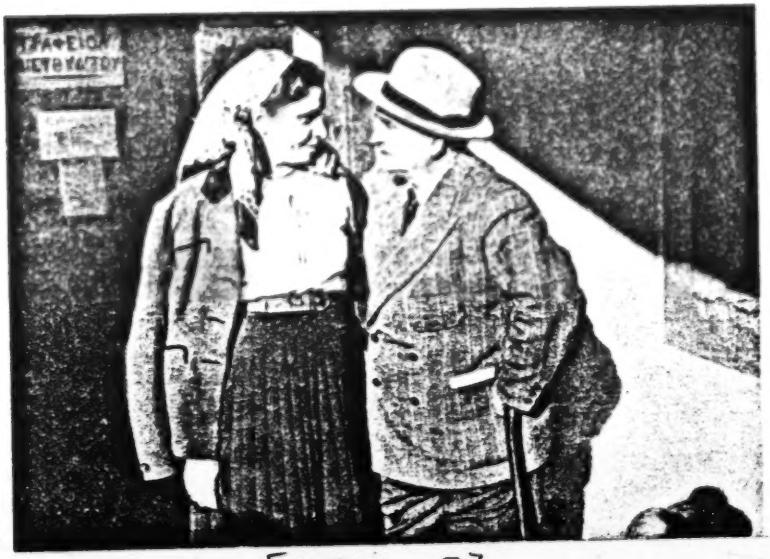

[p. 272-F]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

133
142
291
854
252

11. At the oven for Sunday afternoon lamb and rice, Attica.

[p. 272-G]

1:Sanders Z-5/f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

142
291
241
264
415
576

13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakassa, Central Greece.

142
252
291

[p. 272-I]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491
492
792

17. A monk on the ageless journey to Salamis with casks from his monastery to be filled or to sell.

18. Godparents hold the child before the priest for a controlled moment in the exuberance of a baptism, Macedonia.

851
291
142
793

[p. 272-K]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

252
291
516

Roasting the paschal lamb.

142
291
[302]

A woman of the village.

A young girl of the village.

[p. xviii]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the village.

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at

(R. MEISTER [1])). According to HAWES they also penetrated into Crete (in Sphakia especially).

With 23 Zakonians HAWES found an average index of 85, with 98 Sphakiotes 84.7. This comes very near the index occurring with the Albanians who speak the Gheg dialect [2]). HAWES also stated that the absolute length and width and the sagittal contour of the head of these peoples are about to same.

Although HAWES' arguments are interesting, DUCKWORTH [3]) rightly pointed out that for the hyperbrachycephalic elements in the present population of Greece and Crete also mediaeval invasions have to be considered, especially those of the Venetians, the Lombards in general being closely related to the Dinarics (see their cephalic index curve in fig. 3*).

The Greek blood index (2.26 according to HIRSZFELD and HIRSZFELD, 2.12 according to KUMARIS) comes very near the Dinaric index (2.28) but it also approaches the North-Italian blood index (2.82, HIRSZFELD and HIRSZFELD [4])).

The present population of Crete and Cyprus compared to their ancient inhabitants.

Some words concerning the present anthropological status of Crete and Cyprus, and their relation to the ancient population of these islands, may be added.

The distribution of the cephalic indices in Crete according to HAWES [5]) (p. 230) is as follows: Dolichocephalics (below 76.9): 29.6 %; mesocephalics (which he considers as 77—82, apparently adding 2 figures for the living head): 46.4 %; and brachycephalics: (82 and higher): 29 %.

The spread of these groups is such that with the central population an index of 78—79 prevails, while the South-West (Selino and Sphakia) has an average of 80.9 and 80.4 respectively and the extreme East (Silva) of 80.4. HAWES considers it possible that in the West there was an invasion from Illyria, in the East from Asia Minor. Stating that the increase in brachycephalics started since the late Minoan, he supposes (l.c. p. 231)

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[1]) R. MEISTER. Dawe und Achäer, Abhandl. der Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss. Phil. hist. Kl. Nr. 3. 1904.

[2]) With the majority of the Albanians a higher index is found, even with the Gheg Albanians. GLÜCK, who measured 14 men, found an average of 86.3. PITTARD, who measured 16 Gheg Albanians, however, found an index 85.5 and HAWES himself 85.1. See GLÜCK. Zur physischen Anthropologie der Albanesen. Wiss. Mitteil. aus Bosnien und Herzegowina, p. 375. PITTARD. Contribution à l'étude des Albanais. Revue de l'école d'Anthropologie. 1902, p. 240 and HAWES (l.c. supra).

[3]) DUCKWORTH. Report on the work in Athens and Greece. Brit. Ass. f. the advancement of Science. 1903 and 1912.

[4]) cf. SNYDER. Bloodgrouping in relation to clinical and legal medicine. London, Baillière, Tindall and Cox. 1929.

[5]) HAWES. Report on Crete. British Association for the advancement of Science. 1908 and 1910.

1: Karutz--73 E-4 (no date) 1925 El Europe
Greece EH1

/104/ The Macedonians

I.

000 1. Konak in Alaklissa. 2. Shepherd's hut of loam and straw in the Campania, the lowlands north of Salonika. 3. Fortress-like warehouse in Palalitza. 4. Peasant woman at a weaving loom in Skoplje. 5. Farmyard near Skoplje. 6. Bagpipes. 7. Baking bell.* 8. Magical charm. 9. and 10. Votive offerings. 11. Cotton cleaner (hatter's bow). 12. Riding donkey. 13. Pottery oven near Skoplje. 14. Armchair. 15. Plowing farmer. 16. Brand iron used for branding sheep. 17. Incense pot. 18. Earthenware cover for the coal basin, used for keeping the heat in; on top of it is placed the pot or coffee jug.

(Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 1 , and 11 are in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg. Numbers 13, 16, and 17 in the Ethnographisches Museum at Dresden. Numbers 4, 5, 12, 13, and 16 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt /Chief surgeon-general/ Dr. Hansen in Lübeck.

101 144 In the lowlands between Albania, old Bulgaria, and Greece, that is, in Macedonia, and incessant movement of peaceable and war-like peoples has produced the racial mixture of present-day Macedonia, in which the Indo-Germanic Thracians constitute the basic stock. To this were added, in antiquity, Romans, in the middle ages Slavs and Bulgarians, Turks and their Turkomanic or Near Eastern camp-followers; and, finally, Rumanians, Greeks, and the tribally related Albanians. The level tracts of land along the coast and the swampy lowlands are maintained by a nomadic type of livestockbreeding; 231 241 the fertile fringe areas provide ample yields from the grain agriculture which cultivates primarily wheat and maize, but they are also receptive 342 to southerly cultures such as rice, opium, and cotton. The herders build for themselves hasty round huts of loam and straw; the field guards who here, as in all the other parts of the Balkans, watch over the cultivated fields all through the summer, construct frame-works shaped like beehives or pointed cones out of intertwined twigs and thick bundles of straw. Simple farmsteads also have a thatched roof on walls of tiles and loam; a combination of wood, loam, and tiles leads to two-storied panel-work structures (Figure 2) which contain, in the ground floor,

*[For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a -- Analyst]

26: Kappers D-5 (1929-30) 1932 M1 Middle East M1
GREECE EH 1
EGYPT MR 1

Another component of the Anatolian population is mesocephalic (index 78—79). That this component does not fail in Anatolia (apart from the Kurds) is not strange. We may have to do here with Kurdish influence or with similar Iranian elements, so abundant in Northern Persia. M 144 174

Perhaps in ancient times this element has been still more numerous in Anatolia, where it may have been represented also by the Galati, the Carians and in Syria perhaps by the Philistines. The latter, according to *Salaman*, may be related to the Minoan population of Crete[1]). Curiously, the 78—79 index is still prevailing in Crete (*Duckworth*, *Hawes*, and *von Luschan*).

Also among the Greeks of Asia Minor of which I only examined 88 individuals (males) the 78—79 index is still quite evident in addition to the Caucasian subbrachycephalics. Although the mesocephalics still form a peak among the European Greeks, the latter are predominently subbrachycephalic (82) as appears from the large curve (fig. 17) in which I arranged all the European Greek indices (466) gathered by *Apostolides*, *Stephanos* and *Duckworth*. G 141 144

There are, however, good arguments to show that the subbrachycephalic Caucasian invasion of Greece started in and after the late Helladic period (corresponding with the late Minoan period in Crete), with the invasion of the Achaeans (2000—1500 B.C.). In the smaller (big line) curve added to fig. 17, I arranged all the middle helladic, late helladic and protogeometric indices available in literature (*Stephanos*,, *Kumaris*, *Furst*), 130 skulls altogether. This additional curve shows that the vast majority of the ancient Preachaean population of Greece was mesocephalic. To what race(s) they may have belonged is not quite sure.—

They usually are called the Mediterranean (sometimes the Pelasgian) race and are supposed to form still the main stock of the Southern Italians.—

It is however probable that there are more than one element in the ancient Minoan and Helladic population. *Sergi*[2]), who considers this population to be of Eurafrican origin, recorded several archeological and anthropological arguments to prove that this ancient population of Crete and Greece was related to the Proto-Egyptian and Proto-Libyan people. Also *Duckworth* (1912) emphasized the analogy between the Minoan Cretans and the ancient Egyptians, and Libyans.—Sir *Arthur Evans* clearly showed their cultural relation with Egypt.

In Upper Egypt the average index of the ancient skulls in 73, in Lower Egypt, however, according to *Elliot Smith* there was an addition to the 73 index, also a 75.6 index group, that is considered also by this author to be of E 144 174 141

1) Which however certainly contained a probably larger hamitic (proto-Egyptian) and perhaps also a Phoenician stock.

2) *Sergi*. Primitive inhabitants of Europe. The Monist. Vol. 9. 1899, p. 301; *Sergi*. The Mediterranean Race; Scott, London, 1901, and *Sergi* the Mediterranean Culture and its diffusion in Europe. The *Monist*, Vol. 12, 1902.

G
E alien origin.—This 73 index people may be represented in ancient Hellas by
144 the 73 index peak. They may have been more numerous in Crete than in the
174 mainland of Greece, as the average index with the ancient Cretans according to
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The mesocephalic (76) skull index group—more numerous in ancient Greece[2]) than in Crete—, may have been a different race, the more so, as according to *Furst* their burial places were also different. It is, however, very difficult to say what race this was, as on one hand the 76 skull index peak is also very outstanding with the Phoenicians (and Syrian Beduins) and on the other the living head index corresponding with this index (between 77 and 78) occurs with the mesocephalic group of the Kurds and the corresponding North Persian Iranians.—

Looking for pictures of old Minoans Dr. *Frankfort* called my attention to a similarity between the Minoan "Amorgod" (c.f. *Hall's* Aegean Archeology Pl. 14) and one of *Von Luschan's* Kurds. *Salaman* compared the Minoan Cup bearer to Philistine pictures. On the other hand the profile of this cup bearer resembles still more pictures of Syrian Beduin types in my possession.—

So the Iranian (Aryan) and Phoenician relations with the mesocephalic old Cretans and old Hellaidic population is still an open question[3]).—

As far as concerns the subbrachycephalic invasion in Greece (and Crete) which, according to Archeologists started with the Achaean invasion, but since has continually increased, there seems to exist little doubt that it brought chiefly subbrachycephalic Caucasians to this country. This may also explain Homer's frequent allusion to fair hair and blue eyes with the Achaeans. They may have entered Greece both from the North (Danube districts) and via the Ionian islands.

144 According to *Ell. Smith*[4]) and *Gunther*[5]) the Achaeans formed part of
174 a larger Ionian stock.

A later invasion was the Dorian (± 1200 B.C.). *Ridgeway, Hawes* and *Casson* agree that the Dorians came from the North, probably from Illyria or further North (*Casson*) from the Hallstatt regions. *Hawes* is inclined to

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4) *G. Elliot Smith* Human History, 1930.

5) *Günther* Rassengeschichte des Hellenischen und Römischen Volkes, 1929.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Harvesting Olives in Southern Greece

During my travels in Greece I have passed countless olive trees, for they hug the coasts, crowd the islands, and thrive inland where the climate is mild enough. But I never really understood the significance of the olive tree until I visited an estate in Southern Greece where three thousand trees of about seven varieties provided the only income. 245

I had already learned that over 12 percent of the caloric intake of the Greek people came from olives or olive oil; that Greece produced in 1948–1950 an annual average of 47,000 metric tons of table olives, chiefly in Thessaly and Central Greece; that the smaller oil olives, grown elsewhere in the country, accounted for 103,000 metric tons annually of this precious oil, which was bought and stored as a financial reserve whenever the currency became the least bit shaky. The oil olives also produced another 12,000 tons of residue oil. Friends had said that olive growing was a story of "from rags to riches," since one year might bring an outstanding crop and the next a disastrously poor one,* but that this was one of the accepted features of growing olives. [146] [454] [458]

Some inquiring students think the olive was in Greece before the goddess Athena, with whom it is so closely associated in myth, and was originally associated with the cult of Erechtheus. Be that as it may, the olive — the "All-Dewy One" — has held a special place in the tradition of the Greek people. They have also come to know that olive growing is much more than storytelling or the writing of descriptive poetry; it is hard work. In Thessaly, around the Gulf of Volos, it was interesting to watch men plow underneath the trees and fertilize the soil to increase the olive crop; to see on the western coast of Greece and in the Peloponnesos how the peasants irrigated the fifteen to twenty trees that each might own, thereby adding to the quality and the size of the fruit. In Attica one could watch the men expertly trimming the tree so that it would bunch as it grew, making harvesting a simpler task. In the Ionian Islands, where the air is humid and growth more lush, the trees reached much higher, causing the people there to wait for the olives to fall after ripening rather than pick them directly from the tree. "A lazy man's way," said a mainland peasant. [824]

Like many things of importance, the olive harvest has a slow beginning. In October, walking through the olive groves of this estate, one could see the table varieties beginning to ripen. The Kalamata olive was one. At first, the few workers on the estate gather the olives falling to the ground, but within a week's time they begin to gather some from the trees. It is then that the girls from the surrounding villages make their gay appearance. Not many are married, for this would show that their husbands were [464]

* Compared to the 1959–60 figure of 156,000 tons of oil, 1960–61 showed 75,000 tons.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

[178] If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food [261] is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." • Therefore, when we de- • 146 scribe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

> Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.
>
> Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.
>
> We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.
>
> We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.
>
> The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than
[146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[6]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person
[146] for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
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/63 cont./

Unfortunately the women lack even the simplest /64/ knowledge in nutrition and always prepare an unbalanced diet, although available food stuffs are enough to prepare a balanced diet. Thus the diet is poor. The local doctor always mentioned the fact that medicines will not cure the disease unless the people have a diet suitable to their work and conditions. 146●

The question is not how to teach them a balanced diet and nutrition but how to use advantageously the existing food materials and to study the economic conditions so as to ascertain a feasible program for balancing their diet. It was one of the mistakes of the home demonstration center which started teaching them science and nutrition, instead of trying to find out what they had and how they were using it so as to improve their methods of utilizing it better. [654]

PART V. HEALTH.

Home Remedies. The people of Megali Vrisi can never forget what they learned from their parents regardless of education and new environment. Both the doctor and the local nurse would advise the women how to take care of the sick, but still one would find them trying their own methods before attempting the doctors or the nurses. Through experience the farmers found certain plants that have definite results for every disease and /65/ sickness. For a cold they drink boiled camomile. For stomach troubles they boil the roots of a plant and drink the juice. For boils they put on boiled onion, boiled linseed and fresh cow manure. 757 178

Regardless of whether they have the nurse and the doctor in their village, in case of sickness they will consult first the experienced neighbor and as a last resort they will consult the nurse or the doctor. [759]

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal. [461] [369]

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 261 855 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread. [369]

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it 592
always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and con- [804
sumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 273]
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a [372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 252]
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually [147
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 461]
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling
motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the [412
earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy 462]
hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

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Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

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What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

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As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

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In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

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For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

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1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to 755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry- [751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and [827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

feeling the mystery and fear that surrounds the whole discussion of the cause and cure of an illness attributed to the Evil Eye. As they grow older, they understand why the parent of a child or the owner of an animal will say in reply to any words of admiration: *Phtyse* (Spit) or *Phtys' to* (Spit it), at which you must pretend to spit.

It is into such an atmosphere of half-truth, and even harmful customs, that those interested in scientific medicine must practice their profession. They quickly find that patients are often brought to them after the priest and the wise women have done their best and failed. They also know that merely giving a prescription is no guarantee that it will be followed as directed, but may even be blended with folk medicine that makes it ineffective. In Greece today there is one physician for every thousand people, a proportion usually considered adequate in the United States. The difficulty comes with their maldistribution, for over 50 percent of all doctors are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area. Consequently, many villagers have to travel long distances to obtain medical treatment, but the improved roads are making such trips less time-consuming.[18]

Once in a while some member of the family has to be hospitalized. An American, thinking only in terms of scientific sanitation concepts, is often amazed at what he observes if he chances into a small Greek provincial private hospital, one of which has been well described by Dr. Ernestine Friedl:

> One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient. Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.[19]

Before one condemns too quickly such medical practices, it is well to try to understand some of the cultural factors which explain them. These have

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1 ●
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G 764 533 [562] [369] traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myriologia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing, but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

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As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

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In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person.[20]

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1:Sanders Z-5,√ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvato*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valaesis: 764

248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed
[152] when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
462 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on
[702] his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

583 wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
[431] table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
[534] sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[8] But even among farmers these customs are
[178] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[8] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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521 methods is to ask the same questions in different ways at different times, and an
156 outsider is often struck by the persistence with which such questioning on the
828 same issue is carried on over many months. Not to succeed in gathering a choice
571 bit of knowledge is no disgrace—the villagers keep trying and every man stays on the alert to guard his secrets.

521 There are some kinds of verbal communication that are outside the realm
156 of agonistic relationships and in a sense provide a respite from them. These are
571 the ritual phrases, which constitute proper responses to frequently recurring common life situations.

576 Village manners require the use of a wide variety of greetings at meeting and at parting. In addition to these, there are a large number of appropriate set phrases for life crisis situations, large and small. For example, one says "*Kali eleftherya*," "Good deliverance," to a pregnant woman, "May they live for you" to a parent showing you a picture of his children, "May it pass for you" to an ill person or to any member of his family, "To your health" to a person wearing new clothes, and so on. "Many years" is the wish expressed to everyone on saints' days. This list is far from complete, but illustrates the point that although the phrases are formulaic and are most often used without conscious awareness of their literal meanings, they are apotropaic in feeling. In other words, the villagers have a vague sense that the phrases, which are good wishes, may succeed in warding off evil. Certainly the formulas also serve as an immediate expression of the good intentions of the speaker toward another in a potentially stressful situation.

Transmission of Values

156 Some of the weapons used in agonistic relationships in the village and
828 some of the processes by which children acquire the necessary skills to use them
867 have been considered. It remains to complete the discussion of the kinds of values and attitudes inculcated in children and to show the relationship of all the foregoing to the question: Who are the actors in the contests of Vasilika, and what are the social alignments which form the structural base of these human relationships in the village?

156 If, as we have seen, obedience to elders is not a virtue which parents
828 stress to regulate the behavior of children, and if affection is interspersed with
867 ridicule so that children cannot depend completely on the parents' support, by
858 what mechanism do the villagers' children acquire the prevailing standards of behavior? It has already been suggested that the villagers act as if they believed
152 that human beings, by virtue of their humanity, have brains. It may now be added that they also believe that inherent in every child is a sense of integrity which, in English, is best translated as shame. Parents do not feel that they have to implant these traits in their children but expect to bring them to the surface and to put to use qualities which the child already has within himself.[8] Each child is believed to have rudimentary intelligence which will develop into rational

[8] I am indebted to Pepie Mohring for this phrasing.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them. *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

152 156 828 867 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

875 861 When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 828 867 577 562 574 Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 828 577 777 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 828 574 571 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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Boeotia

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come [593]
to be associated with low social position and low income,
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad-
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major 152
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization [511]
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers [583]
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of 743
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. 828
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* 152
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance,
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel 156
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

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/87 cont./
impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

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Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

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Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even foodstuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born

[533]

[152]

/89 cont./

a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader. 195 826 [156] [828] [577]

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold." [533]

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen." 195 826 828 [854] [855]

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart." 195 828

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that 152 828 577

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 218]

XII

Local Government

829 154 If the Greek villager did not have a government to curse, he would be in a bad way indeed. Somewhere he has to find a scapegoat for the hard life that he leads. He could berate his wife or beat his children, but that would give only limited relief, since he knows they are not responsible for his difficulties; he could raise his clenched fist to the heavens and curse the Almighty, and he does this in some of the most colorful language known to man, but that too has its possible dangers, since the Almighty in a less genial mood might give him his comeuppance. What better object for his [666] scorn could he find than the government, which is always wanting taxes, takes him off to military service, asks him innumerable questions every time he seeks a loan, and stages a periodic election prior to which "lying" politicians come to seek his vote.

829 619 At the same time, the peasant is shrewd enough to distinguish between Greece as a nation, to which he can be tremendously loyal should anyone cast aspersions upon it, and whatever national government is in power. He also draws a distinction between the local government of his village and the central government in Athens, with his views of the former going up and down, but his regard for the latter seldom going up. There is no mer- [666] curial quality, therefore, to peasant politics. If the peasant does shift his

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
[131] Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
[161] 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
[311] has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
● [156] Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
[181] three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two
[167] thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in
[829] most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A final difficulty lies in inadequate personnel and equipment to do many of the highly technical governmental tasks as they should be done. Engineers who are responsible for numerous activities in many villages may not have transportation facilities sufficient to visit these villages as often as would be desirable. Those responsible for accounting and fiscal matters may not have sufficient clerical help to keep up with the work load, thereby delaying reports or requests from local governments.[14] 647 65

But despite these difficulties, I would place the crux of the problem of the relationship between local and central government in the attitudes which the officials assume toward villagers and even townspeople. There is something about being an official in Greece that tends to make one officious. The officeholder may not realize this but, as he takes on the roles that go with a new governmental position, he tries to carry an air of authority that does not quite ring true, or else he tries to bolster up his feeling of insecurity by lording it over those who are in some measure under his control. He preserves his own *philotimo*, or self-esteem, by clinging to all the symbols of prestige to the bitter end. I could want no better documentation of this state of affairs than a notice distributed in November 1952 by the Minister of Agriculture, which appeared on the walls of the director of agriculture in Kozane. It read: 647 156 631 647

Mr. Director:

1. Don't forget that we are the servants of the people.
2. Don't forget that your pay comes from the work and the sweat of the people.
3. Please be polite and just to the people and your employees.
4. Keep working hours; do not go away during working hours which are for the public.
5. Reply willingly and quickly to requests and petitions of the people. "Come by tomorrow" is not accepted.

People — Farmers:

1. Do not ask for illegal things but demand your rights.
2. If you do not get your rights or have complaints write to Complaints Office of the Ministry and you will get a quick reply.
3. Even then, if you don't get justice, write directly to me.

Minister of Agriculture, A. Apostolidis

In official Athens, over the past few years, there has been many a tug of war, sometimes silent and sometimes raucous, between those who would decentralize many functions of government to the local units and those who, for a variety of reasons, would maintain strong central control. It is safe to say that those who favor the former course are those who think of government chiefly as an administrative apparatus through which citizens' needs are met. Certainly, many members of the American Mission have 631 647 [177]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life. 662 571 461

As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[10] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance. 665 829

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise. 666 665 829

When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician." 665 829 156

I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back 665 578 666

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a [533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality. 156 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
181 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate
871 for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of oppor-
181 tunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the
871 corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well. Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from [46] it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern- [643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have
872 to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learning. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papapyrropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[5]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not
●156 expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve
[212] glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is
[369] supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that
875 he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drink might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

The School Curriculum

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873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important
[871] to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her children how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

182 621 578 665 669

for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo*, or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

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> Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievements. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*. . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entropo*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entropo* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches program. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.[8]

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Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

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To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. . . .

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One may well ask how this trait of self-esteem is related to a sense of community. The connection is twofold: first, the adult member of the community participates as a free agent and as an expression of his own individuality; he can cooperate because he feels free, and by the same token he can refuse to cooperate. But the second connection makes him think seriously before refusing to cooperate, for he would be shaming himself and others if he let his village down. Yet the sense of community need not be limited to formal cooperation; it can be a state of mind as well, a feeling of loyalty one carries about, and a deep psychological identification with the village where one was born and in which one grew up.

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A common living space. One writer attributes the unity of the Greek village to the residents' dependence upon their physical environment:

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First, the people are directly dependent on the land, hence their interests are all one. Second, the village owns grazing lands and meadows used in common by the farmers. Third, the people are highly interdependent in respect to water supply. Thus a sense of cooperation pervades the village. Fourth, the people of the village are limited in their actions by the very village's physical structure; the width of the streets, the pavement or lack of pavements, and degree of crookedness of same. Lastly, the whole physical lay-out is such that ceremonials and rituals as repeated year-in and year-out by slow processions, must change even if the ceremonials were to become mechanized.[8]

An earlier chapter on the village setting has discussed this factor, which must be taken into account in considering the identification people feel with their village. People develop a "sense of belonging" with those who walk the same village lanes, send their animals to the same community pastures, draw water from the same wells or fountains, and share the same living space. This propinquity does not necessarily produce a liking for everyone frequently encountered, but it calls for the recognition that these neighbors or fellow villagers must be dealt with in solving many of the ordinary affairs of life.

Shared institutions. Partly related to the physical pattern of the village are the church, the school, and the office of the local government, whose very structures are visible and concrete signs of the institutional complex which they embody. But these institutions are more than a material expression; they are also the focal points of the values which the people inherit and pass on to their children. On the basis of these, people ascribe rank to each other; on the basis of these, people make decisions relative to what activities are most worthy and which are least worthy. Community

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
369 better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
665 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
829 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some countries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
178 peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
82 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
184 growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
156 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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when public opinion has been structured to favor a course of action, it is hard for recalcitrant individuals to hold out for long.

A third attitudinal shift might be characterized as that from the sacred to the secular. In social science, these terms have their specialized meanings. A sacred society, such as an extreme peasant type is supposed to be, relies almost entirely on custom and tradition as the guide to what is right and wrong, proper and improper. The elders are respected, for they are the repositories of wisdom from the past and can interpret to others what should be done, whether in the family circle or in communal affairs. The modern farmer, on the other hand, lives in a secular society in the sense that the rational, scientific test is applied to his economic choices. He does not ask at what stage of the moon's cycle he is supposed to put seed potatoes in the ground, but uses other criteria for determining this. Furthermore, if a young man knows more than an older man about a matter of concern to him, the older man will listen just as eagerly to the young man.

Finally, the peasant's feeling of security, based almost entirely on kinship and the mutual aid of neighbors, gives way to the farmer's reliance on his own efforts plus an organized system of crop and fire insurance, governmental pension plans, and membership in associations and cooperatives of various types which help him weather whatever economic storms he encounters. This leads to much greater social interdependence, which carries with it possibilities both for good and for difficulty. Once there is any breakdown in the social network, the price mechanism, or the system of delivery of which the farmer is a part, he is at the mercy of forces which he as an individual cannot control. At the same time, when these forces do work well, he is assured of a level of living far beyond the peasant's fondest dreams and a sense of participation in an ever-expanding social universe.

Anyone who has read through the book thus far is familiar with the wide range which different regions of Greece represent on this peasant-farmer continuum. Even more important, the following of any single Greek villager through his daily rounds would indicate that no villager holds to these peasant traits in their entirety, nor have any of them moved to commercial farming to the extent represented by much of American agriculture. One thing is certain: those that have been primarily of the peasant mold are moving from many of these traits into those more closely approximating the modern farmer. This movement goes on at an uneven rate and points up much inconsistency in village behavior. But social change inevitably works itself out at this uneven tempo, and planning from on high in Athens seems to do little to smooth out the jagged course of modernization. Recent trips to Greece reinforce my earlier impressions that farming in the Greek countryside is becoming much more scientific because of the very successful programs of planned change previously described, as well as because of the dynamic quality of the Greek villager himself. The Greek

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

361 houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

621 156 Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with [594] the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore [484] does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

621 484 494 To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settlement, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore, never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *aghora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the [512] spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

5

Human Relations[1]

Attitudes Toward Man and Nature

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IF IT WERE NECESSARY to describe the nature of the villagers' feelings with respect to each other and the world in one word, that word would be "tension." Indeed, in the first chapter, the metaphor of Vasilika as a setting for a series of family dramas was used. The metaphor has a special aptness because it hints at the essential quality of drama—tension created by some kind of struggle. John Peristiany speaks of the agonistic quality of relationships among the Cypriot villagers he knows—agonistic in the sense of the ancient Greek word *agon* (match or struggle). This word is equally useful for Vasilika, although the contests do not appear to have quite the intensity of those described for Cyprus. Nevertheless, in Vasilika, when one walks through the fields and asks how the work is going, the common response is "*Palevume*," "We are wrestling." Such an answer is not a cliché in which the literal meaning is lost. The villagers can amplify with further comments on their perpetual contest with soil, weather, and machinery. Man does not always win, in their view, but he is obligated to do his best and to use skill in the struggle. In contemporary Vasilika, the skill involves knowledge of naturally efficient means, and anyone who does not do his best in this sense is unintelligent and deserves to lose the battle. Those who try may still fail, and then the villagers turn to fate or to God's will as an explanation. But an appeal to fate or to God is never an excuse for neglecting actions which are humanly possible, and sometimes this is overtly expressed. For example, one farmer, at a time of unseasonable drought, remarked as he looked at his tobacco fields, "I won't make the sign of the cross. I'll bring my pump over here and irrigate the field." His intent was not blasphemous; he was not an irreligious man from the standpoint of village beliefs and practices. Rather, the farmer was expressing an explicit attitude in

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[1] Lee (1955) is especially relevant to this chapter, and is strongly recommended for further discussion.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perpetual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *agbonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. "*Perazmena, ksebazmena,*" "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

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855 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways
865 as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders.
However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next
867 room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and
[593] when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

577 Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and
867 falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies, *psemata*, is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a
• 156 milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end
[578] of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"pouyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly
577 one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village.
578 An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict. [577] [578]

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion. [571]

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard. 521 571 867 868 [825] [865]

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the 521 571 867 [851]

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Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts. 571 867

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone. 521 [868] [196]

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity. 521 571 156 828 [748]

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kouvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other. 521 156 828 571

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha*," "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their

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521 methods is to ask the same questions in different ways at different times, and an
156 outsider is often struck by the persistence with which such questioning on the
828 same issue is carried on over many months. Not to succeed in gathering a choice
571 bit of knowledge is no disgrace—the villagers keep trying and every man stays on the alert to guard his secrets.

521 There are some kinds of verbal communication that are outside the realm
156 of agonistic relationships and in a sense provide a respite from them. These are
571 the ritual phrases, which constitute proper responses to frequently recurring common life situations.

576 Village manners require the use of a wide variety of greetings at meeting and at parting. In addition to these, there are a large number of appropriate set phrases for life crisis situations, large and small. For example, one says *"Kali eleftherya,"* "Good deliverance," to a pregnant woman, "May they live for you" to a parent showing you a picture of his children, "May it pass for you" to an ill person or to any member of his family, "To your health" to a person wearing new clothes, and so on. "Many years" is the wish expressed to everyone on saints' days. This list is far from complete, but illustrates the point that although the phrases are formulaic and are most often used without conscious awareness of their literal meanings, they are apotropaic in feeling. In other words, the villagers have a vague sense that the phrases, which are good wishes, may succeed in warding off evil. Certainly the formulas also serve as an immediate expression of the good intentions of the speaker toward another in a potentially stressful situation.

Transmission of Values

156 Some of the weapons used in agonistic relationships in the village and
828 some of the processes by which children acquire the necessary skills to use them
867 have been considered. It remains to complete the discussion of the kinds of values and attitudes inculcated in children and to show the relationship of all the foregoing to the question: Who are the actors in the contests of Vasilika, and what are the social alignments which form the structural base of these human relationships in the village?

156 If, as we have seen, obedience to elders is not a virtue which parents
828 stress to regulate the behavior of children, and if affection is interspersed with
867 ridicule so that children cannot depend completely on the parents' support, by
858 what mechanism do the villagers' children acquire the prevailing standards of behavior? It has already been suggested that the villagers act as if they believed
152 that human beings, by virtue of their humanity, have brains. It may now be added that they also believe that inherent in every child is a sense of integrity which, in English, is best translated as shame. Parents do not feel that they have to implant these traits in their children but expect to bring them to the surface and to put to use qualities which the child already has within himself.[9] Each child is believed to have rudimentary intelligence which will develop into rational

[9] I am indebted to Pepie Mahring for this phrasing.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gnori,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi*, are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponda,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them. *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud spattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

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a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

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When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

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Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo*?" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

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Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Pos na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a companion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

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Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms.

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece.

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction.

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground, although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo*

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is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Gligholo!, gligholo!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

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wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality. 562 593

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification. 571 578 [562] 156 [828]

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages. [593] [621]

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized. [476]

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter. [621]

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an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers begin by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

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It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

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In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Paroti was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

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But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[6] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it. 743 758 [513]

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words. [846] [844]

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women. [422] [583]

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in 958 591 156 743 [574]

6. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital. [749]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

[p. 26(9)]

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come
to be associated with low social position and low income, [593]
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization [511]
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers [583]
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of 743
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. 828
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet 152
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo*
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, 156
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel
do not succeed in outmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

/98 cont./ 796

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

/100 cont./

of their occupation but rather because of certain peculiar personal qualities which they possess. Such a cast of characters is very evident in Megali Vrisi. Most of these are due to their ability to speak fluently, or to tell stories, read and interpret the news from the papers or forecast future events. Some of these rank the lowest in the economic scale and their influence is not effective beyond the village boundaries. These personalities become the central guides for the decisions of many persons. Both Thracian and Caucasians have these types of personalities. 156• 554

Community organization. The village of Megali Vrisi is a loosely organized village. The various groups and associations are independently organized and function without any cooperation of the other whatsoever. There is competition and constant conflict as to which one is the leading group in the village, but in spite of the conflicts and lack of cooperation among the groups, compared with the neighboring villages /101/ the village is the leading one. This unexplainable progress is mostly due to the constructive and not the destructive type of competition of the different groups, which instead of hindering them is enabling them to get ahead. According to Professor Sanderson, "The coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization insofar as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of community organization in the every day life of its people is apparent." The wholesome competition among the different groups for accomplishing their group projects may be due to the following: 621 476 178

1. Within every member of the different organizations or associations there is an inherent feeling of mutual aid and that the progress of each group is the progress of their village.

2. There are persons who hold office in more than two groups and thus there is this indirect cooperation.

3. It is an accepted principle that each group follows its well-defined program without expecting it to be considered as the only one that needs support.

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
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GREECE[1]

The culture of the Greeks is here presented as an integrated whole. 105
The Greeks have been selected out of the European nations now engaged in introducing technical change, because they represent a unique case. They have the most ancient civilization of the European continent, yet their technical development at present is one of the lowest. The history of their industries and factories goes back more than 2,500 years; yet they now resist industrialization. They are [101]
European, yet they look toward the Middle East and share a number of attitudes with the people of this area. They are Christians but with a special kind of Christianity, highly ritualized and impersonal, and incorporating much of local origin.

Individualism is prized and rampant; yet there is no atomization. 105
Self-esteem is paramount, and rests on freedom and self-dependence; 156
yet Greeks do not seek freedom from the family, and do not lose self-esteem when they are dependent on the family. They have their own unique individualism. They are highly co-operative, but the basis and formulation of their co-operative activity are different from those of the Western European nations.

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[1] The study of Greek culture is based largely on interviews, correspondence, and memoranda, conducted and prepared in the autumn and winter of 1950-51. 123 125
Newspapers and magazines of this time were also consulted. Two Maternal and Child Care Manuals of recent years, several collections of folk songs, and a popular humorous work were intensively analysed. Accounts by people engaged in introducing change were consulted. The writer, herself a Greek by birth and upbringing, has depended also on her own firsthand experience of the culture. The manuscript was submitted to two Greeks for comment and criticism.

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo*: his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger. 156 175 577

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*. 156 577 [521]

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not. [619]

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*. 156 577 578 [762]

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of 156 577 722 727

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
509 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
721 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

178 To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of
156 living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as
511 a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of
509 God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until
727 the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and
146 to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated
173 to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

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IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader.

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold."

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen."

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart."

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

594
60

I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter 855 practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular 852 liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [796] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father [527] leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserving by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry. This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

1:Sanders 2-5,6 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[8] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

them now and begin to live is their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can." 184 433 511

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains. [722]

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are: 184 157 829

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it." 184 511

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna- 184 157 829 [166] [722]

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
[829] son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
439 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EM1 Greece EM1

marine. As of November 1957, the Greek merchant fleet numbered 541 vessels, whose tonnage totaled 1,510,535 tons. By 1961 its 1,110 ships amounted to 5,893,652 tons. 505

In addition to being a potential economic asset, the sea makes its influence felt in a psychological sense. "The Romans built roads but the Greeks always used the sea" was an observation made to me by a retired Greek admiral. The more one thinks about this simple statement of difference between two great nations of antiquity, the clearer becomes the varied bases for their greatness. Rome, the conqueror of the European continent and much of the Mediterranean world, held on to her territorial conquests for centuries, but the lasting conquests of ancient Greece were not those of territory, which she also conquered from time to time, but the victory of a superior culture. The Romans were administrators of subject lands; the Greeks became traders and merchants who colonized along the coasts of the whole known world, accumulated their wealth in cities, and maintained a competitive individualism much in evidence even today. 174 823 [157]

From this tradition of the sea the Greek has gained an outward look, sometimes carried to extremes. "He knows about every country but his own" commented a Westerner who had spent many years in Greece. 181 186

An old, old peasant put the way he felt toward the sea and what it meant to him in these words: 823

"Look over the sea," he said, pointing to the shining water in the distance. "Do you know anything farther than that? Going over the sea means going over to America. In the olden days, under the pressure of need, one stole from the other and the other fought back and killed and so got out of the country. Only the goat thieves and the peasants were left. For us village people, 'farther than the sea' means not just emigrating but also means bringing in. We can use it to improve life. Here near our village we have a waterfall and big water supply; we can have electricity and irrigation but we need scientists from across the sea to tell us how to use what we have. Then more people can live on the land and will not need to emigrate."

There are many Greeks, especially women, in isolated villages who have never seen the sea. Even for them it seems to have a deep emotional meaning, for, as one Greek folklorist explained to me, there is an unconscious worship of water all over Greece. A twenty-one-year-old peasant girl on her way to relatives in Athens rode with us from her village in the heart of the Peloponnesos. This was her first trip away from home. We stopped on the brow of a mountain while she had her first view of the sea. She who had ridden with us for many miles, shy and silent, looked out to the wide indigo horizon and cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" (The sea! the sea!), and then subsided, wide-eyed. It was obvious to all of us that she was deeply

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnese:
[Shepherds]

239 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[320] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

"But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some
[474] other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

"Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and
[157] all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 573 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria*, or the groups of women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornshucking, kneading of ring biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing and dancing.[1]

[562] [574] [595] [593]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other [589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kolleges* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have [226] numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field [241] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general, [422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoumi*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; 179 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre- [155] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the [154] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

197 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem- 198 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation- 517 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There [342] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water [345] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to build a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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XIV

THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

> So great was his sanctity while a shepherd, that he was thought worthy of being made a pastor of men: and having been assigned the bishopric of one of the cities in Cyprus . . . on account of his extreme humility he continued to feed his sheep during his incumbency of the bishopric.
>
> SOCRATES
> *Ecclesiastical History*, I, xii

IN 1891, scarcely more than a decade since the day when the blue and white ensign of the Kingdom of the Hellenes had replaced the crescent of the infidel over the citadel at Trikkala, the wife of the village carpenter in an obscure hamlet amongst the mountains to the westward of Kalambaka gave birth to a son. The carpenter and his family dwelt in a substantial stone house a few paces beyond the village square, where a great plane tree overshadowed the church, dedicated in honour of the Egyptian anchorite Bessarion. Like many families in northern Pindos they spoke not only Greek but also the language of the Tsintsars, the Koutso-Vlachs who came down from the high pastures every autumn with their flocks and herds to winter in the Thessalian plain.

Like their neighbours at Palaiochori the Photis family (for so the carpenter was named) was virtually independent of the world that lay beyond the mountains. They owned a few sheep and goats; the *Kyria* Photis and her daughters spun their own yarn and wove the strong indigo cloth which was made up into *sarks* and *palts* for men and women alike. There was home-baked bread, goats' milk cheese and *yiaourti*, and an occasional lamb roasted on a spit to celebrate a festival; an abundance of rough red wine and the fiery ouzo which gladdens the heart of the traveller when the snow lies deep in Pindos. From time to time the carpenter would saddle his pack-animals and make an expedition to Trikkala, returning with an axe or a set of chisels, and dried figs for the children.

Constantinos, as the carpenter's son was duly christened, began to go to the village school when he was seven. Long before this time,

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however, he was familiar with the mysterious drama which was enacted week by week in the little church of St. Bessarion. Sunday by Sunday, festival by festival, the people of Palaiochori—the carpenter (who had a fine voice and was also the chief *psaltes*); his wife and daughters; Makroiannis, who presided over the tavern; the *Kyria* Andromache, who always stood before the royal doors when Papa Athanasi read the gospel of the resurrection at the end of mattins; Papa Demosthenes, who had fought in the old wars and had seen innumerable wonders, had been to America and visited the holy mountain of Athos—all were caught up for a brief space into the life of the heavenly Jerusalem and joined their praises to those of the saints who looked down on them from wall and eikonostasis.

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The carpenter's son learned by heart many of the great psalms and hymns of the Church: long passages from the Gospels and from the Old Testament prophecies which were read on the eves of great festivals and during Holy Week. As he grew older and learned to read he would stand among the singers who crowded round the two lecterns every Sunday, and sometimes the parish priest would allow him to climb up the steps of the bishop's throne that stood on the south side of the church and sing the Epistle from a tattered volume printed at Venice towards the end of the eighteenth century. On the eve of a festival he would come running from the saw-mill or his father's workshop when Papa Athanasi clanged the two bells which hung in the branches of the plane tree beside the church, to take his place among the singers. He learned to find his way about the complicated service-books and to sing the ecclesiastical chant with a confidence which rivalled that of the chief *psaltes* himself.

When Costas left school he went to work with his father. He was already well versed in the rudiments of his trade, and by the time he was called to the colours in 1913 he was a proficient craftsman. He served in the army for three years and had two further spells of soldiering—from 1917 to 1919, and again, in the disastrous campaign in Asia Minor, from 1921 to 1923—before, released from the army at last, he came home to Palaiochori and married a girl from the neighbouring village of Krania. The marriage was blessed with three children: two boys, born in 1924 and 1934, who were christened Leonidas and Athanasius respectively, and a daughter born in 1931.

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Meanwhile there was work enough for the village carpenter besides begetting children; even when he was not at his bench there was ground

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159 793 to be tilled and seed to be sown and a score of sheep to be cared for, as well as an occasional expedition to Trikkala. Fourteen years slipped by: there were good harvests and bad; once a blight fell on the vineyards and once the bishop rode out from Trikkala and preached in the village church where, since the death of his father, Constantinos Photis had been the chief singer. The people of Palaiochori heard few sermons; they worked and prayed, sinned and repented; danced in the square on warm Sunday afternoons and argued about the doings of the great world beyond the mountains as they sipped their ouzo in the village tavern.

In 1937 the parish priest died. The elders of the village debated the question of a worthy successor—and who more suitable than the carpenter, Constantinos Photis? A man universally respected among his fellows for his uprightness and integrity; who knew the intricacies of the Venetian service-books with a familiarity such as could come only from long experience. Polycarp, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, willingly acquiesced in the village's choice of a pastor, and Constantinos Photis, the carpenter, went off one day to Trikkala (after a short stay in a nearby monastery) and returned clad in black gown and *kalymmafchion* as 'Papa Costas'. Back in Palaiochori, life went on much as before. The village priest now wore a cassock of the same indigo homespun in which he had been clad from infancy. There was the same pattern of feast and fast, of eucharist and office; and though an occasional wedding or funeral now broke the regular rhythm of the carpenter's life and the former *psaltes* had a different liturgy to perform on Sundays and holy days, it was one with whose least detail he had long been familiar. The tools in the workshop were not permitted to rust, and the vegetables and the vines, the twenty sheep and the pigs, needed no less attention now that their owner wore a cassock and addressed his wife as *Papadia*.

159 793 648 722 Early in 1941 the Germans poured into Greece. For many months the mountain villages of Pindos, remote from the lines of communication, were scarcely affected by the occupation which, even at that period, brought such acute suffering and privation to the townsfolk and to the villages of the plains. As guerrilla activity became increasingly widespread, however, German and Italian troops were employed in a series of reprisal raids upon the undefended villages lying north and south of a road which connects the Thessalian plain with Epirus by way of the Metsovo pass.

One day early in November, 1943, several hundred soldiers descended

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upon Palaiochori. The people fled to the forest and watched helplessly while the invaders set fire to their homes and slaughtered their animals. When at length they withdrew the whole valley was shrouded in smoke: the incendiaries had done their work only too thoroughly. The church of St. Bessarion—the most prominent building in the village—had been amongst the first to be set on fire. When Papa Costas and a few companions ventured down from the mountainside to make a cautious reconnaissance they found nothing save the blackened walls and a great pile of charred timbers. The school, just below the parish church, was likewise completely gutted, and more than forty of the village's seventy-odd houses were irreparably damaged. The parsonage, a somewhat more substantial edifice than most of its neighbours—a monument to the professional skill of its builder—had resisted the first attempts of the incendiaries, and before the flames had thoroughly obtained a hold Papa Costas and his sons had come scrambling down from amongst the trees, and the building—though badly damaged—was not utterly destroyed. Amongst the smoking ruins of another cottage was found the body of an old woman who had been unable to make good her escape. Every animal in the village had been slaughtered.

After this catastrophe the people of Palaiochori took refuge in Kalambaka—already crammed with refugees from a score of similarly stricken villages—and there, in the shadow of the great rocks, they remained until 1945. In January and February of that year they went back to the village that had become a wilderness. During the first few months after their return home there was tremendous activity at the sawmill and in Papa Costas' workshop. No sooner had a sufficient number of cottages been rendered habitable than the parish priest turned his attention to the church. With the assistance of his elder son and a score of willing if unskilled helpers, the requisite timber was cut and shaped; and soon—though the church was without vestments and Papa Costas had with difficulty been able to procure copies of a few of the most indispensable liturgical books—there was at least a roof to the building and it was no longer necessary for the people to stand for long hours without protection against wind and snow whilst the holy mysteries were celebrated. Then the school was re-roofed, and as summer gave place to autumn the regular pattern of village life began to reassert itself—though Papa Costas no longer had twenty sheep and there were no more than three pack-animals available for the whole community.

But security was short-lived. The following year brought wandering

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VII Constantinos Photis

[facing p. 158]

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159 bands of *andartai* and rumours of terrible deeds wrought in the darkness
793 of long winter nights. In August, 1946, the parish priest of Palaiochori
727 received warning that the Communists planned to murder him as a
669 'traitor'. Papa Costas fled for the second time within less than three years to Kalambaka. There, at the foot of the limestone cliffs crowned by the hermitages of the ascetics of Staghi, he built a little *kalyva*: a wooden cottage consisting of a single room and a large porch.

Before many months had passed, the whole village was back in the comparative security of Kalambaka, and the mountains were given over to the Accursed of God. Papa Costas and his family (all except Leonidas, who had gone off to the wars) settled down in their new house and the younger boy began to attend the overcrowded school. There were many other refugee clergy in the town: not from the diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone but also from many of the villages lying to the north and west of Kalambaka towards the *comopolis* of Grevena.

The second period of exile lasted until October, 1949. As a refugee
[465] priest, Papa Costas was entitled to a monthly stipend of 175,000 dr. (the equivalent of a little more than four pounds sterling) and the usual refugee rations of flour, sugar, etc.; but there was no ground to be tilled, no sheep or goats, no fees from baptisms or weddings to supplement the meagre wages of a 'fourth-class priest'. There was, however, some slight measure of security in Kalambaka, with its garrison and its communications, and Papa Costas' wife and daughter wove gaily coloured rugs, and adorned the little house with lace and tins of basil until any craftsman might have rejoiced in his handiwork.

*

The defeat of the Communists at Florina early in 1949 marked the turning point in the seemingly interminable struggle against an enemy who, when defeated, could always withdraw beyond the northern frontiers of Greece to lick his wounds and build up his strength for another assault. During the summer months the wild region that lies to the westwards of Kalambaka was laboriously combed by units of the Greek army, and in October Papa Costas led the first party of returning refugees back to Palaiochori. His daughter and his younger son remained behind, however, in order that the boy might complete his studies at the high school, and it was in Kalambaka in January, 1950, that we first encountered our country parson.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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I

The People of Greece

The Legend

When God was building the earth, he lavished all goods such as water, pasture, forests, and rich soil on the countries of the world. Then suddenly he remembered that he had forgotten Greece. What could he give to this country since he had given all the riches to the others? He started stroking his beard thoughtfully. All at once an idea struck him when he saw the rainbow hanging over his head. Reaching up, he chopped a piece off, stooped and picked up a little soil and many stones, and kneaded the whole thing together in the palm of his hand. Then, opening his palm, he blew the mixture into the sea, and Greece came into being.[1] 539 773

In its symbolic meaning, the rainbow of the legend is the Greek people who are as colorful as the sun-drenched rocks on which their nation grew to greatness.

The fact that the Athenian civilization with its poets, philosophers, dramatists, and sculptors had its origin in a city of less than two hundred thousand people on the rocky Attic plain has been a source of wonder to all who know anything of ancient Greece. But today there is also a miracle of Greece at which to wonder. In our twentieth century we see a land of 51,182 square miles supporting eight million people; that is, an area the 175 [13] [16]

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
[131] Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
[161] 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
[311] has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
[15] Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
[181] three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two
[167] thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take
[829] up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the seminomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5/† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 the smallest holdings, must have found sweet consolation in knowing that
474 now many of their more advantaged village neighbors wish to join the
241 cooperative pool. But this poses a problem. "How," the secretary asked anxiously, "can we calculate what arrangement to make with these people? How can we know what to charge them for the risk we took, the major expenses we bore? Certainly, now that we have succeeded, it would not be fair for them to come in and benefit free of cost from the pioneering work that we have done."

As these cooperative members talked of their plans, their eyes glowed with happiness and enthusiasm. The men had concrete proposals to solve other problems. They expect to shift from sole concentration upon grain production to more diversified farming, including livestock and poultry production, the raising of dry legumes and other crops that tend to give employment to the able-bodied members of the cooperating families.

International recognition as well as scientific farming is coming to Nees Karyes. Today there are people from Yugoslavia and Israel, as well as touring Americans, who have seen the way some of the peasant families in this village of Thessaly set about solving their problem of too little land in too many strips cultivated in unscientific ways. The secret of this undertaking, in great part at least, lies in the feeling of responsibility on the part of those who participate, since they originated and now conduct and plan for the cooperative which they jointly own.

Pressure on the Land

161 Most rural Greeks, however, struggle along with insufficient resources
241 and with no cooperative venture such as Nees Karyes to give them hope.
511 A village cobbler from Karpenesi in Central Greece explained the matter in this way: "There has been such an increase in population that the fields are no longer sufficient. The village child today lives more poorly than did his father as a child, because there are more mouths to feed and no added resources."

A well-informed Greek official put the problem in excellent perspective: "Today there is less income per family, less food, and the land values go
[565] up. Those that have more land become better off, leading to totally new economic and social distinctions in the villages. Many of our farmers are trying to make a living on such small farms that all they produce is hate. The main problem of the Greek farm family is the population problem. There are too many people. The villager with nothing to do has no place to go in search of work. That is why you see here in Athens many strong, healthy men selling matches. They have no work to do either in their villages or here in the city."

What the Greek villagers are up against in one part of the Peloponnesos is revealed in *Greece, Ripe for Improvement:*

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Like many of the older agricultural areas of the world, this area is densely populated and now has far more people than its depleted resources can adequately support. . . . At the present time, nearly 10,000 people are attempting to support themselves on 25,000 hectares (62,500 acres) of land, some of it waterlogged, most of it eroded, and all of it reduced in productivity.[16] 161 241 511

Yet this population pressure is of relatively recent occurrence. One writer in 1842 described the large amount of land then available in the Greece which at that time consisted of the Peloponnesos and Central Greece: [131]

The industry of the 100,000 persons engaged in agriculture is almost completely lost to view in the extensive wilds of Greece; and the universal remark of tourists is, "What a pity that the cultivation of the soil is so neglected! what a rich and fertile country! what myriads of colonists might prosper here!" [17]

What happened between 1842 and 1952 to change the population picture so drastically? The population of Greece grew not only by natural increase but by the acquisition of new territory. The story can be told most simply by figures contained in the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook* for 1952; in 1861 there were 60 people per square mile in what was then Greece; in 1951 there were 149 people per square mile in what is Greece today. [131]

Students of population remind us quite properly that mere density per square mile is not a safe guide to the actual or the potential standard of living. The highly industrialized areas of Western Europe support several times the density of Greece and their people have many more modern conveniences. In a rural country, the density in terms of arable land is a more revealing indication of living conditions.

In the United States there are 17 acres of arable land for each farm person, but in both Greece and India there are only 1.3 acres. Our major farm problems come from surpluses; Greece, too, has her surpluses, although, like most countries moving away from a peasant economy, she is deficient in certain food supplies. One ray of hope for the less-privileged countries is the possibility that they may increase production per acre from 13 to 14 bushels (the present grain yields in Greece) closer to 30 bushels, a figure surpassed by the United Kingdom, Denmark, and the Netherlands, where scientific agriculture is practiced. But even here basic soil types set certain limits.

The present situation seems likely to become even more acute. In Greece between 1951 and 1961 there was a population increase of 9 percent, a figure which may grow larger if death rates are lowered faster than birth rates. Without a rapidly expanding economy to absorb these added people into productive jobs, the Greeks will feel their economic limitations even

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of the depressed areas of the country.

Land Use in Greece

What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[18] We may not be able to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest, and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres (double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

Greece Today, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens, in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation; and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Furthermore, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is 63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective average for these countries.

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of which are owned or administered by the state.[19] They were obtained in the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Simi-
184 larly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peas-
369 ants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain
with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next
[243] field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long,
161 least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost
648 continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know. 621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never 621 179x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

000 722 511 who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out [669] [457] four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their [262] [164] sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to [263] undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

669 722 621 161 Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and dras- [162] tic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of 669 728 621 161 population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kotta
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rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and 669
twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and 728
only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of 621
them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and 161
Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead.

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left [342] childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age?

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has 621
been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside 161
world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto 167
and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. 457
The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage.

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in 727
the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been 621
through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly re- 571
laxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. [457]
The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, for example.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a [197] degree of kinship. [619]

Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there [631] from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-[727] fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 The real question for the future is whether or not the village • 161 will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale x 178 that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving population is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children be-[728] tween the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five [885] couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kotta
[Hill Villages]

community where very early marriages have been the rule, a woman of thirty or thirty-five is already old.) Between 1952 and 1956 there were only four marriages in the village, twelve births, sixteen deaths. Under the circumstances, it seems certain that the population will decrease still further in the immediate future. 621 161 178 [885]

Yet even four or five families could turn out to be quite enough to repopulate the village, if the old patterns of early marriage and numerous children prevail. Indeed, the close blood relationships of all the villagers suggests that in times past the community may well have contained only a handful of families from whom hundreds (or, counting those overseas, thousands) in due course descended. Thanks to the depopulation brought by the guerrilla war, the traditional life of Kotta has become easy once again, and if the young people accept the old ways, and do not allow the glitter of urban life overseas, reflected in the letters and money orders sent back by friends and relatives, to change their outlook, then it seems fairly certain that within a decade or less the depopulation of the village will come to a halt, and rapid growth in numbers will begin once more. If so, after something like thirty or forty years Kotta will probably be back in the impossible position of 1947.

This cycle is, I believe, the key to much Balkan history. The peasant family system was adjusted, from age-old antiquity, to supply large numbers of children, most of whom died from violence or disease before attaining adulthood. With the more or less effective pacification of the countryside in the last couple of centuries, together with the elimination of some epidemic diseases and the control of others, this age-old balance was thrown out of kilter, so that the peasant population began (as early as the mid-eighteenth century) to run far ahead of the development of resources that might sustain it. 175 161 669

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175 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords
669 of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Un-
619 til 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such
● 161 warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopula-
433 tion – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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[Hill Villages]

limits of the hill valleys. In times past, Balkan hillsmen then had to seek sustenance from the plains, either by peaceful labor or by armed forays.

As far as Kotta and villages like it are concerned, it now seems to me an open question whether the old cycle will repeat itself again or whether new standards of expectation and conduct will make sufficient inroads upon the traditional peasant family system to check early marriage and rapid multiplication of numbers. Through overseas emigration, the modern city has made its mark on Kotta. All but a few young people want to leave, and many have done so. At the same time, the handful who remain appear to be conforming to the old ways. Perhaps the critical turn will come as their children grow up; for if the rising generation elects to look beyond the confines of the village – and if the possibilities of migration, either within Greece or overseas, exist – then, perhaps, as the population of the village begins to press once again upon the limits of local production, the young people may decline to continue the old, economically suicidal pattern, and will instead seek their fortunes far afield, and refuse to marry into hopeless poverty at home. It depends more than anything else, perhaps, upon the degree of communication that may come to exist between the outside world and the villagers. In 1956 these contacts were limited. Newspapers came seldom; vehicles rarely. But the village did possess a radio that brought daily news from Athens; and emigrants' letters were perhaps the most important of all the channels of contact with the great world beyond the valley in which Kotta nestles.

Survivors of the older generation – those who have lost their children to the guerrillas – seem to have no doubts or reservations in wishing to see more and more children about again. The priest complained of how empty and joyless the village was without the throngs of children he knew before. He deeply

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
•161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

*178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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621 433 animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought [366] their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, [438] where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five [491] miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-[258] pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which em-[464] ployed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the sea-[388] son. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed [258] down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had [491] been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. [438] Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a 621 purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a de-669 crease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabit-722 ants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the [161] village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kala-[162] mata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from 178x
neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I 621
was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of 873
gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea 178x
Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry 582
system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming 583
in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease 621
in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no 161
more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any [744]
change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The [582]
more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone 178x
much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I 166
was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have 369
gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

113, 162, 167 Greece EH1

[For information pertaining to the status and territorial organization of the Greek minority in the Soviet Union, see 21: Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 146.]

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 ver-
sion of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picur- 184
esque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 369
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, cho-*
rikos, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approxima- [361]
tions of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions
about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of over-
idealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of
burdens and dull plodders through life.[18]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland,
away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* in-
terchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall
have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other
countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local po-
litical units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens,
whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had
reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over
20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small
village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more atten-
tion than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peas- 369
ant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways.
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 184
174

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their [illegible]e-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] [291]

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 1. BUSINESSES AND SERVICES IN EIGHT GREEK VILLAGES*

	Tobacco village near Xanthe	Village A near Mesolongi	Village B near Mesolongi	Village in Central Greece	Mountain village near Lamia	Village near Agrinion	Village A in Macedonia	Village B in Macedonia
Population	1145	1062	2030	1372	1060	2915	1654	2493
Flour mills	6	1			2	3	2	
[illegible]ries	1		3	1		3		
[illegible]ies	6	8	3	7	6	21	7	8
[illegible]bershops	3	2	3	3	2	5		
Coffeeshops	6	8	5	5	1	7	3	3
Carpenters	5				2			
Masons	12			4	4			
Shoemakers	5	1		2	1	4	1	1
Saddlemakers	1		1	2				
Tinsmiths	1					1		
Blacksmiths	2	1	2	3				
Butchers	2	5		4	3	6		
Tailors	1	1		3	1	1	2	3
Dressmakers	3	6		10	2			
Carriagemakers						2	1	
Yardgoods shops				2		1		
Tobacco-news			2			2		
Restaurants			6			4		

* Includes those services mentioned for two or more villages.
Source: Village studies by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece (mimeographed).

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162
256
443
445
463
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
● 162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the
[526] village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
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423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15
Sara Katsani EH14

V 221 182 [422] [556]

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

S 361 342 [233]

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

S [101]

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

S 361 G [162] [166] S [342] S [241] [462] [233] [515]

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

S 35 [231] [233] [252] [312]

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra,* the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Sara Katsani EH14..
Vlachs EH15

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[433]
[262]
S
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[427]

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

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What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

G
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As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

G
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In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

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For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

G
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162
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162
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[162]

Sarakatsani	5,956
Arvanito-Vlachs (Karagouni)	786
Koutso-Vlachs	3,409
Greek peasants (like Valtetsi people)	3,549

He also gave the following distribution, by families, of the Sarakatsani, the type of people we had visited at Kalpaki:

Western Thrace	699
Macedonia	1,499
Thessaly	794
Roumele	1,112
Epirus	492
Peloponnesos	1,390
	5,986

V
[162]

This book also indicated that there in Epirus I was in the center of the Karagouni group, since relatively few of their 786 families were geographically much farther eastward or southward.

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123
233
[361]

The next afternoon, with Christos Berates, we headed into the countryside and saw within a mile of town his camp of four tents up on the left. Since his flocks had not yet arrived, he was somewhat disturbed and asked if we could drive back toward Kalpaki to meet them. We passed at least eight other flocks whose shepherds Berates knew and with whom he talked briefly. These shepherds were very happy to accept the cigarettes we offered, but they were both awed and mystified — to Berates' delight — at seeing him riding in an American car. They kept telling him that his flocks must be quite far behind. Even when a flock came into view at some distance, Berates could tell it was not his by the sound of the bells. His anxiety grew as dusk came on and we saw no more flocks on the road. Then suddenly he asked us to stop. He said, "they are over there!" and pointed far to the left. Sure enough, we heard the faint tinkle of bells and then about two hundred yards away saw the sheep coming. His flock, taking a short cut, had left the main route. He called to the shepherd and found that everything was in good order. Reassured, Berates was ready to go back to the camp to wait for his sheep.

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V
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[372]

We had to leave the car along the main highway and scramble up the high bank before finding the path that led us up the hill. There in a row, about ten feet apart, stood the four tents of brown homespun waterproof mohair, each stretched on a frame consisting of three poles tied at the top. The first tent was that of Christos and his son and daughter. A small fire of *pournari* (the evergreen oak with hollylike leaves) was replenished with fuel cut by a small, sharp ax. In that tent alone were seven big woven duffel bags, stuffed full of household goods or clothes. The floor of the tent was

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

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Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements. Women should be 18 before marriage.	[583]
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid. [583] [162]
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the

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[178]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 do not mean that the young people subscribe to the romance of the Hollywood movies where love is glorified as an end unto itself. By "arranged marriages" is meant the lack of initiative on the part of the young and the willingness on the part of the boy or girl to give up a preferred mate if the parents strongly object.

581 178 [831]

It is safe to say that the pendulum is swinging from the arranged to the marriage for love. But in most Greek villages the parents still play an active role in negotiating with each other on behalf of their children and in trying to forestall what they would consider an unfortunate selection. Where parents and children disagree in such cases the situation becomes known to the village at large, and public opinion sometimes supports the young people. The father may be told at the coffeehouse, "Why don't you let your daughter marry Theodore? He is not such a bad boy after all." And the neighboring women take the mother to task, reminding her that her husband was not such a wonderful catch when they first married but that he had worked hard, had done well, and had earned everybody's respect.

[626]

The Dowry

581 583

What are the criteria of a fortunate and an unfortunate selection? Young people were very explicit about this, although by no means unanimous in their answers. Looming large throughout most of Greece is the dowry, or economic resources which the girl brings to the new union.[1] One father from a village near Thebes summarized the situation as follows: "If you have gold sovereigns, you marry off your daughter; if not, you don't." In the villages the surplus of girls, existing since World War I, has been increasing. This came to light when we asked where the men sought their mates — in the home village or elsewhere. Often the reply would be: "Wherever the men can get the best *proika* [dowry]." But there were those who disagreed with this emphasis on money: "If you marry just for money, all day long the wife will hold the purse strings and then where will you be?" In the case of the girl, honor or chastity ranks high as does good health, without which the wife cannot be a good worker. Beauty and good looks are also most welcome, although now and then one would say that "beauty is not too important if the girl has a good heart." As for the man, wealth, education, and position make him a proper risk as a husband if he has a good reputation as well.

[162]

These traits which prospective mates should possess have much meaning because in Greece marriage unites two families, and dowry arrangements are contracts between families and not just between two individuals. One keen observer of village life pointed out that "in a village one always hears people speak of families as 'good family' or 'not a good family.'" The standard of *good* is largely in terms of money. The individual from a good family has a big head start in life in a country where financial resources are

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 369 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison, its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it has a variety of forms.

Coffeehouse Types

275 443 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three assorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles [562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's 275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four 443 by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches 347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and [262] stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly [373] glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[8] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis*, while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[9] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither. 175 623 642

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws. [671]

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues." [4] 631 642 [658]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior. [185]

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

[621] [633] [162]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see. 771

Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church. 771 795 619 162

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2] 795 184 776 [346]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names 795 184

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

178 433 464 241

In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income. When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

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The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's economic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire.

178 434 [162]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

[162] Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the [197] inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the [122] Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us [125] live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with [184] other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural [171] settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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The Village: As a Setting

THE VILLAGE OF VASILIKA lies almost at the foot of Mt. Parnassos on the Boeotian plain. The oldest of its fifty-odd houses were built in the late nineteenth century by the grandfathers of some of the now adult villagers. Most of them came from the village of Parori two miles to the northeast. Until 1933, when Vasilika sued for and won separate status, the two settlements were classified by the central government as one community (*kinotis*). The parent village still has the larger population, with some 700 inhabitants, while Vasilika, in 1955–1956, had 216.

Both Vasilika and Parori have come to be called by these names only since 1955. During the Turkish occupation, and for more than a century after the liberation of the region, the Boeotian villages used the names the Turks had assigned to them. Parori was Biskeni Aghas; Vasilika was Kravasaras. But in the last decade, patriotic considerations have led to a change from the old names to ones based on Greek roots. *Parori,* in Greek, means "near a mountain" and is an appropriate name for a village which rests in the foothills of Parnassos. *Vasilika* means "royal" and was the name of a hill in the region where a famous battle against the Turks was fought. In some cases, the names by which the villages were known in classical Greek times were restored. Drachmani, for example, once again became Elatia.

Most of the villagers of Vasilika, in 1961, still called the village "Kravasaras." Indeed, the new sign pointing to the dirt road which leads into the settlement reads *Kravasaras,* in spite of the designation of the village in the provincial records as *Vasilika.* This type of double nomenclature is common in the entire region. The wives of Vasilika, most of whom come from the surrounding Boeotian villages, frequently refer to their former houses by their older Turkish names. These are the names which evoke for them the emotions associated with "my village." Their husbands, on the other hand, often refer to their wives' home villages by the newly given names. An outsider must resign himself to learning the double nomenclature if he is to avoid utter confusion.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it 592
always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and con- 804
sumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 273
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 252
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 147
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 461
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling
motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the 412
earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy 462
hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me agbapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw. 596 594 428

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision. 577 777 428 596

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist- 596 594 178 [162] [582]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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IV

THE ORGANIC BODY

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Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

THERE is an old story, still to be heard in the mountain villages, which 773
tells how God fashioned the dry land; how He put all the earth through the mesh of His sieve: here a pile of fine rich soil, the granary of Africa, and there another which was Sicily. When all was done there remained within the sieve a heap of stones and dross: God threw them over His shoulder, and there was Greece. *Tout ce païs*, remarks an old traveller, *est plein de hautes montagnes.*

It is important to bear in mind the physical characteristics of the 133
setting within which the Greek Church carries out her work of re- 361
conciliation and renewal. Greece is a land of high mountains and narrow coastal plains; of few towns and wretched communications. The majority of her people live, as they have lived from time immemorial, in small rural communities widely dispersed among the mountains, winning a laborious subsistence from the parched and stony soil which scarcely covers her rocky skeleton. More than half of the whole [311]
area of Greece is utterly barren; much of what remains consists of forest and poor pasture; less than one-fifth is under cultivation. Greece and poverty, the saying runs, have ever been sisters.

At the time of the last census approximately one-seventh of the total 162
population of Greece dwelt in the Athens-Piraeus region, the pheno- 369
menal growth of which during the last 100 years has set it strangely apart from the rest of the country—even though "the equipages of Athens", as the Abbé de St. Michon observed, "have not quite the freshness nor the elegance of those seen in the Champs Elysées". Salonica had a population which was approaching 300,000; the next largest town, however, was Patras with less than 80,000 inhabitants. Most of the remaining towns, a large proportion of which are situated in the fertile plains of Macedonia and Thrace, are market towns and centres of rural industries but little more.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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369 Thus, despite a certain drift from the villages to the towns during the last few years, the average Greek is still a countryman. Even the Athenian, if one delves into his personal history, is generally found to have his roots in some mountain village of the Peloponnese or in one of the islands. The generality of the Greek bishops are charged with the pastoral care of a flock dispersed in village communities among the mountains; a single market town or *comopolis* forming the centre of the ecclesiastical as of the civil administration.

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The Church of Greece, from the point of view of outward organisation, consists of sixty-seven dioceses: thirty-four belonging to Old Greece and the remainder to the territories annexed to the Greek kingdom after the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the first world war. These latter dioceses, though formally subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, are at present placed under that of the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy, which is presided over by the Archbishop of Athens and of all Greece. This body, which is made up of the metropolitans of the sixty-seven dioceses, assembles every three years and may be summoned on other occasions if need arise. Extraordinary business apart, however, the affairs of the Church are administered by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, which is composed of twelve bishops under the presidency of the Archbishop. All the bishops are called in turn to serve on this body, and during the greater part of their year as *synodikoi* (which normally recurs about once every five years), they reside in Athens, going home to their dioceses only during the heat of the summer and for the great festivals.

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In Greece the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church has not been replaced by 'the Churches'. According to the figures of the 1940 census, out of a total population of 7,344,860 persons, no less than 7,090,192 were Orthodox, while the non-Orthodox Christians amounted to a bare 51,851. This small minority consists of Roman Catholics and a few so-called 'evangelicals' who came to Greece in the early 'twenties from Asia Minor and owe their origin to the proselytising zeal of American missionaries. All of them are confined to the islands and to a few towns on the mainland: in the country districts a Dissenter would be a curiosity indeed.

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The Greek diocese is, by English standards, very small and sparsely populated; in some respects more akin to a rural deanery than to our overgrown dioceses. Its average population—if we leave on one side the

[793]

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Athens-Piraeus region—is no more than about 85,000 souls. In terms of parishes there is considerable disparity between different dioceses: that of Ioannina, in Epirus, one of the largest, includes 230 parishes—many of them mere hamlets of forty or fifty families—while that of Nevrokopi, on the frontier of eastern Macedonia, has only fifteen. The average number is rather less than 100. If we take the twenty-four dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace, for example, we find that the average works out at seventy-eight parishes to the diocese, while the metropolitans of Philippi and Neapolis, Xanthi, Nevrokopi, Eleftheroupolis, Nea Zichni, Alexandroupolis and Hierissos all have less than sixty communities committed to their care, and only five bishops—the metropolitans of Salonica, Drama, Kilkis, Serres and Florina—more than 100. [162]

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As against this comparatively low average population and number of parishes one has, of course, to set in the balance the extremely primitive nature of the communications which the Greek bishop can command. To this day the majority of the villages of northern Greece are inaccessible to wheeled transport, at any rate during the winter months; and while the truly remarkable achievements of the last few years—the repair of the shattered railways, and the construction of roads and air-strips—have given Greece a very fair system of long-distance communications, the facilities which most bishops enjoy for travel within their own dioceses remain much as they have been since apostolic days. The metropolitan of a country diocese will think nothing of long journeys by mule or mountain pony across appallingly difficult terrain, his episcopal vestments slung from the high wooden saddle; of fording torrents swollen by the melting snows, and negotiating precipitous slopes where the path seems scarcely to afford adequate foothold for a goat—much less for an elderly ecclesiastic. It is little wonder that many mountain villages saw their father in God but seldom, even in the days before the natural hazards which confronted the traveller had been supplemented by mines and wandering bands of *katsapliades*, as the Communists were styled in the villages. [669]

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When we turn to the internal organisation of the dioceses we find many features which cannot but seem strange to most western Christians. We have come to take for granted the fact that a bishop, charged with the pastoral care of a vast and unmanageable diocese, inevitably delegates most of his priestly functions to his parish clergy. In the small country dioceses of Greece, however, the bishop retains a far greater measure of

THE WATERS OF MARAH

795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

175 792 [162] monks still further reduced to twenty-one. A decade of war has added a catastrophic chapter to this melancholy tale of gradual decline, for it was not possible that the monks should remain aloof from the calamities which have befallen their native land during those terrible years. The day was long since flown when the monks could look down from the security of their rocky retreats upon scenes of slaughter and pillage as armies came and went on the plain below; and, turning away with the sign of the cross and a *Kyrie eleison*, go back to their labours. The unscalable heights were impregnable no longer.

792 123 [491] I spent several days at the monasteries in January 1950, accompanied by a young theologian from the Russian Academy in Paris. Heavy falls of snow had blocked the Metsovo pass—the one road that leads northwestwards from Kalambaka across the heights of Pindos, connecting the plain of Thessaly with Ioannina and Epirus—and the cold was intense. We had slept the previous night at Trikkala, where the Metropolitan had shown us a number of charred manuscripts which had been salvaged from the monasteries. Our first concern upon reaching Kalambaka the following morning was to seek out the curate of the place, Father Christos Benda, whom we discovered wrapped in a blanket at his fireside. He was not a little startled at the sudden apparition of two Frankish visitors in the doorway of his cottage, and regarded somewhat gloomily our proposal to sleep at the monasteries for the duration of our stay, assuring us (not without reason, as we subsequently discovered), that the monks had little enough bedding to protect their own persons from the bitter winds which swept the exposed summits. He promised, nevertheless, to come with us to look for the *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron who was said to have descended from his airy retreat that morning in order to deal with some piece of monastic business. First, however, we were taken to see the fourteenth-[346] century basilica with its remarkable marble *ambon*, and to visit the [87.1] school, where we found classes of 150 children overflowing the one available building (which had perforce to serve as primary school in the forenoon and as high school for the rest of the day), and packed into two small chapels which had been furnished with desks. The children were delighted at the diversion caused by the appearance of the *xenoi*. Papa Christos carried us off in search of the abbot who was finally run to earth in a tavern where, monastic business satisfactorily despatched, he was disposing of a dish of vegetables.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

792 later in the day. There was, alas! no bedding at the monastery, said
[669] Father Ambrose: everything had been carried off by the Communists, to equip a field-hospital which they had established in the mountains to the northward; "What is to be done? But we will find something for you when you return this evening."

792 We spent the rest of the day scrambling about the rocks and visiting
346 long-abandoned monasteries and hermitages. At St. Nicolas—fast falling into ruin, and where one must tread with circumspection—we found a few paintings remaining in the two chapels and the refectory, as well as an iron chest containing liturgical books and an eikon of the Forerunner; elsewhere, nothing save slowly crumbling masonry and the all-enveloping silence. We paid a fleeting visit to Kalambaka and returned to St. Barlaam a little before sunset laden with cognac and cigarettes. Like the Great Meteoron, this monastery, which crowns the
[361] towering cliffs of Drakospelaia, was until quite recent times inaccessible
[133] save by net and windlass. It is a sixteenth-century foundation, having been built about 1517 by two brothers from Ioannina—Nektarios and Theophanes—on the site of the fourteenth-century hermitage founded by the solitary from whom the monastery takes its name. In 1950 it
792 was inhabited by six monks. The *Igoumenos*, Father Christopher, told
[162] us he had been at the monastery for twenty-one years, and for another twenty years at a convent to the westward of Trikkala. He was seventy-seven—twelve years older than Father Ambrose, an Athenian who was ordained many years ago at Moni Petraki in the shadow of Lykavettos. This was the only one of the monasteries where we came across any novices. Father Bessarion (who came from a village near Larissa and who had seen service with the British army in the Middle East), had been received only five months earlier, as had another young deacon, a native of Chios. There were in addition two simple monks, one of them more than ninety years old.

That night it snowed heavily. Father Bessarion produced a threadbare
[346] carpet which, folded double, afforded us a little protection against the bitter cold; and he and a shepherd from Kalambaka, who was living at the monastery, kindled a huge fire which blazed on the open hearth of our cell until morning, while the wind howled along the deserted galleries, the ancient timbers groaned and shivered, and it seemed that an exceptionally heavy squall would send the whole monastery with its domed chapels and its frail scaffolding of cells and domestic buildings spinning off into the abyss. When daylight came we seemed to be sus-

women) afford a systematic course of instruction in Christian doctrine 794
and practice for boys and girls between the ages of nine and twenty-two. These children have all, it must be borne in mind, been full com- [795
municant members of the Church since infancy. There are no con- 883]
firmation classes in Greece, and, within the new movements at least, the period of adolescence, when so overwhelming a proportion of our own children lose all vital contact with the Church, is commonly that at which the young Greek Christian begins to play an active part in the life of his local community.

The size of the catechetical schools, even in the provincial towns of 162
northern Greece (where such schools were not founded until the late 794
'thirties and had hardly established themselves when these districts were overwhelmed by foreign occupation and Communist sedition) is often quite staggering. The figures for the town of Kilkis—a few miles north of Salonica and the scene of some of the bloodiest massacres of the whole war—may serve as an illustration. During the year 1948–49, when the war with the Communists was at its height, membership of the catechetical schools was as follows:

	Boys	*Girls*
Junior schools	782	696
Middle schools	165	180
Senior schools	55	77
Young workers	123	293
	1125	1246

These are the figures for a Macedonian market town whose pre-war population scarcely exceeded 7,000. Even allowing for the fact that several hundreds of the children belonging to the catechetical schools in 1948–49 were refugees from the villages of the diocese, they show the astonishing development of these new Christian schools within a bare ten or eleven years.

Remarkable as these figures may seem they are by no means exceptional. All over Greece catechetical schools have sprung up as it were overnight and multiplied with incredible rapidity, despite the lack of trained leaders. At Kilkis the metropolitan had the assistance of one [793]
priest-theologian. In the adjoining diocese of Siderokastro, where the bishop had only a seminary-trained preacher to help him, and where

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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794 catechetical schools were in September, 1949, quite a recent innovation, membership of the schools, in a town considerably smaller than Kilkis, had already risen to 957 and was increasing rapidly. In and around Salonica the number of catechetical schools under the supervision of the Zoë Brotherhood rose from less than thirty in 1942 to 170 in 1949.

The catechetical school normally meets every Sunday, and the teaching is based on one of the two courses now in circulation—the first issued by the Zoë Brotherhood, the second (only recently published) by the official Home Mission. While the parallels with our own Sunday Schools and 'catechisms' are evident, these Greek schools have a character which is all their own. Particularly impressive is the stimulus which is given to the active apostolate of the laity. The children are from their earliest days encouraged to pull their weight in the life of the local *ekklesia*. At Verroia, in the spring of 1950, boys of nine were visiting the townsfolk and delivering letters from the *hierokeryx* of the metropolis. At Salonica, where the catechetical schools under the auspices of the Apostoliki Diakonia were normally directed by a student of the theological faculty of the university, the teacher would at the end of a lesson despatch his pupils, two by two, to call at the homes of any who through sickness or for some other cause had been unable to be present that day. When the defaulter was run to earth he would be given a brief *résumé* of the afternoon's lesson.

794 The catechetical schools form the base of an impressive structure still in process of creation. In describing the Christian youth movements that now flourish in almost every diocese of Greece I will start with those connected with the Zoë Brotherhood, which are the most important. The reader will recall that as early as 1877 Father Eusebius (then chaplain to the School of the Logos) was experimenting with small groups of young people and adults, and such *omades* have played an important part in the extension of his teaching and influence.

First, then, the movement known as *X.M.O.* (*Christianikai Mathetikai Omades*). This is made up of selected members of the catechetical schools between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Its members try to bring others to the catechetical schools, to spread sound sacramental teaching, to distribute Christian publications and generally to set a high standard of conduct by their example. Each group consists of from fifteen to twenty members, meets once or twice a week and is led by an undergraduate (at any rate in Athens and Salonica).

These student-leaders are drawn from another youth organisation

648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families com- [162] prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, [463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know. 621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never 621 178x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never 163
exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have de- 168
clined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of 621
the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of [162]
the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people 178x
of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circum- 873
stances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys 464
pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that [647]
so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gymnasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as [647]
capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gymnasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of 178x
marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 582
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be
1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This [166]
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the
upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep
on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village
still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The
villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four
months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends
meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [463]
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [333]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construc- [464]
tion – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947
such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic
accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto,
Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded
regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant
groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree,
helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family ex-
pected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in
turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his
parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters
who stayed home.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

000 722 511 who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out [669] [457] four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their [262] [164] sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to [263] undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

669 722 621 161 Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and drastic undernourishment. [162] When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of 669 728 621 161 population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names regis-
[745] tered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people officially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers reckon that their own local production supplies food for only
[432] two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of
[844] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

162

worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as 217
against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the 621
village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that 178 ×
is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until 582
the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young [583]
man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the 621
officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, 666
represented the extreme right. The president and secretary 669
were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble 565
in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to 578
use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which employed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the season. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a decrease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabitants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kalamata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

423 combined into one holding. The great majority of the families
425 of the village, however, still occupied 27 or 32 stremmata in 1956, and most of the original holders of the allotments were still alive.

x 178 The land settlement in Nea Eleftherohori differed from that
621 in Lofiscos in two respects. First, the farms in Nea Eleftherohori were less than one fifth as large as in Lofiscos. Second, the new
241 settlers, uprooted from their former homes, whether up the
433 mountain or in distant Asia Minor, left binding customary ways of life behind them, and started off in Nea Eleftherohori without the automatic conservatism and suspicion of innovation typical until very recently of the families of Lofiscos. These differences acted together to make the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori a good deal more willing to try new crops and methods, even before the war, than those in the older Thessalian community. Life on so little land was difficult at best, and anything that promised to bring in a little more seemed worth trying; and when the problems of farming the land were new in any event, there was far less psychological resistance against trying some further innovation.

621 Another contrast with Lofiscos, a contrast perhaps related
● 163 to the general shake-up of old customary routines which came to the inhabitants of Nea Eleftherohori between 1912 and 1923,
433 is that the new settlers proceeded to procreate children at a far greater rate than occurs in Lofiscos, where families are mostly quite small. [2]

2. It would be very interesting to know why the prosperous peasants of Lofiscos have fewer children than their much poorer fellows in Nea Eleftherohori, but I do not know Lofiscos well enough to hazard an opinion. Can it be that the general market orientation of their agriculture and the habit of calculating in monetary terms leads them to restrict the number of their children deliberately, in some fashion or other, realizing that to divide the family farm among many children spells impoverishment for

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most 428
families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to 423
present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in 621
still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it 669
lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands con- 578
trolled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that 621
village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the 163
wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. 433
Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, consequent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the difference, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some [563]
recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land distributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original [656]
justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

x 178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured,
511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow
582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it.
[583] In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 stremmata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300 gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fifteen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in
[589] the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good many men and women in their thirties and some in their early forties remain unmarried.

x 178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refu-
582 gees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and
583 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes
[563] marry young and before the new family has any assured means
[626] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irresponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of social pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

[168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth. Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position; or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster of having too many mouths to feed.

• 163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom-
168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births
621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never 163 ●
exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have de- 168
clined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of 621
the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic [162]
distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people 178 ×
of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circum- 873
stances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys 464
pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gym- [647]
nasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as [647]
capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gymnasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of 178 ×
marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 582
583

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
×178 seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by – a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield
[433] from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family
[571] can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
×178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For
[582] them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
•163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in
165 Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimina-
[744] tion of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to
[434] the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Village Hygiene

364 [369] This closer contact with the ideas and the services of the city is helping overcome one of the negative aspects of village life from the survival standpoint, namely, its lack of adequate hygienic provisions. When Greek villages are judged in terms of what one finds in many rural settlements throughout the United States and Western Europe, they measure up fairly well. They have their expected quota of flies, their problems of sewage disposal, and the difficulties of obtaining pure drinking water, but these concerns are common to farm people in other parts of the world.

364 312 When, however, one measures the Greek village by scientific standards of public hygiene — and these should be the goal in the interest of better health for its people — then there are obvious shortcomings. According to *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*:

> many of the rural sections depend on small springs and hand-dug wells for their water supplies. These are usually isolated from inhabited areas and the water is not piped to the villages. It is quite common to see women carrying water in earthenware containers from sources as far as a mile from their homes.
>
> In semi-rural communities, particularly in the lowlands where underground water is more common, public wells, springs and private wells are often in use. Many private wells exist all over Greece and are sometimes the preferred sources of supply, even where safe piped supplies are provided. In some of the smaller Ionian and Aegean Islands and in a few villages in the northeastern Peloponnese and eastern Crete, the complete lack of any surface or underground water has compelled the population to depend on rain water collected from the roofs of their homes.
>
> Many private and public wells and many rural springs are open and unprotected from contamination which may be introduced by the human or animal population which it serves. . . . Even after collection, the water is frequently subject to contamination in containers. . . .[8]

The urban water supplies are more apt to be adequate with proper precautions taken for filtration and chlorination.[9]

364 514 A description of waste disposal is also contained in the report quoted above:

> For the disposal of human excreta in the rural areas of Greece either the pit privy or bored-hole latrines are utilized. Defecation on the ground is still widely practiced due to lack of sanitary facilities in residences and schools. However, the sanitary type of bored-hole latrine and pit privy has been installed under various programs at low cost to villagers in rural areas mainly as demonstration projects.[10]

164 165 In addition to the obvious visible signs of sanitation progress, one can learn much from the list of causes of death for Greece as a whole. Table 2 shows the first fifteen general causes of death for 1950. Some of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 2. CAUSES OF DEATH IN GREECE, 1950, BY NUMBER AND RATE

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Cause of death	Number	Death rate (per 1000 people)
Heart disease	3270	.427
Cancer	2730	.358
Cerebral hemorrhage	2679	.352
Tuberculosis (respiratory)	2214	.293
Senility	1954	.258
Pneumonia	1523	.201
Nephritis	1284	.168
Violent accidents	1259	.165
Causes unknown	1166	.154
Congenital debility	998	.132
Diarrhea, enteritis	973	.128
Other tuberculosis	634	.083
Other diseases of digestive system	629	.082
Other infectious diseases	621	.081
Diseases of the liver	511	.067

Source: Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece* (Athens, 1952), p. 62 (mimeographed).

diseases which give the health authorities most cause for concern are tuberculosis, dysentery, typhoid and paratyphoid, venereal diseases, smallpox, various intestinal parasites, and particularly infectious hepatitis.

Of these causes of death, tuberculosis creates the greatest problem for those interested in preventive medicine, for it is commonly recognized that the reported death rate, 29.3 per 100,000 people, is probably less than half of the true figures. Greek peasants can therefore take small comfort in the fact that tuberculosis death rates in the urban areas are more than twice as high as those for rural districts, since this still means relatively high rates in the villages. Although the government is attacking tuberculosis with considerable vigor, the public response is only half-hearted. One of the first jobs of the UNRRA–World Health Organization mission after the war was to try to persuade the tuberculous to recognize their illness, to take treatment, and to realize that it was no disgrace to be ill.

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However, in most families it is still considered a shame to have the disease, so much so that cases are hidden and doctors are even paid for not reporting cases to the public-health authorities. Although undernourishment is frequently associated with the high incidence of the disease, in Greece malaria has been a contributory cause by undermining resistance to the tuberculosis bacillus.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

164 744 Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

364 Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

342 184 As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years, [712] plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

793 736 792 288 [175] [231]

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

793 734 [788]

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

[164]

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

783 788 [734]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
433 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Kotta

[Hill Villages]

000 722 511 who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out [669 457] four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their [262 164] sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to [263] undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

669 722 621 161 Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and dras- [162] tic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla re- 669 728 621 161 treat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

/28 cont./ 603 867 702 [538]
always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

/29 cont./
leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

/42 cont./

to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511

176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family.

Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.

Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not 759
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward

/68 cont./ 164 [752]
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out. /69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth healthy and strong. [264] [515]

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and everything evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children. Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the troubles considerably. 514 514 744

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat them. [753]

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost. Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed. 362 [513]

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed 164
gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors 159
in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village 562
image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much 554
freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. [831]
There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many
women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance
of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the
reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, 732
blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even
jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is
therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete.
Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability
to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from [581]
marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect,
and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people
are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA
one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he
could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted
on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the
Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through 178
lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the 744
energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT [164]
campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware [513]
of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer
nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds
were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and
has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes,
since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and 751
health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a 515
matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is
a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing
underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face
and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the 514
situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported
that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a com- 264
munion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special 594

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Village Hygiene

364 This closer contact with the ideas and the services of the city is helping
[369] overcome one of the negative aspects of village life from the survival standpoint, namely, its lack of adequate hygienic provisions. When Greek villages are judged in terms of what one finds in many rural settlements throughout the United States and Western Europe, they measure up fairly well. They have their expected quota of flies, their problems of sewage disposal, and the difficulties of obtaining pure drinking water, but these concerns are common to farm people in other parts of the world.

364 When, however, one measures the Greek village by scientific standards
312 of public hygiene — and these should be the goal in the interest of better health for its people — then there are obvious shortcomings. According to *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*:

> many of the rural sections depend on small springs and hand-dug wells for their water supplies. These are usually isolated from inhabited areas and the water is not piped to the villages. It is quite common to see women carrying water in earthenware containers from sources as far as a mile from their homes.
>
> In semi-rural communities, particularly in the lowlands where underground water is more common, public wells, springs and private wells are often in use. Many private wells exist all over Greece and are sometimes the preferred sources of supply, even where safe piped supplies are provided. In some of the smaller Ionian and Aegean Islands and in a few villages in the northeastern Peloponnese and eastern Crete, the complete lack of any surface or underground water has compelled the population to depend on rain water collected from the roofs of their homes.
>
> Many private and public wells and many rural springs are open and unprotected from contamination which may be introduced by the human or animal population which it serves. . . . Even after collection, the water is frequently subject to contamination in containers. . . .[8]

The urban water supplies are more apt to be adequate with proper precautions taken for filtration and chlorination.[9]

364 A description of waste disposal is also contained in the report quoted above:

514

> For the disposal of human excreta in the rural areas of Greece either the pit privy or bored-hole latrines are utilized. Defecation on the ground is still widely practiced due to lack of sanitary facilities in residences and schools. However, the sanitary type of bored-hole latrine and pit privy has been installed under various programs at low cost to villagers in rural areas mainly as demonstration projects.[10]

164 In addition to the obvious visible signs of sanitation progress, one can
●165 learn much from the list of causes of death for Greece as a whole. Table 2 shows the first fifteen general causes of death for 1950. Some of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 2. CAUSES OF DEATH IN GREECE, 1950, BY NUMBER AND RATE

164
165

Cause of death	Number	Death rate (per 1000 people)
Heart disease	3270	.427
Cancer	2730	.358
Cerebral hemorrhage	2679	.352
Tuberculosis (respiratory)	2214	.293
Senility	1954	.258
Pneumonia	1523	.201
Nephritis	1284	.168
Violent accidents	1259	.165
Causes unknown	1166	.154
Congenital debility	998	.132
Diarrhea, enteritis	973	.128
Other tuberculosis	634	.083
Other diseases of digestive system	629	.082
Other infectious diseases	621	.081
Diseases of the liver	511	.067

Source: Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece* (Athens, 1952), p. 62 (mimeographed).

diseases which give the health authorities most cause for concern are tuberculosis, dysentery, typhoid and paratyphoid, venereal diseases, smallpox, various intestinal parasites, and particularly infectious hepatitis.

Of these causes of death, tuberculosis creates the greatest problem for those interested in preventive medicine, for it is commonly recognized that the reported death rate, 29.3 per 100,000 people, is probably less than half of the true figures. Greek peasants can therefore take small comfort in the fact that tuberculosis death rates in the urban areas are more than twice as high as those for rural districts, since this still means relatively high rates in the villages. Although the government is attacking tuberculosis with considerable vigor, the public response is only half-hearted. One of the first jobs of the UNRRA–World Health Organization mission after the war was to try to persuade the tuberculous to recognize their illness, to take treatment, and to realize that it was no disgrace to be ill. 164 753 744 177

However, in most families it is still considered a shame to have the disease, so much so that cases are hidden and doctors are even paid for not reporting cases to the public-health authorities. Although undernourishment is frequently associated with the high incidence of the disease, in Greece malaria has been a contributory cause by undermining resistance to the tuberculosis bacillus.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
×178 seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by – a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian
[433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield
[571] from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
×178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For
[582] them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in
●165 Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimina-
[744] tion of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing together. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance [602]
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is, "God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of preventing birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do [178]
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in. [165]
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/42 cont./

to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

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782

are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [755] [776] [778] [751] [754]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks.

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey. These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more /68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk (gioghourt).

515 184 [851] [178] [164] [165] 262

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

291

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not make his living in this population and was planning to move to a larger city and visit the area once a week.

515 [369] 759

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without reward.

164 [515] [752] [759]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 ver-
sion of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picur- 184
esque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields.
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, cho-* 369
rikos, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approxima- [361]
tions of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions
about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of over-
idealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of
burdens and dull plodders through life.[10]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland,
away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* in-
terchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall
have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other
countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local po-
litical units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens,
whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had
reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over
20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small
village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more atten-
tion than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peas- 369
ant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways.
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 184
174

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them now and begin to live in their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can." 184 433 511

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains. [722]

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are: 184 157 829

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it." 184 511

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna- 184 157 829 [166] [722]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[9]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

166 361 727 voices, questioned: "Just how would a fisherman know how to guard livestock?" The new site had been chosen because it was sheltered, near the water, and on the road. The houses had been provided free by the Ministry of Reconstruction, each being set in a plot of four hundred square meters in which a small vegetable garden was possible. As the surrounding cropland was insufficient to support all of these families, the men had to go far away in search of jobs while leaving the women and children behind.

361 727 178 In the beginning of the reconstruction period, private contractors were given the task of rebuilding the destroyed villages and in some cases put up shoddy dwellings in a location where people did not want to live. Some of these stand today between Lamia and Volos abandoned, mute testimony to the failure of projects carried out without consulting those supposed to benefit from them. But most of the postwar villages are now inhabited and contrast, because of their straight streets and their houses in a perfect line, with the older villages where the streets wander and each individual put up his house on his lot as it pleased him.

361 Location, however, is more complex than some of the peasants' explanations or the contractors' choices would imply. It usually represents over a long period of time an adjustment to the resources which people need for their livelihood. First of all, there must be water available for drinking [312] and washing. Should a spring upon which everyone depended dry up, the people of the village would move, ghosts or no ghosts, particularly if the women got tired of carrying water from some unreasonable distance. Over a period of time, also, the peasants locate their settlements as a compromise between the requirements for wood and pastures on heights above the village and the need for daily travel to their fields lying below. That is why villages are so frequently perched on a hillside instead of on the level land beneath. Of course, if the plain is large and the hills distant from land owned by the peasants, they will build a village on the plain and make long trips for their wood. Another factor affecting location in the days of Turkish rule was the villager's desire to be off the main road and thus less subject to taxation by officials and to requisition of foodstuffs by passing troops. He valued his freedom. Those old villages are now suffering from the isolation which was once a blessing. But many of the people still cling to residence in the old village in preference to separate farms because of the protection a village gives against wild animals and predatory armies, and because neighbors help each other to cultivate the earth. A further reason for the long survival of the village was its suitability to the system of large landholdings prevalent through much of Greece before the liberation from the Turks. Estate owners or managers could better control and supervise the rural workers whose houses were conveniently grouped together. Nowadays, according to those engaged in community development, better provisions for schools, roads, medical services, mail, and other

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
[432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
[166] rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months.
[578] Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511]

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
[369] rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
[593] young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional varia-
432 tions are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
[166] On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

V 221 182 [422] [556]

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

S 361 342 [233]

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group? [10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

S [101]

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

S 361 G [162] [166] S [342] S [241] [462] [233] [515]

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

S 35 [231] [233] [252] [312]

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance
669 for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
166 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did [657] not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as [369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes follow-
[302] ing the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was [657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

178 433 464 241

In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income. When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

[166]

The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's economic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire.

178 434 [162]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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The Village: As a Setting

THE VILLAGE OF VASILIKA lies almost at the foot of Mt. Parnassos on the Boeotian plain. The oldest of its fifty-odd houses were built in the late nineteenth century by the grandfathers of some of the now adult villagers. Most of them came from the village of Parori two miles to the northeast. Until 1933, when Vasilika sued for and won separate status, the two settlements were classified by the central government as one community (*kinotis*). The parent village still has the larger population, with some 700 inhabitants, while Vasilika, in 1955–1956, had 216. 361 621 [166] [162]

Both Vasilika and Parori have come to be called by these names only since 1955. During the Turkish occupation, and for more than a century after the liberation of the region, the Boeotian villages used the names the Turks had assigned to them. Parori was Biskeni Aghas; Vasilika was Kravasaras. But in the last decade, patriotic considerations have led to a change from the old names to ones based on Greek roots. *Parori,* in Greek, means "near a mountain" and is an appropriate name for a village which rests in the foothills of Parnassos. *Vasilika* means "royal" and was the name of a hill in the region where a famous battle against the Turks was fought. In some cases, the names by which the villages were known in classical Greek times were restored. Drachmani, for example, once again became Elatia. 621 103 186

Most of the villagers of Vasilika, in 1961, still called the village "Kravasaras." Indeed, the new sign pointing to the dirt road which leads into the settlement reads *Kravasaras,* in spite of the designation of the village in the provincial records as *Vasilika.* This type of double nomenclature is common in the entire region. The wives of Vasilika, most of whom come from the surrounding Boeotian villages, frequently refer to their former houses by their older Turkish names. These are the names which evoke for them the emotions associated with "my village." Their husbands, on the other hand, often refer to their wives' home villages by the newly given names. An outsider must resign himself to learning the double nomenclature if he is to avoid utter confusion.

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Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
166 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
463 shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
434 settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
464 wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
262 women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
342 longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
563 have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their children are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
621 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
555 commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
871 he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
641 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
435 shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *paniyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

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are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them. 842 511 178

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot. 871 511 [594] [647] [591]

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the 871 554 594 428 [671] [166] [369] [671]

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871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
594 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.

[554] Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

[166] The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[369] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the his-
594 tory of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However,
[123] emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inherit-
369 ance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
428 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown
511 up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

However, Vasilika is an open community in
369 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
463 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
871 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
[873] any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
[166] gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
[702] barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the
[873] town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
554 tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is al-
58 most impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[8] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual,
602 therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a tax [illegible]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else
361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im-
433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages
438 of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads
241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will
433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is
433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be
[464] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains
[166] often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

Hence a sort of symbiosis was established. A large proportion of the able-bodied men of the hill villages descended each year to the plains and worked in the fields of the Turkish landowners, then returned to their homes with wages, either in money or in kind, with which to supplement the produce of the tiny fields they had been able to carve from the mountain valleys and slopes around their homes. 361 464 166 433

Some of the hill villages developed occupational specialties,[1] sending most of their able-bodied men each year to labor as masons or carpenters wherever work was to be found. Groups of villagers sometimes walked as much as a hundred miles to and from the scene of this sort of seasonal employment. Other villages developed what might be called industrial specialties – lime burning, rug weaving, wood carving and the like – and peddled their products far and wide during the summer season. One village even developed an international trade in specially dyed red wool and cloth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, stationing agents in such cities as Vienna, Constantinople and Leipzig. The origins of the modern Greek merchant marine were similar, for sailors were easily recruited among peasant boys of the islands and coasts, who sought seasonal employment to supplement what could be produced on the family farm. 361 438 464 166 433 [505]

Another pattern of migration should be mentioned, up into the higher mountain slopes rather than down to the plains. Each summer herds of sheep and goats were sent to pasture on the high ground, where vegetation stayed green through the summer drought, and then returned to lower altitudes when the snows fell. Quite a few hill villages specialized in sheepherding, accompanying their own sheep, and sometimes sheep entrusted to them by others as well, on this annual round.

As long as the hill villages lay between two relatively unpopulated geographic regions – the plains beneath and the peaks 361 166 464 433

[1] [During Turkish times - ANALYST]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
● 166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
433 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant 361
farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little 166
outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the 464
plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less 178
and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between 433
hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets.

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, 167
especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a 464
geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from 178
home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek 433
emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one [191]
of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture.

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration [648]
which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of

[Village Life]

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[701] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially
[625] road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

621 369 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns [513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 517 275 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied [435] by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 464 166 [434] Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from villages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his [602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

423 The land now occupied by the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori
425 was owned by a Turkish landlord until 1912, and worked by a group of Turkish peasants. These were harried from the land when the Greek army came north in the first Balkan war of 1912. Thereupon, some of the inhabitants of Eleftherohori, together with a large group from another similar hill village, called Katophigi, simply squatted on the vacant land. They apportioned the booty on a first-come, first-served basis, effective title depending on tillage of particular fields. Since there was plenty of land for everyone, this provoked no difficulty.

The situation was radically changed and legally stabilized in 1927 when government authorities surveyed and redistributed
[166] village property. The Greek government was then engaged in settling as many as possible of the refugees who had come from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923 on land vacated by Turks; but it was not deemed politic to drive the squatters entirely away from what they had seized. Consequently, an estimate of the fertility of the soil was made in order to determine the smallest allotment on which a single family could subsist. In Nea Eleftherohori, the allotment was fixed at 27 stremmata, i.e., 6¾ acres. To permit as many refugees as possible to find land, it was further decided that lots would be assigned only to heads of families, not, as had been done earlier in Lofiscos, to every man, married or single.

As far as the squatters, or "old settlers," were concerned, these policies did not usually involve much loss. To be sure, their holdings were reassigned and particular pieces of land changed hands, but possession was so recent that this in itself did not rouse serious resentment. Moreover, few families failed
× [178] to get as much land as they had previously occupied. When it became known that only heads of families could qualify for an allotment, all the boys of marriageable age, even if only seventeen or eighteen years old, hastened to find themselves wives,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be 1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village [166]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos.

[Villages of the Plains]

621 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill
166 villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1958, according to the village president.

245 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become
439 prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devaluation of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good.

[436]

241 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing
474 largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in
433 the community, the two cooperatives which were organized
× 178 before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

178x 829 669 433 313 656 [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

669 722 657 178x

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

217 166 727

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names regis-
[745] tered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people officially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers reckon that their own local production supplies food for only
[432] two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth —
[844] a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
727 forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

●166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
[669] expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
[653] in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from 178*
neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I 621
was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of 873
gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea 178*
Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry 582
system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming 583
in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease 621
in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no 161
more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any [744]
change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The [582]
more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone 178*
much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I 166 •
was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have 369
gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left be-
● 166 hind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one
[369] of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are pre-
[427] pared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

647 One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The
[665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers
[186] that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against
[625] natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the
433 difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

/11 cont./ 000

conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and 602
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [596]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the 178
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. 621
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro- 582
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [736]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under [737]
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built.

113, 162, 167 Greece EH1

[For information pertaining to the status and territorial organization of the Greek minority in the Soviet Union, see 21: Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 146.]

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
[131] Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
[161] 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
[311] has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
[156] Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
[181] three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[3] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two
[167] thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take up farming.[4] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in
[829] most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[5] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Attitudes and Beliefs about Nature

82

The Greek people, as one would expect of individuals everywhere, vary considerably in their attitude toward the physical environment.[3] Some, completely oblivious to the beauty about them, nevertheless try to read the weather signs in order to know when they should plow or sow. Some, at the other extreme, show a deep sensitivity to the changing moods of nature, as, for example, the illiterate shepherd in the Boeotian village of Schematari who would take pencil and paper and lovingly draw a tree-filled landscape or the rising sun. Most of the Greek villagers, however, seem to fall between these two extremes; from time to time they, in the words of one peasant, "gain an optimism in life when they see the beauty of a nice slope of the mountain or a lovely dawn." On the whole, the world seems a friendly place and there are few things to fear at the hands of nature.

More than this, the world is in God's hands. The frequent reference to God in popular speech may be a cultural trait handed down from generation to generation, but some of the oft-repeated, time-honored phrases are said with such animation and with such a light in the eye that they must express the individual feeling of those using them. There is no counterpart in English to the common phrase *Chara Theou* (Joy of God), which combines not only rapture and active enjoyment but the sense of the sparkling light God sheds on the earth. During the spectacular Greek spring, this phrase is a most appropriate way of describing one's feeling. 82 771 776 [195]

Even those who are not very conscious of their natural surroundings from day to day miss them deeply when distant from them. Over and over again, returned emigrants in Greek villages gave as the reason for their departure from America their need to see the mountains or plains or the sea on which their eyes had rested while they grew up. 82 [167]

Much of this feeling toward nature is based on the sense of intimacy with her.[4] Indeed, one of the first requirements in trying to understand the life of any people is to learn their reaction and adjustment to the natural world. The Greek farmer studies nature for important signs which tell him whether to bring the flock in from the high hillside, whether to start or delay a journey, whether to put out his tobacco plants. Those signs directly relating weather to agriculture are obvious and easily understood by the Westerner, if not always accepted as scientifically valid. But the signs which natural objects and events provide of the supernatural — illness and death, the appearance of ghosts, or even the way the universe was made and is run — all of these stretch the imagination of the scientifically trained specialist, who may be inclined to dismiss them as superstition and therefore unimportant. Nevertheless, they continue to be important to many Greek villagers, young and old alike. 82 787

In listening to folk interpretations of nature, one also learns much about

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123 house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he
574 young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impres-
609 sive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

173 Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be
361 legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

361 Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to
rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Mace-
167 donia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

361 There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advis-
ability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than
461 in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the stand-
[484] point of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Fre-
[489] quently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[5] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[6]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511]

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

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But he was being forced to surrender even this by the provisions of the 1952 constitution which sought to put in the hands of all the remaining peasant tenants the land which they tilled. [427]

It was some of this land the Thomai peasants were waiting for. Thomai was a village of refugees from near Konya, Turkey, who had settled there in 1926 and 1927. Each had been given approximately fifteen acres of land, much of it quite fertile in comparison with land elsewhere in Greece, but still not enough for their needs. [167]

Arriving in the village, the director of agriculture questioned the men, gathered in the coffeehouse, on the extent of the damage done by the rain and they agreed with him that the loss was not nearly so great as the Athens papers had stated in their morning editions. One of them was even frank enough to say, "Oh, you know how farmers are inclined to exaggerate their losses."

"But what about our pasture land?" one of the more aggressive peasants wanted to know. "We are supposed to get some from one of the Hadjilazaros estates. When will the government give it to us? We need it for our flocks."

Patiently the director explained that they would definitely receive this land but that it would take time. He said he felt the matter would be settled fairly soon since the expropriation — the most difficult part of the transaction — had already been completed. One peasant asked: "How could the owner manage to sell some of the estates to be expropriated before the government took them over? This gives the government less to distribute."

The director pointed out that in any sweeping law like the land reform there were often legal loopholes. These were being closed, but the landowner had been able to use them to his advantage. "Remember," he added, "the present government is really interested in enforcing the law and you will get your pasture land." [12]

The land hunger so vigorously expressed by these villagers in the middle of some of the best land of Greece was due partly to their social origins. Added to the conservatism, the moderate pessimism, and longing for land common to most rural people, there was another factor: when they had lived in Turkey, deep in the interior, they had had all the land they could use. Turkey is less densely populated than Greece. Some Thomai peasants even longed to return to Turkey, so much had they idealized the earlier years before their forced exodus. Yet they admitted that in the 1920s in Turkey they had used primitive methods, plowing with a wooden rather than a steel plowshare; many had lived in caves. Significantly, they admitted also that in this part of Greece they had found agriculture more advanced, but it was an admission of a fact to which they could not adjust. Compared to the more flexible peasants of the refugee villages of Northern Greece, these Thomai villagers were reluctant to change; their nostalgia for the 178 423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan. 423 474 241 [167]

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future. [242] [407] [435] [407]

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem. [52]

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity." [343] [242]

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure
[167] of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the
[526] village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
463
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Vlachs EH15

G 233 [439] Although before the war Greece had over 8 million sheep and almost 4.5 million goats, these were still insufficient to meet local needs, and additional animals had to be imported each year. The war brought a reduction of about 2 million sheep and over a million goats, but by 1954 the numbers had risen to more than the prewar figures, and by 1957 sheep were estimated at 9.3 million and goats at 4.9 million.[3] From 1922 to 1937, with G [167] the resettlement of the 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor, the pasture area in Greece decreased but the number of sheep rose from 6 million to well over 8 million. It takes little stretch of the imagination to see what this has meant in terms of overpasturing and in accentuating the competition for grazing land.

The chief concentrations of sheep and goats are found in Thessaly and through the western part of the country (Epirus, Roumele, and the Peloponnesos). Even in Attica, according to P. J. Iliopoulos, a region where G numbers are not so dense, the small livestock make the best adaptation to [434] the natural conditions; they provide the peasants with some income to offset farms that are too small or harvests that are insufficient; and they require less capital investment than do large cattle.[4]

V G 233 221 [427] There are three different systems of sheep management in Greece.[5] The first is that used by the so-called Vlachs, an interesting nomadic group to be discussed in detail later on. This group of grazers controls about 15 percent of the sheep. They are landless and rent grazing land from private landholders, the church, or the state. It is customary for them to graze their herds in the plains during the rainy winter months, while the lowland pastures are lush, and then drive their flocks into the mountains as spring and summer advance.

The second type of management is that practiced by the village ranchers, who control about 70 percent of the small animals. They own land in the plains, where they singly or cooperatively graze their flocks in the winter; they send them to the mountains in summer, as do the Vlachs. In some instances, farmers in this group will arrange with a Vlach to include their animals in his flock during the summer grazing in the mountains.

G 233 [476] The third type is connected with settled agriculture. Village farmers control the remaining 15 percent of the sheep and goats and keep them on the plains at all times. Usually, the animals of these farmers are combined under the care of Greek shepherds, whose responsibility is to prevent the animals from damaging the crops by restricting their grazing to the rougher foothills or the fallow or idle areas in the plains.

The best way, however, to describe the changing life of the shepherd is not to talk about sheep and goats, but to look him up wherever he is and try to view the world through his eyes. We will do this by visiting him in the Peloponnesos and in Epirus, by which time facts and figures on sheep and goats should have much more meaning.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

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than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a differ- 625
ent administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, 659
such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, [167] we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental serv- 65
ices enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local [369] people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area. [625]
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco. [249]
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[12]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government car- 651
ries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support 631
of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

554 875 799 622 [729] [561]

not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

554 ●167 177

I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World
648 War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied
727 an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed
[728] to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as
[167] a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [8] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

178 In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appre-
167 ciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national
727 life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[9] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encompass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder
[177] the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival.

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units.

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers.

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures.

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees.

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

completely replaced any Hellenic stock. His *Geschichte der Halbinsel Moreas Während des Mittelalters* (History of the Peninsula of Morea in the Middle Ages) (1830) is one of his important works. This has been refuted by Karl Hopf, who claimed that Fallmerayer used documentary evidence which was proven false.

Other works dealing with this question are those by George Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, 7 vols. (London, 1877); Rodd, *Customs and Lore;* and J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910).

A detailed analysis of the problems would involve two separate investigations: (1) that from the standpoint of physical anthropology to determine the biological resemblances of the modern Greeks to those living in classic times; and (2) the survival of the cultural traditions, including the Greek language, from the days of early Grecian greatness to the present. After these investigations have been made there remains the even more difficult — and perhaps impossible — task of relating point one — the biological — to point two — the cultural. But the reader is entitled to the interpretation given by educated Greeks to the presence in Greece of different-language-speaking groups. According to Ph. Annino Cavalierato, former Counsellor of the Royal Greek Embassy in Washington and now in the Foreign Office in Athens:

"The Albanian and the Vlach dialects, spoken in some areas, denote a foreign influence on a segment of the Greek people rather than the existence of a racial minority. The same could be said about the Heptanesian dialect, a blend of Greek and Venetian Italian. These dialects, Albanian, Vlach, Heptanesian, tend to disappear, and this is another proof of their superficial character: had they been truly the national feature of a minority, they would be perpetuated by education and culture. Being, instead, a passing historical accident, people care little about them and allow them slowly to disappear.

"As for the 'Macedonian' dialect, it should be noted that a 'Macedonian' dialect and a 'Macedonian' nation are both a fairly recent political invention. According to most linguists, 'Macedonian' is just a Bulgarian patois. During the days of the Ottoman Empire, the province of Macedonia was inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, the three latter ethnic elements being denser in areas closer to the respective countries. At the outcome of the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and of World War I (1914–18), this province was distributed among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A wide exchange of populations followed, as a result of which each individual was free to resettle in the country he considered his own. It is reasonable to assume, then, that those who remained in each country consider themselves as nationals of that particular country. There is only one explanation for the fact that Bulgarian is still spoken by some Greeks of Western Macedonia, while Greek, that was widely spoken in Southern Bulgaria, for example, has completely disappeared from that area. The reader will easily find explanation for this.

"Turkish is the only foreign language spoken in Greece by a minority in the true sense of the word. This Muslim minority, living mainly in Western Thrace, was not exchanged in 1923, as were other Turks living in Greece, because the Greek minority of Constantinople was also allowed to remain in their homes."

Chapter II. Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

1. The artist is Mrs. Maria Alexandrakes, who has also been connected with the Local Government Division of the American Mission. She helped us gain many revealing insights into Greek Life.

2. For two Greek sources on the habitat, see George Megas, *Geographia tes Ellados* (Geography of Greece) (Athens, 1958); and George Kolias, *Historike Geographia tou Hellenikou Chorou* (Historical Geography of the Greek People) (Athens, 1948). For especially useful sources in English, see *A Handbook of Greece* (London,

1:Sanders Z-5,✓ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

owners, even having the power to keep the peasants off the land they formerly owned. In Epirus, land redistribution in the 1920s involved finding out who the former Greek owners had been or still were, once the land had been appropriated from the Turks with an indemnity payment. In Thessaly, however, there were no former Greek peasant owners to locate, so the large Turkish-owned estates were merely redistributed to peasants who had worked them as hired workers or tenants.

7. The quotation about the sixth century B.C. comes from *The Cambridge Ancient History*, V, 12.

8. Most of the information on which the description of land tenure in Attica is based comes from P. J. Iliopoulos, *L'Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951).

9. For a discussion of agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages, see the chapter by that title in *The Cambridge Economic History*, I.

10. See K. D. Karavidas, *Agrotika* (Athens, 1931), whose sections on the *tsiflikia* and *kephalochoria* proved particularly helpful in an effort to gain a proper background. In a private conversation, Mr. Karavidas pointed out that some acute problems arose when the tsiflikia were broken up and distributed to the former tenants. Under the landlord, the workers were forced to keep irrigation ditches clear, but when redistribution occurred in 1923 nobody worried about the maintenance of such ditches. Trees fell into them and they became stopped up.

11. *L'Attique*, p. 115.

12. One of the best short descriptions of land ownership in Greece is an article by that title in *Foreign Agriculture*, August 1950. The article is adapted from the book by A. Varvaressos, *The Fulfilment of the Agrarian Reform* (Athens, 1949). Another useful account of land reform in Greece is found in W. E. Moore, *Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe*, appendix 3. D. K. Wogasli wrote extensively on questions of land reform, publishing in 1919 a work entitled *La Solution de la question agraire en Grèce* (Athens, 1919). He also wrote a work in Greek on the agrarian question in Thessaly and especially in the prefecture of Trikkala.

It is interesting to contrast Thessaly of today with that described by Leon Heuzey, *Excursion dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858*. Of the village of Vloko, he writes: "Là, je me renseigne comme à l'ordinaire, sur la condition des paysans. Le propriétaire, Hassan-bey, les déplace à sa volonté, bien que lui-même, à l'heure actuelle, tienne un homme en prison pour avoir cherché à quitter son tchiflik. Malgré les nouvelles lois, le régime de la glèbe existe encore, mais ce n'est pas toujours dans les conditions d'équité qui pourraient le rendre tolerable pour le cultivateur" (p. 76).

13. A common practice on the part of a landlord was to transfer title to various parts of the estate to close relatives, who permitted him to continue to operate the farm as one unit.

14. The Agricultural Section of the United States Mission to Greece and officials of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture have given much study to the problem of consolidation of scattered strips. The great amount of time required for surveying even one village for this purpose is hard to believe. At least twenty villages have been surveyed by Dr. Kypriades and attractive picture displays prepared to show what can be done when consolidation is carried out.

15. For more on the domka system, see O. S. Morgan, ed., *Agricultural Systems of Middle Europe* (New York, 1933), chapter by Georges Servakis and C. Pertountzi entitled "The Agricultural Policy of Greece." On the problem of scattered strips, see the *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1947), in which Recommendation 71 deals with consolidation and land redistribution.

16. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 9.

17. Frederick Strong, *Greece as a Kingdom* (London, 1842), pp. 163–164. But in 1914 Lucy M. J. Garnett, in *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), wrote as follows: "It is . . . foreign emigration that is robbing Hellas of her hardy peasantry, and this constitutes one of the most serious problems with which the Hellenic Gov-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 [167] [464] ernment is at the present confronted. For Greece has no surplus population, and, if the country is to prosper, the services of every able-bodied man and boy are needed for the proper development of its natural resources. Weekly emigrant steamers carry large numbers to Western lands and bring but few back . . . with the consequence that many agricultural districts are left without labourers to till the soil" (p. 133).

For more on this emigration, see Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America: The Story of the Re-Patriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956); and Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, 1911).

18. The figures used in this presentation of land use are taken from *Greece Today* (August 1954); from Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954); and from data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. In these three sources the years differ, as do some of the categories of land use, but the details prove interesting.

19. The study on idle lands made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece appeared in mimeographed form in 1952 and was based on detailed reports turned in by the field representatives of the Civil Government Division of the Mission. The report was issued by William M. Tait, who was then deputy director for field service. Other informants point out that in Epirus, and probably elsewhere, thousands of acres are owned by Greek-Americans in the United States, and Greek villagers do not feel free to make use of such idle lands.

20. For a discussion of these exports, see E. J. Bell, "Greece, Exporter of Farm Products," *Foreign Agriculture*, March 1958, pp. 5–6.

21. The use of lots in dividing up a patrimony among brothers in a Boeotian village is described in an article by Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXVII (1956). [428]

Chapter V. The Peasant at Work

[127] 1. The unpublished manuscript from which this comes is "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria).

2. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 8.

3. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited*, p. 14.

[874] [407] [492] 4. Dr. Charles House, former director of the American Farm School in Salonica, played a great part in preparing the way for mechanization in Northern Greece, since the students at this school were taught how to operate and repair tractors long before they began to appear in so many villages. He said that one argument for the use of the tractor in preference to the draft animal was the fact that the animals ate up too much of the farm produce.

5. For the full World War II picture, see C. S. Stephanides, "Agricultural Machinery in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (November 1948), 250–253.

6. Supplementary labor is an important element in the economy of many families and even whole villages. In the Peloponnesos people from the mountain villages can harvest olives and help with the pressing of the oil, receiving pay in kind. When they help with the vineyards they are paid in money, as they are in Macedonia when they help plant tobacco. Near Ioannina there are villages specializing in certain crafts from which many men go during the winter to ply their trades. [465] [438]

7. "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," (1952, mimeographed), prepared by A. Argyropoulos. One of the village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The following comment about this village (Dafnon) by John D. Photiadis is helpful: "I have served as a county agent in that area and I think that Dafnon is not a representative village. It is considered the poorest village in the area and the most stricken by the reduction of prices of Turkish tobacco. This is because [127]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
594 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.
[554]

Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

[166] The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[369] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

● 167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the his-
594 tory of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However,
[123] emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inherit-
369 ance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
428 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown
511 up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant 361
farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little 166
outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the 464
plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less 178
and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between 433
hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets.

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, 167
especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a 464
geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from 178
home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek 433
emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one [191]
of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture.

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration [648]
which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas
[701] attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[625] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

and thus made good a claim for 27 stremmata. The original squatters' rights had been apportioned on the basis of the amount of land actually tilled by a given family, and as a man or a boy could scarcely cultivate more than about 27 stremmata single-handed with the sort of equipment they had, the old families received about as much land as they had had before. The difference was that the sons escaped from parental control earlier than they would otherwise have done, since title to their share of the land was now vested individually, not, as traditionally, in the parental family as a whole. 423 425 178x

The squatters of 1912 had not occupied all the cultivable land. When they had all received their lots, therefore, almost an equal number of refugees, mostly from the Caucasus area, were settled on the remainder. The two groups stood more or less apart, especially at the beginning. Many of the customs of the Caucasus people seemed wild and barbarous to the old settlers. But because the old settlers felt little or no sense of grievance, and because each family was very nearly on a level of economic equality, with 27 stremmata apiece, the fissure between the two groups was not great. Nevertheless, the houses of the old settlers are still separated by about one hundred yards from those occupied by the refugees, so that the village is physically divided into two quite distinct parts. 621 167 [423] [563]

In 1932 a supplementary land distribution took place, giving families with more than four members an additional 5 stremmata; in 1937 a further adjustment was made when forty-three families removed to a newly drained area in the valley of the Aliakmon River, and left their allotments behind, to be reassigned in chunks of 5 stremmata to the larger families of Nea Eleftherohori. No further official changes have since been made, but the natural processes of death and inheritance have resulted in the splitting up of a few of the allotments into smaller farms, while in some cases formerly separate allotments have been 423 425

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [463]
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [333]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construction – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 [464]
such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and 669
twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and 728
only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of 621
them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and 161
Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead.

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left [842] childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age?

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has 621
been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside 161
world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto 167
and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. 457
The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage.

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in 727
the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been 621
through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly re- 511
laxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. [457]
The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, for example.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

limits of the hill valleys. In times past, Balkan hillsmen then had to seek sustenance from the plains, either by peaceful labor or by armed forays.

As far as Kotta and villages like it are concerned, it now seems to me an open question whether the old cycle will repeat itself again or whether new standards of expectation and conduct will make sufficient inroads upon the traditional peasant family system to check early marriage and rapid multiplication of numbers. Through overseas emigration, the modern city has made its mark on Kotta. All but a few young people want to leave, and many have done so. At the same time, the handful who remain appear to be conforming to the old ways. Perhaps the critical turn will come as their children grow up; for if the rising generation elects to look beyond the confines of the village – and if the possibilities of migration, either within Greece or overseas, exist – then, perhaps, as the population of the village begins to press once again upon the limits of local production, the young people may decline to continue the old, economically suicidal pattern, and will instead seek their fortunes far afield, and refuse to marry into hopeless poverty at home. It depends more than anything else, perhaps, upon the degree of communication that may come to exist between the outside world and the villagers. In 1956 these contacts were limited. Newspapers came seldom; vehicles rarely. But the village did possess a radio that brought daily news from Athens; and emigrants' letters were perhaps the most important of all the channels of contact with the great world beyond the valley in which Kotta nestles.

Survivors of the older generation – those who have lost their children to the guerrillas – seem to have no doubts or reservations in wishing to see more and more children about again. The priest complained of how empty and joyless the village was without the throngs of children he knew before. He deeply

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

/3/

A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI.

PART I.

Introduction:

The author was born in Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. His parents were the descendants of some of the first colonists that were established by the Greeks in ancient times. His ancestors lived in the same village for many centuries and it was for the first time in many centuries that he went with the rest of his people to Greece. The exchange of population between Greece and Turkey marks one of the rare historical accomplishments of the Greek people. The establishment of a million and a half people under the prevailing economic conditions of that period was a gigantic job for a small nation like Greece to accomplish. 114 167 648

The author, as a refugee among his people, had a chance, after getting his education at Cornell, to work with them to share with them the difficulties they met in their new environment. He shared the life that was mixed with tears, toil, sweat and patience. He also shared the marriages, the holidays and the dances at the village square. His eight years of experience in the village of Megali Vrisi and his share in promoting agricultural, recreational, health and educational activities led him to the description of the village of /4/ Megali Vrisi 123 [121]

The Rural Sociology Courses under Dr. Sanderson have influenced him more than anything else to see, describe and evaluate the social make up of the life of the people of Megali Vrisi. 114

/4 cont./

Selection of the Village

121
621
[123]

The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. . . 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics.

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The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

178 361 367 [211] [883] 178 [312] [103] [527] [342] [247] [621]

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

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Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years. 167

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move. 722 [648] 511 167

[Caucasus]

/86 cont./

misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178]

/87 cont./ 181 621 [167]

impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit. 621 178 241

Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born 621 476 [533] [152]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰονύφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

WORK

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest.

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth.

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion.

594 accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne
[156] with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like
[513] to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

594 Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-
593 dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an
156 organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

593 Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of
594 fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to
[589] find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed
[583] sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number
[167] of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for
602 younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions
593 and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserv-
661 ing by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who
156 have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

594 On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some
241 property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry.
423 This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece
425 at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

x 178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured, 511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow 582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it. In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 strem- [583] mata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300 gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fifteen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good [589] many men and women in their thirties and some in their early forties remain unmarried.

x 178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refu- 582 gees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and 583 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes marry young and before the new family has any assured means [563] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among [626] them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irresponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of social pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

• [168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth. Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position; or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster of having too many mouths to feed.

163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom- 168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births 621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have declined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956. 163 168 621 [162]

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circumstances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gymnasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gymnasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work. 178x 873 464 [647] [647]

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 178x 582 583

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

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[4] Ibid. p. 162.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

from a distant island or an isolated mainland village. On the other hand, almost every village home contains photographs of relatives who have taken on the habits of the city. All islanders are not seafarers, for the majority of those in the larger islands live from the soil as do the peasants of the mainland. There is thus a lively interdependence among the urbanite, the seafarer, and the villager. 184 369 [854]

This interdependence, not always recognized by the Greeks themselves, has a fascination for the Western observer who is curious about the working of a society other than his own. For him the panorama of Greece is a source of enchantment. Now brilliant, now shadowy, through it the thread of tradition runs. Who are the carriers of this continuity? What has insulated the thread against time? It is doubtful whether the answers can be found in the clear, cold, statistical analysis of the social scientist. But an observer trained in the scientific method, with a background of Greek history and literature and an acquaintance with modern Greece that began with a first visit there thirty years ago, may be able to give interpretations and insights helpful to those interested in contemporary Greece.

Such interpretations may even have a broader implication. The Greeks differ in innumerable ways from Asian peoples and from those of the Middle East and Africa. Nevertheless, most Greeks on the mainland live in villages which are much closer in tempo and quality of life to villages on other continents than to anything one can find in the United States. They work small plots of land, scattered in strips around their villages, as do many rural people throughout the world, in sharp contrast to the mechanized American farm of several hundred acres; they know the meaning of hunger, of poverty, of the catastrophe of war and violence, which most Americans fortunately have not had to experience, but which is all too common in the newly developing countries; they also face many of the same problems of relationship to the central government and its services, of accepting or rejecting national programs of rural change. 171 ● 184 369

To know the rural Greek, therefore, is to know more about rural humanity, most of which lives in a different social world from our own city-dominated society. Village people want to be seen not as cannon fodder, potential customers, religious or political converts, but as parents hoping for a better life for their children, as farmers wishing better yields to feed the family until next harvest, as new citizens — not yet secure in their franchise — learning the rudiments of the political process. Even more important, they want to be seen as individuals, with all the rich color this word conveys.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law.

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law.

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home.

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation.

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[548] [589] prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

[184] [197] 4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

[186] 3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a volume in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou choriou mou: Perista, Naupaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessaloniki, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith. [171]

9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

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Vasilika

121 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

[162] Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the [197] inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the [122] Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us [123] live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with [184] other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural [171] settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

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Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths.

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement.

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself.

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house.

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

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583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of
182 family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
● 171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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aunt, uncle, niece, and nephew are directly translatable into the English words, 601
except that the linguistic forms vary for males and females, and that, in fact, 171
the villagers refer to distinctions between first and second cousins more frequently than Americans do.[4] Like ours, the system is characterized by the distinctness of elementary family terms, the separation of generations, and the equal consideration of both father's and mother's line of descent in the terms for all consanguineal (blood) relatives. So far the Greek terms are also entirely congruent with the actual functioning distinctiveness of the elementary family and the existing bilateral descent in the country. There is special interest for us, [581]
however, in the Greek terms for affinal relatives (that is, relatives by marriage) which, in some instances, differ from those in English and are, in turn, congruent with the particular significance of marriage in Greek social structure.

Petheros (masculine) and *pethera* (feminine) are equivalent to English 601
father-in-law and mother-in-law, but there is an additional, reciprocal Greek 581
term which two sets of in-laws use in referring to each other: *simpetheros* and *simpethera*. In English these must be rendered as "my son's or daughter's father- or mother-in-law." The Greek terms, then, group together the parents of a husband and wife with a term of reference roughly translatable as "co-in-laws." The Greek word for son-in-law, *ghambros*, is also used to mean groom, and that for daughter-in-law, *nifi*, is also used for bride. Moreover, all the members of a man's elementary family, not only his parents, but also his brothers and sisters, all refer to his wife as their *nifi*, and all the members of a woman's elementary family refer to her husband as their *ghambros*. The terms *nifi* and *ghambros*, then, are not equivalent to any English kin terms, but must be translated as "that man or woman who has married a member of my elementary family." At least two generations, that of parents and their children, use the same terms to refer to people normally in the younger generation. In other words, the generational distinctiveness characteristic of terms for blood relatives is replaced by the status designation for a person who has married into an elementary family. This disregard of generation is not reciprocated, however, by the spouses of one's children or by one's brothers and sisters. As we have seen, mother and father of one's spouse are called *petharos* and *pethera;* now we can add that brothers and sister of one's spouse are referred to as *kunyadhos* and *kunyadha*, that is brother- and sister-in-law.

The status category of marriage into a particular elementary family appears again, however, in the existence of distinct terms by which men who have married two sisters refer to each other, *badzanakidhes*, and by which women who have married two brothers refer to each other, *sinifadhes*. Men who have married sisters and women who have married brothers have to deal with the same sets of in-laws and this constitutes a common bond which is signalized by the terms just given. Another way of saying this is that those women who are referred to as *nifi* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *sinifadha*, and those men who are referred to as *ghambros* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *badzanakis*.

[4] See Andromedas (1957) for a complete list of modern Greek kinship terms.

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 602 554 in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

[574] The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

171 369 602 554 [619]

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepozatlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918: Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957.

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[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinos, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia.

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[For information on similarities in religious beliefs and practices between the eastern (Greek Orthodox) and the western (Roman) churches, see category 116 passim.]

9: Megas
● 171

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/For a discussion of the relation of the Greek house to the houses of other Balkan peoples, see category 116, pp. 1-118./

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

I. VARIOUS FORMS OF THE GREEK POPULAR HOUSE

A. THE MODERN GREEK HOUSE

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First, we must note that in Greece, in ancient times as well as to-day, we see both basic forms of dwelling, namely both curved and rectangular. As regards the first form (round, elliptical, horse-shoe), this is limited to the most primary forms of life, that is to the nomadic or semi-nomadic shepherd populations (Sarakatsanoi, Vlachoi) and sporadically to the poorest class of the farmers living in the Thessalian and other plain districts, who have kept, by tradition, the elementary and primitive methods of construction and roofing of the conical and saddle-type huts, and especially the use of organic materials such as wood, branches, weeds and reeds, which are easily provided by the marshes and the forests of these areas (1). As regards the rectangular houses, these are now more prevalent, as they were even in prehistoric Greece. The reasons for this may be that the rectangular buildings can be easily added to and divided into regular compartments (2). That is why we shall mainly speak about the rectangular houses.

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Greece, from a geographical as well as from a housing point of view, finds herself on the boundary between the northern temperate zone and the desert zone, which includes Northern Africa and Front Asia with Asia Minor and Iran. Consequently, continental Greece belongs to the countries of houses with sloping or eagle type roofs, and insular Greece together with Cyprus (excluding the Ionian Islands and the Islands of the Northern Aegean) to the countries of houses with flat roofs.

The explanation of this may lie in the fact that the flat roof may have originated from the simple flat shelter-roof which is essential

1) **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, Athens 1946 pp. 11-16. For further details on primitive types of dwelling see also **Franz Œlmann,** Haus und Hof im Altertum. I Berlin 1926 pp. 45 foll.

2) See **Fr. Œlmann,** op. cit. pp. 39 and foll., 41.

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x 342 in the desert lands to protect both men and cattle from the burning
341 rays of the sun, and the eagle-type or saddle-type roof may have its origin in the sloping roofs of the primitive shelters used as a protection from rain and wind (1).

As it is well known, the roof is the primary and most important element of house construction, and the form and method of its construction exerts an influence both on the architectural articulation and on the entire composition of the house, so that the differences between the two categories may be mainly explained through it (2).

x 342 For this reason we shall first examine the sloping roof houses
341 and then the houses with flat roof, which roof is called «doma».

a. HOUSES WITH SLOPING OR EAGLE-TYPE ROOF

1. One-storey houses.

These houses, especially in the plain districts, are usually made out of brick with only their foundations, to a height of 40-50 cm. from the ground, built in stone; they are one-storied and are covered with tiles.

In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. They are either of the narrow or of the wide-front types.

The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house, is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as «megaron». It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a «προστῷον», that is an open portico. Sometimes the side walls of the house are extended as far as the front of this «prostoon», thus forming what is called the «παραστάδες» (antae) having usually two wooden poles between them (ἐν παραστάσι type); but sometimes the side walls are not extended and then the προστῷον remains entirely open, and its roof is supported by two or more poles (πρόστυλος, δίστυλος or τετράστυλος type).

This type of house, with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof, is plainly found in continental Greece, in the Greek villages of Haemos,

1) **Fr. Œlmann**, op. cit. pp. 61 foll., and in «Gnomon» 1927 p. 173.
2) **Fr. Œlmann**, Haus und Hof pp. 41 and 90.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

II. THE HOUSE OF THE SLAV PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS

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There have been many studies about the shapes of the popular houses of the Bulgars, Serbs and Albaniers, but no comparative survey has been as yet carried out, to determine their relation to the Greek house.

Jovan Cvijic' in «La Péninsule Balcanique», Paris, 1918 p. 244 has tried to discern the various housing types in the Balcans and to determine their expansion. Among those he includes Greco-mediterranean house type, «probably originating from the old Byzantine houses, which can be found in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones of continental climate, and which also prevail in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula». In his couclusions he is followed by Otto Maull (1).

Franz Oelman (2), however, questions the correctness of Cvijic's conclusions on the grounds that the latter «relies on purely external characteristics, having no value for the comprehension of the historical evolution of the house». A detailed survey is needed of course which should be based, as it was said at the beginning, on rich comparative material, connected with to the details of the plan and the methods of construction, so that we may arrive to concrete and correct conclusions(3).

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Such material, as regards the Bulgarian house, is given by the book of Teodor Zlatev, Architect - Engineer, Bălgarskata Kăsta v svoja arhitektonicen i kulturnoistoriceski rasvoj. I: Selska Kâsta Sofia 1930 (pp. VIII+178 figg 153). (The Bulgarian House in its architectural and historical development. I: The Rural House).

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[342]

Zlatev, in his study of the rural Bulgarian house from an architectural and historical point of view, relates it directly to the houses of the Slavs, who were established in lower Moessia from the 6th cent. A. D, among the romanised or hellenized Thracians, and indirectly to the

1) Griech. Mittelmeergebiet, Breslau, 1922, pp. 62 and foll.
2) Haus und Hof im Altertum, 1927, 1 p. 19.
3) L. Schultze Jena, Makedonien, Jena 1927 p. 89.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

ancient megaron type house of the Indo-europeans. For our object, however, the interesting point is the detailed and concrete description of the farmers' houses of modern Bulgaria, which the writer illustrates with many photographs, plans and sections, so that we may get a clear picture of the architectural shapes and evolution of the Bulgarian house. However, in order, to be clear and to render possible the exact comparison of the Bulgarian house to the Greek one, and considering the fact that the Bulgarian language is not widely known, I shall dwell rather fully on all that concerns this type of house(1). For greater help I am attaching plates, showing the evolution of the Bulgarian house, as it can be drawn from the plans of Bulgarian houses presented by Zlatev.

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A. THE BULGARIAN HOUSE

As it can be deduced from Zlatev's study, the Bulgarian agricultural house does not present the variety of shapes of the Greek house. If we except the troglodyten house which is frequent in some parts of Northern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian country houses belong to the straight-lined rectangular buildings with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof; according to the nature of the ground, they are separated into mountainous and plain types The lowland types are as a rule just like the Greek ones, one-storey and they are built out of stones or bricks, and roofed with tiles or thatch(2). The mountainous types are two-storey, the ground floor being out of stone and the upper either entirely out of wood or with wooden frames which are filled with unbaked bricks or woven branches, and sprayed on both sides with mud mixed with straw. The roof, in the mountainous areas, is covered with tiles or plates, but in some places thatch is also used.

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1) I must here express my warm thanks to Mr. K. Th. Stamatiades who, with his knowledge of the Bulgarian language, has rendered possible my study of Zlatev's book.

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2) According to **C. Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891 p. 157 and foll. « over the largest part of the country one can see but poor houses in the villages, of brown earth colour without whitewash; their roofs were mostly covered with mere thatch during the time of Turkish occupation. It is only since the latest years after the liberation, that an increase of tile-roofs is seen from year to year.

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351] 343 171

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). G [342] [171]

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kăsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months.

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV).

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba».

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπρούστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48.

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

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B
342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
B the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[354 built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room
352] with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[352 wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in
252] the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

B C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
192 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles
342 whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

B 1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

[192] 2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44). B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46). B [171] SL 342 354 [177] se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἄγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc. B 192 342

1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105, **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108). B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

ground and having a beaten earth floor and an open fire-place» (1); as L. Niederle remarks (ibid. p. 108, note 1): «in the Balkans the Latin influence is shown in the addition of the soba to the kuć'a; this change, however, is not older than the 19th century» (2). B 342 [354] [177]

Consequently, even this difference, which is noted at many places, in the system of heating between the Bulgarian agricultural house and the Greek one, is neither original nor basic. G [342] [171]

The houses of the Rodope area are peculiar in their external architectural shape, as they do not have the open portico of the upper storey, which is so typical for the mountainous Bulgarian houses (3). Obviously it is the lack of security in these districts, where there was a lot of banditry (called Momtsilo, Kirtzalis) (4) since the later Byzantine years, that imposed here, as well as in Western Macedonia equally suffering from the incursions of Albanians, the system of fortified buildings, with their heavy and strong walls, reaching as far up as the roof even on the frontage of the house; an internal staircase; a strong main-door, with loop-holes on each side as well as the arrangement of the veranda (heliakos) into a large ante-room, or drawing room, with fine balconies or kioschks, protruding on its ends (fig. 47) (Zlatev, fig. 61 and 67), exactly as it is seen in the covered balconies and the high sofas of the rich houses in Western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly (5). It is understood that in the simplest shapes of houses G [171] [342]

1) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 158.

2) The Russian ethnologist **Tokariof**, when describing the Bulgarian house, says: «Almost all the old houses have an open hearth on the wall with a pot hanging over the fire, and with a wide open chimney that has its exit through the roof The bread is usually baked in this hearth. As for the horizontal plan, the house is divided into two parts: the kitchen with the fire-place and the «oda», the room, that now has an iron stove». (Μόρφωση, Γ' 1946 p. 126). According to **R. Meringer** (Sitzungsber. Philos. Histor. Kl. der Wiener Akad. Abh. 2 p. 13) Bulgaria, Albania and the Hercegovina are placed in the category of the countries with fire-place (Kamin!länder).

3) According to **Tokariof** «one sees as completely different thing in the Rodope mountains. We have an example in the village of Baskovo. There, the old houses have an extremely complicated plan which is very difficult to be analysed. Houses are very big; they have three or four floors and sometimes the wall of the front of the house has no windows at all. The upper floors sometimes extend over the lower by covered balconies, as it is the custom in the East. Houses are built one against the other, thus forming whole blocks. This architectural style is entirely different from the Eastern-Slav type of house where the plan is always a simple rectangular parallelopiped».

4) See **W. Slatarski**, Geschichte der Bulgaren, I Leipzig 1918 p. 165.

5) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 55, 88, 97, 104, 109, fig. 50, 80, 90.

[Text continues on p.75]

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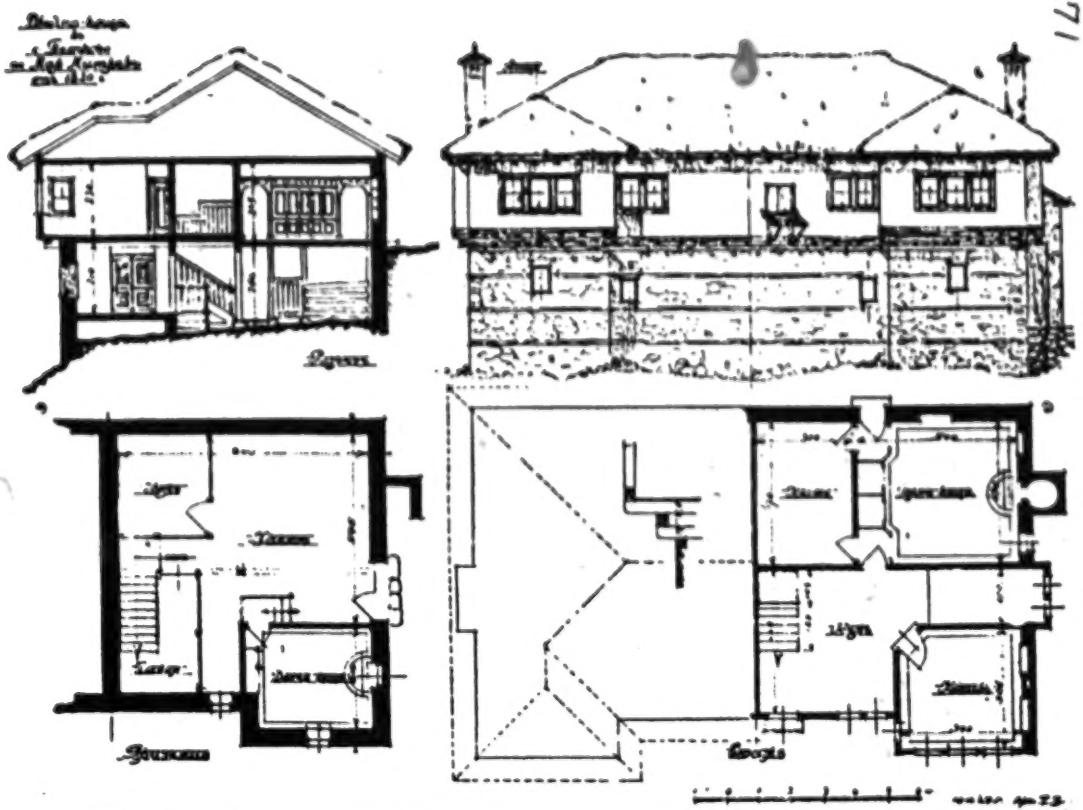

ground floor

Fig. 47 Double dwelling in Petkovo of central Rodope, in 1820

(Zlatev, bălg. Kăsta, fig. 61)

upper floor

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we see here also the open portico in the ground-floor and the external staircase to the upper floor (fig. 48 Plate XVI 1 and 1a, 2); so the similarity of the building shapes of Rodope to that of the rest of Greece is very evident (See Plate XVI, 5. 6; comp. Plate VIIa, 4a, 4b).

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G [342] [171]

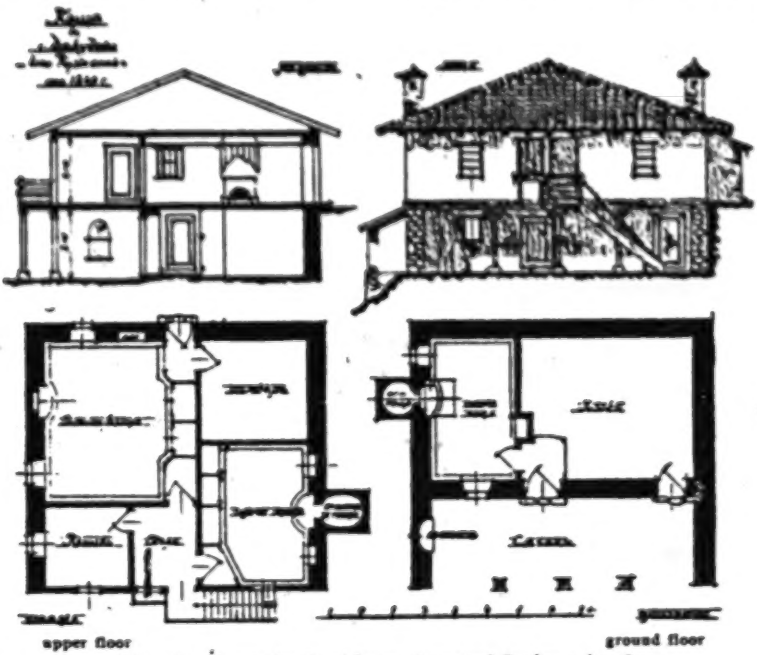

Fig. 48 House in Davidovo of central Rodope, in 1840.
(Zlatev, Bălg. Kăsta, fig. 63).

This may also be said generally for the house of the Orvelo (Bulg. Pirin) district, which, owing to the great use of wood, shows some unimportant variations (1).

3. The Troglodyte Houses.

The troglodyte houses (called by the Bulgars «bourdel» from the Roumanian word «bordeiu») are, by origin and construction, entirely different in shape from those already examined above.

B [192]

1) See Zlatev, Bălgar. kăsta pp. 81-89.

G 175 648 B 175 648 But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1). [463] [177] [341] [342] [171]

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the G former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house. [342] [171]

B 177 341 Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic (!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G 1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** 'Ηπειρωτική λαϊκή τέχνη. 'Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll. [172] [463] [331]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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on the ground floor and on the first floor as well. Some additional spaces are thus formed, giving a large variety of forms to the frontage of the houses (Figg. 58 and 60, Plate XVII 8).

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The prostoon, especially in the Moslem houses of the towns of Bosnia, is completely closed at the front on the upper floor because of the way Moslem women live. Thus, a large and wide hall (divanhana) is formed in front of the rooms, with projecting closed balconies, as we have seen them in the houses of Northern Greece and Rodope.

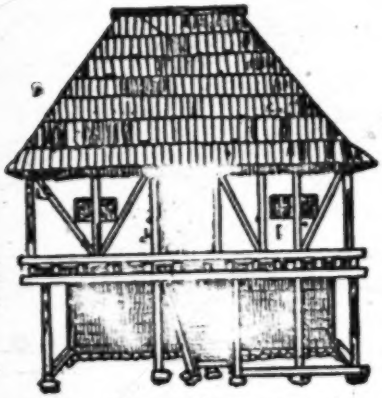

Fig. 57 House with an open portico in Novi
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien, fig. 53)

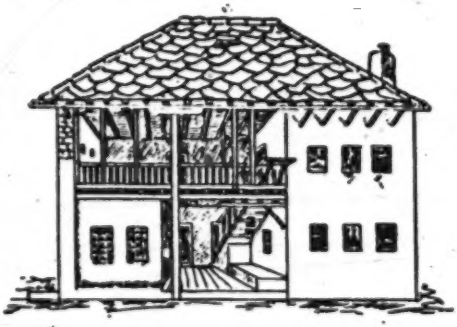

Fig. 58 Moslem house in Mostari with a prostoon open in the middle of the lower floor and over all the left part of the upper one
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 57)

In the more developed forms, the enclosed spaces which are formed at the end of the prostoon extend over the building line and thus give to the vertical aspect of the house the form of a Π.

Such a developed form of Bosnia house can be seen in the Moslem one of Travnik (Fig. 61) whose plans may be seen in Plate XVII, 9. The ground floor of this house consists of two main rooms (S and St) and of one prostoon, one part of which has been separated and formed a kitchen (K). Two more rooms have been built on the front (S-S) on either side of the entrance, thus giving the form of Π to the plan of the house.

The disposition of space is more elaborate on the upper floor. The divanhana is not one of the sides of the house, but in the centre of the floor. This was the reason why Meringer found it difficult to

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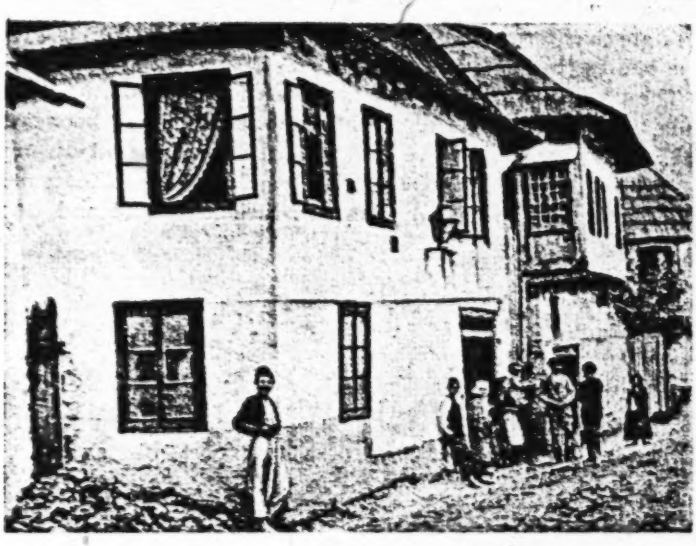

Fig. 59 House in the town Travnik
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 72)

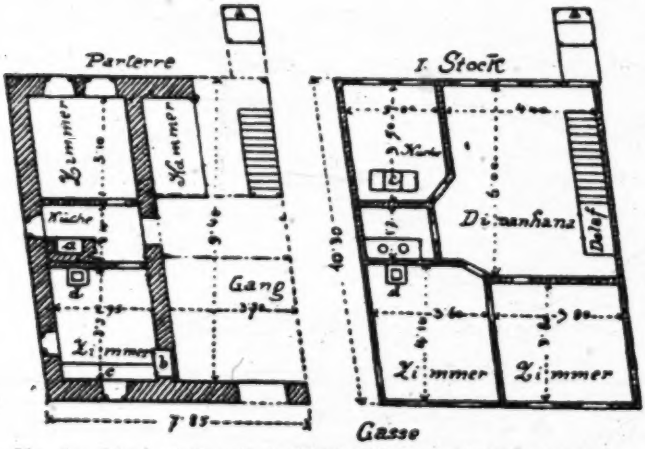

Fig. 60 Plan of the above Moslem house with the prostoon on the upper floor closed on all sides
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 73)

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explain the origin of that type of house. This formation, however, being the last stage in the development of the prostyle wide-fronted house, can be fully understood when one considers the similar forms of Greek houses. We must then suppose that before reaching the above stage, there was a simpler arrangement of space, with the prostoon remaining intact. The increase of space is achieved by the addition of two rooms on the frontage of the house on each side of the staircase,

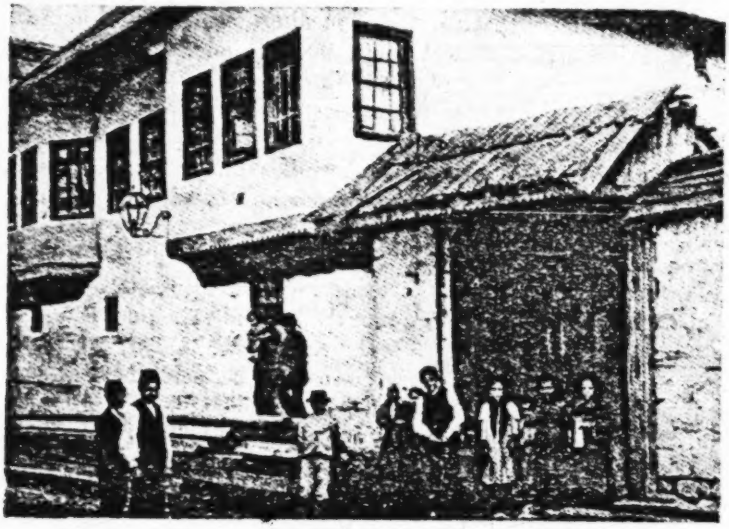

Fig. 61 Moslem house of Travnik with a covered gate-space leading to the courtyard. See plans of it on Plate XVII Nr. 9
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig 74)

as it can be seen on Plate IV 3e of the Greek house. Later in order to obtain a greater degree of security in the house, the front part of the house was closed by a high wall reaching up till the roof and including the staircase within the building, as it is seen on Plate IV 3 f. Finally, the need to obtain additional spaces, brought about the separation of the two ends of the prostoon and their transformation into rooms.

Thus, a part of the prostoon, remained as an empty space, in the centre of the house, and formed a central room, into which the doors of all the other rooms open and which, owing to its origin, kept the original name of the prostoon, divanhana.

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Thus, the evolution of the Bosnian house from the simpler to the more composite forms, as shown in plate XVII, which we compiled on the basis of plans of houses studied by R. Meringer, does not differ, in its general lines, from that of the Greek houses. That is to say, also the Bosnian house mainly owes its final form to the gradual modification of the prostoon, which extended in front of the rooms, just as with the Greek and the Bulgarian houses.

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Therefore, the remark made by Cvijic years ago, basically retains all its value, namely that the Greco-mediterranean type of house can be seen in Southern Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria and, in general, in all countries that were included in the Byzantine Empire or that had felt the influence of its civilization (1).

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From that point of view, the remarks of the Russian ethnologist S. A. Tokariof are interesting. Tokariof, as we have said, studied four years ago the shapes of the popular houses of the Balkan Slav countries. When describing the Moravian type of house, he says: «The old houses (2) are built mostly of branches and bricks, plastered on both sides with mud The buildings are one-storied as a rule, but often there are houses with basements, dug into the ground. The floor is of beaten

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1) When **C. Jirecek**, in his book Geschichte der Serben, vol. 2. I. Gotha 1918, p. 74 foll. deals with the Serbian houses of the Middle Ages, he says: «Only the narrow houses inside the royal castles were more solidly built. But, according to Guillaume Adam, the courts of the kings and the nobles were enclosed by fences made of wooden posts. Only in the towns of the ex-Byzantine areas does one see «palaces» such as the one preserved in Melenikon; it is a Buzantine house of nobles with two floors, a large reception room and a square tower During that period there were stonebuilt houses of many floors with open and closed balconies in the sea side towns of Cattaro, Antivari and Dulcigno. High houses were also to be seen in towns that were of Greek origin In the villages most of the houses were wooden huts with a roof of straw. In the area of the Karst mountain, one could see stone houses, built without any mortar and of a rectangular shape. The fire place was the centre of the house. In the houses of richer inhabitants, meals were served, as in monasteries, on tables covered with a tablecloth It spite, however, of this general imitation of the Byzantine ways of life, when Greeks visited the court of king Stephen Ouros (1268) their impression was that it was poor and primitive». (page 81). Cf. **Fr. Krauss**, Slavische Volkforschungen Leipzig, 1908, p. 4 foll.

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To prove the fact that Greek masons («majstori» and «protomajstori») worked in great numbers at the building of the fine churches, monasteries, palaces and other buildings in Serbia, see **C. Jirecek**, op cit p. 73.

2) I copy the text of the translation as it was published in «Μόρφωση» 1946 p. 130 and foll.

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decorations allow us to discern that these rooms were[1] separated later on. When he was considering Hahn's descriptions, that prove of a most acute observation power this investigator of Greek and Albanian folklore was endowed with, Nopcsa already found some elements that bring the house of Middle Albania near that of Kastrati described above (p. 71), in what the development of the prostoon is concerned. Judging from the plans of houses in Dyrrachion and Rethi given by the Italian G. Rosati[2] in his survey, Nopcsa arrives at the conclusion that «the shape of such a house constitutes the regular type in Middle Albania»[3]. If seen more closely, the shapes of houses taken as a basis by Hahn show, however, a much more advanced stage of development than that of the best houses of Northern Albania; and the plans of these houses, I have drawn on Plate XVIII No. 16-19, are basically the same as the types of Greek house on Plates V 5^{b} and IV 3^{b-f}. It must also be noted that the completed shape of the Bosnian house (see above p. 91, Plate XVII 9) entirely corresponds to the type of house characterised by Hahn as Turkish (Plate XVIII 19).

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When examining the expansion of the prostyle wide-fronted house, Nopcsa finds that this house may be spread all over the Balkan peninsula, from the Peloponese to the area North of Skopje, but thinks that houses with a veranda are much more numerous in the Italian peninsula than in the Balkan[4]. This is perhaps the reason why he accepts the opinion of Haberlandt, who recognises a «Roman and an Italian medieval element» in Albanian housing architecture.

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As I have not been able to see the survey of A. Haberlandt,

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1) **J. von Hahn,** Albanesishe Studien. Jena 1853 pp. 73 and 169 and foll.

2) I could not find the survey of Rosati, Condizioni agronomiche dell' Albania, 1915.

3) **Nopcsa,** op. cit. p. 46.

4) According to **Fr. Oelmann**, Haus and Hof im Altertum, p. 71, the portico which extends along the side of the rain-water drain (Längslaube) is the natural prolongation of the eagle-type wide-fronted house, especially if this house still comprises a single room, or if this room has been sub divided only internally. This may be seen in High Germany, High Italy, especially with Yugoslavs (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria), and Rumanians, as well as with the inhabitans of New Caucasus (The Tcherkg); more rarely with the Tcechs and the Poles, and not at all in Russia and Northern Germany. But while Oelmann mentions Southern Soudan, Eeast Africa, India and even China, he never mentions Greece, and completely ignores everything connected with modern Greek architecture.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghiâ and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (4). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

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A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors aud is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ κελλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas.** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1921 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Starles on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 231), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. IB 85. See also **D. Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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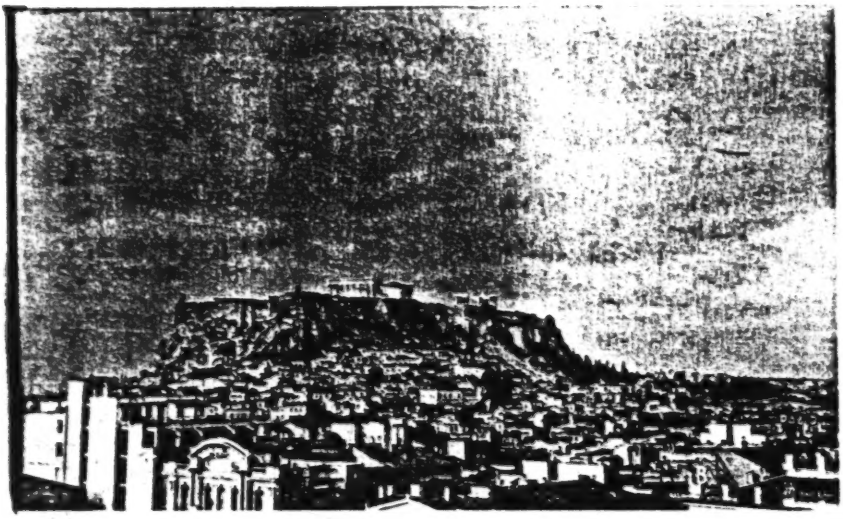

1. The Acropolis, its profile held unobstructed by city ordinance, shades the Athenian in legacy from the Golden Age.

[p 272-A]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be 1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village [166]

which can easily have a wider προστῷον by a simple extension of the roof. In the beginning, it succeded in forming the outline of a farm house, consisting of one or two rooms, with an open προστῷον at the front, adapted to the natural elements (soil, climate, building materials) and to the occupation of the inhabitants, and gradually formed various types of agricultural houses. 342× 174 341

This effect was possible, as it has been proved, because the προστῷον is an element capable of undergoing change (1), sometimes remaining open, and sometimes being totally or partially closed and incorporated to the main body of the house. By a continuous but organic evolution, those composite types of the modern Greek house were also formed, where the individual spaces are developed as if round the central yard, which is surrounded by a peristyle, with exactly the same method as it may be seen in the byzantine and post-byzantine monasteries and in the remains of the excavations at Olynthos, Delos and Priene.

Thus, the close relation and connection of the modern Greek house to the ancient one becomes obvious and, since the formation of the housing architecture is mainly related to the nature of the land, the study of the modern Greek houses is very profitable for the understanding of the equivalent architectural forms of ancient Greece; because, as it was very rightly stated by Franz Oelmann (Gnomon, 1927, p. 174) «the complete understanding of ancient Greek building forms, as that of any other country, is not possible without the exact knowledge of the modern popular architecture». 342× 172

Although in order to clarify the relation of the modern Greek house to the ancient one, I think it advisable to state in as brief a form, as possible, a summary of ancient house building, giving at the same time general evolutionary diagrams of the main types of building, as they are revealed by recent excavations which have contributed so abmirably to our knowledge (2).

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1) The προστῷον is very often seen in the houses of the Arian and Indo-European races, with many variations, and constitutes a basic element of the houses of this group of races (see **H. Behn**, in Eberts Reallex d. Vorgeschichte, 14 (1929) pp. 216 and foll.

2) See the article of **David Robinson** in Pauly-Krolls RE Suppl. VII 1940, 226-276. **G. Karo** in Eberts Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 5, 202 foll. Cf. **B. Rider**, The Greek House, Cambridge 1916. **Chr. Tsountas**, Ἱστορία Ἀρχ. Ἑλληνικῆς Τέχνης, Athens 1928. **D. S. Robertson**, A Handbook of Greek and Roman

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani
EH14

B. THE ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

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I will not mention the curved buildings of the prehistoric era, namely the circular, elliptical, horse-shoe and arched forms, although they represent a primitive type ot human dwelling, seen in Greece from very ancient times, and although we could greatly increase our knowledge through the study of the construction of the thached or branched conical and saddle-shaped huts, used with us even to-day, by the Sarakatsanes, the Vlachoi and the Karagounides of Thessaly. For instance, the elliptical hut at Kaminades, Karditsa(1), which is not entirely curved, but has straight lines to connect the two arches and forms thus a rectangular and curved construction, teaches us how, through the influence of the rectangular shapes the arched forms were created as it is shown in the egg-shaped house at Rini in Thessaly (beginning of bronze age) and also what the type of covering in this mixed type of house would have been (2).

Consequently, I shall confine myself to the examination of the straight lined, and especially the rectangular, houses, since these today, as in the prehistoric times in Greece, constitute the most prevailing form of building.

The type of house, known as the megaron, can already be found in the neolithic age in Thessaly, in its main elements, namely the external shape and the internal arrangement of space. It is a rectangularly shaped dwelling, divided in depth, having its entrance on the narrow side and consisting of an ante-room (πρόδομος) with two posts or columns between the two antae (or even without the columns), and of two rooms, one of them larger with a hearth in the middle, and the other smaller (Plate X, 1. 2).

In the most elementary form, this building form is bipartite consisting of one room and one ante-room, and it is found under this elementary form in the palaces of the Mycenean and Homeric ages, as at Phylakopi in Melos, at pre-mycenean Troy II and at Tiryns, where, as at Mycenae, there is another room between the ante-room and the main room (Plate X, 3-5). This simplest form

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Architecture, Cambr. 1929, 2 edit. 1943. **Carl Weickert,** Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland u. Kleinasien 1929. **G. P. Oikonomos,** Ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡραίου πήλινος οἰκίσκος, Contribution to the History of Architecture in Archaeol. Ephemeris, 1931.

1) **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 11, Fig. 2.

2) **B. Rider,** The Greek House, p. 64 Fig. 8; **G. P. Oikonomos,** op. cit. pp. 20 foll. Cf. **G. Mylonas,** Ἡ νεολιθικὴ ἐποχὴ ἐν Ἑλλάδι. Athens 1928.

was kept by the houses of the Geometric and the archaic ages, as it is shown by the models of clay houses and especially that of Heraion at Argos, of the middle of the 8th century (1), and by the house of Peleus, shown on the well known crater of Klitios dated 560 B.C.(2). This is also confirmed by the more ancient temples which, as it is known, have originated from the megaron, and that is why the characteristic of most of the ancient temples is the pronaos, which takes the shape of a prodomos with the two columns between the two antae, as in the more ancient temple of Nemesis at Ramnous or, less often, the shape of a double column prostyle as at the archaic temple of Athena at Sounion (first half of 6th century B.C.) (Plate X 6, 7)(3). In both these temples, sole the σηκὸς was the house of the goddess. 172 342x

That the megaron remained unchanged as a building form in its primary disposition of space during the following periods which do not provide us with house remains in a satisfactory condition, is proved 1) by the palaces of some tyrants of the archaic and classical ages, excavated at Larissa, near Hermos where the tradition of the Mycenean royal palace is beyond doubt, but also where a new tendency appears, the tendency to include the megaron into a larger group of houses, imposed by the need for creation of more living space, and 2) by the houses at Priene in Asia Minor, belonging to the Hellenistic age (3rd to 2nd Cent. B.C.) (Plate XI). The nucleus of the house is also formed here by a square or rectangular (in depth and never in length) room which as a rule has in front of it a προστῷον with closed side walls and, in case of a bigger opening, with one or two columns standing between antae. That is, the form of megaron or of the temple is obviously taken as basis here as well.

The need to create more spaces imposed here the addition, on one of the long sides, of a series of smaller spaces, with a corresponding long corridor on the opposite side (Plate XI 1.3). It should be noted that the largest room, which sometimes has the hearth in its middle (Plate XI 2) and has a προστὰς in front of it, is distinguished from the others by the name «house» (οἶκος) refering to it as the original nucleus of the dwelling (4).

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1) **G. Oikonomos,** op. cit. pp. 1 and 15.

2) **Chr. Tsountas,** op. cit p. 107 Fig. 141.

3) **G. Oikonomos**, pp. 25 - 31 ; **Oelmann,** pp. 67 and foll.

4) **B. Rider,** op. cit. p. 241 foll. Cf. the «οκίτι» with the «μπρόστι» or «δμπρόστι» of the Thracian and Macedonian houses, **G. Megas,** Θρᾳκ. Οἰκήσεις p. 36 note 1).

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This group, forming the main part of the house and always facing South, has in front of it a courtyard (αὐλή) which, according to the size of the building plot, may be surrounded on one, two or even three sides by auxiliary rooms. A peripheral portico, a peristyle, is not found in the more ancient houses at Priene. Only in one case is the one side wing of the building formed by a simple arcade without any room at its back (Plate XI, 3). As it has been proved by the findings of excavations, the houses at Priene were brick-covered and therefore had an inclined, and not a horizontal, roof. The same arrangement of spaces is also found on recently excavated houses, not only in the Greek towns of Asia Minor, such as Kolophon, but also in the Greek mainland. Thus, at Agrinion, two houses of the 4th cent. B.C. were excavated, reminding of the megaron type of Priene (Robinson, in RE, suppl. VII p. 268). A similar arrangement is found in a house excavated at Diocletianoupolis in W. Macedonia, which has a hearth in the middle of the bigger room (1).

In spite of all this, the form of the megaron is not the exclusive shape of Greek house building. Already from the bronze age, and even before, other forms of dwellings were constructed, bearing no relation at all to the shape of the megaron, but showing a clear tendency towards the wide-front house.

Another building type has arisen from this tendency, the type of the «pastas» which appears as complete in the classical ages. The oldest clear remains of this type were found at Olynthos in Chalkidiki which, as it is known, was destroyed by Philip in 348 B.C. These excavations, directed by David Robinson, have brought to light more than one hundred houses, and have proved that in the 5th century, or even before, a building type was developed (or imported from outside) having the disposition of spaces not in depth, but alongside each other. It mainly consists of a series of 3-4 rooms of the wide-front type, one of which, the largest, which is distinguished by the term «οἶκος», constitutes the nucleus of the house and may be considered as the original architectural element or cell in the sense of historical development. The «οἶκος» includes the hearth and the valanium, and has in one corner an optanium or kitchen and the chimney. The other rooms, beside it, are διαιτητήρια that is living-rooms (Plate XII 1).

All these spaces face South and open to a long and narrow portico, which is named «παστὰς» and gives the main character to

1) **A. Keramopoullos,** Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας 1938 p. 55.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

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the whole building form, which corresponds to the «πρόστας» or «πρόστασις» of the megaron type. Usually the παστὰς covers the whole length of the house, but sometimes one or both of its ends are divided off by a wall, thus forming auxiliary spaces such as store rooms (πιθεῶνας), exactly as it happens in the modern Greek houses of this form. Finally, by extension of these spaces, other rooms are added in the form of separate wings, added at right angles at the ends of the παστάς. Thus, as a rule, a square courtyard is left in the middle, enclosed on all four sides, and the whole building takes the form of Π.

This form has been further developed by the extension of the παστάς also on the side wings of the house and on the southern side of the courtyard, which is thus surrounded on all four sides by porticos or «peristyle» (Plate XII 2). These porticos are built with wooden posts, supporting stone capitals of doric style. The portico of the northern side, however, extending in front of the central and most important part of the house, has, as a rule, a greater depth than the others and is so arranged as to receive the sun in winter and to have shade in summer, as it is exactly stated in the Memorabilia of Xenophon III, 8,9 «in houses with a southern aspect in winter the sun shines into the παστάς, but in summer going over our heads and over the roofs it causes a shadow». And as D. Robinson has ascertained, the roofs of the houses of Olynthos were eagle-shaped.

The wide extent of this form of building is proved by the finding of houses, similar to Olynthos, at Pella in Macedonia, in the North, and at Delos in the Cyclades, and in Kôs[1] in the South. Delos, espiecially, which owes its progress to the Hellenistic period, and was destroyed in 88 and 69 B. C., has, like the towns near Vesuvius, kept its remains intact.

The houses at Delos do not differ much, from the point of view of time, from the houses at Priene, or even better, they are about one hundred years younger; that is they originate from the 2nd cent. B.C. and perhaps from the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C.[2] But, as

1) Below, Plate XII 5, the plan of a house in Kôs is reproduced, as it was measured and drawn by the writer in August 1948. This house, excavated by Moricone, is distinguished by its beautiful mosaïcs; it displays Europe's abduction, and it probably belongs to the Hellenistic years, yet it underwent changes in the arrangement of the courtyard, which I cannot determine before the systematic publication of the excavation. I am reproducing the present plan in order to show better how this type of house was widely spread in southern Greece.

2) **R. Vallois,** L'architecture Hellénique à Délos, 1944 pp. 205 and foll.

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Fr. Oelmann (Gnomon 1927, 168) was the first to note that the houses at Delos are «from many points of view, diametrically opposite» to the houses at Priene because, while the latter basically retain the megaron type of building, «the nucleus of the houses at Delos, always consists of a big wide-front space, whose front part is, whenever possible, facing South, and which opens on a long and narrow portico».

Consequently, the similarity of the houses at Delos to those at Olynthos is obvious, as it is also shown in the plates attached (Plate XII); and what has been said for the houses at Olynthos, as regards the division of spaces and the whole formation of the peristyle, equally applies to the house construction form of Delos.

As Fr. Oelmann remarks, only the richest and relatively biggest houses at Delos have this internal courtyard surrounded by porticoes on all four sides, that is by a peristyle. But «the main essence of the house at Delos does not consist in the peristyle, i. e. in the conscientious artistic arrangement of the internal courtyard as a space, which is a secondary element, but in the wide-front shape of the central space and in the flat roof». Fr. Oelmann did not yet know the houses at Olynthos. In any case, the peristyle in the 2nd cent. B.C., spread very widely and became an essential element of any somewhat important house (Plate XII 4). From Greece, it was introduced to Italy and became the main part of the house of the Roman nobles.

Such, in general lines, is the development of housing architecture in ancient Greece.

From what has been said, it has been clearly proved that there are two main building types: the type of the megaron and the type of the παστάς. Originated from elementary and simple shapes, they have gradually developed and, in continuous coexistence, they reached more composite and perfect forms of urban dwelling. For lack of sufficient data, we cannot follow equally well, the development of Greek house building during the subsequent period and the Middle-Ages (1); but the survival of the ancient building types in all their variety and vitality in modern Greece, which is clearly shown if we simply compare the plates attached, proves their continuity also

1) About the house in Byzance, in general, see **E. Gerland**, Das Wohnhaus der Byzantiner, Der Burgwart, 16 (1915) No 1 p. 10-19; **Ph. Koukoules**, Περὶ τὴν Βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, Ἑπετηρὶς Ἑτ. Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν ΙΒ' 1936 p. 76 and foll; **An. Orlandos**, Τὰ παλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, vol. III 1937 pp. 54 and foll, 91 where one can realise certain differences in the house system of Middle Ages.

9:Megas I,B-5,4(no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

during the Middle Ages, so that their tradition in Greek soil remains continuous and unbroken from the most ancient times up to-day. 172 342

It should be further noted that the wide-front house, so common in modern Greek architecture, did also predominate during the classical period and probably in even previous ages, but while ruins of ancient dwellings lie as silent and enigmatic remains of the life they sprung from, and mostly show intricate the outlines of ancient Greek domestic architecture, modern Greek habitations being alive and active expressions of popular art, reveal by their bold shapes the evolution to actual popular architecture, and thus assist us in our understanding of the ancient shapes; this is the reason why the investigation of modern dwellings is of even greater importance.

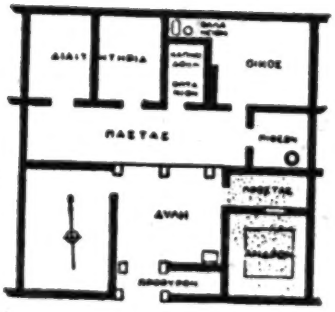

Ground floor of house A VII 4 at Olynthus (between 432 and 348 B.C.)

(D. M. Robinson in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realenc. Suppl. VIII(1940 p. 258)

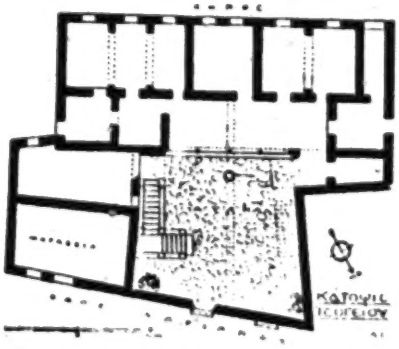

Ground floor plan of a dwelling situated at 96, Adrianos Street, Athens, dating from the 18th century A.D.

(An. Orlandos, 'Αρχεῖον Βυζαντ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, vol. V (1939-40) p. 199.

«*The resemblance of the Athenian plan to the Olynthian speaks for itself... The basic arrangement of the vernacular Hellenic house has been preserved by an unseen undercurrent of precious tradition*» Prof. Antony Kriesis in «The Architectural Review» London, June 1948 pp. 367 foll.

G 175 648 But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-
B 175 648 ing to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then [463] the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan coun- [177] tries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

[341] We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian [342] rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrange- [171] ment of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the G [342] former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in [171] the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

B 177 341 Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G 1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by [172] A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead [463] (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area [331] for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη, Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

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172

ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

PLATE X

TYPES OF ANCIENT MEGARON

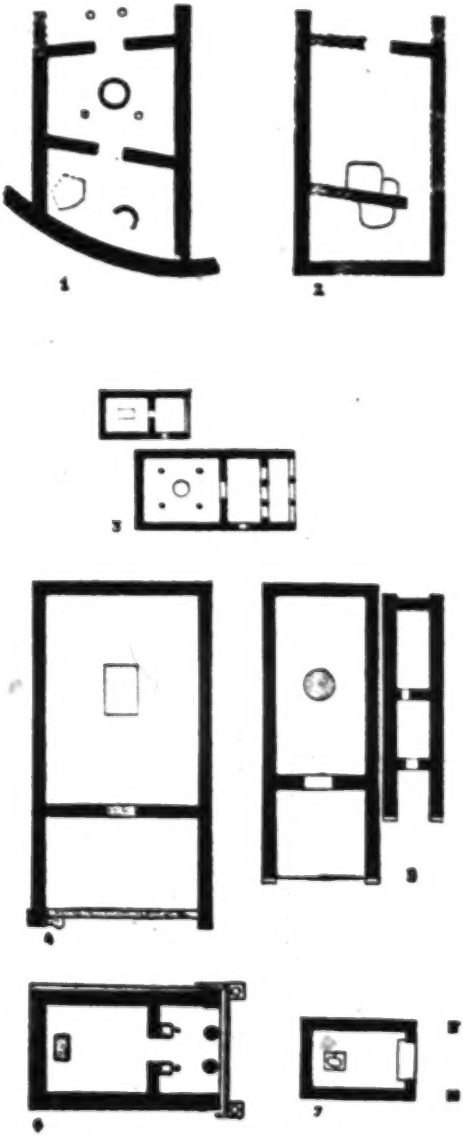

[End Plate 10]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

x 342
172

ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

PLATE XI

MEGARON TYPE HOUSES OF PRIENE

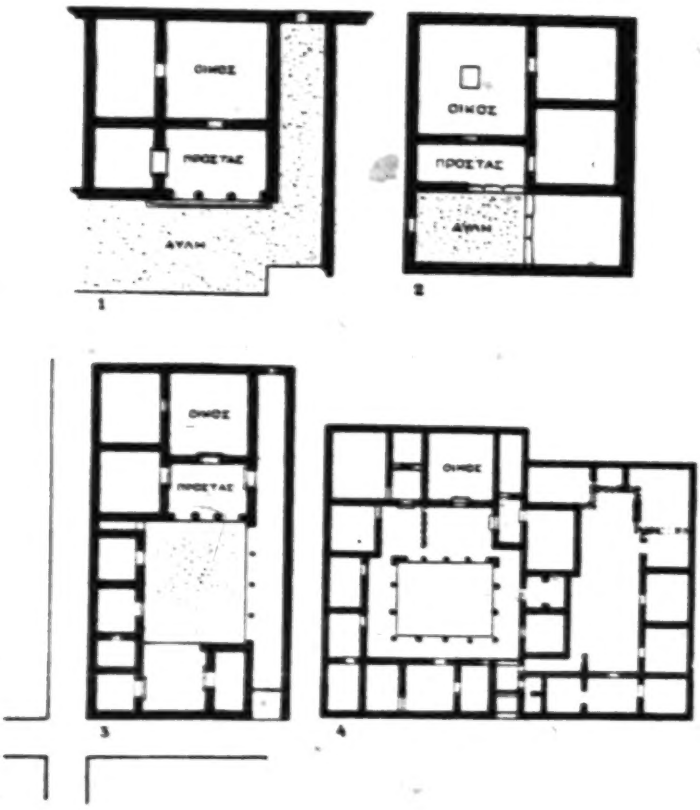

[End Plate 11]

9:Megas I, B-5, 4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

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172 ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

«PASTAS» TYPE HOUSES OF OLYNTHOS; DELOS; KOS.

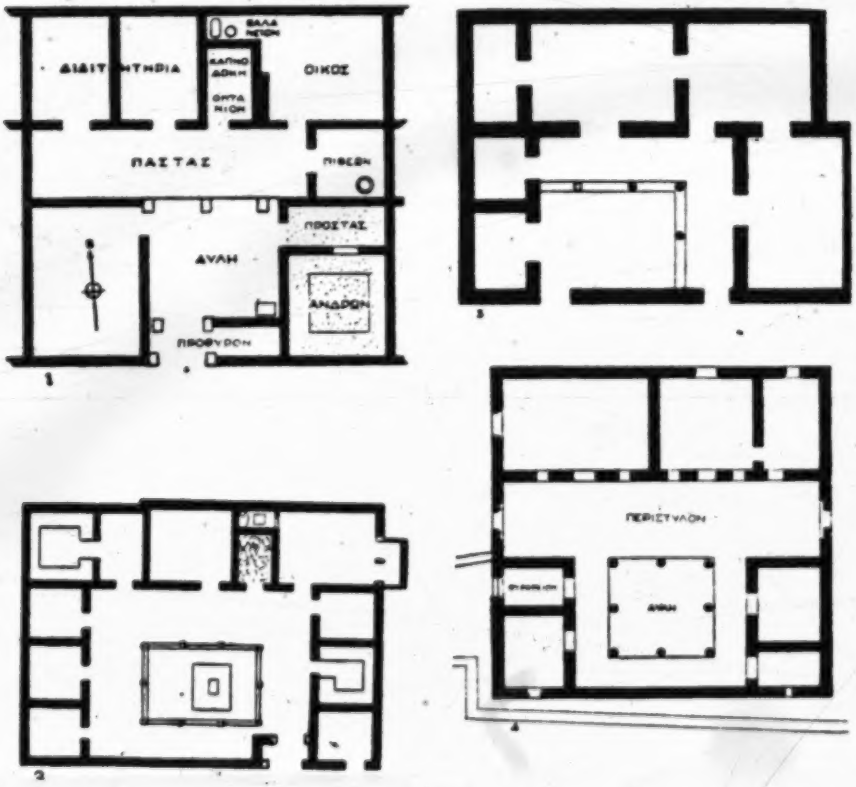

[End Plate 12-A]

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172

PLATE XII

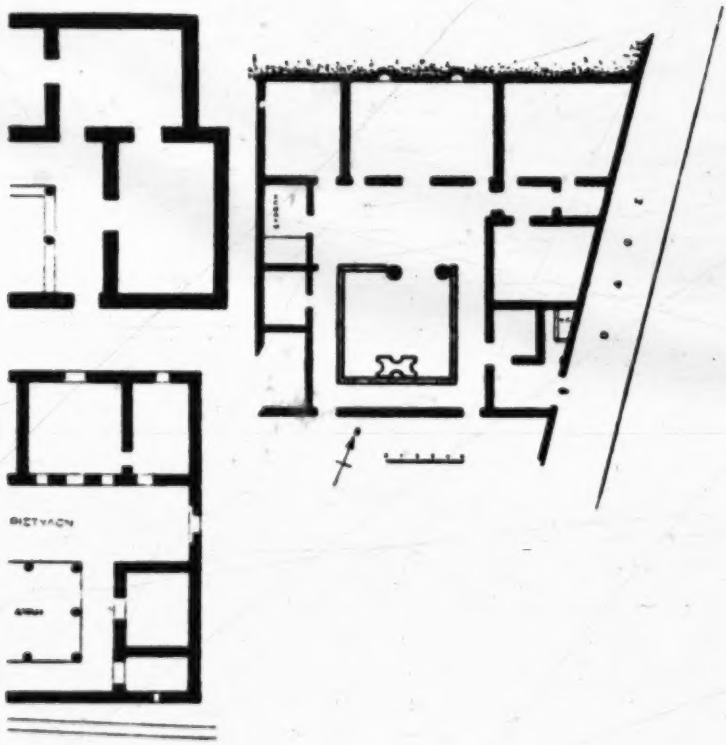

[End Plate 12- B]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

123 house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he
574 young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impres-
609 sive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

173 Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be
361 legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

361 Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to
167 rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

361 There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advis-
461 ability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the stand-
[484] point of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Fre-
[489] quently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[2] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis,* while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[3] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a
[533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality.
156 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
181 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate
871 for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of opportunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some
181 coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the
871 corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well.
[461] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern-
[643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learn-
872 ing. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[2]

1:Sanders Z-5,d (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793

needed to pay the priests' salaries, with the difference coming from state revenue. Also, the local parishes have to pay an amount equal to 6 percent of their priest's salary to the bishop toward the retirement fund for the local priest. 465 [745]

For salary purposes, the priests are divided into four classes: those who have gone through the theological faculty of the university; those who have attended the seminary, perhaps one or two years beyond gymnasium; those who have no seminary but who have finished gymnasium; and those put in a miscellaneous category. There are apparently sufficient candidates for the priesthood now, and some effort is being made to fashion their curriculum to prepare them to serve village needs more effectively; even the older priests are encouraged to come back for periods of study. One member of the Holy Synod thought that the priests ought to know more about agriculture, economics, and first aid, so that they might play a more vital part in community life. His view of the priest's role was that "he is to help people with their problems of all kinds and settle any disputes among the villagers." [874] 793

But what part does the village priest really play? As has already been indicated, the Greeks are ambivalent toward the priest.[9] "As an individual, he commands respect, and gives advice to those who seek it. However, he is also a figure of ridicule and of ill omen." [10] A great deal depends upon the personality of the priest himself. One informant told me that when he was a boy their village had had a wonderful priest who was very important. Today, even though the people are probably just as much attached to their religion, the present priest is not popular. In the course of an extended conversation with the people in a village near Volos, we asked what kind of priest they had. "Oh, our priest is from around Karpenesi. He has five children and is a good family man." He was not singled out for praise because of any priestly performance, but because of his conformity to basic village values. But children in that same village must have heard many, many times the local account of what happened to some monks who lived in a monastery not far from the village. This had been built in 1714 as an annex of a Mount Athos establishment, but in due course of time the monks became "naughty" in that they called to and teased the women who were on their way to work in the fields. Finally the villagers could stand this no longer, so the men took the monks to a rock overlooking the sea and told them to jump. The monks jumped and were never heard of again. The present priest, unlike the monks, is "a good family man." 793 554 793 173

Very persistent and widespread is the belief, already mentioned, that an encounter with the priest brings bad luck. If peasants starting on some new venture meet a priest, they will turn back home and not begin it on that day for fear of failure. Anyone who meets a priest, in addition to "giving" the bad luck to a companion by hitting him on the shoulder, can tie a knot 793 777

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

619 to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient
829 Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the
181 refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the [776] family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities [173] and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classi-
[185] cal Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and
[173] although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete, the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proödhos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

an upheaval comparable to that which shattered the unity of the western world in the sixteenth century, not on account of the glacier of Turkish dominion which descended upon it a hundred years earlier, but because it had never known that separation of theology and mysticism, liturgy and personal devotion, which—when all is said as to the influence of political and economic factors—is required to explain the all-engulfing cataclysm of the Reformation. 795 788

In the next chapter I propose to consider certain features of the long history of the Greek Church in so far as they exercise a lively influence upon the contemporary scene; for in Greece it is peculiarly difficult to disentangle past and present, and historical memory is remarkably tenacious. In the remotest mountain villages of Epirus or the Peloponnese one may meet with small children who do not merely know far more about Lord Byron than one can reasonably expect of the majority of his countrymen—*that*, after a little time in Greece, one takes for granted—but who can sometimes relate strange apocryphal stories of Admiral Codrington or Sir Richard Church; and, in the imagination of the monks of Athos, Pope Innocent III occupies a position similar to that which Oliver Cromwell holds amongst the peasant farmers of Ireland. 795 178 173

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

795 the effect of the Turkish dominion was to foster—perhaps to excess—
788 an attitude which was already discernible in Byzantine days and which
771 always made for a certain liveliness in ecclesiastical affairs.

*

795 During the last few years it has been becoming increasingly clear
798 that the episode which may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to as
173 '1054 and all that' has gained a far more important place in our text-books of European history than it justly merits. No longer is it possible to regard the schism of Cerularius as marking the decisive breach between eastern Christendom and the west. A date which seemed to hold out to the struggling schoolboy a refuge no less secure than that of the Conqueror's triumph at Hastings has been swept away, to leave him floundering in the troubled waters of speculation and surmise. But whatever the immediate causes of the disastrous breach which was to divide Christendom into warring factions, and which underlies all our western divisions, there can be little question that far the greatest factor in the hardening of the schism was the invasion of the Levant by the crusading Franks, the sack of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. These unhappy events made an impression upon the Greek mind that the passing of eight centuries has not effaced.

The legend of Frankish aggression—unhistorical and confused though it be—lives on in our own day especially amongst the monks. Pope Innocent III, Michael Palaeologus, the Patriarch Bekkos, the Catalans who established themselves in the Kassandra peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Pope Eugenius IV, who flourished more than a century later, are all confounded in a wild farrago of monkish imagination and prejudice. The Pope, attended by Frankish soldiers and executioners, presides over the martyrdom of the twenty-six monks of Zographou, and terrible stories are still to be heard on the holy mountain of the gruesome fate that befell the renegade monks who took part in the Latin mass at the Lavra. In a painting at the Serbian convent of Chilandari the Pope appears in the company of Mahomet and the arch-heretic Arius, and the earth opens and swallows them up together.

The traveller in monastic Greece must not, therefore, be surprised to find that an unwary allusion to the Pope can still conjure up in the imagination of a Greek monk a nightmare figure far surpassing the inventions of the most rabid Protestant. I recall one such reference to

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism. 795 798 173 [797]

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate. 619 795 178

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles 619 795 722

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

x 178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 version of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picur- 184
esque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 369
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, cho-* [361]
rikos, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approximations of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of overidealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of burdens and dull plodders through life.[18]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland, away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* interchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local political units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens, whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over 20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more attention than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peas- 369
ant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways. 184
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 174

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
174 objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is [191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak [197] Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock;
[854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

marine. As of November 1957, the Greek merchant fleet numbered 541 vessels, whose tonnage totaled 1,510,535 tons. By 1961 its 1,110 ships amounted to 5,893,652 tons. 505

In addition to being a potential economic asset, the sea makes its influence felt in a psychological sense. "The Romans built roads but the Greeks always used the sea" was an observation made to me by a retired Greek admiral. The more one thinks about this simple statement of difference between two great nations of antiquity, the clearer become the varied bases for their greatness. Rome, the conqueror of the European continent and much of the Mediterranean world, held on to her territorial conquests for centuries, but the lasting conquests of ancient Greece were not those of territory, which she also conquered from time to time, but the victory of a superior culture. The Romans were administrators of subject lands; the Greeks became traders and merchants who colonized along the coasts of the whole known world, accumulated their wealth in cities, and maintained a competitive individualism much in evidence even today. 174 823 [157]

From this tradition of the sea the Greek has gained an outward look, sometimes carried to extremes. "He knows about every country but his own" commented a Westerner who had spent many years in Greece. 181 186

An old, old peasant put the way he felt toward the sea and what it meant to him in these words: 823

> "Look over the sea," he said, pointing to the shining water in the distance. "Do you know anything farther than that? Going over the sea means going over to America. In the olden days, under the pressure of need, one stole from the other and the other fought back and killed and so got out of the country. Only the goat thieves and the peasants were left. For us village people, 'farther than the sea' means not just emigrating but also means bringing in. We can use it to improve life. Here near our village we have a waterfall and big water supply; we can have electricity and irrigation but we need scientists from across the sea to tell us how to use what we have. Then more people can live on the land and will not need to emigrate."

There are many Greeks, especially women, in isolated villages who have never seen the sea. Even for them it seems to have a deep emotional meaning, for, as one Greek folklorist explained to me, there is an unconscious worship of water all over Greece. A twenty-one-year-old peasant girl on her way to relatives in Athens rode with us from her village in the heart of the Peloponnesos. This was her first trip away from home. We stopped on the brow of a mountain while she had her first view of the sea. She who had ridden with us for many miles, shy and silent, looked out to the wide indigo horizon and cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" (The sea! the sea!), and then subsided, wide-eyed. It was obvious to all of us that she was deeply

*342 concentrate everything around the main living space, so that all
341 rooms open to a central yard. Thus, in Crete, Cyprus, etc., apart from the double and triple blocks, we find multiple blocks, in one or two floors, which in the plan have the form of Γ or Π or sometimes T (Plate IXc 5. 6., IXd 2-5).

It is seen, from the whole examination, that the island house has not had the fine evolution of the house of continental Greece but rather remained faithful to simple forms, a legacy of the ancient times. However, in this primitive simplicity, the island house kept the beauty of simple lines and of natural forms, both the arch and the arched windows and doors giving to the cubic form of the island house a mark of pleasant contrast, especially when, as in the narrow-front house, the προστῷον is open and has an arch, instead of columns, for supporting the roof (Plate VIIIa 5). Apart from this, the regular division
[353] of the interior, the order and regularity noted in the arrangement of household furniture and utensils and the passionate love of the islanders for decoration, so that all parts of the house are fully adorned, constitute marked facts of the Greek island house.

From this summary review it is clearly seen that Greece, situated on the SE end of the European Continent and by its Islands, a neighbour of the districts of SW Asia and NE Africa, presents both the basic types of housing architecture and a variety of building forms, the proof of a long and important evolution, according to the geographical position, the nature of the ground and the long history of its civilization.

*342 Greek architecture, which has its origin in the prehistoric Greek
● 174 and in general the North European house, namely the megaron (1), makes its appearance in neolithic and Mycenaean times, and
341 survives to this day in some regions with a surprisingly undiminished energy. This arhitecture has gradually perfected its ways and means of construction and improved the form of the dwelling. And first, it often deviated from the narrow to the wide-front types (2), probably for the advantages presented by a long front side,

1) **F. Behn** in Eberts Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte, 5 (1926) 186 foll. 193 **Gerda Boëtius,** Studier 1. Den Nordiska Timmerbyggnadskonsten. Stockholm 1927, pp. 25 and foll. Eldhuset eller Megarontypen.

2) This tendency for a wide front is shown by the neolithic houses (**D. Robinson** in RE Suppl. VII p. 226) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Gnomon 1927, p. 173, on those countries neighbouring the area of flat-roof houses, and under their influence, the eagle-type house disappeared and became wide-fronted.

which can easily have a wider προστῷον by a simple extension of the roof. In the beginning, it succeded in forming the outline of a farm house, consisting of one or two rooms, with an open προστῷον at the front, adapted to the natural elements (soil, climate, building materials) and to the occupation of the inhabitants, and gradually formed various types of agricultural houses. 342× 174 ● 341

This effect was possible, as it has been proved, because the προστῷον is an element capable of undergoing change(1), sometimes remaining open, and sometimes being totally or partially closed and incorporated to the main body of the house. By a continuous but organic evolution, those composite types of the modern Greek house were also formed, where the individual spaces are developed as if round the central yard, which is surrounded by a peristyle, with exactly the same method as it may be seen in the byzantine and post-byzantine monasteries and in the remains of the excavations at Olynthos, Delos and Priene.

Thus, the close relation and connection of the modern Greek house to the ancient one becomes obvious and, since the formation of the housing architecture is mainly related to the nature of the land, the study of the modern Greek houses is very profitable for the understanding of the equivalent architectural forms of ancient Greece; because, as it was very rightly stated by Franz Oelmann (Gnomon, 1927, p. 174) «the complete understanding of ancient Greek building forms, as that of any other country, is not possible without the exact knowledge of the modern popular architecture». 342× 172

Although in order to clarify the relation of the modern Greek house to the ancient one, I think it advisable to state in as brief a form, as possible, a summary of ancient house building, giving at the same time general evolutionary diagrams of the main types of building, as they are revealed by recent excavations which have contributed so abmirably to our knowledge(2).

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1) The προστῷον is very often seen in the houses of the Arian and Indo-European races, with many variations, and constitutes a basic element of the houses of this group of races (see **H. Behn**, in Eberts Reallex d. Vorgeschichte, 14 (1929) pp. 216 and foll.

2) See the article of **David Robinson** in Pauly-Krolls RE Suppl. VII 1940, 226-276. **G. Karo** in Eberts Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 5, 202 foll. Cf. **B. Rider**, The Greek House, Cambridge 1916. **Chr. Tsountas**, Ἱστορία Ἀρχ. Ἑλληνικῆς Τέχνης, Athens 1928. **D. S. Robertson**, A Handbook of Greek and Roman

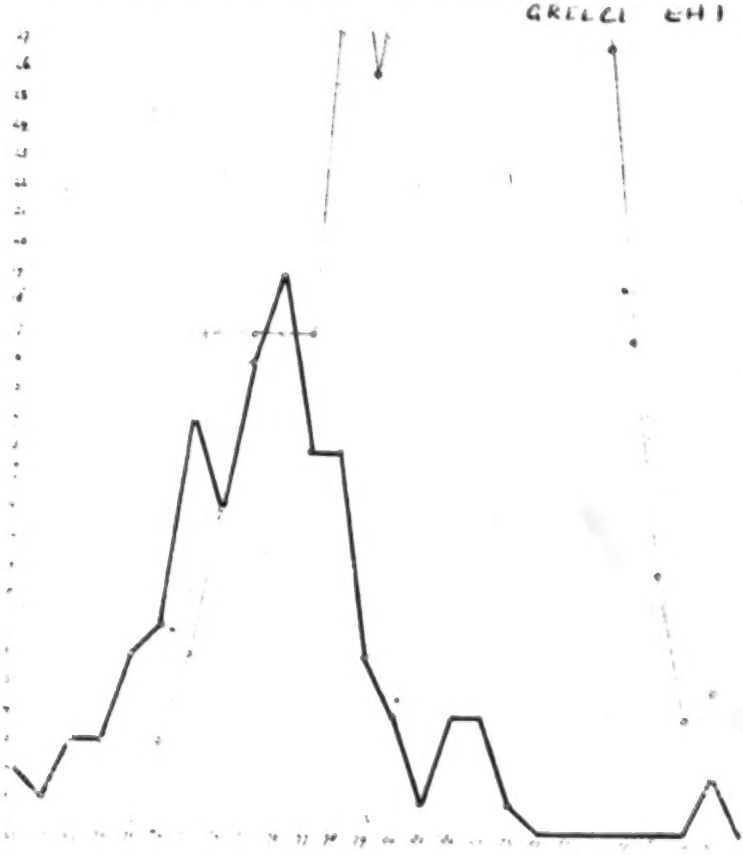

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Fig. 17. The thin line gives the curve of 366 Greek heads measured by Apostolides and Stephanos and 100 measured by Duckworth. The big line gives the curve of 70 ancient (mostly helladic) Greek skull indices gathered by Stephanos plus 60 helladic and protogeometric skulls by Furst and Kumaris.

26: Kappen D-5 (1929-30) 1932 M1 Middle East

GREECE EH 1

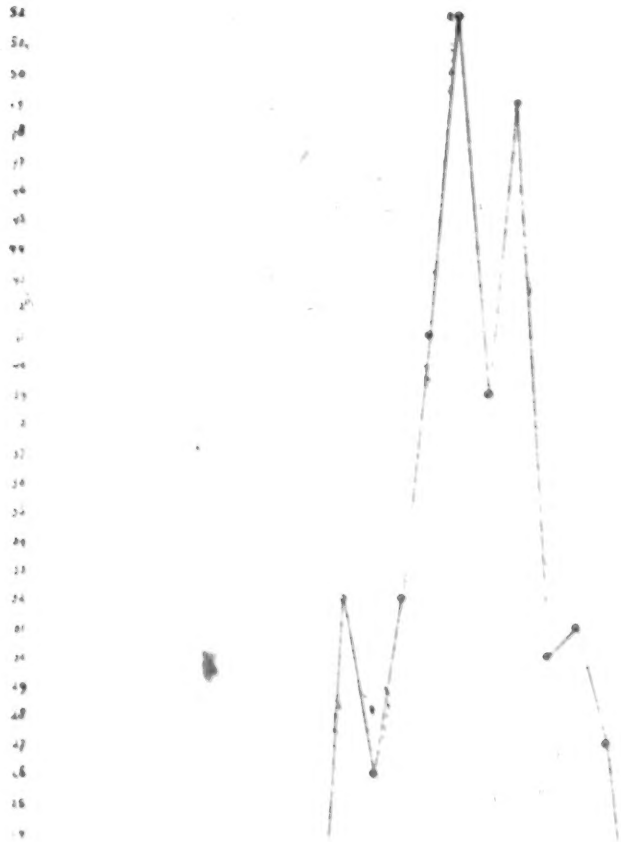

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p. 22(B)

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alien origin.—This 73 index people may be represented in ancient Hellas by the 73 index peak. They may have been more numerous in Crete than in the mainland of Greece, as the average index with the ancient Cretans according to *Duckworth* is no more than 73.4[1]) (65% of the Minoan skulls being dolichocephalic, 26% mesocephalic and the rest brachycephalic).—

The mesocephalic (76) skull index group—more numerous in ancient Greece[2]) than in Crete—, may have been a different race, the more so, as according to *Furst* their burial places were also different. It is, however, very difficult to say what race this was, as on one hand the 76 skull index peak is also very outstanding with the Phoenicians (and Syrian Beduins) and on the other the living head index corresponding with this index (between 77 and 78) occurs with the mesocephalic group of the Kurds and the corresponding North Persian Iranians.—

Looking for pictures of old Minoans Dr. *Frankfort* called my attention to a similarity between the Minoan "Amorgod" (c.f. *Hall*'s Aegean Archeology Pl. 14) and one of *Von Luschan*'s Kurds. *Salaman* compared the Minoan Cup bearer to Philistine pictures. On the other hand the profile of this cup bearer resembles still more pictures of Syrian Beduin types in my possession.—

So the Iranian (Aryan) and Phoenician relations with the mesocephalic old Cretans and old Helladic population is still an open question[3]).—

As far as concerns the subbrachycephalic invasion in Greece (and Crete) which, according to Archeologists started with the Achaean invasion, but since has continually increased, there seems to exist little doubt that it brought chiefly subbrachycephalic Caucasians to this country. This may also explain Homer's frequent allusion to fair hair and blue eyes with the Achaeans. They may have entered Greece both from the North (Danube districts) and via the Ionian islands.

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According to *Ell. Smith*[4]) and *Gunther*[5]) the Achaeans formed part of a larger Ionian stock.

A later invasion was the Dorian (± 1200 B.C.). *Ridgeway*, *Hawes* and *Casson* agree that the Dorians came from the North, probably from Illyria or further North (*Casson*) from the Hallstatt regions. *Hawes* is inclined to

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1) According to *Hawes* a little higher.

2) As far as concerns Iranian elements in Greece we also have to think of the manifold historical relations with Persia.—

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3) The question may even arise if there is any racial relation between the mesencephalic Kurds and Phoenico-Aramean Semites. The prevailing blondness of the mesocephalic Kurds is a myth and among the mesocephalic Kurdish skulls photographed by *Chantre* there is at least one that closely resembles the Phoenician type. Besides, North Syria and Kurdistan are not so far apart and difference of language does not necessarily mean difference of race.—

4) *G. Elliot Smith* Human History, 1930.

5) *Günsler* Rassengeschichte des Hellenischen und Römischen Volkes, 1929.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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I

The People of Greece

The Legend

When God was building the earth, he lavished all goods such as water, pasture, forests, and rich soil on the countries of the world. Then suddenly he remembered that he had forgotten Greece. What could he give to this country since he had given all the riches to the others? He started stroking his beard thoughtfully. All at once an idea struck him when he saw the rainbow hanging over his head. Reaching up, he chopped a piece off, stooped and picked up a little soil and many stones, and kneaded the whole thing together in the palm of his hand. Then, opening his palm, he blew the mixture into the sea, and Greece came into being.[1] 539 773

In its symbolic meaning, the rainbow of the legend is the Greek people who are as colorful as the sun-drenched rocks on which their nation grew to greatness.

The fact that the Athenian civilization with its poets, philosophers, dramatists, and sculptors had its origin in a city of less than two hundred thousand people on the rocky Attic plain has been a source of wonder to all who know anything of ancient Greece. But today there is also a miracle of Greece at which to wonder. In our twentieth century we see a land of 51,182 square miles supporting eight million people; that is, an area the 175 [131 161]

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks? Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[6]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Mountains

133 The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any [311] agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields [132] below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the 185 country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article [311] in *Soil Conservation*, holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc-
[233]
[175]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[12] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[13] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

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Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[6] 423 [369]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago. [438] [273] [372] [137]

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[7] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow. 175 423

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria,* did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

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authorities continued the existing forms of land ownership as long as they controlled Attica and the rest of Greece.

There were, for four centuries, four ways in which agricultural and forest land was held during the Turkish occupation. First of all, much land (the old Byzantine estates) belonged to the Turkish state; that is, it was the property of the Sultan who owned it by right of sovereignty. He could not give it away irrevocably, but he could award it as grants to Turks or to Christians adopting Islam. Such grants included the fiefs (or estates called *tsiflikia* in Turkish) over which the new owners had all property rights. These holdings were found chiefly in the richest parts of Attica.[10]

A second form of property in land was that owned by the communes, which had full property rights. The Turkish occupation, for reasons of general policy, preserved the communes existing prior to the occupation together with their administrative institutions. Also, every city, town, and village preserved its magistrates who, elected for the most part by the Christians, were called *demogerontes* (village elders). The occupying Turks also respected the communal property reserved for the needs of the commune (pastures, woodlots), which was administered by the demogerontes. As the later description of local government will show, these elders, in addition, had the right to impose taxes, enforce civil law, exercise police and other powers, with the result that they became the natural protectors and councilors of every inhabitant in the commune. This institution of demogerontes was the incentive which maintained and helped develop national sentiment during the years of occupation, and it was found in those communes which had been *kephalochoria* (head or independent villages) in the Byzantine period.

A third form of landed property was that owned individually by the inhabitants of these kephalochoria, the villages which had the communal land mentioned above. These were settlements usually in the mountain or hill regions. Because their poor or mediocre soil was of little economic interest to the Turks, and because of their inaccessible location, they were not completely subjected economically. They preserved the regime of small holdings: either small holdings already existing in Byzantine times or those which their inhabitants had begun to acquire around the places where they lived, some by purchase of the right of limited tenure, some by grant on the part of landlords. These small holdings frequently were planted with olive trees, vineyards, and fruit trees, as they had been for generations.

The fourth form of property was that which belonged to monasteries and to religious foundations. The Turks, under the system of the Waqf, deeded land to mosques or hospitals in keeping with Koranic law in much the same way as Christians had given land to monasteries in the Byzantine era. In this way, large estates came into being under the control of these

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks. 175 423

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica: 175 423 427

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops. [311]

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years. 178 241 [235] [462]

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

563 differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

S V [342] [361] [162] [291] I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

G [291]

V [101] [197] [191] [291] Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

S [101] [197]

S V [101] [361] [342] Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

V [174] [197] [101] [175] The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

these views during the last century and the early part of this century, when the struggle for independence was reverberating through Epirus, Macedonia, and other areas frequented by these nomads.

A detached assessment of the situation, and yet one without much tangible evidence to support it, would place these Wallachians as descended from Balkanites of Roman times, who were Latinized by colonists, army garrisons, or some other continued type of association. When the Slavs came pushing into the Balkans during the sixth century, the Wallachians retreated to the mountain areas and continued (or took up) sheep raising and remained relatively unmolested. Since they could not wrest an adequate living from their barren surroundings, many of the men found it necessary to migrate elsewhere for work. Some were gone many years, and some would go away for only part of the year, but almost all of them learned some trade, becoming important as builders and artisans all over the Balkans. Of even greater importance was their role as caravan owners and drivers. They raised not only sheep but many horses which they concentrated at certain points such as Thessalonike, loaded them with merchandise, and conveyed the goods through well-defined routes to Vienna or down to the Adriatic. Considerable wealth was amassed in this way. Some of their settlements two hundred years ago — for example, Moschopolis in present-day Albania — were centers of culture and wealth. With the coming of railroads, their caravans were no longer so necessary; and with the growing unrest in the Balkans during the past hundred years, free passage from one country to another was increasingly difficult. Although the various treaties following the Balkan wars and World War I provided for the free movement of these nomads from one country to another, particularly with their flocks, the borders had in effect been closed to them even before the start of World War II.

This, in a brief and general way, is the background of these Vlach nomads. In the days under the Turks, early in the century, when Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece were claiming large chunks of Macedonia, each tried to make a case for large groupings of its own people. The Vlachs, chiefly Greek Orthodox in religion and with a knowledge of Greek as well as their own Romance language, were claimed by the Greeks as their own. Many Vlachs agreed with this, despite the appeals made by Rumanians to the contrary.

My chief contacts with the Koutso-Vlachs during 1953 were in Metsovo, one of their most celebrated villages, and along the roads of Greece. On the road between Arta and Ioannina, for example, one bold young shepherd girl named Maria, seeing women (my wife and the interpreter) in the car with me, asked for a ride. She was Koutso-Vlach and was on a nine-day trip back to the summer village in the mountains which she considered her permanent home. We passed some of her companions leading

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

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Instead of being organized on the basis of individuals living in a geographic area, which was the classical mode, the community became a body of believers united by a common purpose. . . . Within this framework, new concepts of local government grew. One was the council as a vehicle for the consensus of the community as a whole. Another was the assembly of all members of the Christian community to give assent. Still another was the leadership of clerical authorities in local government and community activity. These ideas are indigenous to Byzantine culture and they are a part, even if not immediately visible, of present-day local government in Greece.[1]

With the fall of Byzantium in 1453, the Greeks came under Turkish rule. But the Muslim masters worked through already existing institutions, and Mohammed II went so far as to recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople as the political leader of the Greek nation. In the provinces, the metropolitan bishops, and priests exercised the rights given to the Patriarch, and his executors, through the *euphoria* (supervising committee) or the *demogerontia* (group of village elders). These village elders collected taxes from their compatriots, rendered justice when differences arose between Orthodox Christians, and settled any disputes which contesting parties referred to them. Basic to this self-government was the idea of the autonomous community, which centered around the elders selected by popular vote. These elders (*demogerontes*), in turn, selected "first elders" (*protogeri*), who administered the provinces and conferred with the monarch's counsellor in the provincial capital about the amount of taxes to be collected for that province, while each demogerontia tried to specify the share of each larger village, as well as the personal contribution of each individual taxpayer within a village.[2]

175 623

In addition to tax assessment and collection, the elders had many other important functions: they divided the uncultivated land or fields or any other land remaining without heirs, regulated the flow of waters, determined the rights of inheritance, handled the community's funds, and supervised the payments made by Christians to be relieved of military duty and the serving of court papers. Since the tax function remained paramount, the local authorities brought pressure to bear upon their compatriots, by advice or scolding, to pay what was due and to avoid any mishaps with the Turks. These leaders, because they supervised the tax collection, also had local funds to use at their discretion for the community. As Koukkidi says: "The great strength of the Greeks was the continuity of communal life. The community to them was a small democracy which organized its life and shaped itself."[3]

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With the liberation of Southern and Central Greece, and the ascent to the throne of King Otho, the governmental patterns of Western Europe were imposed upon the traditional councils of elders. But this came at a time when, with the exception of the loyalty to the Patriarch, there was no

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither. 175 623 642

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws. [671]

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues."[4] 631 642 [658]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior. [185]

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

[621] [633] [162]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village,
871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-
educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and
[554] gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the
teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influ-
[242] ence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the
teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia,
who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first
apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in
that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees
for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the
teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various
problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since
they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is
cherished," he concluded.

871 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the
184 past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences
in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a
[231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from South-
ern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to
pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted:
"The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern
Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and
you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find
people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in
the Peloponnesos."

[175] But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a
verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred
years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our
heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better educa-
tion. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where
there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said
that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant
gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the
[875] state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not
sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the
first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three
grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for
Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated.
But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient
with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

793 736 792 288 [175] [231]

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

793 734 [788]

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

[164]

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

783 788 [734]

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 "Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412–413; and Angelike Chatzemichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826–827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

Chapter IV. Land as a Birthright

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece*, Oct.–Nov. 1947 (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166–167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

[186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

[245] [185] [583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugee from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

1:Sanders Z-5,✓ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

owners, even having the power to keep the peasants off the land they formerly owned. In Epirus, land redistribution in the 1920s involved finding out who the former Greek owners had been or still were, once the land had been appropriated from the Turks with an indemnity payment. In Thessaly, however, there were no former Greek peasant owners to locate, so the large Turkish-owned estates were merely redistributed to peasants who had worked them as hired workers or tenants.

7. The quotation about the sixth century B.C. comes from *The Cambridge Ancient History*, V, 12.

8. Most of the information on which the description of land tenure in Attica is based comes from P. J. Iliopoulos, *L'Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951).

9. For a discussion of agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages, see the chapter by that title in *The Cambridge Economic History*, I.

10. See K. D. Karavidas, *Agrotika* (Athens, 1931), whose sections on the *tsiflikia* and *kephalochoria* proved particularly helpful in an effort to gain a proper background. In a private conversation, Mr. Karavidas pointed out that some acute problems arose when the tsiflikia were broken up and distributed to the former tenants. Under the landlord, the workers were forced to keep irrigation ditches clear, but when redistribution occurred in 1923 nobody worried about the maintenance of such ditches. Trees fell into them and they became stopped up.

11. *L'Attique*, p. 115.

12. One of the best short descriptions of land ownership in Greece is an article by that title in *Foreign Agriculture*, August 1950. The article is adapted from the book by A. Varvaressos, *The Fulfilment of the Agrarian Reform* (Athens, 1949). Another useful account of land reform in Greece is found in W. E. Moore, *Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe*, appendix 3. D. K. Wogasli wrote extensively on questions of land reform, publishing in 1919 a work entitled *La Solution de la question agraire en Grèce* (Athens, 1919). He also wrote a work in Greek on the agrarian question in Thessaly and especially in the prefecture of Trikkala.

It is interesting to contrast Thessaly of today with that described by Leon Heuzey, *Excursion dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858*. Of the village of Vloko, he writes: "Là, je me renseigne comme à l'ordinaire, sur la condition des paysans. Le propriétaire, Hassan-bey, les déplace à sa volonté, bien que lui-même, à l'heure actuelle, tienne un homme en prison pour avoir cherché à quitter son tchiflik. Malgré les nouvelles lois, le régime de la glèbe existe encore, mais ce n'est pas toujours dans les conditions d'équité qui pourraient le rendre tolerable pour le cultivateur" (p. 76).

13. A common practice on the part of a landlord was to transfer title to various parts of the estate to close relatives, who permitted him to continue to operate the farm as one unit.

14. The Agricultural Section of the United States Mission to Greece and officials of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture have given much study to the problem of consolidation of scattered strips. The great amount of time required for surveying even one village for this purpose is hard to believe. At least twenty villages have been surveyed by Dr. Kypriades and attractive picture displays prepared to show what can be done when consolidation is carried out.

15. For more on the domka system, see O. S. Morgan, ed., *Agricultural Systems of Middle Europe* (New York, 1933), chapter by Georges Servakis and C. Pertountzi entitled "The Agricultural Policy of Greece." On the problem of scattered strips, see the *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1947), in which Recommendation 71 deals with consolidation and land redistribution.

16. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 9.

17. Frederick Strong, *Greece as a Kingdom* (London, 1842), pp. 163–164. But in 1914 Lucy M. J. Garnett, in *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), wrote as follows: "It is . . . foreign emigration that is robbing Hellas of her hardy peasantry, and this constitutes one of the most serious problems with which the Hellenic Gov-

THE WATERS OF MARAH

788 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat,
796 almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy
533 as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary
[782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the
[292] whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an
[369] *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the
788 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way
796 for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the
• [175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

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welcome to his dominions the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus with a following which included several Greek ecclesiastics, both bishops and priests.[1] These unwonted guests remained in London until the end of February following. The Greek services were celebrated daily, many English churchmen being present, and several contemporary accounts of the impression created by these unfamiliar rites have been preserved. More than one chronicler notes with surprise that laymen as well as clerks took an active part in the services which, to quote Adam of Usk, "were joined in as well by soldiers as by priests; for they chanted them without distinction in their native tongue".

One last word in connexion with the liturgy of the laity. A contemporary of King Henry IV relates that the Emperor's chaplains were catechised by certain English churchmen who had been present at the Greeks' services as to whether "the common people and the ignorant in their country did indeed understand the scriptures and the divine words which they recited together with the learned." Is the 'old school-Greek' whereof Covel and others speak, sufficiently understanded of the people?

Let us hear another voice from the fifteenth century: "The Grekis", says John Purvey, "wiche ben nobel men, han al this in ther owne langage. But yet adversaries of trewith seien, wane men rehersen that Grekis . . . han al in ther owne langage, the clerkis of hem speiken grammaticalliche and the puple understondith it not."

It should be remarked that the Orthodox Church has never opposed the translation of the scriptures or the liturgy into new tongues when such translation has been necessary for the furtherance of her missionary and pastoral work. On the contrary, the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is probably celebrated in more languages than any other of the historic rites of Christendom. I have myself been present at celebrations at which old Slavonic, Greek, English, French and Arabic have all been used during the course of the liturgy, and W. J. Birkbeck mentions a committee he encountered at St. Petersburg in 1889 which was engaged in translating the liturgy for a small tribe in the north-east of Siberia, numbering less than 5,000 souls and whose language contained scarcely

[1] The story of this Byzantine Emperor's fruitless expedition to the west in quest of military aid against the Turk, and of his sojourn in Paris and London—one of the most diverting episodes in fifteenth-century history—is related in some detail in Schlumberger's *Byzance et Croisades* (Paris, 1927), pp. 87-147: "Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres."

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these strange rocks for the peculiar benefit of the communities of 133
stylites who, in the fulness of time, were to build their chapels and 361
hermitages upon their barren summits. Assuredly, there are few places 792
on earth so admirably fitted to serve as a refuge for those who are called
to the solitary life and to the labour of the angels as this rocky wilderness 346
above Kalambaka.

The early history of the monasteries is lost in obscurity. We cannot 175
say at what period the first solitaries found their way to this remote 792
corner of Thessaly. It seems clear, however, that certainly before the 346
end of the thirteenth century, and perhaps considerably earlier, there were many hermits scattered about this wild region. *Staghi* (as Kalambaka, the ancient Aeginion, was known in the Middle Ages), seems to be a contraction of *eis tous aghious*—the name is still preserved in the official title of the Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi. It may have been many years before the unorganised eremitical life crystallised into anything in the nature of regular communities. Many of the monasteries trace their origins to the troubled epoch during the latter part of the fourteenth century when the Emperor of the Serbs carried on an intermittent campaign against the successors of Constantine from his base at Trikkala, a few miles further down the valley of the Peneios, and the desert of the solitaries was invaded by armed bands and by men whose warfare was not with principalities and powers. The hermits took refuge among the high rocks. How they first succeeded in establishing themselves on some of the apparently unscalable heights which are now surmounted by the crumbling ruins of their cells is one of the unfathomed mysteries of monastic history—though there are explanations to be heard in the mountain villages of Pindos.

Between 1356 and 1372 there came to Staghi a monk trained in the [133]
great coenobia of Mount Athos, Athanasius by name, who founded on the summit of the Platys Lithos—the vast mass of rock which towers to a height of more than 1,800 feet to the north of Kastraki—the monastery dedicated in honour of the Transfiguration of our Lord and Saviour which has ever since been known as the Great Meteoron. As darkness descended upon the glories of New Rome, and the church of the Holy Wisdom—"the most fayr Chirche and the most noble of alle the world"—fell into the hands of the infidel, the desert blossomed and a flourishing group of monasteries sprang up among the barren rocks. The Great Meteoron prospered and served as a model for other foundations, thanks to the wisdom of its founder and to the benefactions of

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175 792 346 the wife of the Despot of Ioannina, whose brother, Ioasaph, had come to Staghi as a postulant in 1388. By the sixteenth century there would seem to have been as many as twenty-four communities scattered about the rocks.

The convent of St. Stephen, built on the site of a hermitage founded in 1312, lies on the farther side of a chasm spanned by a drawbridge. [406] In order to gain access to most of the monasteries, however, it was necessary to be hoisted in a net lowered from the gate-house of the monastery (commonly situated some 150 feet above the farthest point [417] to which the traveller could attain by his own unaided efforts), or to clamber up ladders somewhat imperfectly secured by long wooden pegs to the face of the precipice. Travellers' accounts abound in references to the perils of either means of ascent: to frayed ropes which were replaced only after a catastrophe had actually occurred, and to the horrors of ladders hung perpendicularly upon the face of the cliff, below which, as Curzon relates: "the precipice went sheer down to so tremendous a depth, that my head turned when I surveyed the distant valley over which I was hanging in the air like a fly on a wall." It was not until 1925 that, as the result of the construction of some rough tunnels and steps, it became possible to reach the four monasteries then inhabited without considerable hazard to life and limb. The alterations then effected are bitterly lamented by the present *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron, the Archimandrite Callinicos, as a misguided concession to episcopal infirmity on the part of his predecessor. It seemed very [406] doubtful, however, whether the combined energies of the few remaining monks would suffice to operate their ancient windlass at all effectively. Curzon (who visited the Meteora in 1834) speaks of the ten or twelve monks at Aghia Trias who pulled him up to their monastery with a rope thirty-two fathoms long, and of the like number of reverend stevedores who assembled at the bars of the capstan at St. Barlaam, and whose efforts had the somewhat disconcerting effect of lifting him off the floor in his net and launching him "out of the door right into the sky, with an impetus which kept me swinging backwards and forwards at a fearful rate". To-day, the largest community can muster no more than half a dozen monks, of whom two are well advanced in years.

A great transformation has indeed come about since the days of prosperity vividly depicted in an old print which hangs in the sadly dilapidated guest-chamber of the Great Meteoron. More than twenty

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monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

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175 792 [162] monks still further reduced to twenty-one. A decade of war has added a catastrophic chapter to this melancholy tale of gradual decline, for it was not possible that the monks should remain aloof from the calamities which have befallen their native land during those terrible years. The day was long since flown when the monks could look down from the security of their rocky retreats upon scenes of slaughter and pillage as armies came and went on the plain below; and, turning away with the sign of the cross and a *Kyrie eleison*, go back to their labours. The unscalable heights were impregnable no longer.

792 123 [491] I spent several days at the monasteries in January 1950, accompanied by a young theologian from the Russian Academy in Paris. Heavy falls of snow had blocked the Metsovo pass—the one road that leads northwestwards from Kalambaka across the heights of Pindos, connecting the plain of Thessaly with Ioannina and Epirus—and the cold was intense. We had slept the previous night at Trikkala, where the Metropolitan had shown us a number of charred manuscripts which had been salvaged from the monasteries. Our first concern upon reaching Kalambaka the following morning was to seek out the curate of the place, Father Christos Benda, whom we discovered wrapped in a blanket at his fireside. He was not a little startled at the sudden apparition of two Frankish visitors in the doorway of his cottage, and regarded somewhat gloomily our proposal to sleep at the monasteries for the duration of our stay, assuring us (not without reason, as we subsequently discovered), that the monks had little enough bedding to protect their own persons from the bitter winds which swept the exposed summits. He promised, nevertheless, to come with us to look for the *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron who was said to have descended from his airy retreat that morning in order to deal with some piece of monastic business. First, however, we were taken to see the fourteenth-century basilica with its remarkable marble *ambon*, and to visit the school, where we found classes of 150 children overflowing the one available building (which had perforce to serve as primary school in the forenoon and as high school for the rest of the day), and packed into two small chapels which had been furnished with desks. The children were delighted at the diversion caused by the appearance of the *xenoi*. Papa Christos carried us off in search of the abbot who was finally run to earth in a tavern where, monastic business satisfactorily despatched, he was disposing of a dish of vegetables.

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THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF REVIVAL

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The history of the revival begins in 1839 and for a generation centres upon the convent of Megaspelaion in the valley of Kalavryta: the greatest monastery of Old Greece. The initial impulse, however, came from elsewhere. In that year there arrived at Patras a certain Cosmas Phlamiatos: a layman who had been banished from the Ionian Protectorate on account of his reckless denunciations of Masonic propaganda. He began to travel about the Peloponnese, preaching in the towns and villages and rekindling the fires that had burned low for generations past. Before long a hermit from the vicinity of Kalavryta, Christophoros Panaghiotopoulos by name, was inspired by the example of this lay theologian to abandon his cell and to devote himself to similar apostolic labours. The biographer of Father Eusebius Matthopoulos justly observes of this hermit-evangelist that "throughout the Peloponnese tradition has preserved, even to the present day, the memory of the celebrated and most profitable activity of this unlettered but zealous missionary".

But the times were evil and neither of these two itinerant evangelists was able to resist the temptation to denounce the established régime. Their activities came to an abrupt termination: Phlamiatos died in prison in 1850 (after a renewed attack on the Masons) and the former hermit disappeared into exile, never to return. In the meantime, however, Phlamiatos had gained a further disciple in the person of a monk of Megaspelaion named Ignatius Lambropoulos, who now became the leader of the movement.

Father Ignatius, who was born in a village near Megalopolis in 1814, entered the famous monastery (then inhabited by some 200 monks) while scarcely more than a boy. He was ordained deacon at the age of twenty-five, and then priest. In 1842 he met Phlamiatos at Aigion and was greatly moved by the ardour and enthusiasm of the lay evangelist. For the next seven years Ignatius Lambropoulos laboured incessantly throughout the whole length and breadth of the Peloponnese, preaching and confessing the people. Like Phlamiatos, he also exercised a most fruitful ministry through the medium of correspondence (it is related of the lay theologian that it was his custom to divide the night into three equal portions: one for rest, one for prayer, and one for writing the hundreds of letters by means of which he kept in touch with those whom he had encountered during the course of his missionary journeys).

Unlike his fellow-evangelists, Father Ignatius never succumbed to

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797 175 the temptation to mingle the pure milk of the Gospel with denunciation of current abuses; but, in spite of his restraint, he was imprisoned for several months at the time of Phlamiatos' arrest and was afterwards confined to his monastery. He remained at Megaspelaion for twelve years, and, despite the curtailment of his missionary journeys, continued to exercise a most effectual ministry through correspondence; while, as the fame of his holiness and wisdom went abroad, there came to the monastery a constant stream of visitors. Father Ignatius continued to preach and to hear confessions, and at last, when H.M.S. *Scylla* had borne away to Venice the unfortunate Otho and his consort, he was free once more to resume his itinerant work. The story of the last seven years of his life is a record of strenuous missionary activity amongst the towns and villages of the Peloponnese. His work received the blessing of the hierarchy, and he gathered about him a little group of disciples which included both clergy and laymen, prominent amongst them the deacon Hierotheos Metropoulos, uncle of Eusebius Matthopoulos, himself a monk of Megaspelaion and a future Archbishop of Patras. In 1866 Father Ignatius declined the offer of the bishopric of Triphylia on the plea of ill-health, and three years later he died.

The life of this zealous monk had already exercised a most potent influence throughout the Peloponnese, and through the little company of disciples that gathered about him at Megaspelaion his labours were destined to bear fruit over a far wider field than that covered by his own missionary journeys. Until the advent of Cosmas Phlamiatos there had been but little preaching in the towns and villages of Old Greece, and the labours of this lay theologian had inaugurated a new era of missionary activity.

797 794 175 The pattern of the first phase of the revival—from the arrival in the Peloponnese of Phlamiatos down to the death of Father Ignatius—bears a curious resemblance to that of the period which ensues, and which culminates in the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zōe. Again the original stimulus is provided by a layman whose effective ministry is terminated by a clash with authority, and again a monk of Megaspelaion is left to build upon another's foundation and to consolidate his work.

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In 1866, three years before the death of Ignatius Lambropoulos,

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there came to Athens a certain Apostolos Makrakes, a lay philosopher from the Cyclades, who had studied in Constantinople and in Paris, and had already won a considerable renown through his writings against the Franks and on the true nature of the Church. Makrakes electrified the Athenians by his preaching in Omonoia Square and other public places in the city. To all who heard this Christian philosopher it was evident that a new spirit was abroad in Greece. Shortly before the death of Father Ignatius, Makrakes visited Megaspelaion and there encountered a young monk from Melissopetra named Eusebius Matthopoulos. This meeting marks the beginning of a long association between the two men which, clouded though it was by the eccentricities of the layman's later years, was to prove of incalculable importance for the Greek Church.

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Father Eusebius (who, with Apostolos Makrakes, dominates the history of the revival of missionary activity for the next half-century and more) seems to have been set apart for the monastic life almost from his cradle. Despite recurrent bouts of fever (which left him with a thorn in his flesh for the remainder of a long life of strenuous activity), his uncle, Hierotheos Metropoulos, secured his admission to his own convent at the age of fourteen, and during the next few years he became the closest and most ardent disciple of Father Ignatius. It was he who took up the mantle of the great preacher and confessor at the latter's death.

Early in the 'seventies we find Eusebius Matthopoulos (now a deacon) studying the holy scriptures and the ancient philosophers and divines in the Athens schools, and already launched upon his long and most fruitful ministry as a *hierokeryx*. The year 1876 is memorable for two events: the ordination of Father Eusebius to the priesthood, and the foundation of the School of the Logos.

[794]

Hitherto the missionary revival inaugurated by the preaching of Phlamiatos had been quite unorganised. Though the monastery of Megaspelaion had afforded a base for the labours of Ignatius Lambropoulos and his fellow workers, there had been no question of any formal association or 'movement'. These itinerant preachers and confessors had but restored and extended that "pious and laudable institution" (so Dr. Covel) whereby certain monkish theologians—"Grave and Reverend Persons that had been bred up in their Monasteries to a strict and mortified life"—would be appointed by the bishops "to go to their respective Cities and Towns . . . to advise, direct and assist all

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797 good People . . . for the encouraging and encreasing of their Devotion, and for the better management of their Lives and Conversations". 794 The foundation of the School of the Logos constitutes an important 797 landmark; it inaugurates the era of the voluntary movements and establishes the essential features of a pattern of missionary activity 175 which has held the field until our own day, and from which the foundation of an official Home Mission marks the first radical departure.

In September, 1876, Makrakes and his associates founded the School of the Logos which combined the functions of a private *gymnasium* with those of an evening school for adults. Father Eusebius (who had been ordained priest a month before) was appointed chaplain and *pneumatikos* of this remarkable institution—he also made himself responsible for the cleaning of the school (especially, it is related, "of its vilest places", *τῶν εὐτελεστέρων τόπων αὐτῆς*: a phrase charged with sinister meaning for anyone acquainted with the lamentable decline in the standards of Hellenic plumbing since the far-off days when King Minos flourished in his Cretan palace!) The outstanding qualities of this young priest were quickly discerned by those about him, and not a few who were many years his senior in age and experience came to rely upon him as counsellor and spiritual father. It was during this period that Father Eusebius began his experiments with the small groups (*omades*) which were to become so important a feature of the brotherhood which he founded some thirty years later.

But the School of the Logos was not destined to enjoy a long career. Scarcely two years had elapsed from its foundation when Makrakes and his associates became involved in a violent controversy with the authorities, which brought their educational and spiritual work in Athens to an abrupt conclusion and scattered the leaders of the movement to remote islands and monasteries. In 1875, as the result of a scandalous 793 transaction involving payments to certain ministers of the State, three 797 men succeeded in obtaining the vacant bishoprics of Patras, Messenia 662 and Kephallenia. The facts became widely known and public opinion 175 was deeply aroused. Makrakes and certain of his fellow-workers published fiery articles denouncing this flagrant violation of the holy canons. A trial ensued; the guilty ministers were imprisoned and fined, while the three simoniacal bishops were committed to the Holy Synod, which should then, according to the canons, have proceeded to a sentence of deposition.

793 The Synod, however, declined to take this step. Makrakes thereupon
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extended his attacks from the simoniacal bishops themselves to those whom he now accused of being their accomplices—the members of the Holy Synod and the Archbishop of Athens. A bitter controversy ensued. Makrakes (whose language had never been characterised by moderation) threw discretion to the winds and attacked the bishops, the prime minister, the government and the theological faculty of the university without discrimination and in the most violent terms. The Metropolitan of Athens and of all Greece he denounced as "Simon Magus: *Archegos* of the hateful-to-God heresy and Metropolitan of evil courses!" The national university was no longer the *panepistemion*, the home of all the sciences, but the *panskotisterion*, the abode of universal darkness.

The clergy who were associated with Makrakes were more restrained in their denunciations of the hierarchy. They felt bound, nevertheless, to cease to commemorate their diocesan at the divine liturgy. The Synod retaliated by publishing unfounded charges of heresy and false teaching, and warned the faithful to have nothing to do with the theologians associated with the School of the Logos. The school itself was suppressed in the autumn of 1878, though Makrakes continued to publish his journal. In February, 1879, six of the 'Makrakist' clergy (including the archimandrites Hierotheos Metropoulos and Elias Vlachopoulos, as well as Father Eusebius) were brought before the Synod and tried on charges of heresy and *kakodoxia*. Despite the accused clergy's profession of orthodoxy and the absence of any shred of evidence in support of the charges, all were found guilty and sentenced to periods of exile, ranging from eight to ten years, in isolated monasteries dispersed amongst the islands of the Aegean and Ionian seas.

Father Eusebius was sent to the monastery of Palaiokastriotissa in Corfu—a small convent inhabited by ten monks, five hours' journey from the town of Kerkyra—where, cheerfully accepting this enforced interruption of his apostolic labours amongst the Athenians, he gave himself unreservedly to prayer and self-examination, and to the study of the scriptures. It was not long before the abbot of the monastery realised that the character of the exiled priest had been grossly misrepresented by the ecclesiastical authorities, and, with the consent of the local bishop, Father Eusebius began to preach in the villages of the diocese and to confess the people. Hierotheos Metropoulos was meanwhile turning his banishment to good account by reorganising the monastery of Longovardas in the isle of Paros, where his influence has endured to the present day.

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793 The scandal occasioned by the simoniacal bishops had not been
797 silenced by the banishment of the 'Makrakist' clergy. On the contrary,
175 there was a widespread feeling that a grave injustice had been committed; petitions were organised, the subject was raised again and again in parliament, and at last, after three years, the exiles were recalled and the case of the guilty prelates reopened before the Holy Synod. Father Eusebius had so endeared himself to the people of Kerkyra that they refused to let him go immediately and he continued his work of spiritual regeneration amongst them for a year longer. In 1883 the Synod suspended the simoniacs for three years, and shortly afterwards the director of the Rizareion School, the then Bishop of Platamon, was charged with the re-examination of the case of the clergy formerly associated with the School of the Logos. He reported that the accusations of heresy and *kakodoxía* were utterly without foundation, the six priests and deacons admitted their fault in ceasing to commemorate their diocesan at the liturgy, and a formal reconciliation was effected.

797 Makrakes, however, refused to admit that the action of the Synod
175 of 1879 constituted not a heresy (which might be held to justify separation from the local bishop) but a crime (ἔγκλημα) which certainly did not, and continued obstinately in schism. The story of the later years of this gifted but unbalanced man makes melancholy reading. In 1879 he had founded the 'Panhellenic Society of Constantine the Great' and announced the approaching overthrow of Constantinople and the end of the 'Kingdom of the Antichrist Mohamed'. From this time onward oracles and prophetic visions occupy a prominent place in his writings. The Apocalypse and the dreams of an eccentric lawyer from Patras (much given to threatening his unbelieving fellow-townsmen with earthquakes) are pressed into service for his shrill polemics.

Father Eusebius and the other clergy who had formerly collaborated with this Christian philosopher tried hard to convince him of the folly of his ways, but without avail, and in 1884 they regretfully dissociated themselves from their old teacher. Three years later Makrakes was abandoned by most of his remaining supporters, two of whom, Constantine Dialesmas and a lawyer named Michael Galanos (who was subsequently to exercise a memorable ministry as a lay preacher in one of the churches of Athens) were responsible for the foundation of the movement known as *Anaplasis* (Regeneration) which continued the work of Makrakes while renouncing the eccentric ways into which he himself had fallen. Makrakes lived till 1905 and, despite the violence

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175

of his attacks on those who had formerly been his associates, never wholly forfeited their love and affection. Father Eusebius and his fellow-workers were well aware how great was the debt that they and the whole Church owed to this unhappy man.

The ending of the controversy about the simoniacal bishops opened up a new field of activity for Father Eusebius and those associated with him. He was appointed *hierokeryx* first of Missolonghi and then of Attica (where his uncle, Hierotheos Metropoulos, collaborated with him for a time) and in 1895 the Holy Synod commissioned him to extend his field of activity to include the whole of Greece. From 1884 till 1906 Eusebius Matthopoulos gave himself wholly to the preaching of the Gospel and the ministry of the itinerant confessor, while, like his spiritual father Ignatius Lambropoulos, he shepherded and guided hundreds of Christians drawn from every walk of life by means of correspondence.

And what a ministry it was! For twenty-two years Eusebius Matthopoulos preached Christ crucified in every town of Greece: preached with a fervour and a simplicity that was wholly new. He spoke of the divine truths with the conviction of one who lived from day to day in their power. Never free from bodily ailments and often in acute pain, he gloried, like the apostle of the Gentiles, in his infirmities that the power of Christ might rest upon him.

As a confessor and spiritual father he was unsurpassed. He was one who (as Archbishop Chrysostom wrote of him) "had confronted sin in all its nakedness and virtue in its resplendent brightness, who had witnessed man's falling into evil and his resurrection, who had plumbed both the manifest motives of sin and also its hidden springs"; one who led countless men and women to God through the mystery of confession and, above all, through the potent example of a life which spoke of the beauty of holiness more eloquently than any sermon.

In 1893 Hierotheos Metropoulos was elected to the see of Patras and Eleia, and his brief but memorable episcopate has left an indelible mark upon the life of the church in those regions. The metropolis became a notable centre of spiritual energy and enlightenment. The Bishop, aided by his nephew and his old colleague, the Archimandrite Elias Vlachopoulos, and by a staff of zealous preachers and *pneumatikoi* —both priests and laymen—showed how potent could be the example of a true pastor and father in God. Father Eusebius was often at

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797 175 Patras during these years, and when his uncle died in 1902 there was a great and widespread desire that he should succeed him. On this occasion, however, as on every other, Father Eusebius declined all offers of ecclesiastical preferment. With the example of Hierotheos Metropoulos before his eyes he was in no danger of underestimating the influence that could be exercised by a bishop who was a saint in deed as well as in name; but he shrank from the heavy burden of administrative cares which would inevitably hinder the free exercise of that ministry of preaching and reconciliation to which God had called him.

794 797 175 After the death of Hierotheos Metropoulos, Father Eusebius spent a further five years in missionary journeys to every part of liberated Greece, and then, in 1907, came the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë: a society organised on monastic lines which should, if God so willed, serve as a fit instrument for the continued regeneration of the Greek Church and for the extension of the work begun nearly seventy years before by Cosmas Phlamiatos and Ignatius Lambropoulos. A small house in an Athens suburb served as the headquarters of the new brotherhood; and here Father Eusebius gathered about him a little group of young theologians consisting of two priests and two laymen. [204] In 1911 they commenced the publication of the journal *Zoë*, which was destined before long to extend the teaching of the movement to every diocese of the newly-liberated provinces of northern Greece.

From these modest beginnings there has sprung a movement which in the course of a little more than a generation has exercised a most powerful influence upon the life of the Greek Church. Through the preaching of the Zoë brothers and the many-sided activity of the movements which have grown up under their supervision, the religious life of many a town and village has been transformed beyond all recognition since the days when Apostolos Makrakes first preached in the public places of Athens, and the youthful Eusebius Matthopoulos pondered the writings of the ancient divines and swept the classrooms and corridors of the School of the Logos.

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THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

I have already referred to the movement known as *Anaplasis*. This was founded as early as 1887 by two lay disciples of Apostolos Makrakes: it is to the latter that it owes its primary characteristics. Its efforts were mainly directed to resisting, by means of preaching, lectures, and the publication of apologetic and philosophical writings, the spread of materialistic notions derived from western Europe. It was from the start a predominantly lay movement widely supported by theologians, philosophers, lawyers and university professors, as well as by many merchants and business men. Its journal formerly had a wide circulation in professional and academic circles and was issued, at first weekly and then fortnightly, right down to 1941.

During the eighteen-nineties the Anaplasis movement supported ten preachers who worked in the Athens-Piraeus region and also to some extent in the provinces. The Crown Prince Constantine was an honorary president, and amongst its most active members were the lawyer, John Skaltsounes (who is looked upon in Greece as a forerunner of the *Aktines* movement), and a Minister of Justice, Nicolas Demetrakopoulos, who, though not himself a trained theologian, was one of the first persons to devote his attention seriously to Christian apologetics. The real leader of the movement, however, was the lawyer and *hierokeryx*, Michael Galanos, and its final eclipse coincided with his death in 1948.

Father Eusebius and his associates collaborated with this movement for many years as preachers and contributors to its journal. Then came the foundation of the Zoë Brotherhood and the growth of a separate movement with its own periodical, and from this time onward the older association declined. It lingered on for many years: Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos gave it his vigorous support from 1922 to 1938 (his brother was for a time its director), and it was not until quite recently that it was finally swallowed up in newer movements like *Aktines*, the home mission society known as *Apostolos Paulos*, and *Enoria*.

The Anaplasis movement was admirably equipped to meet the rationalist influence at work in Athens during the latter part of the nineteenth century; it was not able to adapt itself to the needs of a changing situation—hence its decline. From this pioneer association, however, there sprang two other movements, both of which have exercised a considerable influence during recent years. Both, it is interesting to note, were founded by parish priests. One (which is now under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes) has developed until it is second only to Zoë amongst the unofficial movements in the scope

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794 and importance of its activity. The other was the creation of a remark-
● 175 able parish priest, Father George Makres, who was for many years in charge of the parish of St. Basil in the Piraeus. He it was who in the year 1896 first established catechetical schools (there had been earlier but unsuccessful attempts), and both in this field and in that of the formation of 'circles' or groups for the study of the Bible he was a
[204] distinguished pioneer. He also edited a religious journal bearing the title of *Anamorphosis* (Transformation). After his death in 1943 his work in the Piraeus was taken up by one of his numerous spiritual sons, the then Archimandrite Damaskenos Kotzias (now raised to the episcopate).

The second of these movements was founded in 1913 by Father Mark Tsaktanes and grew up about his parish church of St. Catherine. Like Father George, in the Piraeus, this married priest led the way in the organisation of catechetical schools (some schools which still flourish in our own day are his foundations), and of circles for the study of the Bible. When he died, his brother-in-law, Father Angelos Nissiotes, the priest in charge of the parish of the Life-Giving Source in the heart of Athens, carried on and greatly extended his work. The 'Orthodox Christian Unions' and catechetical schools under Father Angelos' direction are now extremely vigorous, and out of this movement have come some of the most interesting experiments of recent years.

An admirable example of the older movements which have grown up in the provincial towns of Greece is that known as the '*Apostoliki Diakonia* of Salonica', founded in 1928 by a lay theologian with the primary object of promoting the study of the holy scriptures among adults. In addition to this side of its work it had founded by 1949 some thirty-one catechetical schools, with a total membership of nearly 3,000 boys and girls. The teachers in these schools included students and professional men. From this movement there has sprung since the end of the occupation a smaller organisation of great interest. This is
[874] the 'School of Christ', the creation of the Archimandrite Timothy Papamichael. Its primary object is the training of preachers and lay evangelists. This task has been tackled with such energy that already by 1950 there were more than 120 members of the movement—mostly young men and women—at work in Salonica and the north of Greece.

This unofficial 'Apostolic Diaconate' has led the way in the creation of catechetical schools and small groups for Bible study in the northern

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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dioceses, for it was not until 1936 that the Zoë Brotherhood established a centre in Salonica. The motto of this movement (which I have quoted at the head of this chapter), provides a key to much of the most notable work that is being done in Greece to-day; 'the victory of the width'—to give a literal translation of a phrase that cannot easily be put into English—ultimately depends upon the faithfulness and energy with which 'the battle of the depth' is waged. There can, in other words, be no fruitful outward activity that does not spring from a deepened interior life. It is only as the missioner himself is truly converted, only as he himself learns to dwell in Christ and as Christ is formed in him, that he can be used as an effective instrument for the conversion of others. Apart from this all his activity is in vain:

"As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. . . . If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

It augurs well for the future that the strenuous missionary activity now being undertaken in almost every town and diocese of Greece is so completely grounded in prayer and the study of the scriptures, finding its centre in the divine liturgy and the sacraments. The foundations are being well laid.

The full scope of the activity of the unofficial religious movements is perhaps most conveniently described if we consider in turn the chief instruments now being employed to bring about the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ. These include preaching, the mystery of confession, the organisation of catechetical schools, youth movements and study circles, the publication of Christian literature, and, finally, liturgical reform.

Preaching has from the outset been of primary importance. Cosmas Phlamiatos, Apostolos Makrakes and Eusebius Matthopoulos all relied upon the spoken *krygma* as their most effective instrument. The theologian—whether cleric or layman—who serves on the staff of a provincial bishop is first and foremost the *hierokryx*, the sacred herald, whose duty it is to assist the bishop in the ministry of the word. In the course of the last two generations there has been a tremendous revival of preaching—at any rate in the towns. Every parish church in Athens and the Piraeus now has a sermon at the Sunday liturgy—normally an exposition of the Gospel which immediately precedes it—

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On
433 the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

community where very early marriages have been the rule, a woman of thirty or thirty-five is already old.) Between 1952 and 1956 there were only four marriages in the village, twelve births, sixteen deaths. Under the circumstances, it seems certain that the population will decrease still further in the immediate future. 621 161 178 × [885]

Yet even four or five families could turn out to be quite enough to repopulate the village, if the old patterns of early marriage and numerous children prevail. Indeed, the close blood relationships of all the villagers suggests that in times past the community may well have contained only a handful of families from whom hundreds (or, counting those overseas, thousands) in due course descended. Thanks to the depopulation brought by the guerrilla war, the traditional life of Kotta has become easy once again, and if the young people accept the old ways, and do not allow the glitter of urban life overseas, reflected in the letters and money orders sent back by friends and relatives, to change their outlook, then it seems fairly certain that within a decade or less the depopulation of the village will come to a halt, and rapid growth in numbers will begin once more. If so, after something like thirty or forty years Kotta will probably be back in the impossible position of 1947.

This cycle is, I believe, the key to much Balkan history. The peasant family system was adjusted, from age-old antiquity, to supply large numbers of children, most of whom died from violence or disease before attaining adulthood. With the more or less effective pacification of the countryside in the last couple of centuries, together with the elimination of some epidemic diseases and the control of others, this age-old balance was thrown out of kilter, so that the peasant population began (as early as the mid-eighteenth century) to run far ahead of the development of resources that might sustain it. 175 ● 161 669

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

175 669 619 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Until 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 161 433 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopulation – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups. 602

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and [596]
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [178]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the [621]
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [582]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro-
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different [736]
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [737]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background. 175 621

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the [712]
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone. [136]
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family. The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi community is very important and needs some consideration. Farming is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manufacturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized /15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

241 594 249 [435] [464] 243 654

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [559]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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Slavic Peoples
E16

B 342 SL [342] selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and surface dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas, i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia, and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

B [361] More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B 175 648 361 G 175 648 SL [342] B [727] When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this stronghold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the advantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5) «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kidnapped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄντται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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vader's country (1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century (2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

[361]
[727]
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[177]
[341]

1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15-29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Α' Athens 1914 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

B
[342]

According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

G 175 648 B 175 648 [463] [177] [341] [342] [171] G [342] [171] B 177 341

But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G [172] [463] [331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes. 361 461 [805 177]

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating: 361 167

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[8]

361 167 181 [571 275]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses. 361 167

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their 166 361 727

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby. [363]

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[7] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece. 491 [521] [619]

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away. [177] [653]

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner." 491 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 2. CAUSES OF DEATH IN GREECE, 1950, BY NUMBER AND RATE

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Cause of death	Number	Death rate (per 1000 people)
Heart disease	3270	.427
Cancer	2730	.358
Cerebral hemorrhage	2679	.352
Tuberculosis (respiratory)	2214	.293
Senility	1954	.258
Pneumonia	1523	.201
Nephritis	1284	.168
Violent accidents	1259	.165
Causes unknown	1166	.154
Congenital debility	998	.132
Diarrhea, enteritis	973	.128
Other tuberculosis	634	.083
Other diseases of digestive system	629	.082
Other infectious diseases	621	.081
Diseases of the liver	511	.067

Source: Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece* (Athens, 1952), p. 62 (mimeographed).

diseases which give the health authorities most cause for concern are tuberculosis, dysentery, typhoid and paratyphoid, venereal diseases, smallpox, various intestinal parasites, and particularly infectious hepatitis.

Of these causes of death, tuberculosis creates the greatest problem for those interested in preventive medicine, for it is commonly recognized that the reported death rate, 29.3 per 100,000 people, is probably less than half of the true figures. Greek peasants can therefore take small comfort in the fact that tuberculosis death rates in the urban areas are more than twice as high as those for rural districts, since this still means relatively high rates in the villages. Although the government is attacking tuberculosis with considerable vigor, the public response is only half-hearted. One of the first jobs of the UNRRA–World Health Organization mission after the war was to try to persuade the tuberculous to recognize their illness, to take treatment, and to realize that it was no disgrace to be ill.

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753
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However, in most families it is still considered a shame to have the disease, so much so that cases are hidden and doctors are even paid for not reporting cases to the public-health authorities. Although undernourishment is frequently associated with the high incidence of the disease, in Greece malaria has been a contributory cause by undermining resistance to the tuberculosis bacillus.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of
241 summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illustrate modern Greek land reform.[12] The size of the farm holding in Thes-
[241] saly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still exists for those poor villagers who need it.
[671]

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful," [177] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and [825] for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the [685] point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever." [521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land re-
241 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant became about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the [311] entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, 272 flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

602 tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone [593] to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use [431] or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give [556] generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed [521] a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to [177] which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of 593 villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head 596 of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> [583] The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> [462] The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and [583] embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works [512] and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> [857] The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not [461] because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away [887] to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

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VIII

Courtship and Marriage

177 834 581 593 A young woman, who had grown up in the traditionally sheltered way in a Greek village, after spending several months in an American university, made these comments:

The father here in America is like a brother instead of a father.

I like the way the American mother reasons with the children and doesn't order them around.

In Greece you never tell anybody about your boy friend — not even your parents. Over here people talk about private matters. If you should do so in Greece, your parents would throw you out of the house.

In Greece we marry for love; in America you love without marrying.

831 834 593 [581] One may question the last statement as far as the Greek villager's marrying for love is concerned; but there is no question about the Greeks' stress upon keeping the boys and girls apart until they are married. The honor, or chastity, of the bride is a value of great importance, and any breach of the sex mores may have dire social consequences. To be sure, there are violations of this taboo and in many areas a gradual erosion of the rigid enforcement, but in rural Greece one can count upon parents and brothers actively to try to safeguard a young woman's honor. This is even institu- [577] tionalized in what is called *e time tou adelphou* (the honor of the brother),

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a [177] few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

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535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[8] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

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exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

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474 to shift away from the village to the national capital, where the Agricul-
177 tural Bank is located, or to the provincial cities, where the bank has
[652] branches to which the individual peasants are supposed to go to "process" their loans.

A second important question touched upon in the FAO report was whether the producers' cooperative ought to be compulsory in one or both of two ways: first, requiring all of those who produce a given commodity (such as tobacco) and who live in a given village to belong to a cooperative and, second, forcing all cooperative members to market their produce and buy their supplies only through the cooperative. The FAO Mission counseled against making the cooperatives compulsory, and the same point of view has been held by most of the American advisers who have worked with the American Aid Mission in Greece. Greek government officials, [241] however, sometimes think that legal sanctions would strengthen cooperatives and thereby tighten the economic machinery through which 10–12 percent of the Greek tobacco crop and about 80 percent of olive oil, to mention but two crops, reach the market.[7]

474 The cooperative leaders, however, face a problem of social as well as
626 legal sanctions: they would like to guide the cooperative movement from the stage where each cooperative member is a law unto himself to the point where any farmer who fails to sell his produce through his cooperative has to reckon with the disapproval of his fellow farmers. This can only be done through a long-term program of education which stresses not cooperation as an abstract ideal but the fact that a cooperative organization depends upon the support of every member and is not much stronger than its weakest link. It is in this matter of interpretation, of teaching the villager the meaning of cooperation, that the cooperative movement is not very successful. Cooperative officials are so busy being administrators that they do not take time to be interpreters, to be sure their communication strikes a responsive chord in the peasant. Then, too, they tend to feel that they have so much authority (such as fiscal control) in their hands that they do not have to depend upon the subtler forms of authority — namely, pressure by loyal members upon those who would deviate from what is considered good cooperative practice. This is tied in with the psychological problem of making the members feel that the cooperative is theirs rather than the instrumentality of cooperative and governmental officials who live outside the community.

474 One report by A. W. Willis, an American marketing specialist, goes so far as to say: "The Greek cooperative law makes cooperatives an arm of the Government and actually prohibits member control as well as any profit acquiring to members. The entire agricultural economy of this state could profit through true Cooperatives but not through those now in existence under the present law."[8]

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631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

275 This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
243 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
● 177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
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727

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A final difficulty lies in inadequate personnel and equipment to do many of the highly technical governmental tasks as they should be done. Engineers who are responsible for numerous activities in many villages may not have transportation facilities sufficient to visit these villages as often as would be desirable. Those responsible for accounting and fiscal matters may not have sufficient clerical help to keep up with the work load, thereby delaying reports or requests from local governments.[14] 647 65

But despite these difficulties, I would place the crux of the problem of the relationship between local and central government in the attitudes which the officials assume toward villagers and even townspeople. There is something about being an official in Greece that tends to make one officious. The officeholder may not realize this but, as he takes on the roles that go with a new governmental position, he tries to carry an air of authority that does not quite ring true, or else he tries to bolster up his feeling of insecurity by lording it over those who are in some measure under his control. He preserves his own *philotimo*, or self-esteem, by clinging to all the symbols of prestige to the bitter end. I could want no better documentation of this state of affairs than a notice distributed in November 1952 by the Minister of Agriculture, which appeared on the walls of the director of agriculture in Kozane. It read: 647 156 631 647

Mr. Director:

1. Don't forget that we are the servants of the people.
2. Don't forget that your pay comes from the work and the sweat of the people.
3. Please be polite and just to the people and your employees.
4. Keep working hours; do not go away during working hours which are for the public.
5. Reply willingly and quickly to requests and petitions of the people. "Come by tomorrow" is not accepted.

People — Farmers:

1. Do not ask for illegal things but demand your rights.
2. If you do not get your rights or have complaints write to Complaints Office of the Ministry and you will get a quick reply.
3. Even then, if you don't get justice, write directly to me.

Minister of Agriculture, A. Apostolidis

In official Athens, over the past few years, there has been many a tug of war, sometimes silent and sometimes raucous, between those who would decentralize many functions of government to the local units and those who, for a variety of reasons, would maintain strong central control. It is safe to say that those who favor the former course are those who think of government chiefly as an administrative apparatus through which citizens' needs are met. Certainly, many members of the American Mission have 631 647 [177]

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631 sought to strengthen the hands of those favoring decentralization in the
647 belief that this would accomplish more with American aid money. On the
[177] other hand, those who favor strong centralization tend to think of government primarily in political rather than administrative terms. They see government as an arena where personalities and parties struggle for the opportunity of directing the affairs of state. They realize that much political power is built on patronage or at least the promise of patronage; they also argue that the political process is built upon compromise and that many administrative practices are established in governmental bureaus to forestall any such compromises. Which group is prompted more by disinterested, public-spirited motives can best be determined by the observer on the spot as different personalities, representing these varying points of view, step onto the stage.

664 ## The Peasant and Politics

Shortly after my arrival in Greece in the fall of 1952, I encountered an interesting case study of the peasant and politics. All over Greece, one September Sunday, the farmers demonstrated against their government. This affair was treated, as one would expect, quite differently by the various Athenian newspapers, but the general tone of argument never got down to the facts of the peasants' grievance but instead haggled over who was responsible for getting them all stirred up.

[204] One newspaper, *Philelevtheros*, under the caption "The Farmers' Plight," wrote:

> There is no Greek who does not admit the rights of the farmers, or the fact that they are, and always were, the most neglected class in this country. Everyone feels the farmers' plight as if it were his own, and they know that Greek society will never stand on its feet as long as the farmer's lot is a miserable one. Their present fate, however, is not the fault of the Government, but is due to a whole century of reactionary rule. The farmers' demonstrations would have
> [665] been even stronger and more genuine if the Rally Party agents had not attempted to exploit them. However, they failed in this attempt.

[204] *Ethnos*, a newspaper representing a rival party, reported under the caption "Farmers' Demonstrations":

> Over the whole of Greece, in all those areas where men strive to get the maximum crop from our not very fertile soil, solid demonstrations were held last Sunday. The farmers were protesting with absolutely justified indignation against the indifference the Government is showing in handling their problems, and the way in which it has withdrawn its promises to them.
>
> In the face of this Pan-Hellenic uprising, the Government, through its comic Minister of Coordination, and through its press, finds nothing better to give in

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solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable. 871

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities. 346 [177]

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture: [177] 346 727

The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[5] [634] [658] [653]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7] 872 [346] [875]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

873 tion between this curriculum and the requirements of farming in the village. The peasants recognize this, for they do not send the eldest son, who is to take over the farm, to such a school. Some completing the gymnasium will go on to get a university diploma and will therefore find this curriculum directly related to their needs in many university courses. Others [647] will go no further than the completion of high school, but this will be enough to open up certain government jobs to them.

874 But what of the eldest son who expects to farm? Is his education to stop at the sixth grade? In most cases it does, but there are about eight government agricultural high schools in Greece where boys can go to learn to be better farmers. Some of these government schools admit boys who have finished the fourth grade and others require the sixth grade, but all give those who complete the course through the eighth grade a certificate. [647] Here, again, the graduates are not so much interested in going back to their family's small farm as in going on to government jobs in the Ministry of Agriculture as technicians. In the school in Phlorina one can study horticulture and viticulture; in Kozane winemaking has recently been added to horticulture and viticulture; in Ioannina the emphasis is upon dairying and in Larissa upon cheesemaking and horticulture. The others, in the Peloponnesos and Crete, also stress horticulture and viticulture. In addition to the government schools, there are four private agricultural schools: [177] The American Farm School in Thessalonike,[12] and schools in Konitsa, Amaroussi, and the island of Chios. The two government Superior Schools of Agriculture are near Athens and Thessalonike and rank at the university level.

871 The lower agricultural schools as well as certain technical schools in [874] carpentry, brickmaking, and the like, set up by the King's Institute, are viewed by Greeks as training schools rather than as paths to becoming an educated man. In other words, education in Greece is utilitarian in that its pursuit helps one achieve life goals in the government bureaucracy and the social structure of the country; it is not utilitarian in the sense of preparing one for practical or vocational matters while absorbing at the same time general education from courses in language, history, mathematics, and the like. Greece, in this respect, follows the traditional European pattern.

871 Many Greeks are acutely aware of their educational problems. One 369 nomarch told of a move toward closing down some of the classical gymnasiums and putting young people into trade schools. "But this presents problems," he said, "because the boys who finish think they are carpenters or blacksmiths and don't want to go back to the village." He thought the attack upon the flight of the educated people to the cities must begin with the mothers, for it is they who say: "But, son, you have your education; you can't go work in the fields."

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783 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave
788 them an emotional uplift.

But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he
793 had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in
[737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a poly-
technic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about
[874] $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous
November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an in-
[177] stitution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name
Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independ-
[743] ence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more ac-
tivity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just
recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

793 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole
94 complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country,
especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never
confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy
had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that
he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and per-
suade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the
funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he
would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so
much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an
amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary
money for capital expenditures.

793 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of in-
794 mates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of
the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their
[428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial
service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods re-
[769] quired by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and
giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of
buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home,
the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has
organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat,
cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to
the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring
their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds
a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I
had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the
[748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in
Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

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15. The schoolmaster and his pupils by their centhry-old school, Kyparissia, Pelopponesos. Originally the school was privately endowed.

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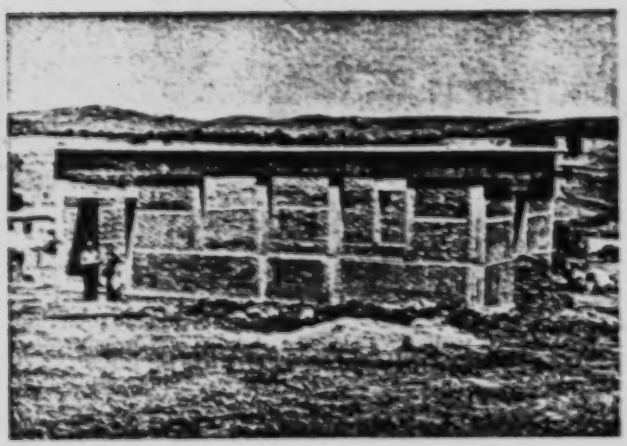

[177] 16. A school building under construction in Malakasa village, new promise for two dozen children. The Save the Children Federation provides the materials; Malakasa, the labor.

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554 875 793 622 [729] [561]

not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

554 167 177

I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

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178 the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World
648 War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied
727 an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

[728 167] In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [3] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

178 In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appre-
167 ciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national
727 life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[4] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encompass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder
• [177] the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

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178 what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to
[628] those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective
178 change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others.
562 They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage.
666 Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local
[626] twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women,
[593] for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

178 This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance
185 of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration
727 of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and
[736] seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

177 Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at
178 the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned.

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities.

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments.

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II.

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev-

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177 464 653 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet. It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias*, often translated "welfare through employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 207 491 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 178 [241] [654] The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

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increased economic activity and not become a disturbing political force. A further fact is the peasant's chronic tendency to assume that he is not getting a square deal, or everything that is due him, because throughout his memory and that of his forebears he has been used to what he considers exploitation by a government or those from the city who would take advantage of him. No aid program can ever create a contented peasantry. Yet it is fair to ask what is being done in Greece today to help the individual villager solve the problems of immediate interest to him. The brightest hope, and one recognized by Munkman, is the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service, so organized as to take advantage of the long American experience in this field, the lessons learned by the Near East Foundation in Greece, and the application by dedicated Greeks of these lessons to contemporary conditions. A comparison between what is now available to the farmer and what was available before the war shows a tremendous gain in his behalf. To be sure, the peasant does not apply all that he is taught by the extension worker, and now and then administrative decrees (such as cutting from the budget the transportation item) limit the effectiveness of the extension worker. But in every part of Greece trained personnel are visiting the villagers and, as never before, showing an interest in their welfare and helping them think through their economic problems. Home-economics workers, working with the farm women, are also making considerable headway.

When I investigated social changes occurring between 1952-53 and 1959, those whose knowledge of Greek village life I have found to be most accurate said, "Certainly the greatest change you will find is the development of the agricultural-extension program and the service it is rendering." In other words, the central government is sending "change agents" [10] throughout Greece to help initiate improvements in farming and homemaking, and it is not waiting for the peasants to journey to Athens for answers to their problems. There are limits to what any professional staff can do, but to the extent that these extension workers, both men and women, receive necessary support, to that extent one will find rapid change in the countryside.

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 15, of the organizations being set up in Greek villages by the extension service as well as by the Queen's Fund. This fund concentrates primarily upon Northern Greece and through its village welfare centers seeks to raise the educational, cultural, and economic level of the villages. The King's Fund is interested in the villager. In September 1959 I visited near Athens the handsome Community Development Training Center, financed by this fund, where I met with a group of about fifty teachers who had been invited there, with all expenses paid, to study how teachers can be agents of community improvement. When I joined the group, they were listening to a lecture on scientific beekeeping so that they could talk intelligently on this subject to their pupils and the pupils' parents.

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177 178 653 During this same September 1959 visit I had occasion to review, as on a previous occasion, the community-development program of the Save the Children Federation, an American organization. It contributes its funds, set aside for community development, only if the adults of the community agree to make contributions of their own (labor, materials, money) to the construction of a better school, the installation of a public water supply, the planting of a school orchard, or the construction of a dock to bring economic advantages to an otherwise bypassed coastal village.

177 178 [65] Anyone trying to cover completely the numerous programs designed to change village life for the better would find them springing up in a variety of places. The official government programs, each under one of the ministries, cover a wide range of activities. Agriculture is more adequately represented than health, education more than social welfare, and economic programs more than recreational programs. But this emphasis is not unexpected in a rural setting. All official American programs, being governmental, work through the Greek ministries and agencies. Next, in drawing up a comprehensive list, one could chronicle the quasi-governmental programs such as those embodied in the King's Fund and the Queen's Fund, the Volunteer Nursing Corps, and similar bodies. In addition to these, there are numerous groups started and managed by public-spirited Greek citizens interested in rural improvement. These range from agricultural education to reforestation to preservation of the folk arts. To those already found could be added the programs of a variety of international agencies, such as UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, and the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as the very active International Red Cross. Finally, one could include a large assortment of private efforts sponsored by organizations from several European countries as well as Canada and the United States. Such organizations might be religious in nature, strictly welfare, or a combination of both.

No wonder, then, that the Greek villager becomes confused about who promises what and fails to deliver, or whom to thank for a bundle of clothes received in the mail. No wonder that he sometimes is nonplussed about what government official to wait upon. If he is a community president, he will probably visit his nomarch, but the chances are that the nomarch is not altogether versed in the number of programs intent upon effecting change in the villages under his supervision.

178 More than ever before, the Greek villager's way of life has become a target of change. In this sense, he typifies efforts being made in other countries and on other continents to move people from an archaic to a modern style of life, and to help them realize expectations and hopes of which they are only now becoming aware.

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[XVII]

Social Consequences of Foreign Aid

This excursion through the Greek countryside should have shown that all change, whether in the guise of foreign aid or not, has definite social consequences. Social relationships as well as economic sectors are affected. Nor are these social consequences simply political in character; they go much deeper into the social structure. This should not seem mysterious, although it is often overlooked, for any program of economic development or political reconstruction has to work through people, through their social organization as it exists or as it is being fashioned anew. Despite this truism, and the fact that the economic and political aspects of foreign aid have been dramatically debated and ably analyzed by competent scholars, the social consequences are still *terra incognita* to many American specialists abroad. Furthermore, foreign aid, by its very nature, is designed not to maintain the status quo but to promote social change.

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Foreign Aid Means Social Change

For anyone who is thinking through a philosophy of social change, the Greek experience is significant. It was a battleground between Western and Communist ideology and between conflicting loyalties. Here, through the Truman Doctrine, the United States intervened to influence the outcome, and succeeded. But the military defeat of the Communist-led guerrilla forces

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● 177 648 was not enough: American dollars and American specialists came into the country — one might almost say they inundated the country — to improve health programs, statistical services, transportation routes, agriculture, homemaking, educational facilities, social welfare, foreign trade, and industry. Some idea of the extent of the financial cost is gained from a simple calculation: if Greece had received one million dollars a year since the time of Alexander the Great, the amount received would not quite equal the approximately two and one-half billion dollars received since World War II. Greece is often cited as the prize exhibit of the United States in the cold-war struggle. While such a presentation often overlooks the great contribution that the Greek people themselves made to their own recovery, as well as the help received from Britain and numerous international agencies and organizations, Americans were indubitably the chief agents of change in the sense of providing specialized knowledge about many facets of life. From Greece, many of these same specialists went on to Taiwan, Viet Nam, and other underdeveloped, or formerly colonial, areas where American technical assistance was in demand.

000 This is not surprising, nor was it entirely a matter of choice. The United States and other Western societies are forced into being agents of change by at least two major features of our way of life: one is our dynamic Western economy, which can no more operate effectively within a political boundary than spilled water can be contained by lines drawn on a table; the other feature is the explosive quality of the political and social ideas which we have inherited from our founding fathers and which we have implemented sufficiently to show the great promise which their further realization would bring. Around the world, words such as democracy, equality, freedom, brotherhood, progress are magic symbols to peoples awaking from centuries of life in a traditional mold and now part of the great "revolution of rising expectations." Our businessmen, financiers, and industrialists are developing world-wide economic perspectives, not because they necessarily want to but because they have to. They also know that in their foreign operations whatever location they choose, what they manufacture or extract from the earth, how they organize the activity, training, and benefits they give their workers, how much they contribute in taxes to local governments — all of these considerations and many more make them agents of change and, in that sense, constitute interference.

As for the revolutionary ideas now spreading to many shores, we can identify many of them as American or Western and should be deeply concerned with the interpretations that they receive. These interpretations go back to a foreign society's immediate experience with our armed forces abroad, the older teachings and examples of Western missionaries, the educational and cultural exchanges which expose future leaders of other countries, often while immature, to the good and bad points of our way of life.

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Abroad, our movies, international radio transmissions, and printed material also contribute to the interpretation given to democracy, our economic system, and our social institutions. These facts alone indicate the deep involvement of the United States in the problem of change; but the urgency for a careful reconsideration and a more effective discharge of this involvement is driven home hard by the alternatives for change which the Soviet bloc offers to the new countries grappling with the problems of becoming part of the modern world.

In the face of this challenge, we of the Western world are coming more and more to recognize that the task of our generation is to serve as agents of international social change. Even though as individuals we stay at home, we still play some part in initiating change in many parts of the world through our government and the many private organizations which we support. For Americans this is inevitable, whether or not we like it. It is hard to see that we are all responsible for great changes in Asia or Africa; yet this is grim reality. In a sense, this is what people from many countries mean when they say that the United States must assume more actively its role of world leadership, for they are suggesting that this nation fit itself and assert itself more fully to guide and, at times, even set in motion social, economic, and political change among many peoples. Those urging this position, if one listens carefully, usually qualify their comments by pointing out that there are "right and wrong" ways of exercising this leadership, mistakes to be avoided, and a strong possibility that such a channeling of energies will not necessarily help the United States win a popularity contest, though it may greatly increase respect for this country.

Such a call to leadership is sufficient to make many Americans recoil in horror at the thought of playing the role of some global master-minder, Santa Claus, or do-gooder. And as they pull back, they drop the rational approach with which they face certain aspects of their lives and fall into a much more comfortable emotionalism absolving them from some of the disagreeable consequences of facing facts in today's world. They, as well as the rest of us, need to think through some philosophy of change compatible with democratic ideals and more in keeping with a world moving fast toward the twenty-first century. One of the first requirements is to accept change, rapid and dislocating as it often is, as one of the paramount traits of our times.

The Greek village, chiefly on the receiving end of change, can provide us some clues as to what happens when comparatively isolated villages begin to swing in the orbit of a town or city, or when archaic agricultural practices give way to modern farming. Statistics can tell about the increases in production, but one will have to rely on general observations to discern what such changes bring to social life. We are responsible as American citizens for helping bring about this social redesign in Greek life. What have

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177 369 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so urbanized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

From Peasant to Farmer

184 241 [178] In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 241 511 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of authority — the boss. With some of the younger migrants, the boss may become a father-surrogate; for others, he may represent a challenge to their independence. 369

Furthermore, a job-focused life means a regimented routine, particularly if fellow workers in an assembly line are dependent upon one's own performance. In such cases, others make decisions which one has to carry out. Along with this, a time consciousness, not necessarily present in the village, has to develop, particularly if factory managers are Western-trained. To live by the clock instead of by the sun calls for a major psychological orientation for many villagers.

Also inherent in this arrangement is the fact that the individual and not the family becomes the economic unit. To be sure, different family members may bring their earnings to a common family purse, but they each must go out to tasks over which the family as a group has no control. And as the individual becomes economically more prominent in his environment, he finds his security increasingly in the skills which he possesses. Industrialization and urbanization, therefore, work out part of their changes simply because jobs loom large and life becomes focused on them.

The villager while changing into an urbanite may need welfare and housing programs, largely governmental in origin. He may try to maintain connections with others in the city who have come from his same area; he may have relatives nearby upon whom he can depend in times of emergency; he may never completely cut off his ties with his home village; but he quite often stands in need of unemployment compensation, his wife may need maternity care in a government-run maternity home, and his children may need shots to protect them from diseases. A foreign-aid program which finances factories but gives little consideration to the welfare needs of the people moving into these factories is overlooking an important social dimension. The developing countries also need help in learning effective welfare and health practices as well as in mastering machine technology at the management level.

For the transplanted villager mass organizations may possess some attraction. He may be persuaded to join a labor union without fully realizing what membership involves; he may be talked into participating in a political-action group with no knowledge of the ideology behind the action; or he may content himself simply with belonging to some regional association made up of people from his own native area. One can safely predict that most villagers will not actively seek out the mass organizations but that many of them will get caught up in them with no clear picture of their nature. Should they find the leaders of these groups voicing their own aspirations or resentments, then the new urbanites gain a sense of belonging in an otherwise alien world. Although not touched upon in preceding pages, the work of the labor specialists in the American Mission to Greece de- [177 467]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

369 [177] [467] serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

From Subject to Citizen

641 [648] Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

[177] One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

641 organizational behavior which will keep him from being merely manipulated and through which he can make many of his own wishes known. From a sociological standpoint, this lack of organizational skill is a crucial variable in the failure of democratic forms to emerge and maintain themselves. The subject who becomes a citizen can learn how to deal with political parties as he gains experience in other large-scale organizations, such as the cooperative movement, labor unions, and in some cases religious groups. One might draw the analogy that a true citizen of a political unit is much the same as the active member of a large organization. Neither is indifferent or uninformed, and each knows the organizational mechanics open to him to checkrein activities of which he does not approve.

A further condition required for the shift from a subject to a citizen is a growing tradition of efficient public administration. Many of our foreign-aid programs have dealt with the need for training local people in systems of taxation, public financing, more streamlined bureaucratic procedures. Connected with these changes in practices, there must be an accompanying shift in attitudes on the part of the officials toward the people they are paid to serve. If the representatives of the central government continue to treat villagers like subjects, the villagers will continue to act like subjects; if they are treated as citizens, with dignity and fairness, then the villagers can much more easily make the shift to true citizenship. Local officialdom is apt to present one of the greatest difficulties, and any foreign-aid program which fails to change traditional official attitudes is probably making only a small contribution toward political stability.

To draw up a complete list of the attributes of an ideal citizen would move far beyond the possibilities that can currently be realized in most developing countries. Enough of the conditions for the citizenship role have been mentioned to show the connection between foreign-aid programs and this kind of social change. It is only reasonable that one test of any program in which the United States has invested is to ask to what extent this program advances and encourages, and even makes possible, the shift from a subject to a citizen.

Social Dimensions of Aid

177 Anyone familiar with the Greece of the early 1950s (or with the Viet Nam or Laos of the early 1960s) knows what it is like to have hundreds of Americans, civilian technicians and military specialists, busily carrying out their official duties. These hundreds quickly grow into thousands as dependents arrive from the States, and the equivalent of an American suburb springs full blown with all of its attendant recreational facilities, transportation service, food-distribution system, and educational program. Such an occurrence is inevitable when Americans become involved in any program of foreign aid sponsored by our government; nor would we expect

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

it to be otherwise. We are committed to giving our technical knowledge, through the use of specialists, even ranking this in importance with providing capital funds; nevertheless, American specialists will not absent themselves for long from their families, for our pioneering heritage depended upon moving in family groups even before the days of the covered wagon; nor will any American specialist want to see what he considers the health or educational progress of his children jeopardized by insufficient provision. Furthermore, under some circumstances, wives and children can prove effective agents of social change along with the specialists.

But perhaps the most significant aspect of the whole problem of aid to Greece, or elsewhere, is not the fact of introducing change but, rather, the way in which it is introduced and carried out. At times, but certainly not always, careful planning can help cushion the shock of certain kinds of change. We know, for instance, that mechanization in agriculture will affect the labor supply and we can even predict what kinds of workers will be displaced. Making provisions for them early in the process can cut down much human wear and tear. Our foreign-aid programs, to the extent that they represent the genius of American traditions, should always keep sight of the human element in change; those administering these programs should continue to remind themselves and the local leaders that these changes are designed to help people and that people do not exist merely to carry out changes. Unless the sense of individual worth is reinforced by the aid programs, they will prove poor seed beds for the democratic types of government which many expect to grow to full bloom in the countries receiving aid. Foreign aid that is impersonal, merely materialistic and gauged in readily obtained statistics, can frequently play into the hands of calculating leaders whose interest lies in self-perpetuation in power rather than in promoting the general welfare of the people subject to them.

Heavy investments in programs of foreign aid call for comprehensive evaluation, such as that represented by the various studies commissioned from time to time by our own Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The study of Greek village life, as well as evidence from many countries elsewhere, indicates that the evaluation of social consequences, especially for rural people, receives scant attention. This is due in part to the preoccupation with the pressing military and political considerations which have a direct, immediate bearing upon national safety; it is also due to the fact that specialists who make the evaluations do so in terms of their own specialties, which seldom include the sociological viewpoint. An even greater difficulty is presented by the methodological problems of evaluating intangibles for which no simple social yardsticks can be devised. This is no place to work through such methodological considerations, but one can assert that the social-science techniques are rapidly developing to the point that an increasing number of "intangibles" are being subjected to a kind of

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P 324]

Epilogue

What of the Greek villager and his relation to the social changes that foreign aid introduces? There in his village lanes, on his way to the fields, he is the object of foreign aid. It is his way of farming, of caring for children, of thinking about his government, that foreign-aid programs invariably affect. New textile factories produce fabrics which he can buy more cheaply and may even provide employment for his son or daughter; new highways bring a bus to his village for the first time and help him get perishable goods to market; radio programs make his wife urge him to do something about getting running water in the home; and the agricultural-extension agent urges him to stop raising so many sheep and shift to dairy cattle. To the extent that we keep the villager in focus, to that extent we emphasize the human element in foreign aid, not in a maudlin, sentimental fashion, but in the concrete, hardheaded analysis of the relative effects of various alternative programs upon his way of life. The analysis should move, if the Greek villager has anything to teach, from the economic effects to the political and social effects. Do these expensive undertakings really lead toward the kinds of regimes ready to cooperate in a world order based on law? Much of that answer is found not merely in the diagnosis of political institutions themselves, but in the larger question of the degree to which social stability is brought about or undermined. Any widespread technological development, as we have seen in the case of the spread of tractors and combines in Greece, calls for social readjustment. When this occurs, social policies, carefully developed, can prevent large numbers of villagers from being cut adrift from their past or forced from their farms to search unsuccessfully for urban employment, with political alienation the net result. If their children have a chance to get educated and rise in the social scale, if one segment of the society is not seemingly fattening itself with aid funds at the expense of the rest, if locally acceptable services become established in the rural areas to assist villagers in achieving common goals — then the peasants will have hope for the future.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

To most of the Greek villagers, foreign aid was intervention, but welcomed intervention. It changed the face of the countryside and the ways of many villages in a short period of time. It brought social consequences, many unanticipated, with which the villagers are having to learn to live. How they evaluate and what they do about these social effects, whether in the village or at the national political level, is the real final test of the American program of aid to Greece. 177

Each age creates its own mythology and writes its own legends, even rewriting the legend of the Rainbow in the Rock. The version of the first half of the twentieth century would tell of the rise of modern man, fit for the times in which we live. His activity would be centered upon the Rock, for it is tangible, specific, and its secrets point to a mastery of nature. Things and knowledge of things have accumulated in keeping with man's belief that they lead to health, comfort, and happiness. If pure water, abundant crops, attractive schoolbooks, well-paying jobs, and adequate housing came into being, then mankind would come into his rightful heritage. 000

But contemporary man is being rudely awakened to the fact that the Rock is never sufficient without the Rainbow. Things, and programs for things, in themselves are sterile, neutral, cold, and hard. It is as people give them use, clothe them with meaning, and fit them into humane purposes that they contribute to man's happiness.

This story of rural Greece has shown that village people can be as durable as the Rock itself. It has shown, too, that programs of aid must take into account the invisible but omnipresent qualities of the Rainbow as well as the visible realities of the Rock.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)#3 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[292] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes
somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white
[427] wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at
least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like
skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now
worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic oc-
casions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
[369] avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for
[626] Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of
the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
[292] up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the
village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men,
when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by
men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and
wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear
all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves
more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men
wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue
[511] homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief,
wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely
removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around
the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields,
these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is
loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
[765] to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the
colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourn-
ing. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is
in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the
outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [177 [302 178 305 445

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 178 [855

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but
[286] gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/%3 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

193 indicating the members and partisans of a family or clan; e.g., Tsavaléi, Andro-
551 midhéi, Kolokotronéi, Petimezéi (Cf. Pernot, vol. I, p. 86).

Of the Modern Greek kinship terms listed above, most existed with the
177 same or much the same meaning in Ancient Greek. However, the latter had a
601 much richer and more varied vocabulary in the totality of its literature, and the reduction has been considerable. It included many non-Indo-European loan words of which *theîos* and *anepsiós*, among others, survive today. The modern loan words are kunyádhos, bárbas, yáya, and batzanákis, from Romance, Turkish, etc. The bulk of borrowings and replacements of common Indo-European kin terms had occurred already in ancient times. For instance, *adelphós*, *-é* (modern *adherfós*), literally "co-uterine" (from *delphýs*, womb, a word of uncertain origin), became the sibling terms in place of **phrâter* and
[113] **eór* which dropped out before Homer. The full roster of classic and Homeric kin terms can be found in Miller's "Greek Kinship Terminology."

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EH1 Greece EH1

training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken 793
up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by 797
the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been
particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up 874
of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The 213
official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for 204
the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press.

Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry
out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just 874
outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses, 794
a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university,
and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model
schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary move-
ments, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in
the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems 794
probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish
in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home
Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material re-
sources.

In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, 794
the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now
has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the
movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of
the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and
tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood
could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and
its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary
people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still
young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the
growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed
with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder;
in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a
spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrákes rather than Father Eusebius.

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed 177
somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of 532
eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful tradi-
tions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of
feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin
Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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courageous example and one can only hope that the work of Photis Kontoglou, somewhat mannered though it is, may mark the beginnings of return to a tradition that had not wholly perished in the remoter provinces of Greece when the dominion of the Turk was overthrown. 794 532 177

When all is said, however, the fact remains that the Zoë Brotherhood has, under God, been the most potent factor in the spiritual awakening of the Greek people during the last two generations, and the traveller who would form a just estimate of the present situation will, if he is wise, take the trouble to gain a first-hand acquaintance with the labours of this remarkable movement and to enter into its spirit before he pays heed to the strictures of its critics.

One can readily understand the desire of the ecclesiastical authorities to systematise and co-ordinate the evangelistic activity of the voluntary associations: even in reforming circles to-day one is frequently reminded of the saying 'every Greek a *kapetanios*!' It is, however, no less important to remember that the marvellous work of these unofficial bodies has sprung from the consecrated life and example of a handful of men who had given themselves wholly to God that His power might be manifested in them, and it may well be that the new Home Mission will have to learn by bitter experience the lesson that 'the victory of the width' is given only to those who have fought 'the battle of the depth' and have prevailed: the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ will not be brought about through legislation and centralised planning alone. 794 797

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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other the celibate clergy from whose ranks the chief ministers of the Church are normally chosen. In the training of the former book-learning plays but little part. The seminaries aim at providing no more than an elementary grounding in pastoralia for a race of craftsmen and peasant-farmers who, with few exceptions, are more at home with a plough than a pen, and are wholly unequipped for academic pursuits. The higher clergy, however, are almost invariably graduates, well versed in the disputations of the schools. 793 874 [589]

While the married clergy receive their training in the seminaries, the potential bishop is fashioned in the theological schools of the universities of Athens and Salonica. The theological faculty of the northern university was established only a few years ago. In former days many of the higher Greek clergy went to the theological academy at Halki, near Constantinople: a celebrated institution which, in the days of its prosperity, attracted students from every part of the Orthodox world. After the first world war, however, this sank to the level of a provincial seminary, and it is only in recent years (under the guiding hand of a new Oecumenical Patriarch) that it has regained something of its old prestige. Thus, the great majority of the present Greek bishops and archimandrites are graduates of the University of Athens.

In considering the place occupied by the theological schools of the universities within the framework of training for the ministry, it must not be forgotten that the clergy account for only a small proportion of the students of these faculties, far the greater number of whom are lay men and women (there are quite a few girls amongst the theological students of Athens and Salonica, and their number is steadily increasing). In the universities, moreover, as in the seminaries and the ecclesiastical schools, the majority of the teaching staff are laymen. The only cleric among the Athens professors—the Archimandrite B. Stephanides (whose *Ecclesiastical History* seems likely to be a standard work for every Greek student for many years to come)—retired in 1950 and was succeeded by a layman; while at Salonica likewise, only the professor of ecclesiastical history—an archimandrite who was formerly in charge of the Greek church in Paris—is in orders. Although the lay theologian has a long and distinguished ancestry in eastern Christendom and is often a man of deep spirituality, it can nevertheless be a trifle startling to hear a layman lecturing, to an audience which includes experienced priests and *pneumatikoi*, on the mystery of confession. [875]

The university course normally lasts four years. The theology of the [177]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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schools is characterised for the most part by a somewhat arid academicism. During the nineteenth century a theologian who went abroad for post-graduate studies went almost as a matter of course to Germany; and, although this is no longer so, the shadow of Harnack still lies across the threshold of the theological school at Athens. "Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Halle, etc.", wrote Dr. Adrian Fortescue in 1907, "are full of Greek students, who with the versatility of their race, very soon learn to talk German perfectly, and to think and argue about theological questions like German higher critics!"

Greek academic theology, though distinguished by great technical competence and erudition, and considerable familiarity with the critical work which one associates with the German schools of the latter part of last century, is largely deficient in those qualities which have made the work of certain Russian theologians of the diaspora of such absorbing interest for the western Christian. The Greek theologian, while he has benefited incalculably by his scientific training in the schools of Germany, has scarcely as yet been forced back upon his own proper tradition by the pressure of an alien environment. With few exceptions, moreover, he is curiously out of touch with recent tendencies in western theological thinking: often he seems to be a generation behind the times, unaware that critical theories no longer hold the field in the schools of Paris and Oxford—not to mention Geneva.

How long this state of affairs will last it is difficult to say. The present isolation is not hard to understand if one takes into account the effect of the war years and the lack of contact—even on the intellectual level—between the Greek professors and those Roman Catholic scholars whose work has been so important for the west during the past decade, and whose exchanges with certain Russian theologians have proved so mutually rewarding. It may well be that the links now being forged between Athens and Paris—and in particular with the Russian Academy of St. Sergius—are of crucial importance for the future. At present, it must be confessed, the transition from the theological climate of Orthodox Paris to that of the Athenian schools is apt to be somewhat disappointing to the Frankish *theologos* to whom a first glimpse of the wholeness of Orthodoxy has come as the revelation of a long-forgotten realm. The theology of the schools seems to be earthbound and wholly academic: a theology of the manuals which bears little relation to holy living.

The theoretical character of much contemporary Greek theology has

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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had regrettable consequences for the development of the new movements, with which the theological schools have, in general, little vital connexion—although more than one professor of the theological faculty at Athens has played an important rôle in their work and organisation. In many quarters—and especially, perhaps, within Zoë circles—a sense of the apparent irrelevance of this theoretical science to practical piety has given rise to an impatience with all theological questions. We must, it is said, be *practical*—and this theology of the schools is not practical; it is a theoretical science wholly unrelated to the urgent problems which are the daily concern of the preacher and the confessor. Such an attitude cannot but strike one as curiously out of place in an Orthodox *milieu* and is not without its dangers.

A few of the clergy go abroad to continue their studies after graduating from the Greek theological schools. Many a young layman is sent to western Europe or America for post-graduate study in the hope that upon his return to Greece he will offer himself for ordination; but a first acquaintance with ecclesiastical conditions very different from those to which he has been accustomed (particularly in the matter of the status of the married clergy and their field of activity) can easily have an unsettling effect upon the potential *despotes*, and it is not unknown for a young graduate, not conscious of a very definite call to the celibate life, to waver in his first resolve of becoming a priest, after two or three years in England or America.

Apart from the minority who go abroad after leaving the university, the celibate clergy normally pass immediately to an episcopal household without further study. Until quite recently there was nothing in Greece comparable to the English theological college. Since the war, however, there has been opened in Athens an establishment which approximates in some measure to the English institution. This is the 'School for Preachers' which is housed in the hostel of the Apostoliki Diakonia: a fine modern building occupying two sides of the quadrangle at Moni Petraki and overlooking the garden of the British School of Archaeology. Though completed some years ago, it was long requisitioned as a military hospital, and it was not until the early part of 1950 that the whole building was made available to the Church.

The School for Preachers provides a two-year course of study (primarily of a pastoral character) for men who have already graduated from the theological school of the university. In 1950 a considerable

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 number of the students were experienced preachers and confessors from
874 the provinces, but in the years to come they will normally consist in
794 the main of young graduates of the theological school. The primary aim of this school is to equip priests (and lay theologians) for work in the dioceses, and it promises to be of the greatest service to the Church of Greece.

The same building serves as a hostel for theological students who live at some distance from Athens and who would otherwise be dispersed in lodgings (though some find a home in one of the hostels of the Zoë Brotherhood). All the inhabitants—theological students as well as those
793 belonging to the School for Preachers—share a common life, with
874 morning and evening prayers, and meals taken together in the refectory
[177] on the coenobitic pattern. Now that the theological faculty of the university is attracting students from Ethiopia and America, as well as from the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, and the Apostoliki Diakonia is offering generous hospitality to occasional Frankish visitors and a student or two from the Russian Academy in Paris, this community is fast acquiring an oecumenical character such as belonged to Halki in the day of its fame.

The theological faculty at Salonica, as I mentioned earlier, is of recent foundation. Despite the difficulties of the times, however, it is now in full vigour and holds out very great promise to the sorely-tried and understaffed dioceses of northern Greece. It is greatly to be hoped that it will prove possible before long to set up at Salonica an institution similar to that now flourishing in Athens, and combining the functions of a post-graduate theological college and a hostel for theological students from the outlying provinces. Many of these students at present have some difficulty in maintaining themselves for the period of their studies, and comparatively few can be accommodated in the new hostel of the Zoë Brotherhood or in the little hostel maintained for several years in the face of tremendous material difficulties by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica.

793 At present there is an acute shortage of educated clergy in these the
369 more remote provinces of Greece. Few dioceses have more than one
[783] priest-theologian and in some *eparchiai* the metropolitan is single-handed. In such circumstances preaching and the mystery of penance are inevitably much neglected. Not a few amongst the bishops of these northern dioceses are advocates of some kind of 'direction' of the educated clergy which would counteract the prevailing current which

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[P. 1]

CHAPTER 1

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Like other countries struggling under the impact of western technology and ideas, contemporary Greece is a land of sharp contrasts. Donkeys with loaded panniers on their backs still jog down the broad avenues of modern Athens oblivious to the stream of automobiles passing them by; and the donkeys' owners daily hawk their wares, with piercing and immemorial cries, to people living in ultra-modern apartment buildings, as well as to others who inhabit the merest hovels, clustered along nar-

177 184 369 [443] [492]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Similarly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peasants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

184 369 [243]

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long, least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

161 648

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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riod, however, important changes have taken place. In particular, a group of comparatively youthful economists and statisticians have risen to key posts in many of the ministries, and are able to advise their superiors in the light of a type of professional training and in accordance with intellectual concepts which ten years ago were noticeably absent from the policy-making levels of the Greek civil service. Even if the execution of official policy is not always effective, ideas of what government ought to do and can do and how to go about doing it have undergone radical change. 647 178

Politicians and civil servants of the immediate postwar period in Greece grew up in a time when society and the economy were expected to run themselves, subject only to sporadic official interference. The painful inadequacy of this outlook became apparent in 1947, when the emergency relief and reconstruction undertaken by UNRRA began to taper off before the economy had been restored to running order. In this situation, the Greek government lacked ideas as much as the means with which to try to cope with the problems confronting the country. All too clearly, automatic restoration to something like the prewar social and economic pattern was out of the question. Planning and massive organization of effort by government agencies were still needed if serious collapse was to be avoided. 647 178 433 177

The American aid mission, to be sure, stepped into the gap created by the withdrawal of the British and of UNRRA, and attempted far more energetically than its predecessors to educate Greek administrative personnel to new ways of thinking. Even before 1947, foreigners — mostly American and British — had insisted on making plans for the development of the Greek economy, and a small number of Greeks had been drawn into the attempt. Yet by and large, it was the foreigners who made plans, and the Greeks were consulted afterward. This remained more or less the case until 1950 or 1951; but in propor-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 tion as the Americans reduced the scale of their economic aid
177 after 1952 and withdrew from detailed supervision of the minis-
433 tries, the task of making plans was transferred to Greek hands.
178 Some senior Greek civil servants, veterans from 1945 and 1946, welcomed the new scope and authority thus entrusted to them; but in the main the men who inherited the new role were not the same persons who ten or even five years before had occupied leading positions in the Greek civil service. Between 1947 and 1952, when American advisers were introduced into nearly all Greek ministries, these impatient foreigners were able to play a major part in determining promotions and key personnel assignments within the ministries. Many a young American economist found himself at first dealing with men much older than himself, men whose ideas often had little relation to those he had imbibed during graduate training in some American university. This regularly led to serious friction, for senior Greek officials were not much inclined to go to school to cocksure youths scarcely more than half their own age. But bright young men could be found in the lower ranks of the civil service who either already shared the concepts of their American counterparts or quickly acquired some familiarity with them. Many such men were sent to the United States for additional technical training, or visited Washington to observe American administrative methods at first hand.

These persons naturally seemed to the Americans to be just the type to run things; and the voice of an American adviser was sufficiently powerful to secure rapid advancement for men he favored. In this fashion a new generation of officials came rapidly to the fore within the Greek ministries, while many of their former superiors were shunted off to unimportant posts or else retired.

647 By 1956, therefore, the economic ministries of the Greek civil
433 service were sprinkled with men of a quite new type, some-
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

647 662 in the office concerned, in order to open a door for prompt and courteous service by means of private communication. As a result, a comparatively small number of persons whose social position or family connections gave them an inside track enjoyed a great advantage in dealings with officialdom, while the poor and friendless could hardly regard the government machine as anything but an obstacle between themselves and their legal rights.

647 661 The idea that officials should be public servants rather than public masters has never been firmly rooted in modern Greece. Byzantine and Turkish tradition, transformed according to Bavarian and then German models, shaped the civil service; and the fact that educated persons regard themselves as elevated far above their ignorant fellows has reinforced and perpetuated the old dichotomy between official and subject.

647 661 662 It must be said that the fault has not lain entirely with the civil servants. The ordinary private citizen in Greece is prone to look upon the government as his natural enemy – a group of men who are out to tax him and interfere with what he wants to do. It follows that almost any device to foil the agents of the government is considered legitimate – deceit, lying, bribery or just the exertion of "influence." Indeed, almost all Greeks entertain a kind of admiration for a man who is clever or bold or lucky enough to get around the law and the bureaucracy. Sense of duty to public authorities and laws has never been very strong in the country. More than most nations, the Greeks remain anarchists and individualists at heart; and rather high-handed methods, together with rigid punctiliousness in matters of red tape, is a natural and perhaps almost inevitable official response to such public attitudes.

647 663 177 654 A few segments of the bureaucracy, however, were making serious efforts to serve the public. The most conspicuous of these were the agricultural extension agents, whose contacts

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the reinvigoration of local government. During the war and afterward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Cherasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Cherasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even he was not always successful. General Papagos achieved something similar during the first year or so when he held office, before his failing health raised the question of the succession and induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 662 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the political scene – and this was normal – then political life became a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals. Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes, originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations [433] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention [663] to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 666 645 The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952 was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal [177] parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces. But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties. Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments, to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted this process and made few promises to the politicians who

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current running expenses and to finance a modest program of government capital investment proved far more palatable politically, even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped nations in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of political debate and the planning of technicians in the economic ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political process by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians. 647 177 433 663

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus? 648 668

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peniusula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐκετ. Βυζ. Σχ. I B 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

A 342 living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and selamlik for the men)[1].

171 177 G 177 It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian architecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

G [331]

1) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by Ekrem bei Vlorë p 57 and Plate VI.

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful 177
in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable 571
changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political 666
bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal 571
loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of 571
humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only 577
recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a 73
plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience 577 867

WORK

183 491 [838]

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest. [177] [517]

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth. [828] [838] [533] [538]

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion. [167]

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [109] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [579] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 556 457 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

594
602

I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them.
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter [855] practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular [852] liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [796] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father [527] leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

villages the bread is brown and home-baked, and it may form the complete meal, with olive-oil for dipping. If there is any other food, there is only one dish, containing a variety of ingredients which usually make for balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish *(fasoulada)* for example, contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and, eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese, provides a complete nutritive meal, except that the proteins are not animal ones; and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit, or a leaf of lettuce, or cheese; this, however, is nothing to look forward to but, at most, puts a period to the meal. It is the bread, the "food", that is the point of the meal. Greeks in foreign parts, who have taken on rich foreign desserts, often top their meals with a bite of bread.

In the provinces, very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served, if at all, as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays, or when guests arrive, or on other festive occasions, there may be roast and potatoes; these are baked together and constitute the whole meal, with the ever-present bread. Fish is eaten in the villages wherever it is available. Processed fish—salted, dried, canned—is a great favourite, and salted roe, made into a "salad" is greatly enjoyed, and forms a regular item during Lent. Milk is consumed in the form of cheese and *yaourti*, a custard-like cultured milk; little is drunk. But the milk used is that of sheep and goats, which, according to Kaloyereas, is richer in fat and protein than cow's milk. In the villages, fruit and vegetables are eaten plentifully when in season; dried fruits and nuts are eaten, olives, cheese while it lasts, and a variety of legumes. There is skill in cooking, and since variety within a meal is not valued or demanded, the simple meals are much enjoyed, and wealthy emigrants, who have succumbed to the luxuries of the American meal pattern, often long for their peasant meals.

In the cities, the Greeks have learned to eat meat and to drink more milk. Here cow's milk and a taste for it have been introduced, and in the country around Athens and Salonica, the peasants raise cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities, and people, in their desire to take on American ways, eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of texture. Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names, Quaker Oats, pronounced unrecognizably. As *vromi*, it is food for animals, and the word is reminiscent of "stench". According to Dr. Katsigra, much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten; this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe. City people eat mostly white bread. In general, city food, which conforms in externals more closely to the list of the nutritionists, actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been

much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential;
829 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre-
[195] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the
[859] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

● 177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem-
178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation-
577 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There
[312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water
[365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to build a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 57 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [807] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing [570] cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

179 476 577 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

342 stables and storage rooms, and in the upper story the living quarters with a verandah, a balcony, and a sink; over them is a flat roof of tiles. The Albanian form of the square fortified tower is to be seen
177 on larger warehouses (Figure 3). The interior displays the customary
[352] simple furnishing of the Balkan dwelling; the semicircular chair in Figure 14 is reminiscent of the Albanian styles, while its horn-shaped
[415] supports remind one of Turkish influence. The weaving loom and the hatter's bow (Figure 11) that is used for the cleaning of wool and of cotton, have probably come to this country from the Orient, even though the hatter's bow is ancient European (compare the Plate, Estonians II). The baking bell shown in Figure 7, the bagpipes shown in Figure 6, the incense vessel shown in Figure 17, the wooden plow,
[492] shown in Figure 15, which is drawn by the team of oxen that are driven on by a goad (not a whip) and which are harnessed with a neck yoke--all these are universally characteristic of the Balkans. The riding donkey shown in Figure 12, on the other hand, points to the Orient.
[777] Figures 8 to 9 are illustrations of protective charms--the horse's skull is reminiscent of Kirghiz customs, compare volume 1 of this atlas, Plate, Kirghiz I, Figure 13, that are based upon the knowledge of spiritual forces which are everywhere alive, which are effective in everything that is and has being, and can be utilized for magical purposes, both in a good as well as in a bad sense.

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/105: Illustrations/

/106/ The Macedonians

II.

000 1. Men and women from western Macedonia. 2. Woman from
[See 2: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a --Analyst]

To the Land of the Eagle

000 evening after one of the most delightful walks that could ever fall to one's lot.

● 177 Ginger-beer is a survival from the time of the British administration which ended more than sixty years ago. The Victorian habit of closing all windows at night—night air being considered poisonous—is another. At sunset all the windows at the Pension Suisse were religiously closed and shuttered, including those of my bedroom which, as the weather was quite warm, I promptly opened again, and kept open. A more satisfactory legacy from the British occupation is the game of cricket, which is popular to this day.

132 There are only two months in the year in which the weather is really hot, and only two of so-called winter. Bathing is possible from April to November. At the beginning of May I found the water quite warm, although the Corfiotes think it madness to venture in before July.

512 In the summer the inhabitants close their shops and places of business during the middle of the day. But at five in the afternoon the town wakes up again and the whole population turns out into the cafés, the squares, the streets, and the esplanade. Here the folk stroll about, or sit at tables under the trees drinking coffee or Greek brandy, until ten or eleven o'clock at night when they go home to supper.

[533] They are fond of dancing. In the dance season they dance for many nights in succession, and no dance breaks up until

545 seven or eight in the morning. They have also a theatre to which a company from Athens or Rome occasionally comes. On these nights the play begins at what is

1:Sanders Z-5,M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

[494] Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
●178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office
[206] of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café. Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

166 voices, questioned: "Just how would a fisherman know how to guard
361 livestock?" The new site had been chosen because it was sheltered, near
the water, and on the road. The houses had been provided free by the
727 Ministry of Reconstruction, each being set in a plot of four hundred square meters in which a small vegetable garden was possible. As the surrounding cropland was insufficient to support all of these families, the men had to go far away in search of jobs while leaving the women and children behind.

361 In the beginning of the reconstruction period, private contractors were
727 given the task of rebuilding the destroyed villages and in some cases put
up shoddy dwellings in a location where people did not want to live. Some
178 of these stand today between Lamia and Volos abandoned, mute testimony to the failure of projects carried out without consulting those supposed to benefit from them. But most of the postwar villages are now inhabited and contrast, because of their straight streets and their houses in a perfect line, with the older villages where the streets wander and each individual put up his house on his lot as it pleased him.

361 Location, however, is more complex than some of the peasants' explanations or the contractors' choices would imply. It usually represents over a long period of time an adjustment to the resources which people need for their livelihood. First of all, there must be water available for drinking
[312] and washing. Should a spring upon which everyone depended dry up, the people of the village would move, ghosts or no ghosts, particularly if the women got tired of carrying water from some unreasonable distance. Over a period of time, also, the peasants locate their settlements as a compromise between the requirements for wood and pastures on heights above the village and the need for daily travel to their fields lying below. That is why villages are so frequently perched on a hillside instead of on the level land beneath. Of course, if the plain is large and the hills distant from land owned by the peasants, they will build a village on the plain and make long trips for their wood. Another factor affecting location in the days of Turkish rule was the villager's desire to be off the main road and thus less subject to taxation by officials and to requisition of foodstuffs by passing troops. He valued his freedom. Those old villages are now suffering from the isolation which was once a blessing. But many of the people still cling to residence in the old village in preference to separate farms because of the protection a village gives against wild animals and predatory armies, and because neighbors help each other to cultivate the earth. A further reason for the long survival of the village was its suitability to the system of large landholdings prevalent through much of Greece before the liberation from the Turks. Estate owners or managers could better control and supervise the rural workers whose houses were conveniently grouped together. Nowadays, according to those engaged in community development, better provisions for schools, roads, medical services, mail, and other

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby. [363]

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[7] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece. 491 [521] [619]

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away. [177] [653]

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner." 491 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers.

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day."

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road:

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products.

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense.

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach.

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic-
184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 59]
[p. 58 is blank]

[IV]

Land as a Birthright

Grandfather slipped his hand underneath and drew out a little bundle which had lain over his heart. 423

"It is nothing. . . . A handful of earth. . . ."

"A handful of earth! . . ."

"Yes, a handful of earth from our fields so we can plant a root of basil in our land of exile, to remind us. . . ."

Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, p. 259

A Handful of Earth

To some readers, this passage will reveal a poetic insight into the mystic attachment which not only the refugees portrayed but people in many parts of the world have for the land which is theirs, which they revere, and for which they will endure bloody encounters. To other readers, this will seem an overromanticized stereotyping of the peasant. Which reaction is more justifiable in considering the Greek villages today?

Seeking an answer to this question brought me face to face with the dramatic social changes which have been occurring in Greece, with all their marked regional differences. Facts and figures are a good starting point for trying to resolve a debated question. Certainly, in Greece today, with the population increase, good land is at a very high premium. The "handful of 423 178 241

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they substitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

> The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism. They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave. He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.
>
> One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.
>
> It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land."

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening.

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits.

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values.

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer
[369] is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young
[593] people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the
423 provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional varia-
432 tions are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live
[166] in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks. 175 423

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica: 175 423 427

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops. [311]

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years. 178 241 [235] [462]

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 241 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illustrate modern Greek land reform.[13] The size of the farm holding in Thes-
[241] saly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still
[671] exists for those poor villagers who need it.

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

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Thessaly

423

But he was being forced to surrender even this by the provisions of the 1952 constitution which sought to put in the hands of all the remaining peasant tenants the land which they tilled. [427]

It was some of this land the Thomai peasants were waiting for. Thomai was a village of refugees from near Konya, Turkey, who had settled there in 1926 and 1927. Each had been given approximately fifteen acres of land, much of it quite fertile in comparison with land elsewhere in Greece, but still not enough for their needs. [167]

Arriving in the village, the director of agriculture questioned the men, gathered in the coffeehouse, on the extent of the damage done by the rain and they agreed with him that the loss was not nearly so great as the Athens papers had stated in their morning editions. One of them was even frank enough to say, "Oh, you know how farmers are inclined to exaggerate their losses."

"But what about our pasture land?" one of the more aggressive peasants wanted to know. "We are supposed to get some from one of the Hadjilazaros estates. When will the government give it to us? We need it for our flocks."

Patiently the director explained that they would definitely receive this land but that it would take time. He said he felt the matter would be settled fairly soon since the expropriation — the most difficult part of the transaction — had already been completed. One peasant asked: "How could the owner manage to sell some of the estates to be expropriated before the government took them over? This gives the government less to distribute."

The director pointed out that in any sweeping law like the land reform there were often legal loopholes. These were being closed, but the landowner had been able to use them to his advantage. "Remember," he added, "the present government is really interested in enforcing the law and you will get your pasture land." [1]

The land hunger so vigorously expressed by these villagers in the middle of some of the best land of Greece was due partly to their social origins. Added to the conservatism, the moderate pessimism, and longing for land common to most rural people, there was another factor: when they had lived in Turkey, deep in the interior, they had had all the land they could use. Turkey is less densely populated than Greece. Some Thomai peasants even longed to return to Turkey, so much had they idealized the earlier years before their forced exodus. Yet they admitted that in the 1920s in Turkey they had used primitive methods, plowing with a wooden rather than a steel plowshare; many had lived in caves. Significantly, they admitted also that in this part of Greece they had found agriculture more advanced, but it was an admission of a fact to which they could not adjust. Compared to the more flexible peasants of the refugee villages of Northern Greece, these Thomai villagers were reluctant to change; their nostalgia for the 178 423

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423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful," [177] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and [825] for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the [685] point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever." [521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land re-
241 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant became about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the [311] entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

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the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

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423 villagers, then conservatism and lack of progress will handicap the peasant; if, on the other hand, the man-land bond becomes too abruptly broken, a .241 rural proletariat will come into existence and will make demands beyond ● 178 the capacity of the country to provide.

The golden mean would call for such a balancing of forces that Greek villagers, proud of their rural heritage but aware of steps necessary to improve their economic and educational position, would grow stronger with the passing of time. For some the answer to greater economic stability would lie in higher yields per acre through fertilization and better farming practices; in other cases mechanization may prove an aid, as would more efficient irrigation or marketing facilities and lower interest rates. Along with the economic remedies, whatever they prove to be, a sense of psychological security will develop in the peasant if he thinks of himself as a landowner and gets prestige and satisfaction from the intelligent way he treats his land. Linked to this, however, must be the feeling that he — the villager — is not Greece's forgotten or neglected man, but that those engaged in agriculture are viewed by policy makers as an important segment of national life. Individually and collectively, no people can afford the costly luxury of taking lightly their birthright of land.

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they had a resilience that kept them going. When asked how their tobacco crop was doing, they broke into broad smiles, and the man said: 241

"This year our tobacco is just like basil." (By this they meant that it was nice, thick, and round.)

The woman was quick to add, "ho Theos na dosi" (may God grant it).

In a book of interpretations there is a temptation to linger with a couple like this, to record in detail their simple ways which contrast so markedly with the complicated life in the West. The temptation is even stronger when one encounters throughout Greece peasants who are as far removed from mechanization as the Acropolis is removed from the Empire State Building. The late Robert P. T. Coffin, during a year in Greece, caught their spirit in "The Golden Age," which begins:

> High in the back mountains of old Greece
> I came upon incredible peace;
> A wife with a distaff twisting wool
> A boy who filled wool breeches full,
> Riding together on a burro
> Ahead of a bronze man running a furrow
> On a steep acre mostly rocks,
> Twenty red hens, and two bronze cocks.[8]

Yet there is a spirit of change stirring in Greece that cannot be ignored no matter how strongly one may be drawn to the simplicity of the past. To drive along the road just south of Corinth and to see a new bright orange tractor plowing in the shadow of Akrokorinthos, with its lofty crown of crenelated medieval ruins on the summit, is a startling sensation; or between Levadeia and Lamia in Central Greece, to come suddenly upon a combine efficiently working its way through a wheat field with Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, as a backdrop, is to be jolted momentarily by the incongruities of an invasion by the machines into an ancient world which for ages had moved in the pattern of man, land, and animals. 178 241 407

The swiftly changing techniques are illustrated vividly on almost any day's tour through the countryside. At threshing time, for instance, I have seen peasants threshing grain by putting it into a bag and pounding it with sticks; not far away will be several threshing floors on the edge of the village with many teams of horses tramping out the grain; elsewhere there will be the slow-moving oxen pulling a little platform with metal teeth fixed underneath to separate the grain from the stalk; and around the next bend may be a big cooperatively owned threshing machine operated by a long belt turned by a tractor. Tired women, faces veiled with white scarves against the scorching heat and dust, stand feeding the broken sheaves into the thresher; other women sack the grain for the sweating men to carry away in trucks. In the memory of the traveler the impression of fierce heat and 243 178 [407]

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243 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the
178 fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as
[311] well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drain-
[406] age of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus
[462] putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by
312 blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated
241 by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is
406 found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of
[433] Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of
422 mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of
178 Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a
[407] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well,
[452] for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; own-
[464] ing one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been
[243] threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however,
[554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

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At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers [407] would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the [445] tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary.

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, [123] much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around [651] the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the [609] Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody [652] cry out, 'Americans!' "

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from [522] an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating [609] saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin.

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor [407] instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type.

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me 241 work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He 461 agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very 462 much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?"

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, 178 in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari,

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241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.][8]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors — [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.
>
> At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.
>
> [476] Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu- [461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

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acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that 178
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 461
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 462
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton.
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry.

178
Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechaniza- 241
tion. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with [435]
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [452]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the re-
maining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government offi-
cials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be im- [439]
ported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of [444]
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 of Alekos, the first few owners get good income from custom plowing, but
241 with many tractors there is not very much supplementary income to go
[434] around. These steel horses in Greece plow more deeply, give more leisure, help spread scientific farming throughout the plains, and service an increasingly larger proportion of the 950,000 farms of the land. But with one tractor to every 70–80 farms, it is not surprising that Yannes, the tobacco grower from Alistrate, still waits for his horse so that he will not have to stand idly by while another finishes plowing a field.

The Harvesters of Chalkidike (Macedonia)

Social changes, and especially those connected with mechanization, frequently wear two faces — one bright, the other dark. In Athens I had heard from fellow Americans about the growing use of machinery, the previously mentioned over-all increase in agricultural production to more than 37 percent above the prewar figure, and the steps being taken to rationalize agriculture to an even greater degree. These programs represented not only heavy investments of dollars and drachmas, but also considerable self-sacrifice on the part of American and Greek staff members with a missionary zeal for their work and a willingness to work overtime. There was no question of the need for Greece to become a part of the scientific revolution in farming, but it was at times perplexing to find that little thought was being given to the social effects of this revolution on the people in the rural areas.

178 Once out in the provinces, away from the bright programs of Athens, I
241 saw the dark face of mechanization. While riding with the director of agri-
243 culture of Larissa on the drive previously mentioned, I was somewhat
464 shocked to hear him say that he was glad the recent storm had visited the area.

"Why is that?" I asked. "Doesn't it make it harder to harvest the grain?"

"Yes, that's the point," he replied. "Now it will have to be done by hand in many places, giving work to some of the people from the mountain villages in this area who depend upon the harvesting to earn their supply of wheat for much of the year. Without the bread from this wheat they cannot live."

Again, a nomarch of Thessalonike talked to me of the people displaced by mechanization. He tried to see the good as well as the bad, indicating that machines without any question had raised the yields by putting more land under cultivation and by making better farming methods possible. He, too, however, used much the same words as had the official in Larissa, pointing out that he was glad to see the rains in Macedonia since it meant that harvesting would be done by hand.[8]

243 One bright June morning found us in Niketas, a small coastal village in
124 Chalkidike where mechanical threshing was in progress on the edge of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?" "Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agreement is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea. 243 465

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker provided for himself. 243 464 594 243 466 [412]

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where their services are no longer needed. 124 464 178

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

G 233 474

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

G 233 241 177 178 [291] [234]

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

G 124 137 G 517 233

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

G 563

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

S V G [233] [221]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on an elephant," as one of my informants put it.

Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoúles Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of the chief shepherd.[15] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grandsons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

Stress and Strain

The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[16] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which 578 has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep, 654 which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas- [241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited • 178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in [652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and [249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of [291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

seemed sadly out of place in his mountain dweller's lambskin kalpaki (brimless hat) and his shepherd's staff, sitting under a tree and looking out at the fishing boats. 233 178

"Do you have sheep?" we wanted to know, both curious and surprised to see him there. [291]

"No."

"Then why are you wearing the kalpaki and carrying the shepherd's crook?"

"I've lost so much that I like to carry my crook just to have the illusion that I still have my sheep."

Some of the younger men in the group, separated by war from their mountains and their sheep, were full of talk and plans of farming. When we asked them if they had thought of fishing here by the sea, both young and old looked incredulous, even contemptuous. "We are shepherds," they said proudly. "We do not know the sea." Having lost the mountains, the younger men were willing to try the plain, but the older ones could not. The concept of occupational displacement took visible form in this fifty-year-old shepherd sitting idly and hopelessly under a tree, looking at the sea which he did not know and the plain which he could not understand, his big brown hands clasping the symbol of his lost world, the shepherd's crook.

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521]

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 843 787

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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594 does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would
184 make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is al-
593 most a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the gen-
594 eral rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men
[178] whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a
[586] wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult
[562] to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes
[178] under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself
[369] as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

562 In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections,
641 but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into
666 governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

562 Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her hus-
641 band had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the
593 farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her
[626] husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women
[623] on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceed-
[177] ings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

562 The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafes and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 593 576 [369] the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 369 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters, too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 585 [591] [824] Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching [271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 596 606 607 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the members of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere,
there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
754 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path
[778] of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or have a little icon."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
184 receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by per-
184 sonal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud [178] stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But [261] everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [4] Therefore, when we de- 146 scribe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete; A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and
[233] a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[343] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

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Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

[462] [574] [511] [369]

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Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

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TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

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Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements. Women should be 18 before marriage.	[583]
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid. [583] [162]
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the [178]

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1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

583 In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were [243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of [465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

594 "It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee [511] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries [438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra*, or marriage broker, when this is necessary.* But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what [583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of 184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers 178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

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Syros (island): I will not marry if my parents object.

Central Peloponnesos: In my village the young people pick their own mates. Twenty years ago the parents picked the mates but we still have to get parental consent as a matter of courtesy. We have no matchmaker in our village. You find these near the cities where people make money in such matters. 584 184 178

Macedonia: I would marry whom I picked out for I am going to have to live with her. I don't see why my parents will object, for I am going to pick out someone who is respectable. [Second speaker:] I have loved a girl from an early age and, if my father objects, I will marry her anyway since I am the one who has to live with my wife and my father can live with his old woman. "But what if your father disinherits you?" I will marry and do without his fields.

Northern Peloponnesos: If I see a girl whom I want to marry I will go directly to the girl's parents. If the girl accepts me, then my parents will go to arrange for the marriage. "What do you say when you talk to her parents?" I have seen your daughter and would like her for a wife. Could you find out if she likes me and if so would you accept me? By doing it this way, the rest of the village does not know that a boy has been turned down. But boys are always accepted unless they have done something very bad.

These comments from the young men themselves illustrate that one could divide the villages of Greece, and the families within the villages, according to the way mate selection is carried out. First, there are still villages where the young people have almost nothing to say about whom they are to marry and leave the matter up to the parents entirely. For example, in another group interview of nineteen young men, five said that they would expect their fathers to select their wives. One young man said, "I'll follow my father's selection since no father would want bad for his son." Villages where such views predominate are becoming fewer all of the time and tend to be found where the economy is based upon livestock production, including the nomadic shepherd tribes. Second, there are villages where parental consent is essential but where the young men are expected to take the initiative, suggest to their parents the names of the prospective bride, and let them carry on the negotiations from there. Almost nowhere does the girl have the right of initiative, although in some villages she would not be forced to marry anyone to whom she had strong objection, unless there were overriding family or economic considerations. Third, there are villages where the young people make the decision almost entirely on their own but expect their parents to agree, nevertheless being ready to strike out on their own should the parents prove "unreasonable" and try to prevent the marriage.

The peasants look at the changing marriage scene in terms of "marriage for love" and "arranged marriages." What they really mean by the first term is active participation of the young people in mate selection, but they 584 581 178 831

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 do not mean that the young people subscribe to the romance of the Holly-
581 wood movies where love is glorified as an end unto itself. By "arranged
marriages" is meant the lack of initiative on the part of the young and the
● 178 willingness on the part of the boy or girl to give up a preferred mate if the
[831] parents strongly object.

It is safe to say that the pendulum is swinging from the arranged to the marriage for love. But in most Greek villages the parents still play an active role in negotiating with each other on behalf of their children and in trying to forestall what they would consider an unfortunate selection. Where par-
[626] ents and children disagree in such cases the situation becomes known to the village at large, and public opinion sometimes supports the young people. The father may be told at the coffeehouse, "Why don't you let your daughter marry Theodore? He is not such a bad boy after all." And the neighboring women take the mother to task, reminding her that her husband was not such a wonderful catch when they first married but that he had worked hard, had done well, and had earned everybody's respect.

The Dowry

581 What are the criteria of a fortunate and an unfortunate selection? Young
583 people were very explicit about this, although by no means unanimous in their answers. Looming large throughout most of Greece is the dowry, or economic resources which the girl brings to the new union.[1] One father from a village near Thebes summarized the situation as follows: "If you have gold sovereigns, you marry off your daughter; if not, you don't." In the
[162] villages the surplus of girls, existing since World War I, has been increasing. This came to light when we asked where the men sought their mates — in the home village or elsewhere. Often the reply would be: "Wherever the men can get the best *proika* [dowry]." But there were those who disagreed with this emphasis on money: "If you marry just for money, all day long the wife will hold the purse strings and then where will you be?" In the case of the girl, honor or chastity ranks high as does good health, without which the wife cannot be a good worker. Beauty and good looks are also most welcome, although now and then one would say that "beauty is not too important if the girl has a good heart." As for the man, wealth, education, and position make him a proper risk as a husband if he has a good reputation as well.

These traits which prospective mates should possess have much meaning because in Greece marriage unites two families, and dowry arrangements are contracts between families and not just between two individuals. One keen observer of village life pointed out that "in a village one always hears people speak of families as 'good family' or 'not a good family.'" The standard of *good* is largely in terms of money. The individual from a good family has a big head start in life in a country where financial resources are

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

582 583 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony [178] or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no install- [452] ment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will [571] only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furniture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

184 583 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla, [425] the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate [178] into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

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provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle,
3 medium pans	2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

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Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter. 582 [178] [608]

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 581 779 795 584 585

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon. 779
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown. [301]
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life. [273]
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9] [788]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10] 585

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the [587]

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585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a [177] few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

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As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

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Even when death is there, there is help. Who can bury the dead by himself? The village all cry together, they all suffer together, and the whole village buries him. He too is not far away from them. His soul roams around them and, as they say themselves, he watches them.[2] 476 [764 775]

The Agricultural Cooperative Movement in Greece

One could logically argue that a people with as many kinds of mutual aid as the Greek villagers should take readily to the cooperative organization designed to assist cooperators, through organized efforts, to achieve goals which they could not hope to satisfy individually. But the transition from informal mutual aid to an organized cooperative proves much more difficult than one would at first imagine. In the first place, since the village mutual-aid patterns are a "here and now" undertaking, those participating can see the immediate results of their labor and can hold the person helped accountable to return assistance to them when needed. The formal cooperative organizations, on the other hand, have to set goals which are removed both in time and place from the average peasant. Not only are the centers of financial control and the markets distant, but the member has to wait for benefits to accrue in the case of a marketing cooperative. In a credit cooperative, the loan received is more tangible, but its attainment has probably seemed to the peasant a long, laborious procedure. 474 476 178

The transition from village mutual aid to the formal cooperative organization is difficult, in the second place, because the *formal* organization itself is an urban rather than a village development. To participate in and guide an organization takes as much "know-how" as repairing a tractor or managing a flock. But it is a different kind of skill from any which the peasant has been trained to use, and he is therefore either ill at ease or grossly inefficient when he tries to work with such a new social mechanism. Parliamentary procedure, the keeping of books and membership lists, and the preparation of reports go on around him all of the time, but he is seldom called upon to participate in such activity. This means that, as a member, he is apt to be passive and apathetic; he is also apt not to understand much of what is done in the cooperative organization and is therefore chronically critical of management, the government, and perhaps the whole idea of formal cooperatives in general. Once he has learned to deal with the social mechanism of the organization, he is much more self-assured and agreeable, but getting to this point takes a great deal of time for most villagers. [369]

But perhaps a third difficulty in the transition from local mutual aid to membership in the cooperative society is most crucial. Basically the mutual-aid groups consist of family members and neighbors; only occasionally do they even call upon others in the village. The cooperative association makes an immediate leap beyond family and neighborhood to encompass men from the whole village — men who know each other but who have not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes
476 closely identified with the central government, which immediately introduces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a
178 psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting
438 past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic
474 greatness because of the well-run association which administered the com-
621 munity's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different
474 in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece
426 today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village
[875] of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with
656 at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

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474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
[124] asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
[621] in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

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Kalivi, Attica

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were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me:

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

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We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

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The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

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In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

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Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

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346 Generally, in the old villages the church is in the outskirts. To the back of
361 the church is the cemetery, which is walled to keep out both wild predatory
764 animals and farm animals. For Greeks it is a sin to step on a grave. The church
may have a belltower, or the bell may be hung from the branch of an old tree.
[783] There is always a well in the churchyard and the cemetery of the old village.
It is used as drinking water and for the purification after a burial. The main
[312] church of the old village must be the tallest, the largest, and the best-constructed building of the village. This signifies respect for God; the past is not forgotten. This is very much after the pattern of the ancient Greeks who built their shrines as the best buildings while they themselves lived in huts. . . .

Both the church and the cemetery of the old village must be located in a landscape of natural beauty and scenery. Thus faith, worship, and death are in close relation with the natural scenery.[33]

[178] But Valassis adds a discordant note. The new churches are now being
[769] constructed in the center of the village, while the cemeteries remain on the outskirts. No longer, therefore, do the peasants, after a Mass or ceremony, go to the graveyard to pay respect to their ancestors.

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619 the United States, feel a close bond with the others who come from Arcadia.
[575] They form societies to continue this association and to give an opportunity to dance and sing the folk arts of that region.

A Greek villager is, moreover, a Greek. Villages can be uprooted and destroyed, their families dispersed, but Greece goes on as a living spirit and as a mighty cultural heritage. The fact that so many Greek families have
[602] relatives living in other parts of the country, including Athens, means that they keep in fairly close touch with the body politic. They are not merely dependent upon what some village notable or visiting politician tells them; they can hear directly from their relatives just what the state of affairs really
[203] is. This means that kinship plays a part in the communication network on which the national community rests. In conclusion, it is important to look
● 178 briefly at the role of the villager in the total society, taking our eyes from
619 the village scene and viewing the larger picture. This is necessary if one is to understand the Greek village of the next few years — the one which is emerging — because the changes being introduced come for the most part from outside the village. They are promoted to a considerable degree by national authorities or impersonal forces over which the peasants have relatively little control.

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Social Change in Rural Greece

The Greek social spectrum, the rainbow in the rock, is losing some of its hues today. This occurs as regions of Greece, despite their traditional social differences, adjust to common changes engulfing the whole country. The fact of change is accepted by all, but the evaluation of specific kinds of change (in family life, economic development, political trends) varies with the position of the person passing judgment. For most villagers, changes — at least those they want — are not occurring fast enough. When I had sorted out and studied their comments, which usually dealt with some facet of change, past or present, I found that the experiences they related could be grouped under three general types: the *cataclysmic* change caused by some great social or natural upheaval; the changes resulting from *social drift*, or the slower spread of unplanned change as new ways moved from town to village; and the *planned* change, most frequently sponsored by government agencies in an effort to raise the level of living in the villages.[1] 178

Cataclysmic Change

Almost every generation of Greeks has experienced some social dislocation accompanying a war or, at least, armed encounters. The present adult population has had more than its share. While the country was busy with the tasks of assimilating the northern provinces, wrested from Turkey in 178 648 727

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178 648 727 the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

[728 167] In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [2] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

178 167 727 In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appreciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[3] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encompass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder [177] the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

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tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

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178 727 669 166 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Communist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did [657] not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as [369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] [302] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes following the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was [657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

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Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

> As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

Social Drift

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

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178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discussion of religion, observed:

178 511 369

> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

[454]

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

178 433 464 241 A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the connection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change. The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transitional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

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part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

178 433 464 241

In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income. When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

[166]

The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's economic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire.

178 434 [162]

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
[435] ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
[476] being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first
time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other
young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no
serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually
themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a
start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to con-
tinue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are in-
volved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary
before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the
practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the
fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort
have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may
even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there
is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that
much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

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observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

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178 what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to
[628] those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective
178 change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others.
562 They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more edu-
666 cation, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage. Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local
[626 twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women,
593] for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

178 This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance
185 of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration
727 of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and
[736] seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

177 Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at
178 the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

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tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned. 177 178 177 178 874 242

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities. [185]

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments. 178 474 185 242

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II. 178 185 654

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev- 177 464 653

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177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
653 It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias*, often translated "welfare through employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
207 to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
491 Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds
● 178 true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
[241] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these
[654] and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

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increased economic activity and not become a disturbing political force. A further fact is the peasant's chronic tendency to assume that he is not getting a square deal, or everything that is due him, because throughout his memory and that of his forebears he has been used to what he considers exploitation by a government or those from the city who would take advantage of him. No aid program can ever create a contented peasantry. Yet it is fair to ask what is being done in Greece today to help the individual villager solve the problems of immediate interest to him. The brightest hope, and one recognized by Munkman, is the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service, so organized as to take advantage of the long American experience in this field, the lessons learned by the Near East Foundation in Greece, and the application by dedicated Greeks of these lessons to contemporary conditions. A comparison between what is now available to the farmer and what was available before the war shows a tremendous gain in his behalf. To be sure, the peasant does not apply all that he is taught by the extension worker, and now and then administrative decrees (such as cutting from the budget the transportation item) limit the effectiveness of the extension worker. But in every part of Greece trained personnel are visiting the villagers and, as never before, showing an interest in their welfare and helping them think through their economic problems. Home-economics workers, working with the farm women, are also making considerable headway.

When I investigated social changes occurring between 1952-53 and 1959, those whose knowledge of Greek village life I have found to be most accurate said, "Certainly the greatest change you will find is the development of the agricultural-extension program and the service it is rendering." In other words, the central government is sending "change agents" [10] throughout Greece to help initiate improvements in farming and homemaking, and it is not waiting for the peasants to journey to Athens for answers to their problems. There are limits to what any professional staff can do, but to the extent that these extension workers, both men and women, receive necessary support, to that extent one will find rapid change in the countryside.

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 15, of the organizations being set up in Greek villages by the extension service as well as by the Queen's Fund. This fund concentrates primarily upon Northern Greece and through its village welfare centers seeks to raise the educational, cultural, and economic level of the villages. The King's Fund is interested in the villager. In September 1959 I visited near Athens the handsome Community Development Training Center, financed by this fund, where I met with a group of about fifty teachers who had been invited there, with all expenses paid, to study how teachers can be agents of community improvement. When I joined the group, they were listening to a lecture on scientific beekeeping so that they could talk intelligently on this subject to their pupils and the pupils' parents.

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177 178 653 During this same September 1959 visit I had occasion to review, as on a previous occasion, the community-development program of the Save the Children Federation, an American organization. It contributes its funds, set aside for community development, only if the adults of the community agree to make contributions of their own (labor, materials, money) to the construction of a better school, the installation of a public water supply, the planting of a school orchard, or the construction of a dock to bring economic advantages to an otherwise bypassed coastal village.

177 178 [65] Anyone trying to cover completely the numerous programs designed to change village life for the better would find them springing up in a variety of places. The official government programs, each under one of the ministries, cover a wide range of activities. Agriculture is more adequately represented than health, education more than social welfare, and economic programs more than recreational programs. But this emphasis is not unexpected in a rural setting. All official American programs, being governmental, work through the Greek ministries and agencies. Next, in drawing up a comprehensive list, one could chronicle the quasi-governmental programs such as those embodied in the King's Fund and the Queen's Fund, the Volunteer Nursing Corps, and similar bodies. In addition to these, there are numerous groups started and managed by public-spirited Greek citizens interested in rural improvement. These range from agricultural education to reforestation to preservation of the folk arts. To those already found could be added the programs of a variety of international agencies, such as UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, and the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as the very active International Red Cross. Finally, one could include a large assortment of private efforts sponsored by organizations from several European countries as well as Canada and the United States. Such organizations might be religious in nature, strictly welfare, or a combination of both.

No wonder, then, that the Greek villager becomes confused about who promises what and fails to deliver, or whom to thank for a bundle of clothes received in the mail. No wonder that he sometimes is nonplussed about what government official to wait upon. If he is a community president, he will probably visit his nomarch, but the chances are that the nomarch is not altogether versed in the number of programs intent upon effecting change in the villages under his supervision.

178 More than ever before, the Greek villager's way of life has become a target of change. In this sense, he typifies efforts being made in other countries and on other continents to move people from an archaic to a modern style of life, and to help them realize expectations and hopes of which they are only now becoming aware.

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177 369 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so urbanized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

From Peasant to Farmer

184 241 [178] In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 241 511 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

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commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

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184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern
454 farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

● 178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
241 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
594 but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away
184 from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
184 to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

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or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm.

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town.

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm.

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down.

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi-

1:Sanders Z-5ℓ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
369 better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
665 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
829 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some countries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
178 peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
82 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
184 growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
156 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 178 ● 184 [156]

when public opinion has been structured to favor a course of action, it is hard for recalcitrant individuals to hold out for long.

A third attitudinal shift might be characterized as that from the sacred to the secular. In social science, these terms have their specialized meanings. A sacred society, such as an extreme peasant type is supposed to be, relies almost entirely on custom and tradition as the guide to what is right and wrong, proper and improper. The elders are respected, for they are the repositories of wisdom from the past and can interpret to others what should be done, whether in the family circle or in communal affairs. The modern farmer, on the other hand, lives in a secular society in the sense that the rational, scientific test is applied to his economic choices. He does not ask at what stage of the moon's cycle he is supposed to put seed potatoes in the ground, but uses other criteria for determining this. Furthermore, if a young man knows more than an older man about a matter of concern to him, the older man will listen just as eagerly to the young man.

Finally, the peasant's feeling of security, based almost entirely on kinship and the mutual aid of neighbors, gives way to the farmer's reliance on his own efforts plus an organized system of crop and fire insurance, governmental pension plans, and membership in associations and cooperatives of various types which help him weather whatever economic storms he encounters. This leads to much greater social interdependence, which carries with it possibilities both for good and for difficulty. Once there is any breakdown in the social network, the price mechanism, or the system of delivery of which the farmer is a part, he is at the mercy of forces which he as an individual cannot control. At the same time, when these forces do work well, he is assured of a level of living far beyond the peasant's fondest dreams and a sense of participation in an ever-expanding social universe.

Anyone who has read through the book thus far is familiar with the wide range which different regions of Greece represent on this peasant-farmer continuum. Even more important, the following of any single Greek villager through his daily rounds would indicate that no villager holds to these peasant traits in their entirety, nor have any of them moved to commercial farming to the extent represented by much of American agriculture. One thing is certain: those that have been primarily of the peasant mold are moving from many of these traits into those more closely approximating the modern farmer. This movement goes on at an uneven rate and points up much inconsistency in village behavior. But social change inevitably works itself out at this uneven tempo, and planning from on high in Athens seems to do little to smooth out the jagged course of modernization. Recent trips to Greece reinforce my earlier impressions that farming in the Greek countryside is becoming much more scientific because of the very successful programs of planned change previously described, as well as because of the dynamic quality of the Greek villager himself. The Greek

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178 184 peasant is rapidly becoming a farmer. But what about those who leave the village, displaced by the machine or attracted by opportunities elsewhere? What transformation do they have to go through if they are to adjust to urban and industrial life?

From Villager to Urbanite

369 Although this study of Greek life has concentrated upon the village, some observations about villagers transplanted to the city have relevance to foreign aid as a force for change. If farm workers are displaced by the machine, they tend to gravitate toward population centers where they hope to find work as general laborers or to follow some small skill they may have acquired. The coming of factories usually means some migration of labor, much of it frequently stemming from the rural areas. In fact, in the Western sense, to industrialize means to de-ruralize.

Any foreign-aid program, therefore, which creates new urban centers or leads to the movement of rural people to older centers in search of jobs is introducing not only a type but a tempo of change that must be taken into account in the allocation of economic resources. Some funds will undoubtedly have to be used to ease the transition for those making the move if they are not to become a discontented proletariat. This becomes more evident when we see what happens when a villager becomes an urbanite.

One of the first effects is for the villager to find himself immersed in a much more heterogeneous society. Occupations are more numerous, specialization is greater, and social extremes — the rich and the very poor — are more pronounced than anything he had experienced in the village. There is an intoxicating excitement in the possibilities that seemingly lie before him, although he realizes early in his stay that lack of training and insufficient income limit the realization of many of the more desirable alternatives. He comes face to face with people deriving from different cultural backgrounds, encounters different religious and ethnic groupings, and can participate in recreational pursuits not known in his native village. This richness, this complexity of urban life often calls for living techniques not acquired in the village. As a substitute, therefore, those recently arrived from rural areas may live with others of their kind in a semifolk environment in parts of cities where they are to some degree insulated from the total impact that the city might make upon them.

A second effect of migration to the city is that life becomes job-focused. One's fortune rests not only on the kind of job one has but frequently upon the mere fact of having a job or not. As a peasant back on the farm he had many tasks to perform, but these varied with the season and could often be done at a time of his choosing, within limits. But as an employee, whether a general laborer on a construction project or a worker in a factory, he moves into a different way of life. He must subscribe to a new type

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361 church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

621 The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village [361] is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other [443] of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to [527] drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians [533] come to the *aghora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighbor- [535] ing settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora*, and, 621 indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is 562 conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, 437 and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

594 The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's [423] married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The 342 structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. [178] The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white- [343] washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents. 342 [178]

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls. 333 [514] 351

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the 361 [342] [823] [343] [351] 363 361

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245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the
574 agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders, and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two
574 or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles
[484] through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

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such as electrification and the provision of a reservoir for water to be piped to the houses. But the village is neither the moral center of the life of the villagers, nor is it, as an entity in its own right, one of their dominant interests.

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Starting an ethnography with a chapter called "The Setting" is a common practice among anthropological writers. By implication, what will follow is a kind of play for which the "setting" provides the scene. Such a beginning is particularly appropriate to Vasilika, because the village has, for its inhabitants, as well as for the observer, some of the quality of a stage-set. The people of Vasilika seem to think of their fellow villagers as acting the role of the chorus in ancient Greek drama (it is the chorus which comments on the action). The main action of the "play" in the village lies in the life of the family. We have heard villagers exclaim in connection with some intense family situation, *"Ti dhrama!"* "What a tragedy!"

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From an anthropological point of view, the family in Vasilika is significant not only as the focus of interest for the villagers, but also as a separable unit of the social structure of the settlement. In cultural terms, the patterns in which families participate as a unit form a large part of the culture of the entire community. The next three chapters are therefore devoted to the activities of the village families.

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since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter. "I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

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ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

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242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959,
therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens.
By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues
that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaonboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and
[865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate,
[434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers'
233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

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231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered [552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents [865] permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of [178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the [373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing 511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small 592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to [422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever, [464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for [422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac- 511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

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445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had
[178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

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fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

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Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most important item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is clothing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their childhood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter overcoats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth. They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay. Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

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Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [178] [302] [178] [305] [445]

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 [178] [85]

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sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige.

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers' produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the next chapter.

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the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

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is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment. 584 [581]

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come. [574]

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lires*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years. [836] [626]

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father. 178 585 [621]

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 583 585

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583 wedding to take the *rukba* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukba*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
[431] table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
[534] sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[3] But even among farmers these customs are changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[3] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me agbapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw.

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision.

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist-

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596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
425 further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighora"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [561] [594] [596]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562] different from each other for that.

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an upheaval comparable to that which shattered the unity of the western world in the sixteenth century, not on account of the glacier of Turkish dominion which descended upon it a hundred years earlier, but because it had never known that separation of theology and mysticism, liturgy and personal devotion, which—when all is said as to the influence of political and economic factors—is required to explain the all-engulfing cataclysm of the Reformation. 795 788

In the next chapter I propose to consider certain features of the long history of the Greek Church in so far as they exercise a lively influence upon the contemporary scene; for in Greece it is peculiarly difficult to disentangle past and present, and historical memory is remarkably tenacious. In the remotest mountain villages of Epirus or the Peloponnese one may meet with small children who do not merely know far more about Lord Byron than one can reasonably expect of the majority of his countrymen—*that*, after a little time in Greece, one takes for granted—but who can sometimes relate strange apocryphal stories of Admiral Codrington or Sir Richard Church; and, in the imagination of the monks of Athos, Pope Innocent III occupies a position similar to that which Oliver Cromwell holds amongst the peasant farmers of Ireland. 795 178 173

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III

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THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

> Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught.
>
> ST. PAUL to the church in Thessalonica

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178 IT IS no use beginning one's study of that in many ways anachronistic, yet persistently lively institution, the Church of England, at the sixteenth century: not so can one hope to comprehend the anomalies of her parochial organisation and system of patronage, or to fathom the element of uncertainty that attaches to every archdeacon's prospects [793] of eternal felicity. No more can the student of the Greek Church expect to enter into the spirit of this venerable institution if he looks no farther than the reading of the *Synodical Tome* whereby, in the year 1850, her autocephalous status was first accorded official recognition.

795 One cannot spend many hours in Greece without being struck by the
178 extraordinary continuity of her history. The girl who shepherds one through the customs at the airport may well rejoice in the name of
551 Andromache or Ismene; it is startling to hear a ragged stevedore, one of "that unpolished plebeian race always employed in the hardest labours of the ports and which in every country represents the least noble aspect of a people", being hailed by a passing boatman at the Piraeus as Menelaus or Agamemnon. The traveller arriving at nightfall in a mountain village of Thessaly or the Peloponnese is questioned in terms which have scarcely altered since the prince of swineherds examined the re urned Odysseus: "Who are you and whence do you come? What is your city and your family? Aboard what vessel came you to Ithaca?" New Demetrius often proves to be but old Demeter, and in the country dioceses there linger on observances of immemorial antiquity: local rites connected with birth and death which carry one back to an age infinitely remote from the Lord's coming in human flesh.

178 Though the Greek that is heard to-day in the streets of Athens is
197 scarcely that of Aristotle or Pericles, the continuity of language is

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nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios!*" 178 197

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language in which they were written. 178 799 795 178 788 795 198

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the triumphant *Christos anesti!* Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is risen!* As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they 178 788 795 178 795 576

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

178 795 576 Embrace one another, and join mutually the side of the Mouth or Cheek to the other . . . and since the Resurrection of Christ is the Miracle of Miracles, and the main Pillar of our Christian Faith and Hope, I am much perswaded that this might be the very manner and way of giving the Holy Kiss amongst the Primitive Christians."

178 795 788 [771] Not is all this a matter of mere outward forms. Through all the vicissitudes of her history the Greek Church has been enabled to preserve something of the very spirit of the first age of Christianity. Her liturgy still enshrines that element of sheer joy in the resurrection of the Lord that we find in so many of the early Christian writings. The spirit of the ancient fathers of the Church lives on in the liturgy and in the piety of the ordinary Greek Christian. To enter into the spirit of the eastern liturgies is to comprehend as is possible in no other way the characteristic notes of Orthodox spirituality.

This is true above all of the liturgy of Holy Week and Eastertide; here one is perhaps most acutely conscious of the revolution that has been wrought in post-mediaeval western piety. It is a far cry from the Byzantine liturgy of the holy passion to that preoccupation with the sufferings of Christ with which we are familiar. Even in the darkness of the holy and great Friday the note of joy is sounded; the narrative of the passion is interspersed with the divine praises: it is the record of the triumph of the King, and Christ the Victor reigns in royal purple from His throne on Calvary.

[539]

To-day is hanged upon the Tree
He who hanged the earth free in the midst of the waters.
A crown of thorns crowns Him who is King of the angels.
He who wraps the heavens in clouds
is wrapt about with the purple of mockery;
He who freed Adam in Jordan
is smote with hands;
He who is the Bridegroom of the Church
is transfixed with nails;
He who is the Son of the Virgin
is pierced with a spear.
We worship Thy Passion, O Christ;
Show us also Thy glorious Resurrection!

[771] It is because her life is rooted so completely in the liturgy that the

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Orthodox Church has been able to preserve in all its integrity the faith once delivered to the saints. Ecclesiastical organisation has never in eastern Christendom been looked upon as having an importance such as, at any rate from the eleventh century onwards, it assumed in the west. Provided only that he is free to participate fully in the liturgical life of his local church, the Greek or Russian Christian is prepared to sit curiously lightly to matters of jurisdiction and the machinery of ecclesiastical government and administration. Even when, as in the U.S.S.R. to-day, the Church is subject to every imaginable restriction save this bare permission to celebrate the divine mysteries, she can yet contrive to hold fast to her traditions with a tenacity which must often strike the western Christian as little short of miraculous: "the stable perseverance in these our days of the *Greek* Church", wrote Rycaut in the seventeenth century, "notwithstanding the Oppression and Contempt put upon it by the *Turk* . . . is a Confirmation no less convincing than the Miracles and Power which attended its first beginnings."

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So, throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Greek Church held fast the traditions which enshrined the saving truths of the divine economy. The Gospel was preached less by means of homilies and sermons than through the regular cycle of feast and fast; though Christian schools were maintained, often with great heroism in the face of overwhelming difficulties, the children of Hellas relied even more upon the visible catechism of the Church's liturgy. So it was that the faith was preserved as a royal treasure: the life of the mystical body burned on in secret, though the royal priesthood might be "expelled their Churches and those converted into Moschs; the Mysteries of the Altar conceal'd in secret and dark places . . ."

It is in remote townships like Kastoria that one can best enter into the spirit of the Greek Church under the Turkish yoke. To the traveller who approaches the ancient city of Diocletian from the southward there is little to suggest the presence of some seventy-two churches. Kastoria reveals its secrets only to those who are prepared to spend several days scrambling up and down the stony paths below the nineteenth-century metropolis, where tiny churches are set obscurely amidst the high, fortress-like domestic architecture of a later age. A great number of these churches date from Byzantine days, for from about the seventh century onwards this mountain township served as a place of exile for many whose presence at Constantinople was, for one reason or another, considered undesirable. Many more were built during the

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178 795 346 centuries of Turkish dominion. Outwardly they are scarcely distinguishable from the cottages which surround them: only the shallow apse at the east end proclaims the church.

[532] Within, however, one finds oneself in another world. Walls unpierced by windows are covered with paintings which set forth the whole story of creation and redemption. Patriarchs and prophets mingle with the saints of the new dispensation; Elias is caught up to heaven in a chariot of fire and Jonah goes down to the bottoms of the mountains with the weeds wrapped about his head; those whose names are honoured throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, Athanasius, Basil and Gregory the Divine, rub shoulders with local saints like St. George of Iannina and the Neo-Martyrs; the Lord Christ is baptised in Jordan, He changes the water into wine and reigns in triumph from the tree of Calvary; the Holy Spirit descends in tongues of fire upon the apostles. Here in these little chapels—"rather like Vaults or Sepulchres than Churches, having their Roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgency of structure should be accused for triumph of Religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the *Mahometan* Moschs"—the mysterious life of the local church was nourished throughout the dark days of oppression; the saints which were in Kastoria, like their brethren at Thessalonica, obeyed the apostolic injunction to hold fast the traditions which they had been taught.

178 795 788 771 Not infrequently, it must be confessed, zeal for the preservation of the faith in the midst of an alien environment gave rise to a certain lack of discrimination. The pure gold of the apostolic tradition has not been handed down from generation to generation without gathering to itself certain accretions of doubtful worth, and the simple Christian is not always able to distinguish the one from the other or prepared even to admit the possibility of such intermingling.

> This Reverence to the Church [observes one of the old writers] produces a firm belief and strict adherence to the Articles of it, and to all the Ceremonies and matters the most minute and indifferent, not suffering the least change or alteration in them. For although they are sensible (as many of their Priests have confessed to me) of the inconvenient length of their Liturgies . . . and of many superstitious Customs and Ceremonies derived to them from the times of *Gentilism*, which are now ingrafted into, and as it were grown up

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with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

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The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaiomerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places? [869]

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The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness (already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

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795 the effect of the Turkish dominion was to foster—perhaps to excess—
788 an attitude which was already discernible in Byzantine days and which
771 always made for a certain liveliness in ecclesiastical affairs.

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795 During the last few years it has been becoming increasingly clear
798 that the episode which may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to as
173 '1054 and all that' has gained a far more important place in our text-books of European history than it justly merits. No longer is it possible to regard the schism of Cerularius as marking the decisive breach between eastern Christendom and the west. A date which seemed to hold out to the struggling schoolboy a refuge no less secure than that of the Conqueror's triumph at Hastings has been swept away, to leave him floundering in the troubled waters of speculation and surmise. But whatever the immediate causes of the disastrous breach which was to divide Christendom into warring factions, and which underlies all our western divisions, there can be little question that far the greatest factor in the hardening of the schism was the invasion of the Levant by the crusading Franks, the sack of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. These unhappy events made an impression upon the Greek mind that the passing of eight centuries has not effaced.

The legend of Frankish aggression—unhistorical and confused though it be—lives on in our own day especially amongst the monks. Pope Innocent III, Michael Palaeologus, the Patriarch Bekkos, the Catalans who established themselves in the Kassandra peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Pope Eugenius IV, who flourished more than a century later, are all confounded in a wild farrago of monkish imagination and prejudice. The Pope, attended by Frankish soldiers and executioners, presides over the martyrdom of the twenty-six monks of Zographou, and terrible stories are still to be heard on the holy mountain of the gruesome fate that befell the renegade monks who took part in the Latin mass at the Lavra. In a painting at the Serbian convent of Chilandari the Pope appears in the company of Mahomet and the arch-heretic Arius, and the earth opens and swallows them up together.

The traveller in monastic Greece must not, therefore, be surprised to find that an unwary allusion to the Pope can still conjure up in the imagination of a Greek monk a nightmare figure far surpassing the inventions of the most rabid Protestant. I recall one such reference to

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the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism. 795 798 173 [797]

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate. 619 795 178

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles 619 795 722

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of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God". Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood paintings of the *Averoff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as compared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potentialities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping: conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians, the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for Christendom as a whole.

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796 priest resumed his place before the doors and took up anew the litanies
788 which properly pertain to the deacon's liturgy:

> For the precious gifts which have been offered,
> For this holy temple, and for those who enter it in
> faith, reverence and the fear of God . . .

while the reiterated *Kyrie eleison* of the singers rose and fell and we commended "ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God".

At the cry: "The doors, the doors!" all became suddenly alert, and a young girl—one of those celebrating their name-day—pushed through the crowd of women and children who filled the space between the lectern of the singers and the eikonostasis on the north side of the church and, standing before the eikon of the Mother of God, read the Nicene Creed. The Bishop commenced the great eucharistic prayer and the climax of the liturgy drew near. After the loaves that remained over from
796 the consecrated bread had been blessed, the Bishop sent me, by the hand
778 of his assistant, a portion bearing the seal IC . XC . NI . KA: how many a
262 holy custom have we forfeited in exchanging the *artos* of scripture and
783 primitive tradition for the *azymes* which bear no evident relation to the common bread which one bakes and breaks at home, or to the daily toil of ordinary men and women. In Greece the bread and the wine
[793] that are brought to the altar are the very same as those which are eaten and drunk at home, and such loaves as remain over after the distribution of the blessed bread—the *antidoron* (literally, 'instead of the gift')—go to the parish priest; so, we may recall, the English Prayer Book requires that: "the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten. . . . And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated the Curate shall have it to his own use."

Came the solemn pronouncement of the Lord's words: "This is my body. . . . This is my blood", and the great cry "Thine of thine own we offer to thee . . ." and then the Bishop knelt before the holy table and called upon God to "send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit", while the singers softly intoned their hymn of adoring praise, and the holy people of God stood with bowed heads in the pools of sunlight, veiled by the slowly spiralling haze of incense.

796 In some parts of Greece where movements such as the Brotherhood
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of Life have been most active, there have, as we shall see in a later chapter, been certain changes in liturgical practice during recent years: very often now the celebrant reads in an audible voice the whole of the *anaphora*, or great eucharistic prayer, which the rubric directs him to say *mystikos*—mystically, or secretly—and the whole congregation kneels at the invocation of the Holy Spirit. None of these influences had as yet reached this remote corner of New Greece, however, and the liturgy was still celebrated at Dasoto after the fashion which caused Robert de Dreux, in the seventeenth century, to observe that "it is not easy to see all that they do when they say mass, because the celebrant is hidden by a screen which shuts off the altar, and only shows himself three or four times". This, however, is a topic to which we shall have occasion to return. 796 788 178

The Lord's Prayer (like the Creed) was recited by a girl, and there were some thirty communicants including several children borne in the arms of their mothers—a familiar sight this in every Greek parish church. When the liturgy was ended, and the Bishop had distributed the blessed bread to the whole congregation, I observed some twenty of those who had communicated kneel before the royal doors while their father in God read a brief prayer of absolution. I have referred elsewhere to contemporary Greek practice in regard to the use of the mystery of confession. In the country districts at least, where confessors are rare, this is by no means as uniform as some are apt to suppose, or as might be inferred from the customs which obtain among the Russians of the diaspora, in Paris and elsewhere, with whom the sacrament has tended in recent times to become an obligatory part of the preparation for holy communion. 796 782 852 788 783 796

When one has fasted as a Christian one feasts as a Christian—in Greece at least. 796 [785]

> Then for their Festivals [says Dr. Covel] . . . there is not one that appears there but will contribute something, as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at our old Whitsun-Ales, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival; and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the Virgin Mary, or any other

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

The liturgical movement in the west is nothing less than a reassertion of the true nature of the liturgy and of its place in the life of the Church, springing from a recovered vision of the nature of the Christian mystery, and from the realisation that dogma and scripture can never be isolated from the living liturgical tradition of the worshipping community without serious impoverishment and distortion. Its scope embraces a far wider field than the province of the liturgiologist, and though it is commonly associated with such 'ecclesiastical' matters as the purifying of the traditional chant and the reform of ceremonial, it is ultimately concerned with fundamental theological realities. Herein lies the secret of the widespread influence of the movement—an influence which although it has been most profound within the bounds of the Roman communion has yet extended in some measure to German Lutherans, French and Scottish Calvinists and others scarcely less remote from Old Rome. The movement is inextricably bound up with the return, now manifest in many different quarters, to a truly theological approach to biblical exegesis, and a recovered awareness that the ancient fathers are not so dead as some would have them be. 788

Dom Olivier Rousseau (whose *Histoire du Mouvement liturgique* affords an admirable survey of the origins and later development of the movement throughout western Christendom) has justly observed that so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned there can be no question of a liturgical movement, for her piety has never deviated from her worship.

I have already had occasion to refer to certain reforming tendencies which are exercising a growing influence upon the liturgical life of the Greek Church at the present time. Father Eusebius Matthopoulos never wearied of expounding the significance of the divine liturgy to the multitudes who flocked to hear him in every city of Old Greece, and one of the primary aims of the Brotherhood which this great preacher and evangelist founded at the beginning of the present century has always been the reverent celebration of the holy mysteries. One has but to compare the manner in which the holy eucharist is celebrated at the Metropolis in Athens, or the little chapel dedicated to St. Catherine above the outer harbour at the Piraeus, with the use which still obtains in the average Macedonian village church, to realise something of the progress that has been made within a generation. 788 178 [794]

While, however, one may in a certain sense speak of a liturgical movement within the Greek Church to-day, it is important to recognise how restricted is its scope when compared with recent developments

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788 in western Christendom. The very limitations of this Greek 'liturgical
178 movement' illustrate the Roman Catholic historian's contention that the Orthodox Church has never lost her hold upon certain important truths which we in the west are only now, after long centuries of neglect, beginning to recover and make our own.

788 The word *leitourgia* had in classical Greek the meaning of a public
796 service or duty—it might be building a wall or fitting out a hollow ship
[192] for a naval expedition. Despite the specifically religious associations which the word has acquired through later usage, it is still sometimes employed in this quite general sense. I remember, for example, being told on one occasion in a small provincial town of northern Greece that the municipal school was not *liturgising* that morning: was not performing its liturgy, or service.

For the Christian, likewise, the liturgy which he fulfils every Sunday in his parish church is a public service; an action performed on behalf not of any terrestrial *polis* but of that city which, as Augustine puts it, is Christ's body of which Christ is the head. The holy eucharist in particular, the service to which the Greek Christian commonly refers as 'the divine liturgy', and upon which the whole of the liturgy, in the wider sense of that word, centres, is supremely the characteristic act of the Church: a corporate action in which every member of the one body takes part. Nor is it those now on earth who alone participate in the eucharistic liturgy. It is not merely the bishop, priest, deacon and reader who, with the remainder of the *laos*—the holy people of God—have their peculiar service to offer within the setting of the one oblation. The saints and the angels, the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, no less than the earthly ministers of Christ's body have each their several liturgy to perform; the whole company of the heavenly Sion is present and active in every village church or hilltop chapel where the holy and ineffable mysteries are fulfilled and where the King of kings and Lord of lords comes forth to be sacrificed and given for food to the faithful.

For many centuries now, so far as the west is concerned, this aspect of the eucharist as the characteristic action of the whole Christian community has tended to be obscured. The passing of the austere Latin of the ancient liturgies as a language "understanded of the people" and the banishing of theology to the schools gradually brought about the virtual exclusion of the laity from any active participation in the

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788 the eikonostasis is commonly no greater than suffices to permit of the
796 prostrations of the celebrant, and, in a parish church, the laity occupy
the greater part of the space beneath the dome, and press against the
346 great screen which bears the eikons, many of the congregation are thus
within two or three yards of the holy table itself.

But what, the reader may ask, of the eikonostasis? Does not this solid screen, pierced only by three doors, extending right across the whole width of the church, cut off the laity from all effective participation in the action taking place within the sanctuary quite as much as mere physical remoteness? Does it not tend, as has been asserted by Dom Gregory Dix, to force "upon the eastern liturgies the character of two simultaneous services, the one proceeding outside the screen for the people, conducted chiefly by the deacon; the other—the real liturgical action—proceeding inside the screen conducted by the celebrant"?

788 That there is an element of truth in such contentions may be ad-
796 mitted: witness a tendency which is steadily gaining ground in Greece
to-day. In many town churches (with the exception of a few provincial
346 cathedrals liturgical reform has as yet made little headway in the
178 country districts), the curtain which could be drawn across the space
above the double doors in the centre of the eikonostasis has now fallen into disuse—at any rate so far as the eucharistic liturgy is concerned. The doors themselves are as a rule only about three feet in height, and it has long been customary to draw these curtains (thus screening the sanctuary completely from the view of the people) at two points during the divine liturgy, at both of which there is much coming and going about the holy table; at the placing of the holy gifts upon the altar immediately after the Great Entrance; and again during the communion of the ministers. This custom has now been abandoned in many places. In a few churches the doors themselves have been removed as, for instance, at Aghia Katerini, Piraeus (where the liturgy is celebrated with a reverence and propriety unsurpassed in all Greece), and, I am told, in the chapel of the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople.

788 When all is said, however, the effects of the eikonostasis have been
796 grossly exaggerated by western writers, too many of whom have been
content to reiterate *ad nauseam* the strictures of their predecessors in the
346 field of controversy: strictures grounded not infrequently upon the
most superficial acquaintance with the liturgical practice of eastern Christendom. The divisive properties of the eikonostasis are most marked in a large church when the space before the royal doors normally

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792 have been allowed to rust these many years, and armed resistance,
727 however effective it may have been a century ago against a lightly armed assailant, could have availed the monks but little in the face of an enemy equipped with modern artillery. The monasteries lay at the mercy of the *barbaroi*: an easy prey, holding out a tempting prospect of plunder.

Elsewhere in Greece the destruction and pillage of religious houses has been less universal than in the isolated dioceses of the north. The ascetic life still flourishes in many communities scattered amongst the islands and in the Peloponnese; one may still find convents where the unrelenting battle with the powers of darkness is waged with something of its ancient ardour and where the monk is still manifestly the guardian of the walls; but such houses, it must be confessed, are now few and far between.

792 It must not, however, be supposed that the present decline of Greek monasticism is wholly attributable to the effects of a decade of war.
178 Long before the storm burst upon them in 1940 the Greek monasteries
659 had, with few exceptions, been reduced to a sorry plight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century many convents were very wealthy. Since then the foundations of their economy have been undermined by the loss of their properties situated in Rumania, the Caucasus and elsewhere, and as the result of a series of confiscations by the Hellenic government dating from 1833 onwards. Although a portion of the wealth made available by these confiscations has gone to swell the General Ecclesiastical Fund, and so to benefit the work of the Church, this anti-monastic legislation continues to arouse acrimonious controversy not only among the monks but (for rather different reasons) among churchmen in general.

There are, nevertheless, few laymen who would oppose the diversion of monastic property to the furtherance of social and educational projects and the improvement of the condition of the parochial ministry.
792 The contemplative life has few champions outside the *skitai* of the holy
178 mountain. There are many who value the monasteries for their former contribution to the life of the nation, for their traditions of hospitality, and for their archaeological interest, but few indeed who now regard them as centres of spiritual power. The traditional monasticism has come to be looked upon—at any rate in the towns—as an out-of-date phenomenon, quite irrelevant to the needs of the present time.

This is true not least of many of the leaders of the new movements,

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many of whom are outspoken critics of the monks. Everywhere the demand is for *activity* (in the western sense of that word): for training preachers, confessors and catechists, and for raising the standards of clerical education. The monks are looked upon as idle drones who make no contribution to the life of the whole body. Inevitably, such views (which are widespread to-day) have had a marked effect upon monastic recruitment, and postulants are but few. All over Greece the monasteries lie abandoned and falling into ruin; rambling buildings in remote mountain sites visited only by shepherds, or inhabited by a solitary *kalogeros*, more farmer than monk, tending his vineyards and his olive groves and watching over his flocks and herds.

It would, nevertheless, be rash to assert that the new movements which have sprung up and taken root within the last two generations are anti-monastic in character, however hostile they may seem to be towards the traditional forms of the monastic life. It is tempting to compare a society such as the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë, for example, to the friars who made their appearance in western Europe more than seven centuries ago and who were frequently no more sympathetic towards the old monasticism than is the Greek theologian of the present time. I shall have occasion to describe this brotherhood in some detail in a later chapter; here I would but remind my reader of the fact that its founder was himself a monk of Megaspelaion, grounded in the traditional observance of that monastery, and that its members (though they do not bind themselves by permanent vows) are celibate priests or laymen, living under a common rule. Despite its novel constitution and organisation the movement retains much of the spirit of the old asceticism, and, in some respects at least, has more of the nature of a reassertion of the fundamental demands of the ascetic life in a form appropriate to the needs of the present time than a denial of their abiding value.

Soon after my arrival in Salonica in 1948, I was warned of the errors of the Zoë brothers and their sympathisers by a very idiorrhythmic monk, who assured me that these unhappy innovators were seeking to persuade men that the path that led to salvation was strait and the gateway narrow: such language seemed to have a familiar ring!

If we confine our view to the relics of the old monasticism it must be confessed that the prospect for the future is melancholy in the extreme. Everywhere the old order is passing away; amidst the crumbling walls a few survivors linger on as aliens in an unfamiliar world. But what of

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the new wine that is to be found in abundance within the religious societies? Is a new monasticism seeking forms appropriate to a changed environment? It is too early as yet to speak with any confidence, and yet there are signs that out of the present ferment may come something not so very far removed from the traditional patterns of the ascetic life.

Assuredly the passion for activity will have an end. It is but one aspect of that fascination which the feverish culture of the west holds for the modern Greek. Even now there are close personal links between the Zoë Brotherhood and certain convents in Old Greece and the islands where the ancient warfare is still waged with something of its first fiery ardour, and these may well prove to be of great importance for the future of Greek monasticism. We may be certain that the apostolic zeal and devotion which is so abundantly manifest within the religious societies will in time bring about a new awakening to the continuing need for men and women who will give themselves wholly to prayer. Then, indeed, we may hope to see a widespread revival of the monastic life that will people the ancient convents which now lie desolate and abandoned, and bring again the anchorites to the barren heights of Staghi.

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Great) cannot be said to characterise the Greek clergy of the present day. 793

It is, however, frequently asserted that the town clergy are for the most part ill-educated, worldly, idle, more concerned with fees than with spiritual things; and, while there are, happily, many and notable exceptions to such generalisations, it must be confessed that there is some truth in these charges. The education of many of the urban pastors is woefully inadequate, and a lamentably small proportion of those educated in the ecclesiastical schools—and to whom, one might suppose, the Church would turn in recruiting her ministry for the urban parishes —seem ready to offer themselves for ordination. 369 [871]

This leakage is in part explained by the late canonical age for ordination, but the reluctance of many well-educated men to become parish priests is also due in no small measure to the precarious economic situation of the clergy. "Our diocese", a Greek bishop wrote to me in 1949, "lacks educated clergy . . . no eagerness is to be observed on the part of the laity to attain to the priestly office, on account of the poor, indeed ridiculous stipend which is at present paid to the clergy." Other causes of this lack of eagerness may be discerned in the style of dress, the untrimmed hair and beard, and general manner of life which custom continues to demand of the clergy (and which are often thoroughly distasteful to the young graduate of the ecclesiastical school), as well as in the abundant opportunities open to the lay theologian. It is, perhaps, hardly surprising that the provision of educated priests to serve in the urban parishes of Greece is a matter which in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities is of absolutely primary importance at the present time, and which is receiving the most serious consideration. [465] [178] [794]

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mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin, the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least, far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping

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persuade them that they must quickly be gone. "The poor Archbishop", it is related, "cried out like a child when my Lord of London told him he must Depart." Clearly, the Metropolitan of Thebais was no theologian and felt himself quite out of his depth in controversies about the 'grand Dogma'. Nor was it otherwise with the majority of his contemporaries: "From a Native Greek or Easterling", writes Covel, "who never was out of his country, (though he was there a Man of some Dignity) I never could meet with any tolerable reasoning or answer towards the clearing of this point. Many of my acquaintance would avoid any set discourse about these matters, desiring rather to be quiet and not to embarrass themselves about these, φρικτὰ μυστήρια (as they called them) dreadfull or hidden mysteries."

For all his want of book-learning, however, the bishop's instincts were sound. In transcribing Chrysostom and Basil ("a copie . . . badly spelt and badly accented", says Humfrey Wanley) rather than hazarding a personal opinion, he and Gennadius were appealing not to the private views of two theologians, but to the common faith of all Orthodox Christians; Chrysostom and Basil did but bear witness to this common tradition.

From the day when darkness fell upon the empire of Constantine down to our own time, the Greek Christian has held fast with remarkable tenacity to the faith committed to his charge. He has, for the most part, been little capable of expounding this faith—certainly not in a manner likely to carry conviction with the western theologian. Nevertheless, throughout the dark night of Turkish dominion he has continued to cling at any rate to the outward forms of sound doctrine, and to live to the best of his power in the liturgical tradition inherited from an earlier and more creative epoch. This was no time for unprofitable speculation and the subtleties of the vanished schools, but for striving to preserve the royal treasure entrusted to his keeping.

Now, in our own day, the faithfulness with which through long centuries of oppression a host of unremembered parish priests and simple Christians held fast the traditions of the fathers is beginning to bear fruit. The Greek theologian, furnished once more with a scientific equipment not inferior to that of his western colleague, is rediscovering the marvellous riches of the incomparable treasure locked away these many centuries, and entering into his proper heritage. Unlike the Russian theologian of the diaspora—upon whom enforced contact with western ways of thought has already acted as a powerful stimulus—the

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[For a discussion of culture change in six rural villages see category 116, pp. 85-115 and 120-146.]

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On
433 the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

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[Village Life]

large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant 361
farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little 166
outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the 464
plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less 178
and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between 433
hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets.

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, 167
especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a 464
geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from 178
home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek 433
emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one [191]
of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture.

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration [648]
which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of

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[Village Life]

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their tradi-
[458] tional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[642] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[653] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[701] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas
[625] attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by launching an ambitious program of public works, especially road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

369 437 609 [571] Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 463 555 871 461 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong. [178]

471 554 461 [427] The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

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cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping 578
of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present- 669
day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of
the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in [178]
the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the bal- 669
ance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of [703]
the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Com- 669
munist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by finan- 648
cial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[P. 176]

CHAPTER 5

PUBLIC LIFE

Public Administration

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A leading official of the American economic mission in Greece said to me, when I asked about the efficiency of Greek administration: "We got absolutely nowhere trying to improve the civil service. It's the same as ever; but then, if all those people were not drawing government salaries, they would be on relief, so perhaps it doesn't make very much difference." The young man had been in Greece for a little more than a year, and during that time it was perhaps true that no very perceptible changes had come to the Greek administrative machine. Over a longer pe-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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riod, however, important changes have taken place. In particular, a group of comparatively youthful economists and statisticians have risen to key posts in many of the ministries, and are able to advise their superiors in the light of a type of professional training and in accordance with intellectual concepts which ten years ago were noticeably absent from the policy-making levels of the Greek civil service. Even if the execution of official policy is not always effective, ideas of what government ought to do and can do and how to go about doing it have undergone radical change. 647 178

Politicians and civil servants of the immediate postwar period in Greece grew up in a time when society and the economy were expected to run themselves, subject only to sporadic official interference. The painful inadequacy of this outlook became apparent in 1947, when the emergency relief and reconstruction undertaken by UNRRA began to taper off before the economy had been restored to running order. In this situation, the Greek government lacked ideas as much as the means with which to try to cope with the problems confronting the country. All too clearly, automatic restoration to something like the prewar social and economic pattern was out of the question. Planning and massive organization of effort by government agencies were still needed if serious collapse was to be avoided. 647 178 433 177

The American aid mission, to be sure, stepped into the gap created by the withdrawal of the British and of UNRRA, and attempted far more energetically than its predecessors to educate Greek administrative personnel to new ways of thinking. Even before 1947, foreigners – mostly American and British – had insisted on making plans for the development of the Greek economy, and a small number of Greeks had been drawn into the attempt. Yet by and large, it was the foreigners who made plans, and the Greeks were consulted afterward. This remained more or less the case until 1950 or 1951; but in propor-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 tion as the Americans reduced the scale of their economic aid
177 after 1952 and withdrew from detailed supervision of the minis-
[433 tries, the task of making plans was transferred to Greek hands.
178] Some senior Greek civil servants, veterans from 1945 and 1946, welcomed the new scope and authority thus entrusted to them; but in the main the men who inherited the new role were not the same persons who ten or even five years before had occupied leading positions in the Greek civil service. Between 1947 and 1952, when American advisers were introduced into nearly all Greek ministries, these impatient foreigners were able to play a major part in determining promotions and key personnel assignments within the ministries. Many a young American economist found himself at first dealing with men much older than himself, men whose ideas often had little relation to those he had imbibed during graduate training in some American university. This regularly led to serious friction, for senior Greek officials were not much inclined to go to school to cocksure youths scarcely more than half their own age. But bright young men could be found in the lower ranks of the civil service who either already shared the concepts of their American counterparts or quickly acquired some familiarity with them. Many such men were sent to the United States for additional technical training, or visited Washington to observe American administrative methods at first hand.

These persons naturally seemed to the Americans to be just the type to run things; and the voice of an American adviser was sufficiently powerful to secure rapid advancement for men he favored. In this fashion a new generation of officials came rapidly to the fore within the Greek ministries, while many of their former superiors were shunted off to unimportant posts or else retired.

647 By 1956, therefore, the economic ministries of the Greek civil
433 service were sprinkled with men of a quite new type, some-
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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times of high ability and energy, many of them well at home in the language of post-Keynesian economics. A national statistical service was organized to provide them with data for their calculations; and innumerable plans and surveys were made, priorities agreed upon, and projects for future expansion worked out in varying degrees of detail. 647 433 178

Two aims dominated most of the planning of these men. One was to improve the country's balance of payments, partly by producing goods domestically that had hitherto been imported, and partly by developing new exports (especially minerals) or enlarging old ones. The second general aim was to expand employment. Military considerations figured only indirectly in their calculations, and helping political and personal friends or penalizing opponents played almost no role at all. This was a great departure, for in the prewar years, whatever economic planning the Greek government had undertaken was heavily colored by these calculations, and paid little attention to broader aims which were assumed to be beyond deliberate manipulation. [661]

Conversations with representatives of this rising group of civil servants gave me the impression that they were more buoyantly optimistic about the future of Greece than the American economists in the aid mission. Greek economic planners were not much inclined to worry about inflation and disbalanced government budgets: they wanted to see new dams, irrigation canals, factories and mines, and felt that if inflation was the easiest way to finance the internal costs of such construction, then inflation was preferable to standing still and waiting until private savings or a government surplus was on hand to pay for the new investment. I also gained the impression that they felt themselves embarked upon a new adventure: striving for conscious management of the direction and pace of economic growth on a nation-wide basis. Moreover, they found

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 the game of manipulating the levers from behind the scenes a
433 fascinating and entirely absorbing enterprise – advising minis-
178 ters, talking back to the Americans, and, as they hoped, saving their country from age-old poverty and hopelessness.

Whether their optimism was well founded, and whether or not the priorities the Greeks have decided upon are the best, seem to me a good deal less important than the fact that such a spirit was abroad at all. Mistakes have been made, and will almost surely be made in the future; but the great mistake which paralyzed the government of Greece in the first postwar years – the mistake of not knowing what to do, of having no policy but one of inaction, of waiting for things to pick up by themselves – this mistake at least will not be made as long as the new generation of civil servants remains as a leaven in the economic ministries, and ministers accept their advice. This is a great change from 1945 or 1946, one for which the American economic mission can take a major share of the credit.

647 The transformation of the upper ranges of the bureaucracy
178 in the central ministries in Athens was only faintly reflected in the lower ranks in 1956. In general, a petty official sitting behind his desk continued to exhibit a displeasing servility toward his superiors (at least to their faces) and a corresponding hauteur in dealing with mere members of the public. The besetting weakness of Greek administration has been the unwillingness of superiors to delegate much responsibility to their subordinates, and this feature seemed as strong as ever. Busywork, created by passing papers over a long series of desks for approval or initialing, up and again down the hierarchy of rank, was a feature of many government offices, so much so that it was hard not to believe that official routings had been designed to keep a lot of people occupied rather than to get decisions made. It was this feature of Greek administration that the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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American economist of the aid mission had in mind when he declared that nothing had changed in the civil service. 178

In dealing with the public, Greek civil servants often gave a most unfavorable impression. Aside from the airs they assumed as representatives of authority and power, they frequently seemed not in the least concerned to help an individual solve a problem or attain something to which he was legally entitled. Instead, petty details of paper work – making application with all the correct verbiage on sheets of paper of the right size for easy filing, and so on – these were what seemed to matter; and I felt, more than once, that when an official found some flaw in the papers submitted to him, he took a certain pleasure in rejecting them and ordering the applicant to return some other time with the red tape properly tinted. 647 661

Correctness in details of this sort did, of course, assist in making clerical routine easy, but this was not, I feel sure, the compelling motive. Rather, insistence upon jots and tittles protected a subordinate from criticism by his superior, and at the same time gave him a satisfying sense of his own power as against the public.

On the other hand, when an important man – that is, someone with connections higher up – came along, he claimed and received very special treatment. He was privileged to follow his papers into the inner sanctums of senior officials, thus making sure that prompt action was taken on them. Obstacles were smoothed over and procedural rules were sometimes suspended for a man with influential friends. Foreigners often, though not always, were given the same sort of red-carpet treatment, and were accorded privileges and deference withheld from ordinary Greeks. 647 662 [609]

When a private person had business with a government agency, he would first try to find someone who knew someone

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly 647 effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the 663 American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for [177] American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the [654] agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another [657] branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced 178 highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the re- 631 invigoration of local government. During the war and after- 621 ward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed 647 through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elec- 666 tions were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Che- 621 rasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 631 1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Che- 178 rasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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621 a distinguished man in any company. Authority seemed to rest
631 as naturally upon his shoulders as the callouses rested upon
178 his palms. This easy relation between village officers and the people of their community had definitely not been characteristic in 1947.

621 Local government in Greece was suffering, however, from a
631 chronic and serious handicap. Local authorities lacked funds,
652 and could seldom do anything beyond routine administration without borrowing from some agency of the central government.[1] The result of this situation was to extend greatly the real authority and influence of the central government over local affairs. Village and municipal authorities spent a great deal of time waiting in the anterooms of officials of the central government in the hope of securing money with which to carry through some local improvement.

621 Villages had always depended on the Agricultural Bank or
651 on one of the central ministries for finding money for any im-
652 portant project; cities and towns until 1949 had financed their local expenditures mainly through excise duties imposed upon
178 goods brought into the municipality. Before that year, long
631 lines of peasant carts, waiting their turn at municipal excise stations, were a frequent sight in the outskirts of every town. Internal tariffs were abolished in 1949, however, and the share of the cigarette tax, levied nationally, which was assigned to municipalities in lieu of these excises proved generally inadequate. Town governments were therefore in poor shape financially, and any public improvements that were made came from special grants or loans from the central government.

[633 365] 1. The municipality of Athens, for example, had been insolvent for as long as anyone cared to recall. The problem was such that in 1955 and again in 1956, the Athens Power Company threatened to cut off the supply of electricity to municipal institutions unless some of the back bills were paid.

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

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[178]
[844]

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

[489]

Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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1. This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955-56. It was supported by grants made to me under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Dr. Friedl's husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the research throughout.

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2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250.

[113]

3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim*; Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 241.

[p. 24(A)]

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and 602
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [596]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the [178]
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [621]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro- [582]
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [736]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under [737]
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in. 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/23 cont./

more economical. It distributes the work among all members of the family. The cost of living is low and the depreciation on machinery and working animal is low. The difficulties that usually arise here are as follows: 596 [241]

1. One leader in the family who has the right to command all.

2. Mother-in-law has the complete house work organization. She tells the rest what each has to do. In case she has a special inclination to favor one, the rest have to bear the burden of the work without objection. This usually creates hard feelings and starts the division of the family.

3. Usually the older son has more children than the younger son, and in case one of the sons does not have any, he has to work just as hard for the support of his /24/ brother's children. Things of this sort usually create hard feelings and lead to the disorganization of the family.

4. Often the father of the family, taking advantage of the good cooperation of his sons, spends money for his own good time, like drinking, dressing better and traveling. With the increase of modern facilities and modern customs the compound family is disappearing. [178]

Marriage and Courtship.

It was the custom for many years for the parents to hunt and find a suitable wife for their son. Usually the girl had to satisfy the parents' desires. The son had to consent whether he wanted her or not. That was the accepted custom. This is still true with only 40% of the marriages and is rapidly disappearing. The young men are looking ahead of the time for their future partner. In dancing squares, during holiday celebrations and at wedding ceremonies they have a chance to express to each other their admiration and their preference. Nothing is done publicly so as to avoid gossip since the old customs still prevail. The young men very often form a group and sing by the window of their girl friend. If the father suspects anything the punishment is heavy. 584 178 [626] [832]

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl. 584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain. 178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression. 178 583

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in. [165]
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/63 cont./

Unfortunately the women lack even the simplest /64/ knowledge in nutrition and always prepare an unbalanced diet, although available food stuffs are enough to prepare a balanced diet. Thus the diet is poor. The local doctor always mentioned the fact that medicines will not cure the disease unless the people have a diet suitable to their work and conditions. 146

The question is not how to teach them a balanced diet and nutrition but how to use advantageously the existing food materials and to study the economic conditions so as to ascertain a feasible program for balancing their diet. It was one of the mistakes of the home demonstration center which started teaching them science and nutrition, instead of trying to find out what they had and how they were using it so as to improve their methods of utilizing it better. [654]

PART V. HEALTH.

Home Remedies. The people of Megali Vrisi can never forget what they learned from their parents regardless of education and new environment. Both the doctor and the local nurse would advise the women how to take care of the sick, but still one would find them trying their own methods before attempting the doctors or the nurses. Through experience the farmers found certain plants that have definite results for every disease and /65/ sickness. For a cold they drink boiled camomile. For stomach troubles they boil the roots of a plant and drink the juice. For boils they put on boiled onion, boiled linseed and fresh cow manure. 757 178

Regardless of whether they have the nurse and the doctor in their village, in case of sickness they will consult first the experienced neighbor and as a last resort they will consult the nurse or the doctor. [759]

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 594
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

/73 cont./ 178 ●
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. 476
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 621
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built [345]
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [533]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [735]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [314]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [185]
project which was started by this group has led to the development [526]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies.

873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too.

789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming.

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

777 [763]

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he

353 778 776

[Caucasus]

/86 cont./

misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178]

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[167]

/87 cont./
impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

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Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

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Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born

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/94 cont./
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading newspapers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of community organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf, or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages, buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than anything else.

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of their occupation but rather because of certain peculiar personal qualities which they possess. Such a cast of characters is very evident in Megali Vrisi. Most of these are due to their ability to speak fluently, or to tell stories, read and interpret the news from the papers or forecast future events. Some of these rank the lowest in the economic scale and their influence is not effective beyond the village boundaries. These personalities become the central guides for the decisions of many persons. Both Thracian and Caucasians have these types of personalities. 156 554

Community organization. The village of Megali Vrisi is a loosely organized village. The various groups and associations are independently organized and function without any cooperation of the other whatsoever. There is competition and constant conflict as to which one is the leading group in the village, but in spite of the conflicts and lack of cooperation among the groups, compared with the neighboring villages /101/ the village is the leading one. This unexplainable progress is mostly due to the constructive and not the destructive type of competition of the different groups, which instead of hindering them is enabling them to get ahead. According to Professor Sanderson, "The coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization insofar as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of community organization in the every day life of its people is apparent." The wholesome competition among the different groups for accomplishing their group projects may be due to the following: 621 476 178

1. Within every member of the different organizations or associations there is an inherent feeling of mutual aid and that the progress of each group is the progress of their village.

2. There are persons who hold office in more than two groups and thus there is this indirect cooperation.

3. It is an accepted principle that each group follows its well-defined program without expecting it to be considered as the only one that needs support.

/102/

4. The different organizations are a part of the people. Nothing is introduced by outsiders nor advocated by any one person, but through centuries have become an accepted principle of their community life to watch their community improve from all around. 621 476 178

Conclusions to be drawn from the village of Megali Vrisi. 621 105

1. The new village has two distinct type of people with their pattern of customs.

2. The Government's attempt to mould the customs of these groups into one may face difficulties at the beginning.

3. Both groups semi-primitive in the sense of having:

a. Patriarchal pattern type of family.
b. Father having the buying and selling
c. Both women and children doing farm work, unending toil of women.
d. Education or training rests with the grandparents.
e. Agriculture for making a living
/103/ f. Common land and pasture; no ownership.
g. Lack of knowledge of fertilizers.
h. Magic strongly believed by both groups.
i. Purpose of marriage was to have the labor of women and for raising children.
j. Land divided in many patches and scattered.
k. The "Gerousia" as the only powerful and effective group in community government.
l. Religion of paganistic type.
m. Business in its primitive form of exchanging goods.
n. Mutual aid very characteristic.

The low cash income, backward farm techniques, with too much emphasis on the subsidized wheat crop, poor housing and household equipment, inadequately balanced diet, disregard of proper sanitation and other preventive measures against disease, inadequate medical attention, absence of recreational opportunities, impractical religion, slow educational processes without vital

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
509 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
721 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

178 To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of
156 living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as
511 a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of
509 God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until
727 the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and
746 to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated
[173] to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed 164
gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors 159
in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village 562
image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much 554
freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. [831]
There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many
women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance
of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the
reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, 732
blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even
jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is
therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete.
Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability
to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from [551]
marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect,
and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people
are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA
one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he
could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted
on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the
Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through 178
lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the 744
energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT [164]
campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware [513]
of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer
nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds
were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and
has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes,
since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and 751
health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a 515
matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is
a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing
underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face
and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the 514
situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported
that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a com- 264
munion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special 594

262 369 much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not 262 785 allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the pro- 796 vinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the [197] latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

262 Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential 511 for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set [196] up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

178 Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want 185 is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has [196] lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others.* And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

abstract calculation, is meaningless to people for whom experience 178
is body-patterned. More than this, such plans represent external 185
limits and directives, and to this extent are hampering and even frightening. Charts and diagrams are now common in Greek books, but the lineal diagram as a blueprint of action is not within the framework of Greek life; the nearest most Greeks come to a diagram is a map, which is diagrammatic of something concrete. Foresight is good, and is extolled in proverbs; preparation is always present. But this is following along a known trail, repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example, when a girl is 10 or 12, she may start working on her dowry; a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life, to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way, a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal, arising from the rhythm of life; it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform.

This attitude presents difficulties, such as, for example, in indus- 178
trialization in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not [25]
deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule; they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without supported expectations.

Again, Greeks are motivated by demonstrated, concrete results, not by diagrams of future benefits, or by statistics. The great success [144]
of the DDT programme was due to its quick, clear, obvious results. Much of the success of new practices initiated under the auspices of the Near East Foundation may also be attributed to their principle of demonstration.

Another attitude concerned with the introduction of change is that of coping with what is there. Americans are ready to change anything that does not measure up to specifications, or even anything that can be exchanged for something more efficient, more convenient, newer. Greeks accustom themselves to inconveniences and cope with them; they do not do away with them. Greeks, after a visit to the United States, see their countrymen putting up with the same difficulties, the same time-wasting operations, the same discomforts, but when they ask: "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used; a chipped dish can still hold food, a suit may have a few spots and still be clean, a woman may have a number of ills and still have health, and people can still travel when the steamships are crowded three times their capacity, and cannot provide the beds for which the passengers have paid; why make a change? As there is no superlative, so there are not exclusive oppositives, and one learns to cope with the common ailments, the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; 879 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre- [895] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the [854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem- 178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation- 577 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There [312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water [365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse. 178

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions. 178 203 831

There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future. 178 184 [789]

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings. 178 476

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 57 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [807] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing [570] cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

199 476 577 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece. There is pride in the many co-operatives, spread throughout the country; there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there, and there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means, that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village, to be prevented from destroying its resources, and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare. There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government. All this is true. According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units, the Greeks were, and to some extent are now completely co-operative. Families and villages were responsible for their own indigent; a prominent peasant would impoverish himself to build a village school or improve the water system. They made their own decisions and carried them out; they chose their own leaders. The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century. But later, the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern, taking no account of the existing units of co-operation, or of the existing patterns of self-participation. The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact, in co-operating. The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair. Actually the rate, which was eight per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928, and is now as high as 18 per cent, with incidental fees, which peasants get from the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set with the welfare of the farmers in view, or according to their decision. In 1936, more than 3,000 of the 3,761 were credit co-operatives under the central supervision of the state. The others, such as the producers' co-operatives, were mainly compulsory. Such were the citrus growers' associations in Crete, the wine growers' association in Samos, Levkas, Attica, and Chalkis. There are now marketing co-operatives and machine-owning co-operatives, as well as a growing number of processing co-operatives. In general, the co-operatives are firmly controlled by the central government and the farmers are not even allowed to co-operate to the extent of electing their own officers. As a result, the attitude toward external authority has been evoked, and, in most cases, co-operation has to be compulsory as all government legislation has to be compulsory, and the so-called co-operative decisions are circumvented like all government decisions. Another attitude has also been evoked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed the dictatorship; deprived of responsible decision and participation, these people fell into the pattern of accepted dependency; such people, unaware that they are "co-operating", say: "The government is

178 476 [664] 178 474 476 [652] 178 474 476 829

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
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taking good care of us." The government itself, aware of this shifting of responsibility and lack of participation, urges the people, in its organ, *The Battle for Survival*, to work for their own welfare and to turn to the State only for guidance, or when they can do no more for themselves. It tries to put this co-operation on a par with war, both in the title of its bi-weekly publication, and in the phrasing of its admonition. But the disrupting centralization, the hated interference, remains. "Compulsory free labour" is demanded of the farmers, and there is a whole class of compulsory co-operatives for the betterment of the villages. These are circumvented with the ingenuity born of long experience. However we also have a recent report of a village where everyone gets up when the church bell rings at four in the morning, to work, without compulsion, on some village project, with pride and enthusiasm. The work is done under the leadership of a villager respected for his ability and disinterestedness. It appears that when the co-operative pattern which is already present is utilized, the villagers will work together for the common welfare.

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1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
[131] Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
161 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
[311] has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
[156] Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
[181] three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through
[167] cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take
[829] up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the seminomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

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[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

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Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

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marine. As of November 1957, the Greek merchant fleet numbered 541 vessels, whose tonnage totaled 1,510,535 tons. By 1961 its 1,110 ships amounted to 5,893,652 tons. 505

In addition to being a potential economic asset, the sea makes its influence felt in a psychological sense. "The Romans built roads but the Greeks always used the sea" was an observation made to me by a retired Greek admiral. The more one thinks about this simple statement of difference between two great nations of antiquity, the clearer become the varied bases for their greatness. Rome, the conqueror of the European continent and much of the Mediterranean world, held on to her territorial conquests for centuries, but the lasting conquests of ancient Greece were not those of territory, which she also conquered from time to time, but the victory of a superior culture. The Romans were administrators of subject lands; the Greeks became traders and merchants who colonized along the coasts of the whole known world, accumulated their wealth in cities, and maintained a competitive individualism much in evidence even today. 174 823 [157]

From this tradition of the sea the Greek has gained an outward look, sometimes carried to extremes. "He knows about every country but his own" commented a Westerner who had spent many years in Greece. 181 186

An old, old peasant put the way he felt toward the sea and what it meant to him in these words: 823

"Look over the sea," he said, pointing to the shining water in the distance. "Do you know anything farther than that? Going over the sea means going over to America. In the olden days, under the pressure of need, one stole from the other and the other fought back and killed and so got out of the country. Only the goat thieves and the peasants were left. For us village people, 'farther than the sea' means not just emigrating but also means bringing in. We can use it to improve life. Here near our village we have a waterfall and big water supply; we can have electricity and irrigation but we need scientists from across the sea to tell us how to use what we have. Then more people can live on the land and will not need to emigrate."

There are many Greeks, especially women, in isolated villages who have never seen the sea. Even for them it seems to have a deep emotional meaning, for, as one Greek folklorist explained to me, there is an unconscious worship of water all over Greece. A twenty-one-year-old peasant girl on her way to relatives in Athens rode with us from her village in the heart of the Peloponnesos. This was her first trip away from home. We stopped on the brow of a mountain while she had her first view of the sea. She who had ridden with us for many miles, shy and silent, looked out to the wide indigo horizon and cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" (The sea! the sea!), and then subsided, wide-eyed. It was obvious to all of us that she was deeply

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181 186 823 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives, only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 823 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (January 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering himself fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

[755] [778] [789]

823 776 539 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most persistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

[195] [502]

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One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns." 823 195 539

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea. 823 776 346 782 502 778

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her. 823

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today. 184 181

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on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[8]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

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earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they substitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

> The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism. They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave. He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.
>
> One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.
>
> It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P 191]
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X

Mutual Aid and Cooperatives in Rural Greece

The Greek village provides many evidences of mutual aid, although the Greeks are not renowned for their cooperative tendencies. Indeed, those commenting on Greek national character usually state that the Greeks cooperate only in a crisis. If there is no crisis at hand, they have to make one in order to get the job done. This view is partially correct, since some examples of mutual aid respond directly to a sense of urgency, while others follow traditional patterns at a leisurely pace. For instance, a group of potato diggers near Neochori were brought together to meet a sudden need. 476 181

A Potato-digging Group near Thebes

It was March 28, 1953. We had turned off the main highway between Thebes and Athens and were headed eastward along a secondary road in search of some villagers whose relatives in California had insisted that we carry their greetings in person. Before we had found the right village, we noticed more than forty people busily harvesting potatoes in a nearby field. We stopped the car, walked into the field, and were greeted by Yannes P. Katseles, the owner, who lives in Neochori, the village just up the way. The men were digging the potatoes; the women were picking them up and cleaning them; and a commission merchant standing on his truck was 244 476 [123] [462]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

244 issuing invitations usually avoid other women with whom they have had
476 a recent quarrel, although they do not hesitate to invite two women on good
578 terms with the hostess but not on good terms with each other. These women can usually stay far enough apart in such a large group that they do not have to associate with each other or air their differences. Men are said to be less inclined to let previous disagreements affect their invitations, even inviting those with whom they may have sharp differences. Their main concern is to get the job done. Just the same, they rely chiefly upon relatives and neighbors. The women in Yannes' living room all agreed that there was no one in the village who had the reputation for not paying back the work that others had contributed, which shows the seriousness with which this obligation is assumed and discharged.

124 But no interview in a Greek village is a one-sided affair. The visitor has to answer questions if he has asked them. Never have I heard questions fly quicker and faster than on this visit to Neochori when the women sensed that I had finished my inquiry about potato diggers. My interpreter was quizzed about her life in Athens, where she got her clothes, how she had learned to drive a car, and about members of her family. I was asked about my income in America, what kind of kitchen my wife had, and about many details which she could have answered much better than I if she had been able to accompany us up from Athens on that particular afternoon. This
[181] occasion showed that when the Greek villagers began to express themselves on their home ground, in a familiar setting, they stood out as inquisitive, interesting personalities who shared many of the same concerns as fellow human beings in other countries despite their noticeable differences of dress, speech, and other cultural manifestations.

000 In driving back to Athens we had to pass the same potato field which had been the cause of this excursion. I thought at the time that a study, at a later date, of changes in the mutual-aid groups would tell much about changes in Greek life in general. Will mechanization eliminate the necessity of group harvesting? Will economic considerations so rule a later day that Yannes will invite only efficient workers from throughout the village, or will he continue to use relatives and neighbors because of his close social bonds with them?

Traditional Patterns of Mutual Aid

476 Throughout rural Greece one finds many examples of mutual aid. Even
539 proverbs attest to the value of cooperation: "bean by bean the bag is filled"; "many streams make up the river"; "many stones knock down the walnut." Union in strength is stressed as well: "where there are many, God's blessing"; "where there are many, many riches"; "the many are the ones who will take Constantinople."

It is understood, too, that each party will live up to his end of the bar-

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

XIII

[P 241]

The Village School

What Will Happen to Us If We Can't Read?

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"I was making a distribution of goods in the village of Tsarakina, near Trikkala, during the days of the guerrilla war," explained Elle Adossides, who is well known for her humanitarian activities during and after World War II. "Four field policemen were helping with the distribution. Suddenly a boy of about ten years appeared before me. His legs were like matches from undernourishment, his face was yellow, his arms were bare, and he was dressed in flour bags. With a determined look, such as only a child can assume at times, he spoke up and said: 'I too have something to ask.' 'Something to eat? Some chocolate perhaps?' I inquired, in what I thought was a kindly voice. 'No,' he said impatiently and then raised his head, giving me a piercing glance, 'what we need is a teacher, books, pencils, and paper. What will happen to us if we can't read and do our sums?' "

This incident highlights in a vivid way the Greek's thirst for education. On every hand, one reads and is told by Greek informants that "education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece." [1] Young people from Greece who come to America to study are told in letters from their village friends back home: "Don't sleep, learn all you can." The same theme is voiced in conversations in village squares throughout the country as local officials stress the point that their people value education very much, citing in-

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1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a [533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

156 But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality.
181 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
871 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of oppor-
181 tunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some
871 coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well.
[46] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern- [643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have
872 to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learning. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[8]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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Evidence suggests that 186
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an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

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It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

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In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

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But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

619 to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient
829 Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the
refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom
181 in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—
"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the
[776] family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities
[173] and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classi-
[185] cal Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and
although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete,
[173] the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proödhos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come [593]
to be associated with low social position and low income,
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization [511]
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of
land. It has importance also just because the payments are [583]
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of 828
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion.
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet 152
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo*
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, 156
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were, [181]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1

Boeotia

in characteristically Greek fashion, more human-centered than science-centered. They went along with the human necessities of the patients, allowing these necessities to overshadow, for a time at least, what they regarded as the strict requirements of scientific hospital management. 743 759 [181]

Moreover, conversations with the doctors indicated that, although they were far more sophisticated than their village patients, they were nevertheless participants in the same basic culture, and shared many attitudes and expectations with their patients. For example, the lack of regular time scheduling for consultation, rounds of the wards, nursing routines, and the like, is not likely to be as personally irritating to a Greek doctor as it might be to his American counterpart. Greeks actively dislike regularity, and, unlike many Americans, do not derive comfort and security from routines. The Greek doctors are also less likely to be disturbed by the presence of the large numbers of visitors and their, to Americans, relatively boisterous conversations. Long and animated consultations before any decisions are made form a part of Greek life to a greater or lesser degree at all social levels, and conversation for its own sake is a favorite recreation. The fact is that illness and quiet are not inextricably linked concepts in Greek culture. 743 759 805 758 743 759 521 758

What the Greek doctors are apparently unaware of, however, is the extent to which their, to them, makeshift hospital practices conform to the social scientists' recent recommendations for flexibility and for adaptation to traditional methods of handling illness. What careful analysis has pointed out as a desirable method for conscious, planned, and gradual change, 743 758

[p. 27 (A)]

[Caucasus]

/86 cont./

misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178]

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impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

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Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

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Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born

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2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece E 41

To the Land of the Eagle

worked by a long wooden arm or balance, proceeded to water his horses. For a while I watched him lazily; then, pulling myself together for the long walk before me, I finished my drink, paid my score, and . . . climbed into the carriage.

And that is just what one does in Corfu.

181 Corfu is in truth a sleepy, lotos-eating island, whose people live on the easily-grown produce of the land in a sort of slothful content, too lazy to have much ambition beyond the ambition to live, too sensible, it may be, to strive after luxuries to which they are unaccustomed and which, in the long run, would add very little to their happiness. But for all that, they look back with regret to the time of the British administration when good roads were maintained all over the island, commerce was encouraged, and a prosperity was enjoyed that is now only a memory. A reinstatement of British control, supposing such a thing remotely possible, would be welcomed by everybody.

ISLAND OF SARANDA

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p12]

II

Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

13 In a literal sense, the rainbow in the rock is the magical coloring of the Greek landscape, the crystal-clear air, and the intensely blue sea. Anyone who paints the Greek sea as it actually looks runs the risk of skepticism from critics abroad who might well say, "no sea could be so blue, in so many shades," particularly if all they have for comparison is the gray Atlantic. An artist friend told of a young Swedish painter who came to Greece after considerable success in landscape painting in Italy and France.[1] For six weeks he tried to paint, but nothing looked right. It was only after he developed new techniques that he began to catch the spectrum of opalescent colors, the strong variations in light and shadow, and the sharp delicacy of forms visible at a considerable distance. Anywhere in Greece the physical environment is impressive, not as a backdrop to be taken for granted, but as a sensation to be enjoyed in its own right.[2]

●182 [829 13] Perhaps this is why so many Greeks are ready to accept geographic determinism as an explanation of their difficulties. There, spread out for all to see, are the effects of climate, of differences in terrain, of dwindling or unprotected resources. And the temptation is strong to assume that all troubles would pass away if only the earth were more fertile or if heaven shed its rain more plentifully. But the explanation is not quite so simple. Those turning to the philosophy of history for an answer might be told by

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

someone like Arnold Toynbee that Greece's early greatness grew out of the stern necessity to respond to the challenge of a partly hostile environment and a population growing beyond its means of subsistence. 182

Although the study of Greece's past shows that the cultural, or man-made, aspects of life have been tremendously important, one must nevertheless give the physical environment its just due. This leads to a consideration of some of the cold, hard facts about the rock that is Greece.

The Regions of Greece

Each of the regions of Greece, shown on the accompanying map, has its own assortment of mountains, plains, and a stretch of coastline; each has its own history and traditions; each has its own problems posed by the 101 13

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1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 176]

IX

Ceremonies and Holy Days

593 Greek family life also has its serious overtones. In such a closely knit
●182 unit the illness or death of a member may be more keenly felt than in a family system where one's own security is not so closely tied in with the fate of the others. In a society such as rural Greece, where there is so little
[589] room for the unmarried woman, the task of finding a suitable husband for a daughter or sister can become an overriding consideration coloring all of life's relationships. Where the family is the economic and producing unit, economic ups and downs are intimately geared with the ups and downs of the family. Should the bond between husband and wife become strained,
[369] the home increasingly becomes the center of tension with fewer outlets than exist in an urban setting. In such cases, the man stays around the house as little as possible and the wife seeks the company of the neighboring women or of some relatives.

Fortunately for all, just when home life has become a bit ruffled, some ceremony or holiday appears to make the family forget for a while their differences in order to carry off the ceremony with the proper flair. The housewife can immerse herself with good conscience in the time-consuming preparations; the father knows that certain duties are exclusively in his domain; and the children wait expectantly for their cues from the adults so that they, too, may participate.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P 205]

XI

The Village Coffeehouse

Eventually the coffeehouse, instead of being merely the setting for many lively conversations about village life, became an object of interest in its own right. It, too, is a village institution which takes its rank along with the school and the church. The coffeehouse, or *kapheneion*, is more than just a structure. Like the English pub, it is a place of assembly, a communication center, a place to transact business, satisfy one's thirst, or find out about the health of one's friend. 275 182

Most coffeehouses are located near the main square or at some crossroads where things are apt to happen. They find their fullest development in the cities. In the early evening, the time of day when Washington "rolls up its sidewalks" and becomes quieter and quieter, the squares of Athens, the Greek capital, literally burst into life. Constitution Square, for instance, after hundreds of chairs, which have been stacked during the day, are set up around small tables, the waiters begin their hazardous dashes back and forth across the busy street to the food shops which line the square. Their frenetic activity contrasts with the leisurely attack by the patrons upon the small cup of sweet, sirupy coffee and glass of water before them, although a conversation at some table may reach such proportions that one becomes oblivious to the automobile horns, the radio blaring out some popular tune, or the clink of spoons on a glass as people try to attract the attention of a waiter. 275 369 521 201

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

575 [474] For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion 575 of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant .571 of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

621 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life ●182 as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is 578 perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in 665 the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed 669 leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These 182 can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo,* or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

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Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

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Everyone has his *philotimo,* as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo.* . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope,* the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo.*[8]

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Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. . . .

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One may well ask how this trait of self-esteem is related to a sense of community. The connection is twofold: first, the adult member of the community participates as a free agent and as an expression of his own individuality; he can cooperate because he feels free, and by the same token he can refuse to cooperate. But the second connection makes him think seriously before refusing to cooperate, for he would be shaming himself and others if he let his village down. Yet the sense of community need not be limited to formal cooperation; it can be a state of mind as well, a feeling of loyalty one carries about, and a deep psychological identification with the village where one was born and in which one grew up.

621 182

A common living space. One writer attributes the unity of the Greek village to the residents' dependence upon their physical environment:

[423]

First, the people are directly dependent on the land, hence their interests are all one. Second, the village owns grazing lands and meadows used in common by the farmers. Third, the people are highly interdependent in respect to water supply. Thus a sense of cooperation pervades the village. Fourth, the people of the village are limited in their actions by the very village's physical structure; the width of the streets, the pavement or lack of pavements, and degree of crookedness of same. Lastly, the whole physical lay-out is such that ceremonials and rituals as repeated year-in and year-out by slow processions, must change even if the ceremonials were to become mechanized.[8]

An earlier chapter on the village setting has discussed this factor, which must be taken into account in considering the identification people feel with their village. People develop a "sense of belonging" with those who walk the same village lanes, send their animals to the same community pastures, draw water from the same wells or fountains, and share the same living space. This propinquity does not necessarily produce a liking for everyone frequently encountered, but it calls for the recognition that these neighbors or fellow villagers must be dealt with in solving many of the ordinary affairs of life.

Shared institutions. Partly related to the physical pattern of the village are the church, the school, and the office of the local government, whose very structures are visible and concrete signs of the institutional complex which they embody. But these institutions are more than a material expression; they are also the focal points of the values which the people inherit and pass on to their children. On the basis of these, people ascribe rank to each other; on the basis of these, people make decisions relative to what activities are most worthy and which are least worthy. Community

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

life, as well as individual life, has its evaluative mechanisms which are brought into play in problem solving. The local institutions, described so fully in previous chapters, either have certain kinds of problems which they are supposed to treat, or the institutional leaders are sometimes called in to help deal with situations too grave for any single institution to handle. Again, the sense of community which a Greek villager develops is based in part not only upon sharing with others the activities which these institutions perpetuate, but also in knowing that he and his family are dependent upon them for meeting many of life's basic needs and aspirations. 621 182

The introduction of formal organizations into the Greek village, although they may accomplish certain specific goals, can also have the net effect of introducing new cleavages. The local institutions as described have been inclusive in that almost everyone in the village who wanted to could participate in them, with some allowances made for sex and age differences. But organizations bring in the idea of members and nonmembers. Some belong; others do not. Where membership is interpreted as signifying that the member is superior to or better than the nonmember, it causes resentment within that village where organizations are relatively new and not much appreciated. This may even run counter to the local value system. Yet experience in other societies, and even in the urban sectors of Greek society, has shown that economic development — which many peasants ardently desire — is based on specialization. This, in turn, is promoted by organizations which encourage and sustain this specialization. Society, even in the village, becomes more heterogeneous as the level of living rises, as the number of alternative choices (occupational, recreational, and such) increase, and as greater reliance is placed upon the individual. 575 621 182

Therefore, in understanding the traditional sense of community one must see the countervailing tendency to organize along specialized lines and to promote individual rather than community interests. In an industrialized society this means that a new kind of solidarity, based on functional interdependence, replaces that solidarity based on homogeneity and a common view of world and work.[7] Very often in the shift from the traditional to the more complex type, individuals and communities experience disorganization which, in time, leads to a reorganization better adapted to new needs. Closely related to the degree and type of disorganization is the system of social control and how it operates.

Social control. In Greece, as elsewhere, the most effective social controls are built into the personality structure of a person as he grows up. He learns what his society considers to be morally right and wrong and, if "well brought up," does not question these standards and, more often than not, abides by them; he also learns what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior at given times and places; he knows, too, that in a particular situation some people (say, the oldest men present) behave differently from 577 626

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are [621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to [361] the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of [423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the [133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece, [134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting [312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently, [134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

241 Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton 312 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural underground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere [406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for [363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not 621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider- 361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen, 182

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1969 EH1 Greece EH1
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the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

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4

The Family: Dowry and Inheritance; Formal Structure[1]

182 428 583 THE DOWRY AND INHERITANCE SYSTEM in Vasilika is primarily a mechanism by which property is transferred from one generation to the next. It is this kind of mechanism, but it is also more. By reason of the context of values in which they operate and because of their specific characteristics, dowry and inheritance patterns as they function in Vasilika have ramifications not only for the Boeotian countryside but also for Greece as a whole.

Inheritance by Sons

428 583 [671] [594] Both the Greek laws of inheritance and village custom require that property be divided equally among all the children, sons and daughters alike. Some receive their shares through inheritance or by gifts while the parents are still alive, but the daughters of a family are entitled to their share at marriage in the form of a dowry. Since, from the standpoint of the villagers, a man's most compelling obligation is to arrange for the successful marriage of his daughters, and since no girl in Vasilika can normally expect to marry without at least a token dowry, the girls have first lien on the family's property. For most of [423] Vasilika's families, land holdings are the most valuable assets, and dowries are, therefore, calculated ordinarily as a transfer of a share of the land from parents to a daughter and through her to the jurisdiction of her husband. However, if a family's land holdings are such that it is obvious that by giving daughters their

[1] Portions of this chapter were presented as a paper at a conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean held at Burg Wartenstein in July 1959, and will appear in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, scheduled for publication in 1962.

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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

583 wedding to take the *rukba* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukba*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
[431] table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
[534] sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[8] But even among farmers these customs are
[178] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
●182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[8] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm holdings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and [434]
unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 583
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

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596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the
425 Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59
583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
182 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

/34 cont./

wishers. People are formed into groups and visit every house where the table is set in the center of the main room with different drinks, colored eggs and good food. The groups crack /p. 85 skipped in original numbering/ /36/ an egg and wish the hostess saying, "Christ is risen", and the house owner answers, "Truly he is risen". 796 574

Children run through the streets dressed in their new clothes and carry colored eggs and candies. These are the days when the houses are open to every one. The recreation that these three days offer to these people is far greater than all the rest of the holidays of the year. For the Orthodox church the birth of Christ does not have so much importance as the resurrection of Christ which shows the Athanasia of the spirit. [779]

At this time of the year everything takes life in nature, too. The almond trees, the cherry trees, the pear trees are in blossom. The fields are green and nature takes the appearance of living again. All these combined leave an unresistable influence upon every person. Through such recreation which is a part of their religion, the people forgive each other and old hatreds give way to renewed friendship and forgiveness. It is surprising to note how much influence these holidays have in the lives of the people that live together. The spirit of hospitality, the spirit of giving to those that do not have, the spirit of taking active part in village movements and the blind obedience to the orders of the higher rank, are a result of these traditionally influenced holidays that are represented by different Saints. Recreation is thus closely associated with the /37/ religious holidays. 796 571 182 517

Play of Children. Whether at school or outside of school the children do not have organized recreation. At the school the weekly exercises which are more or less military are given by the teacher. The children have two recess periods of ten minutes each from 8-12. At these periods they devise their own play. At home the child has no time for play. He or she will graze the oxen or weed the garden and fields, sweep the yard and help in housework. While very young the children are taught to work and 857 [872]

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [553]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings. The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude, and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions; and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness. 000

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought. 791 788 [182] [241] 782 [346] [793]

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction. 796 [794] [852]

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin. 771 [793] [95]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot
[432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at
[461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be
[594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable
[554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this
[581] line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start
[883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much
[584] to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the
[454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumu-
[426] late a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the re-
[626] quired amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk
[183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are
[602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
[435] ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first
time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other
young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no
serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually
themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a
start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to con-
tinue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are in-
volved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary
before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the
practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the
fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort
have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may
even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there
is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that
much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

[433] The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innova-
[178] tions since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one,
● 183 as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter [illegible] of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59
583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
182 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

621
Evidence suggests that 186
an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609
they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574
thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577]
petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828]
expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of con- [685]
versation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always 521
raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at 522
a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually 183
in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621
identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha,* and it 186
must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156
reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride 828
in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 476
and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594]
family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464]
daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663]
official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554]
his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he [185]
does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619
for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829
as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is [621]
profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181]
with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

793 Ministers" down to the simple monk, is substantially identical. It
292 consists of an inner *rason* (corresponding to the western cassock), very
[792] long and with narrow sleeves, often—but not invariably—belted at the waist. This is essentially an undergarment, and this it was that the metropolitan of a Macedonian diocese presumably had in mind when he returned some patterns of heavy black serge, which had been sent to him for inspection, with the comment that the cloth would be most suitable for making "warm winter underwear" for his clergy. Over it is worn a fuller gown with wide sleeves: the outer *rason*. The latter is always of black stuff but the inner *rason* may be of various colours. Purple and dark blue are often favoured by the higher clergy, while in
[792] the monasteries a grey cassock made of very light material is frequently worn. One abbot of my acquaintance (a resourceful and many-sided character) is accustomed to appear on Sundays and holy days decked in the purest crimson—a splendid sight for eyes grown weary of the joylessness of English clerical attire—while on lesser days he wears a fur-lined outer *rason* (if the season be chill) over a cassock of russet. Among a nation of individualists it would indeed be remarkable if
[183] one did not from time to time stumble upon minor sartorial eccentricities on the part of the clergy. These divergences from the norm of unchanging custom are never, however, of so radical a nature as to obscure the ecclesiastical character of their author. In Greece the priest and the monk are marked men, instantly recognisable to all.

793 I have already referred to the distinctive form of headgear in use
792 among the Greek clergy. This is simply a cylinder of stiffened cloth
292 about nine inches in height, most commonly known as the *kalymmafchion*. That worn by the married clergy is *surmounted* by a narrow brim, but the monastic form, sometimes called a *skouphos*, is brimless. In Greece all the bishops as well as monastic clergy not actually residing in a regular community, wear the former type of *kalymmafchion*. Over this, on formal occasions, a bishop or an archimandrite will wear a long black veil known as the *epanokalymmafchion*. This, however, forms part of the monastic habit, and consequently is never worn by the secular clergy. In the monasteries a soft cap often takes the place of the more formal *kalymmafchion*, though, unlike the Russians, the Greek monks do not venture abroad thus attired. Dr. Covel notes, somewhere in his journals, that on Athos the priests and deacons knit their own caps.

792 An English visitor to the monastery of Megaspelaion in 1829, the
292

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

183 491 [828]

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest. [177] [517]

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth. [828] [638] [533] [538]

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion. [167]

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks? Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the seminomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the wide world.

[186] The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural [463] pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are [702] farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible uni-
829 verse. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of
186 Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from
511 and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out
[829] in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their
184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 ver-
sion of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picur- 184
esque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 369
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, cho-* [361]
rikos, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approxima-
tions of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions
about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of over-
idealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of
burdens and dull plodders through life.[18]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland,
away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* in-
terchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall
have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other
countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local po-
litical units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens,
whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had
reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over
20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small
village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more atten-
tion than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peas- 369
ant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways.
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 184
174

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
●184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
174 objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is
[191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak
[197] Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock;
[854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

from a distant island or an isolated mainland village. On the other hand, almost every village home contains photographs of relatives who have taken on the habits of the city. All islanders are not seafarers, for the majority of those in the larger islands live from the soil as do the peasants of the mainland. There is thus a lively interdependence among the urbanite, the seafarer, and the villager. 184 369 [854]

This interdependence, not always recognized by the Greeks themselves, has a fascination for the Western observer who is curious about the working of a society other than his own. For him the panorama of Greece is a source of enchantment. Now brilliant, now shadowy, through it the thread of tradition runs. Who are the carriers of this continuity? What has insulated the thread against time? It is doubtful whether the answers can be found in the clear, cold, statistical analysis of the social scientist. But an observer trained in the scientific method, with a background of Greek history and literature and an acquaintance with modern Greece that began with a first visit there thirty years ago, may be able to give interpretations and insights helpful to those interested in contemporary Greece.

Such interpretations may even have a broader implication. The Greeks differ in innumerable ways from Asian peoples and from those of the Middle East and Africa. Nevertheless, most Greeks on the mainland live in villages which are much closer in tempo and quality of life to villages on other continents than to anything one can find in the United States. They work small plots of land, scattered in strips around their villages, as do many rural people throughout the world, in sharp contrast to the mechanized American farm of several hundred acres; they know the meaning of hunger, of poverty, of the catastrophe of war and violence, which most Americans fortunately have not had to experience, but which is all too common in the newly developing countries; they also face many of the same problems of relationship to the central government and its services, of accepting or rejecting national programs of rural change. 171 184 369

To know the rural Greek, therefore, is to know more about rural humanity, most of which lives in a different social world from our own city-dominated society. Village people want to be seen not as cannon fodder, potential customers, religious or political converts, but as parents hoping for a better life for their children, as farmers wishing better yields to feed the family until next harvest, as new citizens — not yet secure in their franchise — learning the rudiments of the political process. Even more important, they want to be seen as individuals, with all the rich color this word conveys.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

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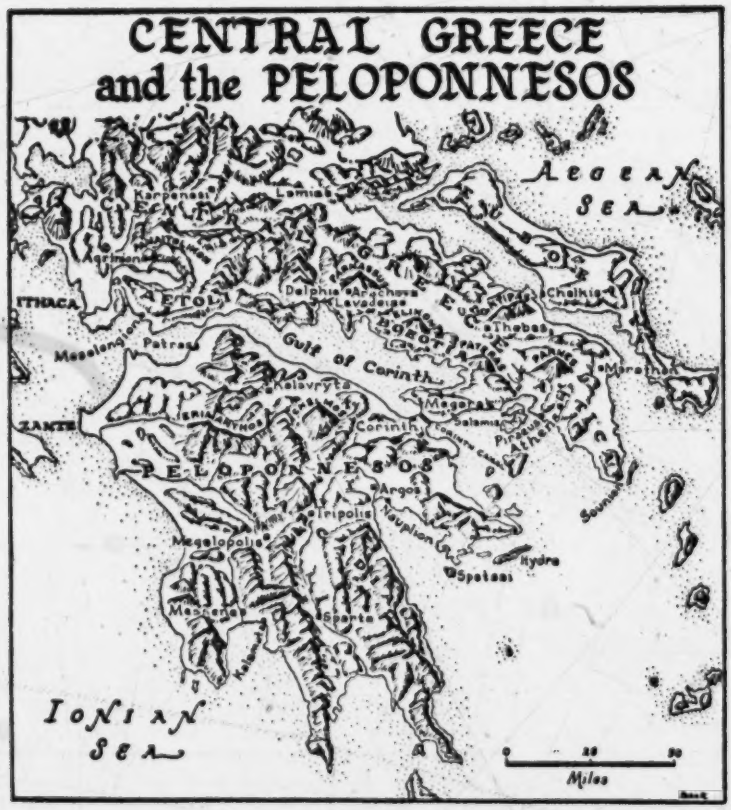

184 would have normally been paid to the mountain people, to Patras and sold it for its weight in gold. As a result, the highland villagers faced serious difficulties.

433 About this time a band of five young guerrillas came by the village and demanded hospitality. The villagers took them in and killed a lamb so that 511 they could dine in plenty. After a few months, the same band put in another 722 appearance, but this time the people could only provide a cock for the dinner. On the third visit, much later on, a wheat dish had to be the main course. Finally, on a fourth visit, when the members of the band were served only onions and garlic, they turned to the villagers and said: "You are hungry. Do you see those villages on the plain below? Why don't you go down there and take the food away from them, take their land, and let them come up here and live?"

An old villager answered: "Yes, we may be able to go down there and beat

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

them now and begin to live in their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can." 184 433 511

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains. [722]

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are: 184 157 829

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it." 184 511

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna- 184 157 829 [166] [722]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to
[434] the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[16] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

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One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns." 823 195 539

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea. 823 776 346 782 502 778

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her. 823

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today. 184 181

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

164 Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a
744 story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

364 Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

342 As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can
● 184 associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years,
[712] plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma,* found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture.

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?"

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[13]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic- 184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even to the extent of sleeping on the portico, on the roof balcony, or anywhere else where they found it comfortable. As a matter of fact, some students of the Greek house think the court the basic element, and the other parts of the house an adaptation to it and to the other needs connected with the individual peasant's kind of agriculture. Where the court is covered with flagstones, it serves for a longer season than do those that turn to mud after the fall or spring rains begin. 351 [513]

The court is separated from the street by some kind of wall or a fence of holm-oak branches. In the plains villages these walls, like the houses, are of mud brick. They too are white-washed a brilliant white on the Monday of Holy Week before Easter. Later on, when the rains come and the white-wash wears away, the walls take on a drabness that made travelers from early times on down to our day describe these plains villages as unattractive. Where the walls are well kept, where there are attractive tiled gateways — as in Macedonia — large enough for the wagon to drive through, the yards behind have a mysterious and richer look. 351 184

The village setting is part of the Greek peasant's physical adjustment to the land. Throughout Greece there are many variations in the appearances of the settlements due to differences in terrain, location, and communication. Villages set in the shadow of a towering mountain and surrounded by a forest of firs have a snug look; those whose green trees and vines are the only cool color in a vast stretch of hot brown fields invite one to stop and rest; those which stand proudly on the brow of a hill seem to be keeping a watchful eye on the farmlands lying around. Others, perched on some airy height, dare you to climb and visit them, and anyone doing so will be surprised to find that behind the village there is a broad shoulder of the mountain which provides good farmland to those willing to live there on the heights. For many villages the dark blue sea is part of the setting, even though none of the villagers may be able to swim a stroke. Whatever the location, the villager has the deep belief that his village site is the best possible one. The water of his village is the best-tasting in the world, and in moments of homesickness when he is away from his native place he would give anything for a drink of that water again and for a chance to see the incomparable view from his village. 361 361 186 271

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

[454] Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
[369] rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family, young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young
[593] people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional varia-
432 tions are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
● 184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security. On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live
[166] in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 75]

[V]

The Peasant at Work

A description of how the land is owned and what it grows gives only one side of the agricultural picture. To round out the chapter just concluded, one needs to see the peasants at work, to follow them from tobacco field to olive orchard, to see how they plow and harvest, and what they do to the part of the earth they own. As they live and work in their small fields, the peasants develop their own way of looking at man and the world. This sets them off from the city dweller or the seafarer, for certain basic rural attitudes prevail all over Greece whether the farmer's energy goes into producing citrus fruits and olives in the south or tobacco and hardy grains in the north. Closeness to the land in the physical and often in the spiritual sense is one such attitude already described. Matching this is the villager's closeness to the changing seasons and weather and his dependence on them. For a truly genuine account we rely again upon T. K. Papaspyropoulos, who has vividly described contemporary life in Kleitoria. The entire following section on the seasons is a translation of his words.

241 184 127

The Cycle of the Seasons in the Peloponnesos

Winter. During winter we have finished all our tasks and we gather in our homes. We have sown, we have gathered our maize, beans, and what other goods God has given us — onions, garlic, potatoes, quince, pomegranates, and so on. We have put our cheese to age; we have rendered our

221 [241] [252]

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[VII]

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

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[602]

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

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the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

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does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

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861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
184 receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by per-
184 sonal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

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262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than
[146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[6]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he
[146] leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
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Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

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291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the [437] priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being 517 produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and ●184 embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She [438] and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

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and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

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753 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, —
776 from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest,
759 who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particu-
[793] lar charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters,
[868] although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary
755 folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia,
757 a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was
[184] expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane per-
793 son out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

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for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyme, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

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834 even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there
184 are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of
836 illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There
588 are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait
[701] until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double stand-
[562] ard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[3]

582 The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the
[831] girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into
[795] trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that
[584] of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the coun-
[583] try eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[3] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

[701] In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

584 In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become
577 acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

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TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

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Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements.	Women should be 18 before marriage. [583]
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid. [583] [162]
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the

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584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads
577 and lecture those in their own home with varying success.
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In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day
583 near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were
[243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of
[465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

"What will happen to the money?"

583 "It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of
594 it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee
[571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries
[438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra*, or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[6] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what
[583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of
● 184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers
178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

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Syros (island): I will not marry if my parents object.

Central Peloponnesos: In my village the young people pick their own mates. Twenty years ago the parents picked the mates but we still have to get parental consent as a matter of courtesy. We have no matchmaker in our village. You find these near the cities where people make money in such matters. 584 184 178

Macedonia: I would marry whom I picked out for I am going to have to live with her. I don't see why my parents will object, for I am going to pick out someone who is respectable. [Second speaker:] I have loved a girl from an early age and, if my father objects, I will marry her anyway since I am the one who has to live with my wife and my father can live with his old woman. "But what if your father disinherits you?" I will marry and do without his fields.

Northern Peloponnesos: If I see a girl whom I want to marry I will go directly to the girl's parents. If the girl accepts me, then my parents will go to arrange for the marriage. "What do you say when you talk to her parents?" I have seen your daughter and would like her for a wife. Could you find out if she likes me and if so would you accept me? By doing it this way, the rest of the village does not know that a boy has been turned down. But boys are always accepted unless they have done something very bad.

These comments from the young men themselves illustrate that one could divide the villages of Greece, and the families within the villages, according to the way mate selection is carried out. First, there are still villages where the young people have almost nothing to say about whom they are to marry and leave the matter up to the parents entirely. For example, in another group interview of nineteen young men, five said that they would expect their fathers to select their wives. One young man said, "I'll follow my father's selection since no father would want bad for his son." Villages where such views predominate are becoming fewer all of the time and tend to be found where the economy is based upon livestock production, including the nomadic shepherd tribes. Second, there are villages where parental consent is essential but where the young men are expected to take the initiative, suggest to their parents the names of the prospective bride, and let them carry on the negotiations from there. Almost nowhere does the girl have the right of initiative, although in some villages she would not be forced to marry anyone to whom she had strong objection, unless there were overriding family or economic considerations. Third, there are villages where the young people make the decision almost entirely on their own but expect their parents to agree, nevertheless being ready to strike out on their own should the parents prove "unreasonable" and try to prevent the marriage.

The peasants look at the changing marriage scene in terms of "marriage for love" and "arranged marriages." What they really mean by the first term is active participation of the young people in mate selection, but they 584 581 178 831

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so limited. In the village of Laina, near Thessalonike, people said of a girl: 583
"Every boy in the village wants to marry her; she is from a good family and has five hundred golden sovereigns as a dowry."

Another informant, describing the village from which she came, also cited the importance of family background. In her village "the boy wants a mate who will be a good tidy housewife, attractive, strong enough for field work; money comes in but is last. The family background is very important. If there are two girls, equally attractive, and one brings a bigger dowry and the other comes from a better family, the boy will choose the latter. The girl, on the other hand, wants a fast worker and does not mind too much about his family's reputation or even his own if she thinks him kind and considerate enough not to make her go out and work; he shouldn't gamble or drink (too much); his looks don't matter, but he should be loyal and not more than five or six years older. If a woman marries a man younger than herself, there is a lot of gossip at first but it then quiets down. The girl knows about a man from hearsay." [582]

There are undoubtedly regional differences in the emphases placed upon the traits most sought after in one's prospective mate, as was borne out when I asked sixteen soldiers stationed near the Albanian border what they would rank first in choosing a wife. Those from around Kavalla and in other parts of Northern Greece placed honor first, being a good housekeeper second, and beauty third. Those from the Peloponnesos and the island of Chios stated beauty, honor, and money in that order, while a man from Thessaly said that in his village the dowry or money would be first. A Cretan listed beauty at the top. But the danger of an easy generalization from such comments as these should be avoided, even though they do correspond fairly well to those made by well-informed Greek home economists for two of the areas mentioned above: "Around Kavalla, for instance, if a girl's father offers a big dowry, she will first want someone from outside the village and does not care too much about his looks. He doesn't have to be an Apollo. If she is considering someone from her own village she asks about his family, his looks, and his reputation.[6] The village man pays more attention to looks and wants to be sure that his wife will be a good worker. In the bigger towns he is more concerned with the dowry. Around Larissa (Thessaly) questions of love are secondary, for the man there is more interested in the dowry. If the girl has a 'fortune,' or large dowry, she is apt to choose someone from the town and may expect the husband to come and live in her village. But it is not uncommon for a man and wife to sell her land to build a house in the city." 581 583 184 [591]

Some of these regional differences in emphasis take on new light when one sees that the dowry consists of different property in various parts of Greece.

Usually, the eldest sister is supposed to marry first, followed by the next 582 583

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582 583 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony [178] or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no install- [452] ment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will [571] only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furniture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

184 583 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla, [425] the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate [178] into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

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provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle,
3 medium pans	2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

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585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

● [184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

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of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get [305] a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [302] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece [777] of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

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Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

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decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques. 275 573 521 208 203

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury." [626]

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places. 275 461 [184]

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it [242] [208] [521]

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875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village,
871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-
educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and
[554] gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the
teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influ-
[242] ence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the
teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia,
who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first
apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in
that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees
for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the
teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various
problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since
they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is
cherished," he concluded.

871 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the
past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences
184 in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a
[231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from South-
ern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to
pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted:
"The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern
Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and
you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find
people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in
the Peloponnesos."

[175] But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a
verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred
years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our
heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better educa-
tion. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where
there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said
that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant
gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the
[875] state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not
sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the
first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three
grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for
Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated.
But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient
with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

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Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see. 771

Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church. 771 795 619 162

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2] 795 184 776 [346]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names 795 184

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795 which are found throughout the Balkans, speaks of the rich texture of Christianity there, which came to the Balkan nations in the shape of
● 184 Byzantine Orthodoxy and which meant a particular culture, comprising art, literature, and theology, in the service of the Church.[3]

One has only to review the brief description of the peasant and nature or the peasant approach to sickness and child care in earlier chapters to see how lively is the environment for any peasant who believes in the Evil Eye or the omens of spiders, birds in flight, or the hooting of an owl.[4] The peasant, instead of being made over into some sort of revolutionary Christian image, was able to take early Christianity and make it over into the even earlier Greek image. That is what survives in rural Greece today.

The educated Greek went through almost the same process, but on a much more sophisticated level. Instead of equating the sun god with St. Elijah, he equated Platonic teachings with the doctrines of St. Paul. Thanassis Aghnides sets forth this theme:

> As regards religious life, let us not forget that the New Testament was written in Greek, and most of the principles of Christianity are loans from Greek moral philosophy. Plato's ideas could find no better means of diffusion in the world than the New Testament.
>
> Thus a Greek never feels that the Christian religion is a Jewish gift to the world. When he reads the New Testament he is reminded of the highest precepts of the Greek classical period. Here again the modern Greek is not very conscious of the lines of demarcation between the high precepts of Christianity, and, let us say, those of Socrates. The latter's principles and those of the Galilean are derived from the same source. The modern Greek is confusedly aware of this. He may not say it in as many words but he feels the modern ethical standards of the Christian world as being part and parcel of his own heritage from his classical ancestors.[5]

In support of this point of view among the peasants, I can mention the consternation shown by some Greek village women when, for the first time, they learned that Christ was a Jew. They had always assumed that he was Greek and would not believe otherwise until they had gone to check with the priest.

795 Orthodoxy and Greekness are tied in together not only because of the
619 continuity between ancient traditions and Christian doctrine; the Orthodox Church was also the vehicle through which Greekness was preserved under
659 alien conquerors. Church and politics went hand in hand. The Greek Orthodox Church, which was the basic institution of the Byzantine Empire, continues as such within the modern Greek nation, and contemporary Greeks, like the Byzantines, find it hard to accept political ideas which do not assume the complete unification of church and state. Today the church is still an integral part of the Greek government, its affairs administered
[793] within the Ministry of Education and Religion, the salaries of the clergy

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so ur-
369 banized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

From Peasant to Farmer

184 In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards
241 in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs
[178] of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is
241 the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for
511 a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 423 454 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 241 594 184 464 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter. The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A 178 241 184 [474] third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [665] [829]

1:Sanders Z-5ϟ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
369 better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
665 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
829 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some countries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
178 peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
82 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
184 growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
156 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 178

when public opinion has been structured to favor a course of action, it is hard for recalcitrant individuals to hold out for long. 184 [156]

A third attitudinal shift might be characterized as that from the sacred to the secular. In social science, these terms have their specialized meanings. A sacred society, such as an extreme peasant type is supposed to be, relies almost entirely on custom and tradition as the guide to what is right and wrong, proper and improper. The elders are respected, for they are the repositories of wisdom from the past and can interpret to others what should be done, whether in the family circle or in communal affairs. The modern farmer, on the other hand, lives in a secular society in the sense that the rational, scientific test is applied to his economic choices. He does not ask at what stage of the moon's cycle he is supposed to put seed potatoes in the ground, but uses other criteria for determining this. Furthermore, if a young man knows more than an older man about a matter of concern to him, the older man will listen just as eagerly to the young man.

Finally, the peasant's feeling of security, based almost entirely on kinship and the mutual aid of neighbors, gives way to the farmer's reliance on his own efforts plus an organized system of crop and fire insurance, governmental pension plans, and membership in associations and cooperatives of various types which help him weather whatever economic storms he encounters. This leads to much greater social interdependence, which carries with it possibilities both for good and for difficulty. Once there is any breakdown in the social network, the price mechanism, or the system of delivery of which the farmer is a part, he is at the mercy of forces which he as an individual cannot control. At the same time, when these forces do work well, he is assured of a level of living far beyond the peasant's fondest dreams and a sense of participation in an ever-expanding social universe.

Anyone who has read through the book thus far is familiar with the wide range which different regions of Greece represent on this peasant-farmer continuum. Even more important, the following of any single Greek villager through his daily rounds would indicate that no villager holds to these peasant traits in their entirety, nor have any of them moved to commercial farming to the extent represented by much of American agriculture. One thing is certain: those that have been primarily of the peasant mold are moving from many of these traits into those more closely approximating the modern farmer. This movement goes on at an uneven rate and points up much inconsistency in village behavior. But social change inevitably works itself out at this uneven tempo, and planning from on high in Athens seems to do little to smooth out the jagged course of modernization. Recent trips to Greece reinforce my earlier impressions that farming in the Greek countryside is becoming much more scientific because of the very successful programs of planned change previously described, as well as because of the dynamic quality of the Greek villager himself. The Greek

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 peasant is rapidly becoming a farmer. But what about those who leave the
184 village, displaced by the machine or attracted by opportunities elsewhere? What transformation do they have to go through if they are to adjust to urban and industrial life?

From Villager to Urbanite

369 Although this study of Greek life has concentrated upon the village, some observations about villagers transplanted to the city have relevance to foreign aid as a force for change. If farm workers are displaced by the machine, they tend to gravitate toward population centers where they hope to find work as general laborers or to follow some small skill they may have acquired. The coming of factories usually means some migration of labor, much of it frequently stemming from the rural areas. In fact, in the Western sense, to industrialize means to de-ruralize.

Any foreign-aid program, therefore, which creates new urban centers or leads to the movement of rural people to older centers in search of jobs is introducing not only a type but a tempo of change that must be taken into account in the allocation of economic resources. Some funds will undoubtedly have to be used to ease the transition for those making the move if they are not to become a discontented proletariat. This becomes more evident when we see what happens when a villager becomes an urbanite.

One of the first effects is for the villager to find himself immersed in a much more heterogeneous society. Occupations are more numerous, specialization is greater, and social extremes — the rich and the very poor — are more pronounced than anything he had experienced in the village. There is an intoxicating excitement in the possibilities that seemingly lie before him, although he realizes early in his stay that lack of training and insufficient income limit the realization of many of the more desirable alternatives. He comes face to face with people deriving from different cultural backgrounds, encounters different religious and ethnic groupings, and can participate in recreational pursuits not known in his native village. This richness, this complexity of urban life often calls for living techniques not acquired in the village. As a substitute, therefore, those recently arrived from rural areas may live with others of their kind in a semifolk environment in parts of cities where they are to some degree insulated from the total impact that the city might make upon them.

A second effect of migration to the city is that life becomes job-focused. One's fortune rests not only on the kind of job one has but frequently upon the mere fact of having a job or not. As a peasant back on the farm he had many tasks to perform, but these varied with the season and could often be done at a time of his choosing, within limits. But as an employee, whether a general laborer on a construction project or a worker in a factory, he moves into a different way of life. He must subscribe to a new type

1:Sanders Z-5,ν (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 [548] [589] prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

[184] [197] 4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

[186] 3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a volume in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou choriou mou: Perista, Navpaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessaloniki, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in [171] Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith.

9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 105 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

[162] Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the [197] inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the [122] Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us [123] live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with [184] other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural [171] settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 943 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[292] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white
[427] wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[369] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of
[626] the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
[292] up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
[511] They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the
[765] colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

milordos Thomas Alcock, comments unfavourably on the attire of the monks: "the want of neatness in the persons of these people", he remarks, "is too conspicuous", a failing our traveller denounces as one of the sure consequences of "an unnatural and unsocial life". Thomas Alcock, it is hardly necessary to add, found the mode of life and habits of Greek monks "little agreeable". "They flatter themselves", he writes, "that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove." Whatever may have been the condition of the monks of Megaspelaion in 1829, certainly to-day the great poverty which afflicts many of the surviving communities is sufficient explanation of some want of neatness in their members. 792 292

The costume which I have thus briefly described, inner and outer *rason* and the appropriate form of *kalymmafchion*, is the customary outdoor dress of the Greek ecclesiastic, regardless of his status or office: of the aspiring archimandrite, in silken gown and with rolled umbrella and brief-case, who hovers discreetly about the chambers of the Holy Synod, as of the village *papas* who labours at his plot of ground, or, with a train of pack-animals picks his way along the boulder-strewn bed of some water-course in trackless Pindos. 793 292 184

Within doors, though the parish priest may put off his tall hat and outer garment, he is seldom to be seen less formally apparelled. And in the mountain villages what more appropriate night-attire for an ecclesiastical person than a thick homespun *rason*: though holy tradition be silent and the Greek country parson abed be subject to no such irksome canonical prohibitions as his brother, tending his flock beneath the vigilant eye of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is strictly charged that in the interests of decency, gravity and order, he shall not wear "any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet". 793 292 [513]

It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed description of the liturgical vestments of the Greek clergy. "It would be impossible", asserts Dr. King, "to give a description of the habits of the clergy . . . to an English reader without the assistance of figures: for as we have none which resemble them so we have no names in our language to express them by." The reader who would learn to distinguish an *epigonation* from an *epitrachelion* or would comprehend the mystical signification of [113]

6: McNeill-H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 1]

CHAPTER 1

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Like other countries struggling under the impact of western technology and ideas, contemporary Greece is a land of sharp contrasts. Donkeys with loaded panniers on their backs still jog down the broad avenues of modern Athens oblivious to the stream of automobiles passing them by; and the donkeys' owners daily hawk their wares, with piercing and immemorial cries, to people living in ultra-modern apartment buildings, as well as to others who inhabit the merest hovels, clustered along nar-

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[443]
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Similarly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peasants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

184 369 [243]

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 161 648 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long, least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else
361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im-
433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages
438 of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads
241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will
433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is
433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be
[464] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains
[166] often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

669 the guerrillas, even in the south, where landless families existed
433 in many plains communities. The hard times that drove the hillsmen from home, gun in hand, impelled the plainsmen to stay home where there was food. More recently, the revival and improvement of agriculture naturally proceeded furthest and fastest in regions where the soil was reasonably fertile and abundant. Hence, the plains villagers have been able to achieve far better results than the hillsmen from technical and marketing changes. They have property and social status to defend, and know quite enough about Communist agrarian policy in neighboring countries to distrust beguiling words from Communist lips.

The farmers of the plains are therefore not revolutionary, even though they may grumble about present hardship, and envy others better off than themselves. They have seen quite enough of the violence and suffering which revolutions, or attempted revolutions, involve. The hillsmen, too, have suffered, and do not love violence for its own sake. But, unless I am much mistaken, they remain potential revolutionaries.

Town Life

369 Just as the combine and the sickle join in uneasy partnership
● 184 to harvest the wheat fields of Greece, so also in the towns an age-old style of life is set side by side with a few completely up-to-date factories and the most modern urban amenities. The juxtaposition in an urban context is no less awkward than in the country.

443 Particularly in the north, where Turkish times are still within
369 living memory, in towns like Jannina or Kozani, one can see streets where artisans pursue their trades in little shops just as their predecessors have done for centuries. The old medieval principle still holds, whereby shops dealing in the same goods

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
x 178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
● 184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
[433] 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
[423] surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
x [178] tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
x 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 break down. The more elaborate social stratification and intri-
578 cate economic integration which the development from simple
565 village into small town involves carries with it a special vulnerability: vulnerability to fluctuations in distant markets, and vulnerability to social stresses within the community itself. This is perhaps the price Old Corinth has to pay for its remarkable economic progress in recent years.

*178 This progress may remind us that there is another sense in
621 which the social structure of Old Corinth shows itself far more
556 flexible and hospitable to innovation than the other villages described. For while family and marriage customs have not undergone important modification, the occupational patterns of the community have shown important changes; and in at least one instance a landless and once very poor man has risen to a position of wealth and importance by becoming a successful merchant. Old Corinth has given far more scope to individual and cooperative enterprise than either Lofiscos or Nea Eleftherohori. Yet this development, too, is in line with old Greek tradition. The self-made man, particularly the self-made merchant or storekeeper, rising to wealth and respectability by virtue of his mother wit and shrewdness in buying and selling, has been a prominent figure in Greek society for at least two centuries; and it has always been the marginal man in the village social hierarchy — the man who has had no land to keep him busy — who has naturally gravitated to such occupations when opportunity has opened. Innovation in Old Corinth has thus taken traditional forms.

*178 Since 1912, rural Greece has been fundamentally divided be-
●184 tween villages like Old Corinth, which can look back to genera-
423 tions of substantially undisturbed evolution, and those villages
621 where within recent memory radical governmental intervention entirely transformed earlier landholding patterns. The division is geographical. In Old Greece, meaning Greece within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Villages of the Plains]

boundaries that existed before 1881, village life has not suffered drastic upheaval since 1821, if then. Changes have come slowly and by evolution. The case is far otherwise in New Greece – Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus and Thrace. There the violent elimination of Turkish landlords and peasants through war was followed by governmental creation of egalitarian peasant communities. This amounted to an agrarian revolution from above, in some cases fully satisfying the peasants – as in Lofiscos – but often failing to do so, as in Nea Eleftherohori. 178 x 184 ● 423 621

The slower evolution of village life in Old Greece has meant, at least until the present, the preservation of a fairly firm cake of custom, governing the daily lives of the inhabitants. In this respect, Old Corinth is quite typical. Consequently, in spite of the contrast between rich peasant and landless laborer, the social stratification within these peasant communities has not bred so many revolutionists as have been bred by the hardships of life in an equality of poverty, characteristic of many villages in the north. Conservatism, royalism, traditionalism have all centered in the south; while radicalism, republicanism, restlessness and revolution have found their strongest expression in the north. 178 x 184 621 669 [565]

Yet while these generalizations are true, I must hasten to add that the villages of the plains never were the main centers of political revolt. Too many had too much to lose in such communities. Rather it was in the hill villages, where life was harder and the prospect of maintaining a given standard of life was dimmer, that revolution found its most congenial ground. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, if not before, this has been the really vulnerable point in Greek society, the source of major disturbance and of recurrent civil violence. In the hills, even more than in the plains, the future stability or instability of Greek society is likely to be decided in time to come, as it has in times past. Let us therefore leave the plains and turn to the hills.

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [851]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger [178]
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would [164]
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

9:Megas

EH1 Greece EH1

184
369

/For information on differences between house types of rural and urban areas, and between different geographical areas of Greece, see category 116, pp. 1-53./

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to the more general study, outlined above.

● 184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
* 342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[583] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the
[591] daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bungalow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards improve, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphically on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. (1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein. — I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
[805] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
[177] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
577 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
[643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
186 and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
577 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
195 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
577 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse. 178

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions. 178 203 831

There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future. 178 184 [189]

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings. 178 476

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Mountains

133 The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any [311] agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields [132] below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the ●185 country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article [311] in *Soil Conservation*, holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc- [233] [175]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 175

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[12] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel. 137 185 [233]

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy. 137 311 233

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries. 135 [471] [439]

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[13] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco. 132 [134] [249]

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

132

Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests. 233 241 578 621

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in. [423] [474]

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The 233 578 185 [656] [669] [654]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which
578 has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

● 185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep,
654 which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas-
[241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and
[249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither. 175 623 642

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws. [671]

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues." [4] 631 642 [658]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior. [185]

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

[621] [633] [162]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others. They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage. Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women, for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned. 177 178 177 178 874 242

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities. [185]

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments. 178 474 185 242

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II. 178 185 654

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev- 177 464 653

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 "Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412–413; and Angelike Chatzemichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826–827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

Chapter IV. Land as a Birthright

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece*, Oct.–Nov. 1947 (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166–167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

[186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

[245] [185] [583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugee from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 .EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"gligbord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one.

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants.

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest.

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations.

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too different from each other for that.

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Evidence suggests that 186
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an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

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It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

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In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

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But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

619 to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient
829 Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the
refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom
181 in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—
"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the
[776] family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities
[173] and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classi-
[185] cal Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and
although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete,
[173] the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proōdhos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Public Life in 1947]

647 tions with higher authority, promote their own careers, and
661 enjoy the amenities of Athenian existence. But in the meantime much that should have been done remained undone.

Senior officials and ministers were harrassed by incredible numbers of papers requiring their signature or countersignature; they were harrassed even more by the crowds of petitioners who stood outside every door and not infrequently pushed their way inside to watch for a chance to seize the great man's attention. Subordinates, on the other hand, seldom would or could take any initiative themselves, but referred everything to higher authority, where the papers added to the jam at the top.

185 Perhaps the greatest weakness of the whole system was that
727 officialdom shared the intellectual and technical deficiencies of
647 the politicians. In the general confusion and pressure of daily
433 business, no one had time or opportunity to try to think in long terms, measure the economic and other needs of the country, and attempt to establish some sort of priority among them, so that a beginning, however modest, could be made toward repairing some of the disbalances and defects of Greek society. Perhaps the magnitude of the problems and the sheer inadequacy of Greek resources to cope with most of them made such calculations impracticable. But it was also true that the officials of the Greek government were not accustomed to thinking in such terms, and tended to assume that problems of this nature should be left to solve themselves by the spontaneous action of private citizens, within the framework of traditional patterns of living. In proportion as the physical and psychological basis of such a traditional framework had been destroyed by the war, this assumption was no longer valid; but few, indeed, in the turmoil of the civil administration realized this fact, and fewer were ready, intellectually or morally, to try to move into the gaps thus created in the social structure, and attempt to put the scattered fragments back into some sort of working order.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Public Life in 1947]

Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

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government. Unassisted, they would certainly not have been able to do anything effective to overcome the Communist menace. 185 727 433 669

To sum up: The nature of Greek society and the shortcomings of the Greek government, together with the constellation of international relations in 1946 and 1947, made Communist revolution possible, indeed probable. But the injection of a massive new force, United States aid, changed the direction of events and prevented that consummation. The activity of the American aid missions will therefore be the subject of the next chapter. [648]

[PP. 33-84 not Processed]

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. 476
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 621
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built [345]
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [533]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [735]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [314]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [185]
project which was started by this group has led to the development [526]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

262 369 much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not 262 allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the pro- 785 vinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many 796 of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the [197] latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

262 Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential 511 for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set [746] up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

178 Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want 185 is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has [196] lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

abstract calculation, is meaningless to people for whom experience is body-patterned. More than this, such plans represent external limits and directives, and to this extent are hampering and even frightening. Charts and diagrams are now common in Greek books, but the lineal diagram as a blueprint of action is not within the framework of Greek life; the nearest most Greeks come to a diagram is a map, which is diagrammatic of something concrete. Foresight is good, and is extolled in proverbs; preparation is always present. But this is following along a known trail, repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example, when a girl is 10 or 12, she may start working on her dowry; a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life, to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way, a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal, arising from the rhythm of life; it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform. 178 185

This attitude presents difficulties, such as, for example, in industrialization in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule; they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without supported expectations. 178 [185]

Again, Greeks are motivated by demonstrated, concrete results, not by diagrams of future benefits, or by statistics. The great success of the DDT programme was due to its quick, clear, obvious results. Much of the success of new practices initiated under the auspices of the Near East Foundation may also be attributed to their principle of demonstration. [144]

Another attitude concerned with the introduction of change is that of coping with what is there. Americans are ready to change anything that does not measure up to specifications, or even anything that can be exchanged for something more efficient, more convenient, newer. Greeks accustom themselves to inconveniences and cope with them; they do not do away with them. Greeks, after a visit to the United States, see their countrymen putting up with the same difficulties, the same time-wasting operations, the same discomforts, but when they ask: "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used; a chipped dish can still hold food, a suit may have a few spots and still be clean, a woman may have a number of ills and still have health, and people can still travel when the steamships are crowded three times their capacity, and cannot provide the beds for which the passengers have paid; why make a change? As there is no superlative, so there are not exclusive oppositives, and one learns to cope with the common ailments, the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 M1 Middle East
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The financial system of the sickness insurance scheme would be that of assessment, although provision is made for contingency reserves. Users of medical services could be required to pay certain fees, if abuses threatened to upset the scheme's finances. Pension insurance would have a mixed financial system : contributions would not equal the average actuarial premium but are intended to balance income and payments for a generation. Sizable reserves would be accumulated in the early years, which would be invested largely in loans to sickness insurance for the construction of health facilities.

To permit the necessary construction of health facilities and training of personnel, the Bill contemplates introduction of the scheme by stages. The first stage would see the setting up of pension insurance in one or two regions for employees in establishments employing five or more workers. Thereafter, as more and more hospitals and dispensaries are built, insured persons and employers are registered, and contribution and benefit machinery is developed, sickness insurance would be introduced and the whole scheme would gradually be extended to new regions and to the smaller establishments.

The Bill requires both benefit and contribution amounts to be modified by regulation whenever the average of wages received by industrial employees moves up or down by 20 per cent.

The new insurance benefits, in principle, would replace obligations imposed on individual employers by existing Egyptian legislation concerning workmen's compensation, sick pay, maternity pay and provision of medical care. In furnishing benefits under the new scheme, the administrative agency would be authorised to contract with employers for the use of health facilities already developed by the latter.

The adoption of the 1950 law on non-contributory pensions will very likely result in a postponement of the introduction of compulsory social insurance for industrial and commercial workers. Furthermore, the original plan will probably be reconsidered in order to bring it into line with the non-contributory pension scheme.

Progress of Reform in Greece

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Greece has for 16 years had a comprehensive social security statute which has already been in force for 13 years. Hence, its situation is quite different from that of most Near and Middle East countries which have yet to enact their first general social insurance law. Greece faces instead, on the one hand, the problem of reforming and reconstructing its existing scheme and, on the other hand, a need for further extension of measures already taken.

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 M1 Middle East
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The need for reform is due in part to the serious disorganisation which the Greek scheme suffered during the war and its aftermath, including the very severe inflation which made pre-war benefits completely inadequate. It is also due to the excessively complex structure of Greek social insurance inherited from the pre-war period. This complexity is traceable to historical factors. The existence of many scores of separate social insurance institutions—with diverse but sometimes overlapping scope and dissimilar coverage of risks, qualifying conditions, benefit formulae and financial arrangements—has made at least some measure of rationalisation and unification imperative. In addition, the scheme is not yet applied in all regions of the country, does not apply to agriculture at all, and lacks many of the facilities needed for effective provision of health benefits. Moreover, the incidence of tuberculosis in Greece has placed a special burden on certain parts of the scheme.

The Office sent a mission to Greece in 1947 to study Greek labour laws, including those dealing with social insurance. The report of this mission, submitted to the Greek Government in March 1948, contained a number of recommendations for the modification of the social insurance provisions then in effect.

Subsequently, a new administrator of the Central Social Insurance Institution (I.K.A.) was appointed to improve its operations and effect a reorganisation of Greek social insurance. This administrator introduced many changes in the organisation and benefits of the central fund and has developed plans for substantial enlargement of the medical services of the fund, particularly as regards hospitals and other health centres. He also developed a plan for comprehensive reorganisation of Greek social insurance as a whole which would involve extensive unification of administrative organisation, benefit provisions and financing. This plan has been submitted to the Government for consideration.

A somewhat different plan for the reform of Greek social insurance was prepared during the same period by a committee of officials of the Greek Ministry of Labour and was submitted to the Government in a report completed in August 1949. Yet a third set of proposals was developed and made public by the Greek General Federation of Labour late in 1949.

Each of the plans referred to above recognises the need for modifying and unifying existing measures in a considerable degree. They differ, however, as to the desirable extent and circumstances of the unification to be effected in respect of benefits, finance and administration. The various proposals were under consideration by a Cabinet Committee in mid-1950.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

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[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the wide world.

[186] The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural [463] pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are [702] farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible uni-
829 verse. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable
186 servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from
511 and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out
[829] in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their
184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences
● 186 between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than
compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[16] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage.
501 Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine,

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marine. As of November 1957, the Greek merchant fleet numbered 541 505
vessels, whose tonnage totaled 1,510,535 tons. By 1961 its 1,110 ships amounted to 5,893,652 tons.

In addition to being a potential economic asset, the sea makes its 174
influence felt in a psychological sense. "The Romans built roads but the 823
Greeks always used the sea" was an observation made to me by a retired Greek admiral. The more one thinks about this simple statement of difference between two great nations of antiquity, the clearer become the varied bases for their greatness. Rome, the conqueror of the European continent and much of the Mediterranean world, held on to her territorial conquests for centuries, but the lasting conquests of ancient Greece were not those of territory, which she also conquered from time to time, but the victory of a superior culture. The Romans were administrators of subject lands; the Greeks became traders and merchants who colonized along the [157]
coasts of the whole known world, accumulated their wealth in cities, and maintained a competitive individualism much in evidence even today.

From this tradition of the sea the Greek has gained an outward look, 181
sometimes carried to extremes. "He knows about every country but his own" 186
commented a Westerner who had spent many years in Greece.

An old, old peasant put the way he felt toward the sea and what it meant 823
to him in these words:

"Look over the sea," he said, pointing to the shining water in the distance. "Do you know anything farther than that? Going over the sea means going over to America. In the olden days, under the pressure of need, one stole from the other and the other fought back and killed and so got out of the country. Only the goat thieves and the peasants were left. For us village people, 'farther than the sea' means not just emigrating but also means bringing in. We can use it to improve life. Here near our village we have a waterfall and big water supply; we can have electricity and irrigation but we need scientists from across the sea to tell us how to use what we have. Then more people can live on the land and will not need to emigrate."

There are many Greeks, especially women, in isolated villages who have never seen the sea. Even for them it seems to have a deep emotional meaning, for, as one Greek folklorist explained to me, there is an unconscious worship of water all over Greece. A twenty-one-year-old peasant girl on her way to relatives in Athens rode with us from her village in the heart of the Peloponnesos. This was her first trip away from home. We stopped on the brow of a mountain while she had her first view of the sea. She who had ridden with us for many miles, shy and silent, looked out to the wide indigo horizon and cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" (The sea! the sea!), and then subsided, wide-eyed. It was obvious to all of us that she was deeply

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 186 823 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives, only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 823 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (January 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering himself fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism [755] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — [778] supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of [789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 776 539 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most persistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> [195] "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> [542] When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

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even to the extent of sleeping on the portico, on the roof balcony, or anywhere else where they found it comfortable. As a matter of fact, some students of the Greek house think the court the basic element, and the other parts of the house an adaptation to it and to the other needs connected with the individual peasant's kind of agriculture. Where the court is covered with flagstones, it serves for a longer season than do those that turn to mud after the fall or spring rains begin. 351 [513]

The court is separated from the street by some kind of wall or a fence of holm-oak branches. In the plains villages these walls, like the houses, are of mud brick. They too are white-washed a brilliant white on the Monday of Holy Week before Easter. Later on, when the rains come and the white-wash wears away, the walls take on a drabness that made travelers from early times on down to our day describe these plains villages as unattractive. Where the walls are well kept, where there are attractive tiled gateways — as in Macedonia — large enough for the wagon to drive through, the yards behind have a mysterious and richer look. 351 184

The village setting is part of the Greek peasant's physical adjustment to the land. Throughout Greece there are many variations in the appearances of the settlements due to differences in terrain, location, and communication. Villages set in the shadow of a towering mountain and surrounded by a forest of firs have a snug look; those whose green trees and vines are the only cool color in a vast stretch of hot brown fields invite one to stop and rest; those which stand proudly on the brow of a hill seem to be keeping a watchful eye on the farmlands lying around. Others, perched on some airy height, dare you to climb and visit them, and anyone doing so will be surprised to find that behind the village there is a broad shoulder of the mountain which provides good farmland to those willing to live there on the heights. For many villages the dark blue sea is part of the setting, even though none of the villagers may be able to swim a stroke. Whatever the location, the villager has the deep belief that his village site is the best possible one. The water of his village is the best-tasting in the world, and in moments of homesickness when he is away from his native place he would give anything for a drink of that water again and for a chance to see the incomparable view from his village. 361 361 186 271

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
[432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary,
because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
[166] rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are
[578] three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

> Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

1:Sanders Z-5/1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his 233
eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to 533
be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and 221
empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely 621
once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the [623]
council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village through- [622]
out the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of [666]
the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock co- [871]
operative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural [794]
Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet [474]
the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of [652]
my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's [233]
sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi 621
is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in [186]
which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks [175]
under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed [776]
that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and [669]
Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church [778]
to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[4] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 "Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412–413; and Angelike Chatzemichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826–827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

Chapter IV. Land as a Birthright

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece*, Oct.–Nov. 1947 (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166–167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

[186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

[245] [185] [583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugee from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[548] [589] prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

[184] [197] 4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

[186] 3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a volume in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou choriou mou: Perista, Navpaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessalonike, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith. [171]

9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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The Village: As a Setting

THE VILLAGE OF VASILIKA lies almost at the foot of Mt. Parnassos on the Boeotian plain. The oldest of its fifty-odd houses were built in the late nineteenth century by the grandfathers of some of the now adult villagers. Most of them came from the village of Parori two miles to the northeast. Until 1933, when Vasilika sued for and won separate status, the two settlements were classified by the central government as one community (*kinotis*). The parent village still has the larger population, with some 700 inhabitants, while Vasilika, in 1955–1956, had 216.

Both Vasilika and Parori have come to be called by these names only since 1955. During the Turkish occupation, and for more than a century after the liberation of the region, the Boeotian villages used the names the Turks had assigned to them. Parori was Biskeni Aghas; Vasilika was Kravasaras. But in the last decade, patriotic considerations have led to a change from the old names to ones based on Greek roots. *Parori,* in Greek, means "near a mountain" and is an appropriate name for a village which rests in the foothills of Parnassos. *Vasilika* means "royal" and was the name of a hill in the region where a famous battle against the Turks was fought. In some cases, the names by which the villages were known in classical Greek times were restored. Drachmani, for example, once again became Elatia.

Most of the villagers of Vasilika, in 1961, still called the village "Kravasaras." Indeed, the new sign pointing to the dirt road which leads into the settlement reads *Kravasaras,* in spite of the designation of the village in the provincial records as *Vasilika.* This type of double nomenclature is common in the entire region. The wives of Vasilika, most of whom come from the surrounding Boeotian villages, frequently refer to their former houses by their older Turkish names. These are the names which evoke for them the emotions associated with "my village." Their husbands, on the other hand, often refer to their wives' home villages by the newly given names. An outsider must resign himself to learning the double nomenclature if he is to avoid utter confusion.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) %3 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the
476 interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the
571 life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha,* that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni,* people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages,
123 and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed, both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
685 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were
621 thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
000 to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Evidence suggests that

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha,* and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin. [186]

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community. [578] [621]

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 369
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. [296]
However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958). [514] [343] [758]

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

mean a making—or that the other "Garments and Accoutrements" of the clergy are "very Glorious and different". The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings. 793 292 727

The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred. [648]

During the winter of 1949–50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves. [669]

The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

> In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askue even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various 793 292 186

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

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> degrees, from the Primates and Metropolites down to the lowest Order of Deacons . . . and if we English Churchmen are lookt upon by the Easterlings in this Point, but as Mongrels or half primitive Clergy-men at the best, how odious and abominable must the Calvinists appear to them, when they shall be told . . . that there is no such outward Pomp, or any reverend or decent Garments used in their divine Offices amongst them; their Ministers are not Episcopally ordain'd, and they wear only a common black Cloak and a Coat or Jump.

The Greek Church has never known a vestiarian controversy. The *phelonion*, richly wrought with gold and silver though it be, has never, like the western vestment and the comely surplice, served to kindle polemical ardour. It is evident to all men that the earthly ministers of Christ should be clothed in such apparel as becomes their high calling: to celebrate the divine mysteries in a common black cloak or Calvinistic "jump" would be indecent, a breach of good manners—like going to a formal banquet in one's workaday clothes.

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It is not a little startling to turn from the controversies about vestments and lights and incense which continue to agitate many western Christians, to a church where these things are used quite simply and naturally and without occasioning the slightest comment. The Greek attitude towards the liturgical use of incense does indeed afford a peculiarly striking instance of the dangers awaiting the Frankish controversialist who seeks to bolster up his tottering defences with unwary borrowings from beyond the Adriatic shores. Amongst the Greeks incense is used at every service, from the most elaborate of pontifical liturgies to a simple ceremony such as the blessing of a house. To do otherwise would be thought irreverent: if any custom can claim to be evangelical it is surely this. Did not the Lord God Himself command Moses his servant:

> Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy. And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left be-
166 hind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one
[369] of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are pre-
[427] pared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

647 One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The
[665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers
[186] that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against
[625] natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the
433 difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. 198 199 [1207]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. 184 199 369 [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed. 184 186 [487]

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not 184 369 805

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
174 objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is
[191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak
[197] Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock;
[854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

XIV

THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

> So great was his sanctity while a shepherd, that he was thought worthy of being made a pastor of men: and having been assigned the bishopric of one of the cities in Cyprus . . . on account of his extreme humility he continued to feed his sheep during his incumbency of the bishopric.
>
> SOCRATES
> *Ecclesiastical History*, I, xii

IN 1892, scarcely more than a decade since the day when the blue and white ensign of the Kingdom of the Hellenes had replaced the crescent of the infidel over the citadel at Trikkala, the wife of the village carpenter in an obscure hamlet amongst the mountains to the westward of Kalambaka gave birth to a son. The carpenter and his family dwelt in a substantial stone house a few paces beyond the village square, where a great plane tree overshadowed the church, dedicated in honour of the Egyptian anchorite Bessarion. Like many families in northern Pindos they spoke not only Greek but also the language of the Tsintsars, the Koutso-Vlachs who come down from the high pastures every autumn with their flocks and herds to winter in the Thessalian plain.

Like their neighbours at Palaiochori the Photis family (for so the carpenter was named) was virtually independent of the world that lay beyond the mountains. They owned a few sheep and goats; the *Kyria* Photis and her daughters spun their own yarn and wove the strong indigo cloth which was made up into *sarka* and *palto* for men and women alike. There was home-baked bread, goats' milk cheese and *yiaourti*, and an occasional lamb roasted on a spit to celebrate a festival; an abundance of rough red wine and the fiery ouzo which gladdens the heart of the traveller when the snow lies deep in Pindos. From time to time the carpenter would saddle his pack-animals and make an expedition to Trikkala, returning with an axe or a set of chisels, and dried figs for the children.

Constantinos, as the carpenter's son was duly christened, began to go to the village school when he was seven. Long before this time,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets. 361 166 464 178 433

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture. 167 464 178 433 [191]

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of [648]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech [191] was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow. 178x 241 233

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise. 669 621 [241] [517] [619]

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the village speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the 621 178x 197 [669] [191] [619]

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bacco-growing parts of Thrace, a child of six may be expected to help to the extent of his ability. In general, by the time he is five or six, he is asked to watch a younger brother or sister or to watch the sheep or turkeys; when not doing this, he can join children's play groups. By the age of fourteen a boy is already a competent field hand. A girl between eight and ten years of age is given little jobs, but between ten and fourteen she assumes much heavier burdens. 857

Yet life is not all work. Children in Greece also have their periods of play, frequently under the watchful eye of some woman in whose yard the children's play groups may be found. Some of the children, however, prefer to play away from home — along the street, around a fountain, or at the school yard — so as not to be called upon to do the chores which would be assigned if they were at hand. It is remarkable how many games can be played without toys. Much can be done with stones and little pieces of broken glass (where no marbles are available), and what dolls can be made by little girls from a few nondescript rags! Occasionally I would find two or three barefooted children damming up a stream near some pigs lying in the mud; or boys would roll iron hoops on the highway while their family worked in a field close by. So intent would the children be on their play that they would seem oblivious to approaching buses or autos. [524]

One of the children's games played throughout much of Greece is a form of jacks. In the village of Laimos, near Lake Prespa, the children playing it called it *vroche* (rain) although elsewhere in Greece it is usually referred to as *pentovolá*. Instead of using a ball, on whose bounce the jacks must be picked up and the ball caught, the girls threw a stone in the air and picked up other stones in time to catch the one that had been tossed. Pebbles figure also in the game called "forty stones." Eight stones are put in a straight line, with forty on each side of the center. At a signal all must run to a set place and return before the girl called "the gatherer" picks up all of the stones into a pile. If the gatherer wins, she sits on the pile and pretends to be a setting hen. 524 [192]

There are the familiar games of hide-and-seek (only the Greek children spit on the tree serving as home base rather than touch it), drop-the-handkerchief, cat-and-mouse. Many of the games require special songs which the girls especially seem to enjoy. Boys at play seem much less organized and more apt to argue over the fine points of the game. [526] [533]

Quite often we came upon children simply sitting still. "What are you doing?" we asked. "Oh, we are telling riddles." Not all of these we heard would have much meaning to an outsider, but some of them had almost a universal touch:

My lamb, my little curly lamb, climbs, eats, and gets fed on grass, drinks water, and dies. (A fire on the mountain.)

Around, around it's round and in the middle it is long. (A well.)

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

788 178 in western Christendom. The very limitations of this Greek 'liturgical movement' illustrate the Roman Catholic historian's contention that the Orthodox Church has never lost her hold upon certain important truths which we in the west are only now, after long centuries of neglect, beginning to recover and make our own.

788 796 [192] The word *leitourgia* had in classical Greek the meaning of a public service or duty—it might be building a wall or fitting out a hollow ship for a naval expedition. Despite the specifically religious associations which the word has acquired through later usage, it is still sometimes employed in this quite general sense. I remember, for example, being told on one occasion in a small provincial town of northern Greece that the municipal school was not *liturgising* that morning: was not performing its liturgy, or service.

For the Christian, likewise, the liturgy which he fulfils every Sunday in his parish church is a public service; an action performed on behalf not of any terrestrial *polis* but of that city which, as Augustine puts it, is Christ's body of which Christ is the head. The holy eucharist in particular, the service to which the Greek Christian commonly refers as 'the divine liturgy', and upon which the whole of the liturgy, in the wider sense of that word, centres, is supremely the characteristic act of the Church: a corporate action in which every member of the one body takes part. Nor is it those now on earth who alone participate in the eucharistic liturgy. It is not merely the bishop, priest, deacon and reader who, with the remainder of the *laos*—the holy people of God—have their peculiar service to offer within the setting of the one oblation. The saints and the angels, the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, no less than the earthly ministers of Christ's body have each their several liturgy to perform; the whole company of the heavenly Sion is present and active in every village church or hilltop chapel where the holy and ineffable mysteries are fulfilled and where the King of kings and Lord of lords comes forth to be sacrificed and given for food to the faithful.

For many centuries now, so far as the west is concerned, this aspect of the eucharist as the characteristic action of the whole Christian community has tended to be obscured. The passing of the austere Latin of the ancient liturgies as a language "understanded of the people" and the banishing of theology to the schools gradually brought about the virtual exclusion of the laity from any active participation in the

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. 178 177 [120]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. 184 177 369 [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed. 184 186 [487]

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not 184 369 805

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 59 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [802] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing [579] cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

179 476 577 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

Collateral consanguineal relatives of ascending generations and their spouses: thios, thia (uncle, aunt); bárbas (uncle, a familiar term.). 601

Collateral consanguineal relatives of descending generations and their spouses: anepsyós, anepsyá (newphew, niece).

Collateral consanguineal relatives of the same generation and their spouses: (e)xádherfos, (e)xadhérfi (cousin); protoxádherfos (first cousin); xadhérfia (cousinhood, cousinry).

The older collateral relative is presumed to be of an ascending generation, but the technicality can be insisted upon for precision or humor (as when a woman insisted on several occasions that her three-year-old daughter was my aunt). Then, too, fully descriptive phrases can be used in reference, e.g., my uncle, the first cousin of my father. [522]

Member of a family related by marriage: simpétheros, simpethéra (co-father-in-law, co-mother-in-law)

father of spouse	pentherós
mother of spouse	pentherá
brother of spouse	kunyádhos
sister of spouse	kunyádha

For other relatives of spouse, the same terms as spouse uses.

wife of son	nífi (bride)
wife of brother	nífi
husband of sister	ghambrós (groom)
husband of daughter	ghambrós
wife	yinéka (woman), kiría (Mrs.)
husband	ándras(man), kírios (Mr.)
spouse	sízighos
husband of wife's sister	batzanákis
wife of husband's brother	sinifádha (co-bride)
godfather	nonós
godmother	noná
godson	vaftistikós
goddaughter	vaftistiká

Members of families related by godparenthood: kumbáros, kumbára. [608]

wedding sponsor and spouse	kumbáros, kumbára

Members of families related by wedding-sponsorship: kumbáros, -a.

When a woman marries she customarily takes not only her husband's last name but his first as well, plus a suffix, -ena or -u, depending on the number of syllables and the accentuation of the name; e.g., Dhimítrios-Dhimítrena, Dhiamandís-Dhiamandú. This is not grammatical gender; the suffix means "wife of," and can be added even to nicknames. The given name is still used by the family of procreation and others. The suffix -ítsa added to a woman's maiden name indicates née so-and-so. Family names can form the plural of their respective declensions or add the suffix -éi (ancient *atoi*, "natives of"), 193 551 [553]

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

193 indicating the members and partisans of a family or clan; e.g., Tsavaléi, Andro-
551 midhéi, Kolokotronéi, Petimezéi (Cf. Pernot, vol. I, p. 86).

Of the Modern Greek kinship terms listed above, most existed with the
177 same or much the same meaning in Ancient Greek. However, the latter had a
601 much richer and more varied vocabulary in the totality of its literature, and the reduction has been considerable. It included many non-Indo-European loan words of which *theîos* and *anepsiós*, among others, survive today. The modern loan words are kunyádhos, bárbas, yáya, and batzanákis, from Romance, Turkish, etc. The bulk of borrowings and replacements of common Indo-European kin terms had occurred already in ancient times. For instance, *adelphós*, *-ē* (modern *adherfós*), literally "co-uterine" (from *delphýs*, womb, a word of uncertain origin), became the sibling terms in place of **phrâter* and
[113] **eór* which dropped out before Homer. The full roster of classic and Homeric kin terms can be found in Miller's "Greek Kinship Terminology."

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[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

369 nians. According to the story, a man reading his newspaper at a café table
829 was studying the battle plans and maps of the Russian command. The more
he studied the newspaper details of the Russian army lines, the more ex-
195 cited he became, until he finally called out a warning to the Russian general
half a world away in these classic words, "More to the right, Koropotkin!
More to the right!" This phrase is repeated with a smile by one Athenian
to another when he wants to imply that the other is passing judgment on
something a little — but only a little — out of his field of competence. As
369 a matter of fact, a multitude of anecdotes told by city Greeks about them-
829 selves swarm into memory. One way of gaining an insight into the Greek
mind is to listen to these stories.

The Greek shows pride in his intellectual curiosity by relating the tale of the Greek walking along a Paris street with a French friend. The Greek in the excitement of a discussion of nationality traits boasted that he could identify any Greek who came down the street. To the Frenchman this seemed impossible in such a cosmopolitan city as Paris.

"Let us wait here for a few minutes and I will find the Greeks for you," said the Athenian, who thereupon began to twist his cane into a nearby wall as though he were boring a hole. Many people passed by without paying any attention, when all of a sudden one man stopped to observe this strange behavior. He looked at the cane, the small hole, and at the man turning the cane as though trying to figure out the reason for the procedure. The Greek with the cane asked, "Are you Greek?" "Yes, I am," said the inquisitive passerby. "What are you doing with that cane?" The performance with the cane was repeated and after an interval a second man — of course, another Greek — stopped to observe. This was enough to convince the Frenchman of his Greek friend's ability to discover his fellow countrymen by tickling their curiosity.

This intellectual curiosity has its other side, too. One Greek social worker with an objective view of herself and her associates said, "When we Greeks face a crucial problem in social welfare or elsewhere, we are inclined to examine it from all sides. We look at it from so many points of view that we finally convince ourselves that it is not a very serious problem and practically explain it away, with the result that we do not feel the need to take any action about it at all."

369 It must be obvious by now that city Greeks are never dull. Conversations
521 with them do not merely flow; they roar along. They always have some prin-
ciples to defend, some causes or organizations to promote, or some absorb-
[275] ing hobbies to share. The mark of the true urbanite, as previously implied,
[829] is the regular visit to a favorite café, the modern version of the ancient
agora, to transact business or to discuss with friends every conceivable facet of the happenings of the past twenty-four hours, not only in his own social group but in the world at large. It is only fair to point out that a few of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Attitudes and Beliefs about Nature

82

The Greek people, as one would expect of individuals everywhere, vary considerably in their attitude toward the physical environment.[3] Some, completely oblivious to the beauty about them, nevertheless try to read the weather signs in order to know when they should plow or sow. Some, at the other extreme, show a deep sensitivity to the changing moods of nature, as, for example, the illiterate shepherd in the Boeotian village of Schematari who would take pencil and paper and lovingly draw a tree-filled landscape or the rising sun. Most of the Greek villagers, however, seem to fall between these two extremes; from time to time they, in the words of one peasant, "gain an optimism in life when they see the beauty of a nice slope of the mountain or a lovely dawn." On the whole, the world seems a friendly place and there are few things to fear at the hands of nature.

More than this, the world is in God's hands. The frequent reference to God in popular speech may be a cultural trait handed down from generation to generation, but some of the oft-repeated, time-honored phrases are said with such animation and with such a light in the eye that they must express the individual feeling of those using them. There is no counterpart in English to the common phrase *Chara Theou* (Joy of God), which combines not only rapture and active enjoyment but the sense of the sparkling light God sheds on the earth. During the spectacular Greek spring, this phrase is a most appropriate way of describing one's feeling. 82 771 776 [195]

Even those who are not very conscious of their natural surroundings from day to day miss them deeply when distant from them. Over and over again, returned emigrants in Greek villages gave as the reason for their departure from America their need to see the mountains or plains or the sea on which their eyes had rested while they grew up. 82 [167]

Much of this feeling toward nature is based on the sense of intimacy with her.[4] Indeed, one of the first requirements in trying to understand the life of any people is to learn their reaction and adjustment to the natural world. The Greek farmer studies nature for important signs which tell him whether to bring the flock in from the high hillside, whether to start or delay a journey, whether to put out his tobacco plants. Those signs directly relating weather to agriculture are obvious and easily understood by the Westerner, if not always accepted as scientifically valid. But the signs which natural objects and events provide of the supernatural — illness and death, the appearance of ghosts, or even the way the universe was made and is run — all of these stretch the imagination of the scientifically trained specialist, who may be inclined to dismiss them as superstition and therefore unimportant. Nevertheless, they continue to be important to many Greek villagers, young and old alike. 82 787

In listening to folk interpretations of nature, one also learns much about

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the
186 knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives,
823 only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (Jan-
823 uary 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering him-
[755] self fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism
[778] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of
[789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most per-
776 sistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of
539 Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> [195] "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to
> [502] let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

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One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns."

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea.

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her.

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521]

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 843 787

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
[805] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
[177] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
577 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
[643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
186 and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
577 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
145 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
577 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger. 156 195 577

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*. 156 577 [521]

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not. [619]

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*. 156 577 578 [762]

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of 156 577 722 727

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader.

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold."

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen."

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart."

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end. 805 461

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act. 805 269 252

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!" 805 195 [369] [355]

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. 805 [405] [301] [353] [355] [804]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other [202]

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness. 000

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought. 771 788 [182] [241] 782 [346] [793]

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction. 796 [794] [852]

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin. 771 [793] [95]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point
461 of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before,
512 is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
521 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
571 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala,*" "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts. 571 867 521

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone. [868] [196]

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity. 521 571 156 828 [748]

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kuvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other. 521 156 828 571

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha,*" "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their

262 369 much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not 262 allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the pro- 785 vinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many 796 of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the [177] latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

262 Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential 511 for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set [796] up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

178 Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want 185 is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has [196] lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
174 objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is [191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] [197] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock;
[854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 875

They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [554] 875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Language: Popular or Pure?

The Greek elementary school has been caught in the no-man's land of a controversy which makes the current educational debate between traditionalists and progressives in the United States seem pale by comparison. The epic struggle has involved the particular form of the Greek language to be used in this school. After the Greek savant has established the point that modern Greek is the same language as ancient Greek but that it has been modified over the past thirty centuries, he will then differentiate between the three representations of Greek. 197 [872]

First, of course, is the ancient Greek which was by no means a uniform language. There were four main classic dialects: the Ionic in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were originally written and which came to be identified with epic poetry; the Aeolian which was thought of chiefly in connection with lyric poetry; the Attic which was used for tragic poetry, oratorical art, and philosophical debate; and the Doric, used mainly by Spartans who wrote very little, and which therefore had no significant literary development. With the spread of Greek culture under Alexander the Great, another type of Greek, the Helleniki Koine, was used by many people speaking other languages but united under the same political ruler. It used only the commonest Greek words found in all of the Greek dialects; it also incorporated non-Hellenic words. It was the language in which the four Christian Gospels first appeared. The Koine, however, was not classical Greek and is not studied as such.[13]

Today one finds a popular form of Greek, again in a rich variety of dialects, which is called *demotike*, or the people's language. Just as the educated people in the Hellenistic period continued to use the Attic Greek when all the uneducated people were speaking Koine, so today many of the educated people frown upon the demotike as a vulgar form which is to be avoided.

In its place they would substitute a third form of Greek, the *katharevousa*, or purist language.[14] This is an artificial language, based as much as possible upon classic syntax and vocabulary, which became in effect the official language of the Greek state after the war of independence in 1821. The contrasts between demotike and katharevousa have been clearly explained by Kimon Friar in his discussion of modern Greek poetry: 197 538

> The purist is the official language used on all formal occasions by those in government, business, and university, although the same people speak demotic or some modification of it. By the time of the eleventh century the demotic had closely approximated its present form, which in grammar today varies but slightly from that spoken during the downfall of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century. The purist is condensed and synthetic; the demotic is periphrastic and analytic, rich in many concrete words and phrases but extremely

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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poor in those abstract words of the arts and sciences which were not the concern of the common people who kept it living. Today, this lack of abstract words is the despair of the modern poet who wishes to express a thought of any metaphysical nicety, and he is driven to paraphase or symbol.

Since the eighteenth century, when the demotic had crystallized in folk poetry, the battle between the use of purist and demotic in prose and poetry has raged, but the battle has finally been won by the demotic, Today the contemporary poet may hold his expression on a living language and borrow his vocabulary as he can from a rich tradition of three thousand years, from Ancient, Hellenistic, Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek and its many dialects, and especially from the purist itself.[15]

Not just poets but almost any literate Greek can construct a private language of his own, within limits to be sure, and use a vocabulary which others may understand and appreciate but which they themselves would never use under the same circumstances. A person is always on safe ground in criticizing the sentence structure, vocabulary, and idiom of a Greek writer, since he is criticizing what is of necessity a personalized [872] style. In other words, the Greek language is still evolving, which means that "the language question" has perennially plagued the school authorities.

197 872

Should, for example, the beginning pupils in the first grade start out learning to read and write the kind of Greek they speak at home (demotike), or should they start out studying a kind of Greek which they cannot understand but which they will have to learn to understand if they are to be considered educated? There seems to have been little disagreement [873] over the matter of teaching the purist Greek in the secondary school. That is an accepted fact. But what about the elementary school?

In the beginning of the new state in 1830, the purist language was supposed to be used throughout the whole school system, even with the beginning pupils. By 1911 people were suggesting that maybe it would be [665] best to use demotike in the elementary school but the Royalists, then a political opposition party, raised such a hue and cry that action was deferred. The Royalists were supported in their stand by some professional men "on the grounds of prestige, and from some teachers who only knew the grammar of the *katharevousa*." [16]

In 1917 Venizelos adopted the proposal, but when the Royalists came to power in 1920,

they forbade the use of *demotike* in schools and made a public bonfire of the new textbooks which had just been written in it. Chaos followed. Every change in government meant a change in the medium of primary education: in 1922 *demotike* was reintroduced by Plastiras; in 1925 Pangelos forbade its use; in 1928, it was restored by the Coalition government with the proviso that *katharevousa* should be taught four hours weekly in the two top forms; in 1932, *katharevousa* was to be taught in all forms; in 1933 the two top forms were to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

be taught exclusively in *katharevousa;* and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17]

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level.

But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm," [18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medium over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words:

> If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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completely replaced any Hellenic stock. His *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea Während des Mittelalters* (History of the Peninsula of Morea in the Middle Ages) (1830) is one of his important works. This has been refuted by Karl Hopf, who claimed that Fallmerayer used documentary evidence which was proven false.

Other works dealing with this question are those by George Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, 7 vols. (London, 1877); Rodd, *Customs and Lore;* and J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910).

A detailed analysis of the problems would involve two separate investigations: (1) that from the standpoint of physical anthropology to determine the biological resemblances of the modern Greeks to those living in classic times; and (2) the survival of the cultural traditions, including the Greek language, from the days of early Grecian greatness to the present. After these investigations have been made there remains the even more difficult — and perhaps impossible — task of relating point one — the biological — to point two — the cultural. But the reader is entitled to the interpretation given by educated Greeks to the presence in Greece of different-language-speaking groups. According to Ph. Annino Cavalierato, former Counsellor of the Royal Greek Embassy in Washington and now in the Foreign Office in Athens:

829 197

"The Albanian and the Vlach dialects, spoken in some areas, denote a foreign influence on a segment of the Greek people rather than the existence of a racial minority. The same could be said about the Heptanesian dialect, a blend of Greek and Venetian Italian. These dialects, Albanian, Vlach, Heptanesian, tend to disappear, and this is another proof of their superficial character: had they been truly the national feature of a minority, they would be perpetuated by education and culture. Being, instead, a passing historical accident, people care little about them and allow them slowly to disappear.

"As for the 'Macedonian' dialect, it should be noted that a 'Macedonian' dialect and a 'Macedonian' nation are both a fairly recent political invention. According to most linguists, 'Macedonian' is just a Bulgarian patois. During the days of the Ottoman Empire, the province of Macedonia was inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, the three latter ethnic elements being denser in areas closer to the respective countries. At the outcome of the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and of World War I (1914–18), this province was distributed among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A wide exchange of populations followed, as a result of which each individual was free to resettle in the country he considered his own. It is reasonable to assume, then, that those who remained in each country consider themselves as nationals of that particular country. There is only one explanation for the fact that Bulgarian is still spoken by some Greeks of Western Macedonia, while Greek, that was widely spoken in Southern Bulgaria, for example, has completely disappeared from that area. The reader will easily find explanation for this.

[167]

"Turkish is the only foreign language spoken in Greece by a minority in the true sense of the word. This Muslim minority, living mainly in Western Thrace, was not exchanged in 1923, as were other Turks living in Greece, because the Greek minority of Constantinople was also allowed to remain in their homes."

[167]

Chapter II. Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

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1. The artist is Mrs. Maria Alexandrakes, who has also been connected with the Local Government Division of the American Mission. She helped us gain many revealing insights into Greek Life.

2. For two Greek sources on the habitat, see George Megas, *Geographia tes Ellados* (Geography of Greece) (Athens, 1958); and George Kolias, *Historike Geographia tou Hellenikou Chorou* (Historical Geography of the Greek People) (Athens, 1948). For especially useful sources in English, see *A Handbook of Greece* (London,

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[548] [589] prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

[184] [197] 4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

[186] 3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a [illegible] in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou choriou mou: Perista, Navpaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessaloniki, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith. [171]

9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

[162] Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the [197] inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the [122] Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us [123] live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

121 Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with [184] other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural [171] settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

Letter to the Editor

Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use

Sir:

114 As a graduate student in anthropology and a person of Greek descent, I
● 197 would like to correct the inaccuracy, both as to words used and their modern
601 forms, of the Modern Greek kinship terms in Edmonson's "Kinship Terms and Kinship Concepts" (AA 59:393–433). The inaccuracy does not affect the thesis or conclusions of the paper, nor is it the fault of the author but rather of the vexed language problem of Greece. The terms given by Edmonson are not the everyday terms of the Modern Greek spoken language (*demotike*), but the revived Ancient Greek (more or less) terms of the artificially created literary language (*katharevousa*). Indeed, Pernot found it necessary to treat the two as separate languages in his *Grammaire du Grec Moderne*.

This is not the place to go into the bitter language controversy; suffice it to say that any dictionary written by a Greek is to a greater or lesser degree an unreliable index to what is actually said by the people. Edmonson's procedure of checking his Greek dictionary data with a native speaker was of course correct but unfortunately to no avail, as most Greeks of any sophistication will feel called upon to give the "right" or dictionary word if asked, especially to a professor. However, this is not to say that the *katharevousa* terms are never used in speech, but their frequency is low and the number of speakers is limited.

601 Since the actual kinship terminology of Modern Greek has, to my knowl-
[114] edge, not yet been published, I am submitting the kin terms used by my rela-
[104] tives and compatriots in America and in Laconia in the hope that they may be made available for use by interested researchers. (The system of transliteration is roughly that of Kahane and Ward.)

Modern Greek Kinship Terminology

father	patéras, babás
mother	mitéra, mamá, mána
parents	ghonís
brother	adherfós
sister	adherfí
siblings	adhérfia (n. pl.)
son	yos
daughter	kóri
child	pedhí (n.)
parent's father	papús
parent's mother	yáya
parent's parent's father	prospápu
parent's parent's mother	prósyaya
child's son	ángonas
child's daughter	angóna

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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III

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THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught.

ST. PAUL to the church in Thessalonica

795
178 IT IS no use beginning one's study of that in many ways anachronistic, yet persistently lively institution, the Church of England, at the sixteenth century: not so can one hope to comprehend the anomalies of her parochial organisation and system of patronage, or to fathom the element of uncertainty that attaches to every archdeacon's prospects [793] of eternal felicity. No more can the student of the Greek Church expect to enter into the spirit of this venerable institution if he looks no farther than the reading of the *Synodical Tome* whereby, in the year 1850, her autocephalous status was first accorded official recognition.

795 One cannot spend many hours in Greece without being struck by the
178 extraordinary continuity of her history. The girl who shepherds one through the customs at the airport may well rejoice in the name of
551 Andromache or Ismene; it is startling to hear a ragged stevedore, one of "that unpolished plebeian race always employed in the hardest labours of the ports and which in every country represents the least noble aspect of a people", being hailed by a passing boatman at the Piraeus as Menelaus or Agamemnon. The traveller arriving at nightfall in a mountain village of Thessaly or the Peloponnese is questioned in terms which have scarcely altered since the prince of swineherds examined the re urned Odysseus: "Who are you and whence do you come? What is your city and your family? Aboard what vessel came you to Ithaca?" New Demetrius often proves to be but old Demeter, and in the country dioceses there linger on observances of immemorial antiquity: local rites connected with birth and death which carry one back to an age infinitely remote from the Lord's coming in human flesh.

178 Though the Greek that is heard to-day in the streets of Athens is
● 197 scarcely that of Aristotle or Pericles, the continuity of language is

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios*!"

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language in which they were written.

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the triumphant *Christos anesti*! Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is risen*! As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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788 198 more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as [797] a liturgical language.

[796] This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present ●197 condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. [204] The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an [788] average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other [198] hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is 788 more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. 796 It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New 198 Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend 782 so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they [852] inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By [868] the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy [779] and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. 178x To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice — too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow. 241 233

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. 669 Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There 621 is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of [241] time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and [517] talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek [619] nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise.

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence 621 of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication 178x among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We 197 are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language [669] and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the vil- [191] lage speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the [619]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a [197] [619] degree of kinship.

Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has [631] lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-[727] fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 161 x 178 The real question for the future is whether or not the village will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving population is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children [728] between the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five [885] couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios*!" 178 197

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language in which they were written. 178 793 795 178 788 795 198

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the triumphant *Christos anesti*! Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is risen*! As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they 178 788 795 178 795 576

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

welcome to his dominions the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus with a following which included several Greek ecclesiastics, both bishops and priests.[1] These unwonted guests remained in London until the end of February following. The Greek services were celebrated daily, many English churchmen being present, and several contemporary accounts of the impression created by these unfamiliar rites have been preserved. More than one chronicler notes with surprise that laymen as well as clerks took an active part in the services which, to quote Adam of Usk, "were joined in as well by soldiers as by priests; for they chanted them without distinction in their native tongue". 788 796 [175]

One last word in connexion with the liturgy of the laity. A contemporary of King Henry IV relates that the Emperor's chaplains were catechised by certain English churchmen who had been present at the Greeks' services as to whether "the common people and the ignorant in their country did indeed understand the scriptures and the divine words which they recited together with the learned." Is the 'old school-Greek' whereof Covel and others speak, sufficiently understanded of the people? 788 796 198

Let us hear another voice from the fifteenth century: "The Grekis", says John Purvey, "wiche ben nobel men, han al this in ther owne langage. But yet adversaries of trewith seien, wane men rehersen that Grekis . . . han al in ther owne langage, the clerkis of hem speiken grammaticalliche and the puple understondith it not."

It should be remarked that the Orthodox Church has never opposed the translation of the scriptures or the liturgy into new tongues when such translation has been necessary for the furtherance of her missionary and pastoral work. On the contrary, the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is probably celebrated in more languages than any other of the historic rites of Christendom. I have myself been present at celebrations at which old Slavonic, Greek, English, French and Arabic have all been used during the course of the liturgy, and W. J. Birkbeck mentions a committee he encountered at St. Petersburg in 1889 which was engaged in translating the liturgy for a small tribe in the north-east of Siberia, numbering less than 5,000 souls and whose language contained scarcely 788 797 198

[1] The story of this Byzantine Emperor's fruitless expedition to the west in quest of military aid against the Turk, and of his sojourn in Paris and London—one of the most diverting episodes in fifteenth-century history—is related in some detail in Schlumberger's *Byzance et Croisades* (Paris, 1927), pp. 87-147: "Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres."

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

consider the family prayers and personal devotions of the Greek laity. These are made up wholly of prayers, psalms and hymns drawn from the liturgy: scarcely ever (save in certain circles influenced by the new movements) do they include vernacular prayers. The *Hiera Synopsis*—the laity's manual of prayers—consists entirely of extracts from the Church's liturgy. The form of evening prayer commonly used in a Greek household is simply a shortened version of the Little Compline which closes the day in every monastery.

The 'liturgical' approach to the Bible has, it must be confessed, certain limitations. If the laity were present at *all* the services of the Church they would indeed acquire a working knowledge of the greater part of the holy scriptures. In practice, however, they will normally hear only those portions of the Old and New Testaments which are read on Sundays and holy days at the eucharistic liturgy and (depending on the regularity of their attendance) at mattins and evensong. Since 'Bible-reading' is little practised outside the new movements (where, indeed, it is universal) this inevitably means that the majority of the Greek laity, being wholly dependent upon the lections which occur in the course of the regular liturgical cycle, are unfamiliar with considerable portions of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament.

It is, moreover, almost certainly true that the common people understand very imperfectly some of the elaborate 'canons' which recur only once every year (and then generally at mattins when few of the laity are present in church). But, as W. J. Birkbeck remarks not inappositely of the Russian muzhiks of his day: "I myself have heard a great many more quotations (and intelligent quotations too) made from the canons . . . of St. Cosmas and St. John Damascene than I have ever heard from the Norfolk peasantry, amongst whom I have lived all my life, from the Hebrew prophets, which are read, or ought to be read, in all our churches throughout the months of September and October!"

While many a Greek Christian's familiarity with the Bible will extend only to those passages which are read during the course of the liturgy, his *theological* understanding of the scriptures is commonly far deeper than that of the, often better-informed, English churchman. Unlike so many an earnest student of the Bible, he realises—however obscurely—that the divine history is related at every point to what goes on week by week in his parish church: that it is only to those who are baptised into Christ's saving death, who are living in the mystery revealed in the Church, that the full meaning of the scriptures is laid bare.

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [665] [829]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

limits of the hill valleys. In times past, Balkan hillsmen then had to seek sustenance from the plains, either by peaceful labor or by armed forays. 621 161 433

As far as Kotta and villages like it are concerned, it now seems to me an open question whether the old cycle will repeat itself again or whether new standards of expectation and conduct will make sufficient inroads upon the traditional peasant family system to check early marriage and rapid multiplication of numbers. Through overseas emigration, the modern city has made its mark on Kotta. All but a few young people want to leave, and many have done so. At the same time, the handful who remain appear to be conforming to the old ways. Perhaps the critical turn will come as their children grow up; for if the rising generation elects to look beyond the confines of the village – and if the possibilities of migration, either within Greece or overseas, exist – then, perhaps, as the population of the village begins to press once again upon the limits of local production, the young people may decline to continue the old, economically suicidal pattern, and will instead seek their fortunes far afield, and refuse to marry into hopeless poverty at home. It depends more than anything else, perhaps, upon the degree of communication that may come to exist between the outside world and the villagers. In 1956 these contacts were limited. Newspapers came seldom; vehicles rarely. But the village did possess a radio that brought daily news from Athens; and emigrants' letters were perhaps the most important of all the channels of contact with the great world beyond the valley in which Kotta nestles. 621 161 167 [20]

Survivors of the older generation – those who have lost their children to the guerrillas – seem to have no doubts or reservations in wishing to see more and more children about again. The priest complained of how empty and joyless the village was without the throngs of children he knew before. He deeply 621 161 842

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[8]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[9] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P 205]

XI

The Village Coffeehouse

Eventually the coffeehouse, instead of being merely the setting for many lively conversations about village life, became an object of interest in its own right. It, too, is a village institution which takes its rank along with the school and the church. The coffeehouse, or *kapheneion,* is more than just a structure. Like the English pub, it is a place of assembly, a communication center, a place to transact business, satisfy one's thirst, or find out about the health of one's friend. 275 182

Most coffeehouses are located near the main square or at some crossroads where things are apt to happen. They find their fullest development in the cities. In the early evening, the time of day when Washington "rolls up its sidewalks" and becomes quieter and quieter, the squares of Athens, the Greek capital, literally burst into life. Constitution Square, for instance, after hundreds of chairs, which have been stacked during the day, are set up around small tables, the waiters begin their hazardous dashes back and forth across the busy street to the food shops which line the square. Their frenetic activity contrasts with the leisurely attack by the patrons upon the small cup of sweet, sirupy coffee and glass of water before them, although a conversation at some table may reach such proportions that one becomes oblivious to the automobile horns, the radio blaring out some popular tune, or the clink of spoons on a glass as people try to attract the attention of a waiter. 275 369 [521] 201

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
471

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
594 unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called *vasana,* a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the
[593] new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live
594 well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from
434 dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
583 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
511 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes, return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

104 *Prodromos* St. John the Baptist, 'the Forerunner'.

proedros president

proskynesis worship.

prosphora eucharistic loaves.

prothesis the preparation of the elements before the liturgy; the chapel on the north of the church where this takes place.

protosyngellos bishop's chaplain.

psaltes singer, cantor.

retsina resinated wine.

sarka long coat with loose sleeves.

[202] *semandron* a piece of wood (more rarely, of iron) suspended and beaten with a mallet to summon monks to church.

skete dependent monastery.

skouphos monastic cap

symmoritai see *andartes*.

synodikos member of the Holy Synod.

Taxiarchai the Archangels (a common dedication for a church).

Theotokos the Mother of God.

[609] *xenos* stranger *or* guest: there is no distinction in Greek.

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end.

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act.

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!"

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure.

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

312 or too little water; never is it "just right." If there is too much, a drainage project must be undertaken to make much-needed land available for cultivation.

312 The most noteworthy reclamation project before the turn of this century
471 was the draining of Lake Kopais, just north of Thebes in Central Greece.[16] The work was undertaken by a French company in 1886 and completed by an English company in 1887, which continued to operate the agricultural estate of sixty thousand acres down to its purchase by the Greek government prior to the November elections of 1952. At that time, this large hold-
[427] ing, along with its complicated drainage system, was turned over to the
[474] former tenants, who had worked for the foreign company. Now as owners, or as members of a cooperative, they face the necessity of making their contribution to the over-all maintenance of the drainage channels so that the water may run off adequately and prevent the land from reverting to its once-marshy condition. According to some foreign technicians, the Greeks are doing a good job of managing this operation.

312 Much of the time, however, there is too little water through the growing season. One answer to this scarcity has been the recent drilling of hundreds of wells, from which water is pumped to the thirsty fields through irrigation ditches. In addition, a number of ambitious water-control projects have led to considerable storage of water and the spread of irrigation.

312 In villages, usually on the edges of plains watered by streams flowing from a mountain source, the water crier is a unique institution. This indi-
● 203 vidual is encountered, for instance, in the Peloponnesos, where he strides through the streets of the village calling out the name of the person whose patches of land are next in line to receive the flow of water. One of these criers had a voice so powerful that, while standing on the small plain below, he could notify people in the village on the mountainside hundreds of yards away.

312 A Greek villager, like the Arab, will make much over the merits of the water of his homeplace. To praise the water he will speak of it as *cho-*
423 *nephtiko nero,* or "digestive water." He will even fight over it, as the fol-
628 lowing news item shows.

> Athens. The Kentucky mountaineers' storied concept of feudin' justice reached here recently and two girls were killed and four men were critically injured.
>
> Two Greek villages — Kerasovo and Papadates — went to war a few days ago to settle a dispute over water rights, and 400 men, women, and children battled for hours with clubs, hoes, knives and hand grenades.
>
> Two army companies were sent to restore order.
>
> The cause of the trouble was water. Sovereignty over Cold Fountain, a spring irrigating the wheat-fields of Kerasovo, was contested by the farmers of neighboring Papadates.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom [203] carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get mar- [203] ried." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to [535] form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 [602 452] the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agriculural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

● 203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques.

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury."

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places.

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it

1:Sanders Z-5)4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor. 623 653 [651] [727]

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done. [316] [333]

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax: 651 [203]

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

Here the local authorities were following the ancient practice of "farming" out the taxes to the highest bidder who, in turn, was expected to derive from rigorous collection much more than he paid for the right. Every time a bleating goat or an ox changed masters, the successful bidder would collect his 2 percent of the sale price.

The community council has other duties in addition to managing a community-owned radio, rebuilding churches, and collecting taxes. It conducts local elections as well.[6] By 1951 the political situation had stabilized to the point that local elections could be held throughout the country. Of the registered voters, a greater proportion of women than men voted, thereby showing their appreciation of the right of suffrage. From nine to thirty-one 623 666 [633]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

619 the United States, feel a close bond with the others who come from Arcadia.
[575] They form societies to continue this association and to give an opportunity to dance and sing the folk arts of that region.

A Greek villager is, moreover, a Greek. Villages can be uprooted and destroyed, their families dispersed, but Greece goes on as a living spirit and as a mighty cultural heritage. The fact that so many Greek families have
[602] relatives living in other parts of the country, including Athens, means that they keep in fairly close touch with the body politic. They are not merely dependent upon what some village notable or visiting politician tells them; they can hear directly from their relatives just what the state of affairs really
[203] is. This means that kinship plays a part in the communication network on which the national community rests. In conclusion, it is important to look
178 briefly at the role of the villager in the total society, taking our eyes from
619 the village scene and viewing the larger picture. This is necessary if one is to understand the Greek village of the next few years — the one which is emerging — because the changes being introduced come for the most part from outside the village. They are promoted to a considerable degree by national authorities or impersonal forces over which the peasants have relatively little control.

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

/31 cont./ 275
where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political 517
leaders meet their followers.

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government [208]
employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house [203]
where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission.

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people 794
directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, 869
and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole 872
family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child
follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through [796]
its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings
up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/
learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or
that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its
religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend
church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such [796]
holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance
of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their 782
Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other 776
sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as 795
his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to
special designated saints whom they think are able to help them.
For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage
and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For
travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to
St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line.
It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as [771]
Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They
take their religion seriously and believe in it completely.

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop 793
is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the 782
priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the repre- [776]
sentative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God.
Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters 869
as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places.

The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse. 178

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions. 178 203 831

There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future. 178 184 [789]

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings. 178 476

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

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land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business (baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

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Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in search of work. [369]

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This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times. [458] [204]

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It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions force-
571 fully expressed.

A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis: 1/1

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
●204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

1/1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 sought to strengthen the hands of those favoring decentralization in the
647 belief that this would accomplish more with American aid money. On the
[177] other hand, those who favor strong centralization tend to think of government primarily in political rather than administrative terms. They see government as an arena where personalities and parties struggle for the opportunity of directing the affairs of state. They realize that much political power is built on patronage or at least the promise of patronage; they also argue that the political process is built upon compromise and that many administrative practices are established in governmental bureaus to forestall any such compromises. Which group is prompted more by disinterested, public-spirited motives can best be determined by the observer on the spot as different personalities, representing these varying points of view, step onto the stage.

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The Peasant and Politics

Shortly after my arrival in Greece in the fall of 1952, I encountered an interesting case study of the peasant and politics. All over Greece, one September Sunday, the farmers demonstrated against their government. This affair was treated, as one would expect, quite differently by the various Athenian newspapers, but the general tone of argument never got down to the facts of the peasants' grievance but instead haggled over who was responsible for getting them all stirred up.

[204] One newspaper, *Philelevtheros,* under the caption "The Farmers' Plight," wrote:

> There is no Greek who does not admit the rights of the farmers, or the fact that they are, and always were, the most neglected class in this country. Everyone feels the farmers' plight as if it were his own, and they know that Greek society will never stand on its feet as long as the farmer's lot is a miserable one. Their present fate, however, is not the fault of the Government, but is due to a whole century of reactionary rule. The farmers' demonstrations would have
> [665] been even stronger and more genuine if the Rally Party agents had not attempted to exploit them. However, they failed in this attempt.

[204] *Ethnos,* a newspaper representing a rival party, reported under the caption "Farmers' Demonstrations":

> Over the whole of Greece, in all those areas where men strive to get the maximum crop from our not very fertile soil, solid demonstrations were held last Sunday. The farmers were protesting with absolutely justified indignation against the indifference the Government is showing in handling their problems, and the way in which it has withdrawn its promises to them.
>
> In the face of this Pan-Hellenic uprising, the Government, through its comic Minister of Coordination, and through its press, finds nothing better to give in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

be taught exclusively in *katharevousa;* and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17] 197 872

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level. 197 [554]

But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm," [18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medium over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words: 197 212 204 669 197

> If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

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IX

A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION 000

> It is not enough to understand the extremity of the affliction that has been endured, although if this is not understood, nothing has been understood.
>
> F. A. VOIGT
> *The Greek Sedition*

SINCE a measure of security was restored to Greece, the ecclesiastical authorities have had little respite from urgent practical problems clamouring for solution. To the most cursory reader of a periodical such as *Ekklesia* (the official journal of the Greek Church), it must have been apparent that during the years which followed the collapse of the Communist sedition the bishops were constantly preoccupied with questions of material welfare and relief. Scarcely an issue but contained some reference to the resettlement of refugees, plans for the rebuilding of destroyed churches or the provision of clothing for the clergy; while the *Paidoupolis*, the *Paidikos Stathmos* and the P.I.K.P.A. clinic and food-distribution centre had, it would seem, become permanent features of the diocesan organisation in many parts of Greece. 727 794 [204]

It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to assume that the Church of Greece was forced by her preoccupation with these overwhelming material needs to neglect what must always be her primary task. Quite the contrary is true. That concern for the poor, the prisoners, the homeless and the oppressed which one looks for in a Church which pays peculiar reverence to St. John Chrysostom, went hand in hand with a missionary activity which, all else apart, would have sufficed to make the decade from 1940 to 1950 a memorable one in the annals of the Greek Church. Greece, as a theologian of the Zoë Brotherhood wrote to me in 1949, "issued from the war completely ruined—materially. Nothing was left to her of her national wealth. Her houses, villages, fields, factories, communications, and economy were all utterly destroyed. Spiritually, nevertheless, she emerged from the chaos of war reborn."

It is only against this background of suffering and devastation, of

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer a-sonder.

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722 204 A FEW paces from the gates of the University of Salonica, just south of the Via Ignatia where antique tramcars go clanging across the dusty waste that was once the Jewish cemetery, the daily papers, which play so important a part in Greek intellectual and social life, used to be publicly displayed every morning so that all men—poor scholars and unbeneficed clerks as well as prosperous merchants rich in this world's goods—might read of the heroic exploits of the armies which strove to drive the Accursed of God from the snowy heights of Pindos: a public-spirited gesture, worthy of a people who have ever set the pursuit of truth far beyond mere commercial advantage, and one of which I was often glad to avail myself on my way from the university library at midday.

722 793 One sunny forenoon in the spring of 1949 as I scanned the headlines of *Kathimerini* and *Akropolis* a photograph caught my eye. At first sight it seemed in no way remarkable: a group of country clergy gathered about their father in God—the latter an impressive figure wearing the *enkolpion*, or pectoral eikon, which is the mark of the higher clergy. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed that this was no ordinary clerical assembly, for every one of these reverend personages had a rifle slung across his shoulder. I turned in some astonishment to the accompanying paragraph and read that "in the war against the insurgents, the clergy of Grevena hastened to be enrolled under the banner of the movement for the deliverance of the Hellenic race. . . ." The photograph, it concluded, "shows the Metropolitan of Grevena with his armed priests".

727 793 I went to lunch with my curiosity whetted. Grevena, I knew, was a peculiarly isolated diocese and one that had suffered severely, first at the hands of the Germans and again in the present troubles. Further enquiries disclosed that the present Metropolitan, the Lord Theokletos, was a man renowned for his ardent patriotism and his immense stature.

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797 175 Patras during these years, and when his uncle died in 1902 there was a great and widespread desire that he should succeed him. On this occasion, however, as on every other, Father Eusebius declined all offers of ecclesiastical preferment. With the example of Hierotheos Metropoulos before his eyes he was in no danger of underestimating the influence that could be exercised by a bishop who was a saint in deed as well as in name; but he shrank from the heavy burden of administrative cares which would inevitably hinder the free exercise of that ministry of preaching and reconciliation to which God had called him.

794 797 175 After the death of Hierotheos Metropoulos, Father Eusebius spent a further five years in missionary journeys to every part of liberated Greece, and then, in 1907, came the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë: a society organised on monastic lines which should, if God so willed, serve as a fit instrument for the continued regeneration of the Greek Church and for the extension of the work begun nearly seventy years before by Cosmas Phlamiatos and Ignatius Lambropoulos. A small house in an Athens suburb served as the headquarters of the new brotherhood; and here Father Eusebius gathered about him a little group of young theologians consisting of two priests and two laymen. [204] In 1911 they commenced the publication of the journal *Zoë*, which was destined before long to extend the teaching of the movement to every diocese of the newly-liberated provinces of northern Greece.

From these modest beginnings there has sprung a movement which in the course of a little more than a generation has exercised a most powerful influence upon the life of the Greek Church. Through the preaching of the Zoë brothers and the many-sided activity of the movements which have grown up under their supervision, the religious life of many a town and village has been transformed beyond all recognition since the days when Apostolos Makrakes first preached in the public places of Athens, and the youthful Eusebius Matthopoulos pondered the writings of the ancient divines and swept the classrooms and corridors of the School of the Logos.

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THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

I have already referred to the movement known as *Anaplasis*. This was founded as early as 1887 by two lay disciples of Apostolos Makrakes: it is to the latter that it owes its primary characteristics. Its efforts were mainly directed to resisting, by means of preaching, lectures, and the publication of apologetic and philosophical writings, the spread of materialistic notions derived from western Europe. It was from the start a predominantly lay movement widely supported by theologians, philosophers, lawyers and university professors, as well as by many merchants and business men. Its journal formerly had a wide circulation in professional and academic circles and was issued, at first weekly and then fortnightly, right down to 1941.

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During the eighteen-nineties the Anaplasis movement supported ten preachers who worked in the Athens-Piraeus region and also to some extent in the provinces. The Crown Prince Constantine was an honorary president, and amongst its most active members were the lawyer, John Skaltsounes (who is looked upon in Greece as a forerunner of the *Aktines* movement), and a Minister of Justice, Nicolas Demetrakopoulos, who, though not himself a trained theologian, was one of the first persons to devote his attention seriously to Christian apologetics. The real leader of the movement, however, was the lawyer and *hierokeryx*, Michael Galanos, and its final eclipse coincided with his death in 1948.

Father Eusebius and his associates collaborated with this movement for many years as preachers and contributors to its journal. Then came the foundation of the Zoë Brotherhood and the growth of a separate movement with its own periodical, and from this time onward the older association declined. It lingered on for many years: Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos gave it his vigorous support from 1922 to 1938 (his brother was for a time its director), and it was not until quite recently that it was finally swallowed up in newer movements like *Aktines*, the home mission society known as *Apostolos Paulos*, and *Enoria*.

The Anaplasis movement was admirably equipped to meet the rationalist influence at work in Athens during the latter part of the nineteenth century; it was not able to adapt itself to the needs of a changing situation—hence its decline. From this pioneer association, however, there sprang two other movements, both of which have exercised a considerable influence during recent years. Both, it is interesting to note, were founded by parish priests. One (which is now under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes) has developed until it is second only to Zoë amongst the unofficial movements in the scope

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794 175 and importance of its activity. The other was the creation of a remarkable parish priest, Father George Makres, who was for many years in charge of the parish of St. Basil in the Piraeus. He it was who in the year 1896 first established catechetical schools (there had been earlier but unsuccessful attempts), and both in this field and in that of the formation of 'circles' or groups for the study of the Bible he was a [204] distinguished pioneer. He also edited a religious journal bearing the title of *Anamorphosis* (Transformation). After his death in 1943 his work in the Piraeus was taken up by one of his numerous spiritual sons, the then Archimandrite Damaskenos Kotzias (now raised to the episcopate).

The second of these movements was founded in 1913 by Father Mark Tsaktanes and grew up about his parish church of St. Catherine. Like Father George, in the Piraeus, this married priest led the way in the organisation of catechetical schools (some schools which still flourish in our own day are his foundations), and of circles for the study of the Bible. When he died, his brother-in-law, Father Angelos Nissiotes, the priest in charge of the parish of the Life-Giving Source in the heart of Athens, carried on and greatly extended his work. The 'Orthodox Christian Unions' and catechetical schools under Father Angelos' direction are now extremely vigorous, and out of this movement have come some of the most interesting experiments of recent years.

An admirable example of the older movements which have grown up in the provincial towns of Greece is that known as the '*Apostoliki Diakonía* of Salonica', founded in 1928 by a lay theologian with the primary object of promoting the study of the holy scriptures among adults. In addition to this side of its work it had founded by 1949 some thirty-one catechetical schools, with a total membership of nearly 3,000 boys and girls. The teachers in these schools included students and professional men. From this movement there has sprung since the end of the occupation a smaller organisation of great interest. This is [874] the 'School of Christ', the creation of the Archimandrite Timothy Papamichael. Its primary object is the training of preachers and lay evangelists. This task has been tackled with such energy that already by 1950 there were more than 120 members of the movement—mostly young men and women—at work in Salonica and the north of Greece.

This unofficial 'Apostolic Diaconate' has led the way in the creation of catechetical schools and small groups for Bible study in the northern

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794 grave. Many of the youth movements have in fact sprung from older associations which were intended in the first place for adults. This was so in the case of the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica, for instance, and it was not until nearly twenty years after its foundation that Zoë turned its attention to the development of catechetical schools.

So far as Zoë organisations are concerned, the young man or woman who outgrows *X.Φ.E.* or *X.E.E.N.* may pass to one of the three movements known collectively as *Σ.X.Σ.* (*Synergazomena Christianika Somateia*) One of these is for parents, another for teachers. The third, the 'Christian Union of Scientists' (*X.E.E.*) founded in 1935, membership of which is open to all sorts of professional men, is of considerable importance. This is the movement responsible for the publication of the fortnightly [204] journal *Aktines*, and, moreover, for the remarkable volume entitled *Towards a Christian Civilisation* which was published in Greek and English in 1947. It is in Aktines circles that the pioneer labours of Makrakes and his associates who founded the Anaplasis movement have come to fruition.

Until quite recently *X.E.E.* was confined to Athens. Now, however, there is a lively branch in Salonica and little groups of professional men are being formed in many provincial towns of Greece. One such town, which I visited early in 1950, had a 'circle' whose members included the mayor, the doctor, the dentist, the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and two lawyers. All these would meet once a week, together with the preacher of the metropolis (a priest of the Zoë Brotherhood), to study the Bible and to discuss the bearing of their faith upon the life of their community. Such a movement abounds in promise. Not the least interesting feature of the Aktines wing of the Zoë organisation is the prominent part that many distinguished professors of the science faculties of the universities have played in the leadership of this Christian movement.

Apart from the Christianika Somateia there are several other movements which have grown up under the supervision of the Zoë Brotherhood: the home mission association known as *Apostolos Paulos*, which was founded three years before the death of Father Eusebius and has an admirable centre in the very heart of Athens; the *Eusebeia* sisterhood, which organises catechetical schools, trains certain of its members as nurses, and publishes a periodical for children. There are, besides, several educational establishments in Athens and the Piraeus, hostels for university students in Athens and Salonica, and a Young Workers'

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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centre at Agrinion which includes an orphanage, a hospital (where the nurses are members of the Eusebeia sisterhood), and a group of workshops. All this has sprung from the little brotherhood which Father Eusebius gathered about him in 1907. 794

I have made no mention of many other voluntary movements which now flourish in Athens and its suburbs: movements like the 'Christian Corner', the 'Christian Social Union' and the association known as the 'Three Hierarchs'. All these were founded by lay people and have remained wholly lay in character. Their members include many distinguished men and women; their activities are both evangelistic and philanthropic.

No account of the evangelistic activity of recent years can ignore the part played by Christian literature, both periodicals and books. Almost every movement has at least one periodical of its own, and the circulation of these weekly and fortnightly papers is astonishingly large for a country where most of the inhabitants devote little time to reading, and where (even in the universities) oral instruction still predominates. The periodical *Zoë*, for example, which has been issued weekly since 1911, now has more than 100,000 subscribers. Several of the provincial movements publish excellent periodicals which circulate all over Greece; such for instance is the journal *Apolytrosis*, published every month by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Thessaloniki, which has a circulation of about 12,000 copies. The 'School of Christ' in the same city also publishes monthly papers, devoted to scriptural exegesis, which are used by many preachers. Both Zoë and the Christian Unions of Father Nissiotes publish periodicals for children. 204 794 [876]

In the field of book production, as elsewhere, the Zoë Brotherhood has led the way, and the exhibition held in Athens in January, 1950, was an impressive monument to the diligence with which the written word has been cultivated in recent years. Father Eusebius himself wrote many books during the last twenty years of his life, and his *magnum opus*, *The Destiny of Man*, has exercised untold influence. Amidst a wealth of books covering almost every field of Christian literature I would pay special tribute to the work of the brotherhood in publishing the text of the New Testament and the Septuagint in moderately-priced editions well printed on good paper. The Zoë pocket edition of the New Testament has had an enormous circulation. 214 794

Of liturgical reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press.

Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses, a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university, and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary movements, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material resources.

In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder; in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrákes rather than Father Eusebius.

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful traditions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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party will be able to rise once more from its defeat and become again a disciplined, dominating force in internal Greek politics, will depend at least as much upon the course of international affairs as upon any efforts the Greek Communists may make by themselves. 668

Nevertheless, in 1956 signs were not wanting to show that Communism was still a force to be reckoned with in Greece. In spite of all the police had been able to do, it seemed certain that an illegal underground organization continued to exist, aimed more, perhaps, at collecting intelligence for foreign Communist states than at fomenting revolution in Greece. Greek-language broadcasts from behind the iron curtain continued to reach the country, informing the faithful of the proper attitudes to take on current political questions. The fact has already been mentioned that one Athens newspaper faithfully followed the line laid down by Communist broadcasts; a second appeared most sympathetic, though its editors did not always conform completely to Soviet directives. [204]

On the political stage, a new party was formed in advance of the elections of September 1951 which seemed very like EAM, the Communist-dominated resistance front which had so nearly won control of Greece in 1944. This new party was known by the initials EDA (Enosis Dimikratikon Aristera, or Union of the Democratic Left). Its candidates in 1951 were drawn in considerable measure from among persons who had made a name for themselves during the wartime resistance – many of them being in jail as Communists when the elections were held. 666 668

In spite of these circumstances, EDA met with very considerable success. In 1951 it won 180,640 votes, and in the elections of 1952, 152,011. In both cases, the EDA total was close to 10 per cent of all valid ballots, amounting to 10.6 per cent in 1951 and 9.6 per cent in 1952. Inasmuch as EDA participated in an electoral coalition with other opposition parties in the election

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in-educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 871
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[312] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[317] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most
of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[779] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece
the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until
recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics,
well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or
city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where
two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the
Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as
the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two
armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers.
A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on
the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian
monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the
difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[814] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
scholarly standard.

RELIGION

791 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity
among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of
Greekness.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job. 624 [702] [205] [206]

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed. 746 511 [623] [622]

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter. 746 625 735 [727]

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.

484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of 443 fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use 484 them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation. 484 But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or 49 a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of [205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and com- 484 munities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built, [49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields [346] are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959, with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and an- [245] other of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the [764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

[494] Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

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therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job.

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Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions force-
571 fully expressed.

A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis: 1/1

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

1/1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

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631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

● 207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
727

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councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes, on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's; its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[7]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorating the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high-powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there, as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

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177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias*, often translated "welfare through
653 employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
207 to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administra-
491 tion (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
178 mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds
true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
[241] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these
and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire
[654] for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families
[264] have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[365] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[354] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on
[296] wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[513] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its
247 edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
511 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately

[263]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas,* where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek coffeehouses we find the equivalent of what Chester Bowles has referred to as the "tea house jury": 275 521

One evening in Taipeh I asked a world-wise old Chinese diplomat what he thought would happen on the mainland. "Have you ever been to China?" he asked. When I said that I had not, he said, "In every one of China's one million villages is a tea house. Every day at the tea hour the people, especially the wise people of the village, gather to talk. 208

"Chiang lost," the old man continued, "because this great 'tea house jury' decided that he had failed. The villagers came to believe that the Communists could do no worse, and they might be better.

"Someday perhaps the 'tea house jury' will bring a verdict against Mao. Then China will be ready for a change." [5]

Although my study of the Greek coffeehouse never got beyond the introductory stage, I felt fortunate indeed to find that the investigation by John Photiadis of Stavroupolis in Macedonia had addressed itself to many of the specific questions in which I had been interested.[6] No one would claim that all of his findings for one village in Northern Greece would automatically apply to the whole country, but they do possess enough generality to provide some penetrating insight. For example, his discussion * of the coffeehouse attractions are most helpful. 275 521

The primary appeal is *kouvenda,* or conversation, explained as follows: 275

Kouvenda means conversation without any particular purpose, a recognized form of "passing the time." It is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of ideas or description of events, or delving into the past in a quiet manner. But sometimes it is contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud, a statement or a question is countered by a challenging question, tact and gentleness have no part, insults are hurled, but within appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinions, and its end is neither to reach truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech. But whatever impression this occupation of passing the time makes on someone who is a stranger to this custom, to these people it is their enjoyment. It constitutes one of the attractions that makes the coffeehouse a necessity for the villager. 521 571

Photiadis points out that during the kouvenda the participant is involved emotionally, is not only trying to prove his point but is also enjoying this oratory. The irresponsible statements are not to be taken seriously, although they sometimes are, with unfortunate consequences. In this connection, I was always interested in what the men argued about most in the village coffeehouses and found that they did not discuss politics to the same extent as the denizens of the urban coffeehouses. They preferred to talk about community affairs, crops, and personalities, although the announcement about some [369]

* Relying on some of Dorothy Lee's analysis.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

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275 571 [602 452] the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 ●208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agriculural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques.

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury."

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places.

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

because of a conversation the previous evening with his cronies at the coffeehouse. One villager got to the crux of the matter: "In the coffeehouse we get into arguments over our political leaders and don't attend to our fields. We do this because we are uneducated and people do little to help us, and so we spend our time on foolish things. The government doesn't send people here to instruct us; we are farming the way our fathers did."

With the spread of the program of agricultural extension, perhaps this peasant can no longer legitimately make the same complaint, but the chances are that the men of his village are still arguing about many matters and, perhaps in his opinion, spending their time on "foolish things."

Even the critics admit that there are still many conditions which encourage the men to patronize the coffeehouse quite apart from the attractions already described. For most village men, home is a most unattractive place in the evening. Dimly lit, poorly heated in cold weather, dominated by women and their silly prattle, the home cannot begin to compete with the masculine company found at the coffeehouse. Furthermore, most men can think up perfectly valid reasons (in their opinion, at least) for going to the coffeehouse: they have a business matter to talk over; they want to know how some world crisis is shaping up; they need some advice on a farming decision.

Should they be found at the coffeehouse during the daytime, when conscientious farmers might be finding something worthwhile to do, they do not experience many twinges of conscience. They are not pricked by any Puritan ethic that teaches them constantly to be busy; instead, they save their energies for the time and place where it is unquestionably in their interest to work hard and long. When no such occasion presents itself, what more could a man ask than to enjoy his leisure, unplanned and unsought though it be? Nor does he think that it is up to him to seek out productive uses of his time. If people have good employment opportunities, they will seek him out, and he will respond. If he is from the tobacco-growing districts, the chances are that he has put his only resources (wife and children) to work for him and can take his ease until he must return to see how the work has progressed. He has no idle capital to invest but does his best with the human labor at his command. When heavy work is required, he will do his part, but when that is done others can harvest, string, and manipulate the tobacco. He provides the entrepreneurial skill.

Perhaps the coffeehouse and the attitudes of its habitués clash more strongly with American value orientations than do any other aspects of village life. To the Greek peasant, to be idle is no sin; to converse in the kouvenda can be as satisfying as to be a spectator sportsman; to seek to learn "what's new" if you live in a village is just as worthy as the search for novelty which motivates many in the United States. To get away from the women, the Greek peasant does not have to go on a long hunting trip to

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built. He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

622 623 cil members who are in some way connected with the project or activity. The mayor usually introduces topics for the approval of the council, but no action can be taken before the prefect of the area gives his final approval.

[208] In Stavroupolis, people respond quite emotionally to each method applied by the village government. Problems are discussed by the council before decisions are made and are discussed again by the male population in the coffeehouse with interest and emotion. . . . The village government's business is their business and these informally-made decisions are important since no project can operate normally or smoothly if their informal decisions are opposed.[8]

651 But no picture of local government is complete without some sketch of the tax and financial picture. According to the 1950–51 legislation, local governments gain their revenues from the following sources.[9]

Property Revenues
— For the use of slaughterhouses
— Grazing rights on communal-owned land

Dues and Excises
— Building dues, ½ to 1 percent of the amount of cost
— For the use of sidewalks, streets, and public squares
— Dues on hotels, beds, and bills
— Weight and measure excises; advertisement excises
— For the use of municipal and communal property, works and services including garbage and cleanliness, electricity and gas

Direct Taxes
— Tax on agricultural and forestry products: 2 percent mandatory, 4 percent optional
— Tax on cattle; tax on poultry and fish up to 3 percent of price
— Tax on vacant plots within town plan areas in demes over 20,000 and those in the capital area and Thessalonike area
— Tax on property which has gained value owing to deme or communal public works

Indirect Taxes
— Tax on sale and purchase of cattle
— Tax on olive oil dregs

Contributions
— Contributions determined by council not over 30 million drachmas per head in Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika; 15 million on other demes; 5 million in communes

[653] Personal Work
— In demes and communes under 10,000 population, men over eighteen work ten days a year. Also includes their animals and motor equipment

Loans, Donations and Legacies

Sale of Real Estate and Movable Property

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

623 responsibility. The collection of its monies is undertaken by the central government's financial officers directed from Amphiklia, and the expenditure of its monies is supervised and controlled by the officers of the *nomarchia* centered in Levadhia. Moreover, the council has neither responsibility nor power over other village-wide activities. Law enforcement and the operation of the village school and of the village churches are administered separately both from the council and each from the others. Before turning to these activities, some mention of the council's role in Vasilika apart from the formal expectations is appropriate.

[829] [622] It is indicative of the village attitude toward the council, in contrast with that toward the president, that at no time during our stay in the village was any man pointed out to us as having the status of council member or as having had it in the past. When, accompanied by several villagers, we visited the former schoolteacher of Vasilika, he asked us who was currently the president but did not ask about the council members. The president has an important role to play 622 in the minds of the villagers. He is expected to act as liaison between them and 829 other governmental units and to further the interests of Vasilika in whatever situations may develop. For example, there was some criticism of the president for not arranging more rapidly for the bus to come through the village. In 731 early April 1956, an unexpected and heavy rain flooded the fields and threatened 312 to destroy the wheat if the waters did not drain off quickly. Most of the vil- lagers (not all, however) were agitated, and in the early morning groups of men ● 208 climbed the hill and looked out over the fields shaking their heads and lament- 521 ing, "*Katastrofes*!" "Catastrophy!" Then came the discussion of why the fields were not draining properly. All day, in the coffeehouse, the men inveighed against the English company which had owned the former Lake Copais land for setting up a drainage system that did not go beyond those lands; against the Greeks who took over the company for continuing a system that, the men insisted, not only did not drain the lands of Vasilika, but even made it subject to flooding; against the government for not having built a proposed dam that would have protected the region; and against the village president for not immediately calling on the nomarch's engineers to suggest remedies for the present situation. For days after, there were rumors that the nomarch's technical staff would meet with the president and councils of Parori and Vasilika to arrange a public works program of low dams to protect the area from possible future disasters from the same cause. The meeting never took place. Some villagers 731 blamed the situation on the unwillingness of the farmers to work together to 312 build their own small dams. One man had earlier tried to protect his own fields by building low earthen dikes around them, but his work was wasted 208 because the surrounding fields were not so protected. The morning after the storm some of the men had quickly built up a two-foot dam at an obviously vulnerable spot near the cemetery. But a villager pointed out that if the water had risen just a little further, the placement of the dam would have made the situation worse rather than better. There was no more rain; the waters gradually receded; each man watched for his own fields to dry out. Those who were left with one or two small plots that were so badly flooded as to be useless for

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's [208] population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and
476 the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the
571 interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha*, that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own [609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni*, people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages,
123 and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,
685 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
621 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
000 to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

[Village Life]

669 thoroughly in harmony with the "popular front" tactics inculcated by international Communist policy. When British inter-
[648] vention in 1944 prevented the resistance forces from seizing power in Greece, the rank and file of those who had supported the Communists during the war had little reason to distrust their leaders, since the Communists had not had time or opportunity to carry through the revolution they hoped for.

669 As a result, when in 1946 international Communist policy
433 again mobilized the energies of the Greek Communist party to begin a new guerrilla war, Communist organizers found little difficulty in winning the sympathy and support of the same social groups that had participated in the wartime resistance movement. The hill villages were prepared to send their young men into the guerrilla ranks for the same reasons as before. Liberation had not brought prosperity, and without prosperity in the cities and plains, life in the hills was very hard. Hence the Communists found it easy to create guerrilla bands in all the mountainous regions of the country.

In the most obvious sense, both of these recent guerrilla movements failed. Their leaders were killed or driven from the country, and the government remained in other hands. Yet in
[208] another sense, it must be recognized that the imprint of the two guerrilla enterprises upon the attitudes of the hill villages of Greece has been deep, and seems likely to last a long time.

Basically, what the Communists achieved was to convince nearly everyone in the villages that the traditional way of living was no longer even to be wished for and striven after. Instead, they held out fascinating and quite unrealizable dreams of bathtubs and electric refrigerators for all. Or rather, they held this out as an ultimate goal, and offered in the more immediate future a life of activity, violence and dedication — a life that at least seemed to have significance and purpose and hope. These were just what the average young man or woman

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

in the hill villages (and in only slightly less degree the other young people of Greece also) lacked, yet desperately needed in order to confront the daily hardships and disappointments of private life. Here, I think, lay and continues to lie the secret of Communist influence in Greece. It was not so much the ultimate vision of wealth and ease and justice – Greek peasants are quite sophisticated enough to distrust such glittering baubles – but the mobilization of energies in the here and now to form a purposeful movement, surcharged with hope and optimism, that attracted the allegiance of so many restless young people. 669 433

At the least it seems correct to say that the guerrilla movements, with their attendant propaganda and real life experiences, created a population more or less chronically open to fresh revolutionary winds, from whatever direction they may blow. Even when jobs on roads and other sorts of construction opened up again in the 1950's, so that something resembling the old symbiosis of hill and plains could be resumed, the changed attitudes among the hillsmen remained quite obvious. Greece will have, for some considerable time to come, a substantial group of its population that is peculiarly receptive to movements of political dissent or outright revolution. [208] [668]

The real, physical problems presented by too many mouths and too little land have not been solved, and cannot be solved quickly by anything short of wholesale depopulation. But the tradition-bound attitudes which once made this precarious life seem inevitable, even if not right, have been profoundly eroded. Clearly, this is a dangerous and potentially explosive situation. What happens in the hill villages is likely to constitute the critical factor in the future political history of Greece.

The situation in the plains was different. Guerrilla bands seemed suspiciously like robbers, or at best like tax collectors, to the peasants of the plains villages from whom they demanded food. Comparatively few young men left such villages to join

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

/29 cont./

leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

/31 cont./

where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political leaders meet their followers. 275 517

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission. [208] [203]

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/ learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to special designated saints whom they think are able to help them. For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line. It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They take their religion seriously and believe in it completely. 794 869 872 [796] [796] 782 776 795 [771]

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the representative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God. Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places. 793 782 [776] 869

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community
[796] gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great, in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
793 He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos*.
346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. [872] The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had 875 just been released from the army. He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the 123 unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. The [793] priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena.

The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one [484] of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

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1:Sanders Z-5,f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her. 562 593 [574]

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula: 538 593 [212]

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name]. [858] [583]

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her. 594 [511]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men). Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen to us if we can't read?"

[212] [369] [562] [669] [875]

Local Support for the School

871 Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school, since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people and the community council toward the education of their children.

[875] [875]

One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board, the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

[634] [653]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [554] 875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not
156 expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children
so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve
[212] glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read
and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way
places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is
[369] supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and
other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally
how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that
875 he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about
the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

[871] In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her childern how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

be taught exclusively in *katharevousa;* and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17]

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level.

But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm," [18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medium over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words:

> If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

593 571 583 425 sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

574 369 602 593 The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several [874] months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

369 574 513 [571] [593] All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

369 602 [574] [212] [203] [554] Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

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Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

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The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

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/70 cont./
Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 871
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[312] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[317] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[799] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics, well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers. A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level. Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[414] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and scholarly standard.

RELIGION

771 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are really Greek since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE WATERS OF MARAH

727 By the summer of 1950 it had become possible to gain some notion
795 of the full extent of the material destruction which the Church had sustained since the beginning of the war; although with large tracts of northern Greece uninhabited until a few months before, the compiling of accurate statistics—never a simple matter—presented problems such as only one who had been in Greece during the last few years could hope to appreciate fully. I have already referred to the wholesale destruction of churches and monasteries. This, though serious enough, was perhaps most easily remedied. I remember one bishop who chuckled inordinately when I questioned him on this subject; "All that is necessary", he assured me, "is that I should go in person to the village with a spade and set to work, and then: *Panaghia!* in no time at all the whole village will turn out and a new church will be built before one can say a *kathisma* of psalms!"

More serious, perhaps, and not confined to those villages where the fabric of the church had been demolished, was the acute shortage of liturgical books, chalices, vestments, and other accessories of worship which could not be supplied from local resources. The dearth of
● [213] service-books, in particular, was occasioning widespread difficulty. Old Venetian editions had been brought in from long-abandoned monasteries and remote hill-top chapels which had escaped pillage—though the antique characters in which many of them were printed, while intelligible enough to the experienced monk, made it difficult for the average *papas* (to say nothing of the village choir) to read the service with any facility.

727 I remarked in an earlier chapter that the metropolis is as a rule one
793 of the most impressive and substantial buildings of a provincial town.
346 In 1950, however, several bishops were homeless. The Metropolitan of Grevena was living in lodgings, having one room for his personal use and another which served as the diocesan office; the Lord Agathangellos of Nevrokopi was living in the most apostolic simplicity in two barely furnished rooms; nor, amongst the provincial 'saints', were such cases exceptional.

727 Faced by a catastrophe so complete and overwhelming, the first
794 concern of the Church was to try to meet the urgent demand for the bare necessities of life: for food, clothing and shelter. Everywhere the response was the same: orphanages, homes for refugee children, centres for the distribution of food and clothing, clinics and hospitals, were

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken 793
up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by 797
the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been [874]
particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up [213]
of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The [204]
official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for
the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press.

Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry [874]
out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just
outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses, [794]
a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university,
and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model
schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary move-
ments, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in
the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems [794]
probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish
in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home
Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material re-
sources.

In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, 794
the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now
has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the
movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of
the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and
tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood
could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and
its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary
people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still
young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the
growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed
with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder;
in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a
spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrakes rather than Father Eusebius.

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed [177]
somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of [532]
eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful tradi-
tions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of
feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin
Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

centre at Agrinion which includes an orphanage, a hospital (where the nurses are members of the Eusebeia sisterhood), and a group of workshops. All this has sprung from the little brotherhood which Father Eusebius gathered about him in 1907. 794

I have made no mention of many other voluntary movements which now flourish in Athens and its suburbs: movements like the 'Christian Corner', the 'Christian Social Union' and the association known as the 'Three Hierarchs'. All these were founded by lay people and have remained wholly lay in character. Their members include many distinguished men and women; their activities are both evangelistic and philanthropic.

No account of the evangelistic activity of recent years can ignore the part played by Christian literature, both periodicals and books. Almost every movement has at least one periodical of its own, and the circulation of these weekly and fortnightly papers is astonishingly large for a country where most of the inhabitants devote little time to reading, and where (even in the universities) oral instruction still predominates. The periodical *Zoë*, for example, which has been issued weekly since 1911, now has more than 100,000 subscribers. Several of the provincial movements publish excellent periodicals which circulate all over Greece; such for instance is the journal *Apolytrosis*, published every month by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Thessaloniki, which has a circulation of about 12,000 copies. The 'School of Christ' in the same city also publishes monthly papers, devoted to scriptural exegesis, which are used by many preachers. Both Zoë and the Christian Unions of Father Nissiotes publish periodicals for children. 204 794 [876]

In the field of book production, as elsewhere, the Zoë Brotherhood has led the way, and the exhibition held in Athens in January, 1950, was an impressive monument to the diligence with which the written word has been cultivated in recent years. Father Eusebius himself wrote many books during the last twenty years of his life, and his *magnum opus*, *The Destiny of Man*, has exercised untold influence. Amidst a wealth of books covering almost every field of Christian literature I would pay special tribute to the work of the brotherhood in publishing the text of the New Testament and the Septuagint in moderately-priced editions well printed on good paper. The Zoë pocket edition of the New Testament has had an enormous circulation. 214 794

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Of liturgical reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary object is to enable the laity to participate more fully and intelligently in the eucharistic action, through more frequent communion (Father Eusebius was himself in the habit of celebrating daily), and through a greater 'openness' in the manner of celebrating the holy mysteries. In Athens and Salonica many people now follow the services in the little manual of the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas—the popularity of which may be judged by the fact that it had reached its fifth edition by 1950. In general, where the new movements have exercised an effective influence, a high standard of liturgical propriety prevails, though it must be confessed that certain musical innovations of recent years have been unfortunate, to say the least.

*

All the movements of which I have been speaking have remained quite unofficial in character, though they have always carried out their work with the blessing of the ecclesiastical authorities and under the general supervision of the local bishop. There has of late, however, been a development of a rather different nature, so important as to demand brief consideration. This is what amounts to the refounding of a body known as the 'Apostolic Diaconate of the Church of Greece', which came into being as long ago as 1930. I do not propose to dwell upon its fortunes prior to its virtual reconstitution: suffice it to say that although great potentialities were latent in this organisation from the outset, its actual activity during the first fifteen years of its life was on a very small scale. It is directed by a council of members of the Holy Synod and professors of the theological faculty of the University of Athens under the presidency of the Archbishop, with Professor Basil Vellas as general director.

The aim of this official organisation is to systematise and co-ordinate the many-sided missionary activity now being undertaken throughout the length and breadth of Greece. In addition to its headquarters at Moni Petraki in Athens it has a local office in every diocese, and is assured of a basis of material resources by a system of annual diocesan contributions.

The possibilities inherent in such a venture are without question very great, and already much has been accomplished. A theological hostel and a school for preachers and confessors have been established at Moni Petraki: the latter promises to be of the greatest service in the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

795 Greek is as yet only beginning to awake to the full significance of the discovery, and it may well be some years before Athens and Salonica are in a position to make that contribution to the life and thought of Christendom as a whole of which they are potentially capable. Yet from out of the depths of suffering and desolation there has come the rebirth of a Christian nation. The Church of Greece has emerged from her fiery trial purified, and conscious, as perhaps never before, of her mission. What may be the ultimate consequences of such a regeneration none can say: the possibilities are infinite.

*

[214] [794] In June, 1948, on the festival of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece published a stencilled typescript of a draft entitled *Towards a Christian Civilisation*—since issued in book form by the Damascus Press. These pages, as the authors remarked in the original preface to the work, came from a country wherein the agitation, the uncertainty and sometimes the agony of the world had been concentrated; from a land often referred to by her friends as "this unhappy country". And yet, they went on, "we know that our happiness (or unhappiness) depends not on the outcome of external political events, but on whether the Christian and spiritual foundations of our life are firmly established or not". Their voice, they concluded, was not the despairing voice of a nation crying out to the world: *morituri te salutamus*; rather it was that of a people who, even from the depth of their present agony, sought to echo our Lord's words: "If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death." That is the spirit that is abroad in Greece to-day.

795 796 If I were asked for a single picture to epitomise the present state of the Greek Church, I would turn once more to the Macedonian township of Edessa, set amidst streams and cherry orchards on the summit of the cliff that bars the way from Salonica to the frontier metropolis of Florina. In the early hours of the morning of the feast of the Epiphany in the year 1949, while the Metropolitan of Edessa and Pella, the Lord Panteleimon, with his deacon, Father Gabriel, two or three refugee monks, his mother, the boys from the orphanage and a handful of lay people, were singing the long vigil-service in the chapel of the metropolis, this already battered town was attacked by a Communist force. By dawn the place was encircled.

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[312] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
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517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
● [314] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
scholarly standard.

RELIGION

177 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
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among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
really Greek since they do not conform to the tradition of
Greek [illegible]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) #3 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at least some token *rukba* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every
[574] housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
[354] table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know. 621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never 621 178x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

217 166 [727] families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names registered in Cherasia. [745] They do so not by choice, since people officially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 621 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. [433] The villagers reckon that their own local production supplies food for only two months in the year. [432] The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 217 162 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the village records. [743] Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — [844] a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

 162

worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as 217
against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the 621
village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that 178 x
is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until 582
the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young [583]
man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the 621
officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, 666
represented the extreme right. The president and secretary 669
were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble 565
in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to 578
use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

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RELIGION

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[illegible] since they do not conform to the tradition of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 75]

V

The Peasant at Work

A description of how the land is owned and what it grows gives only one side of the agricultural picture. To round out the chapter just concluded, one needs to see the peasants at work, to follow them from tobacco field to olive orchard, to see how they plow and harvest, and what they do to the part of the earth they own. As they live and work in their small fields, the peasants develop their own way of looking at man and the world. This sets them off from the city dweller or the seafarer, for certain basic rural attitudes prevail all over Greece whether the farmer's energy goes into producing citrus fruits and olives in the south or tobacco and hardy grains in the north. Closeness to the land in the physical and often in the spiritual sense is one such attitude already described. Matching this is the villager's closeness to the changing seasons and weather and his dependence on them. For a truly genuine account we rely again upon T. K. Papaspyropoulos, who has vividly described contemporary life in Kleitoria. The entire following section on the seasons is a translation of his words.

241 184 127

The Cycle of the Seasons in the Peloponnesos

Winter. During winter we have finished all our tasks and we gather in our homes. We have sown, we have gathered our maize, beans, and what other goods God has given us — onions, garlic, potatoes, quince, pomegranates, and so on. We have put our cheese to age; we have rendered our

221 [241] [252]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing.
[273] When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peleponnesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start preparing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

221 [796] [275] [241] [462] [275] [796] [535]

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

[462] [241] [342] [354] 221 796

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church; then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manliness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass, we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many, it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re-

221 512 [462] [275]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 512 [275] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 221 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever 241 else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we [432] start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it [273] and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 82 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare to, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

> Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

249 year, since there is not sufficient land to permit crop rotation. This means that extensive use has to be made of costly chemical fertilizers, about 260 [242] pounds to the acre. Formerly, when fewer Turkish families lived in the village, they were able to keep more animals and had plenty of animal manure which, according to old-time residents of the area, gave a 40 percent higher yield. Since then the land has become more worn out, and more reliance must be placed on chemical fertilizers.

The transplanting of the young tobacco plants from the seedbed to the regular fields is done in rows which have been marked in the field by straight [412] lines, drawn by a hoe, about a foot apart. For each row the peasant uses a stick to make holes three inches apart, into which he puts the plants and presses the soil firmly down around the plant. He waters them immediately but is careful not to get any water on the tobacco leaves themselves. Ten days later he hoes around the plants and follows this with a second hoeing ten to fifteen days later.

[461] Usually tobacco-leaf collectors start about July 15 and continue their work until the end of October. They are up by 2 A.M. to gather the leaves before sunrise, and gather only once in a while in the evening. There are four or five collections from each plant during the season, with each leaf picked just at its maturity. During the daytime the members of the family string these leaves into long strands which are then hung up to dry in the sun. Once dried, they are hung in dry sheds or on the rafters of the house.

In November, after the first dews fall, the village home manipulation starts and continues until the middle of March. The purpose of this manipulation is to sort out the leaves into three categories: the first category includes the best small leaves; the second includes the larger sound leaves; and the third includes all those that do not meet the previous qualifications and yet are sound. This last class is called *refouzia*. Any broken leaves are thrown away or else made into pipe tobacco. The leaves of each class are made into bales of from 55 to 70 pounds and then stored in a dry, protected place for the merchant. By the time the baling has been completed, the family must begin once more the cycle of preparing and sowing the seedbed to start the next year's crop. The tobacco farmer, whether from [461] Macedonia, Thrace, or Central Greece, largely because of the traditional pattern of manipulation, is on a twelve-month work year somewhat like [221] the American dairy farmer. His year contrasts markedly with that of the Peloponnesian villager whose seasonal change was described at the opening of this chapter, or with the wheat farmer of Thessaly. Furthermore, what he grows he cannot eat but must sell as best he can to buy his food.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 233 [439] Although before the war Greece had over 8 million sheep and almost 4.5 million goats, these were still insufficient to meet local needs, and additional animals had to be imported each year. The war brought a reduction of about 2 million sheep and over a million goats, but by 1954 the numbers had risen to more than the prewar figures, and by 1957 sheep were estimated at 9.3 million and goats at 4.9 million.[3] From 1922 to 1937, with the resettlement of the 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor, the pasture area in Greece decreased but the number of sheep rose from 6 million to well over 8 million. It takes little stretch of the imagination to see what this has meant in terms of overpasturing and in accentuating the competition for grazing land.

G [167]

The chief concentrations of sheep and goats are found in Thessaly and through the western part of the country (Epirus, Roumele, and the Peloponnesos). Even in Attica, according to P. J. Iliopoulos, a region where numbers are not so dense, the small livestock make the best adaptation to the natural conditions; they provide the peasants with some income to offset farms that are too small or harvests that are insufficient; and they require less capital investment than do large cattle.[3]

G [434]

V G 233 221 [427] There are three different systems of sheep management in Greece.[4] The first is that used by the so-called Vlachs, an interesting nomadic group to be discussed in detail later on. This group of grazers controls about 15 percent of the sheep. They are landless and rent grazing land from private landholders, the church, or the state. It is customary for them to graze their herds in the plains during the rainy winter months, while the lowland pastures are lush, and then drive their flocks into the mountains as spring and summer advance.

The second type of management is that practiced by the village ranchers, who control about 70 percent of the small animals. They own land in the plains, where they singly or cooperatively graze their flocks in the winter; they send them to the mountains in summer, as do the Vlachs. In some instances, farmers in this group will arrange with a Vlach to include their animals in his flock during the summer grazing in the mountains.

G 233 [476] The third type is connected with settled agriculture. Village farmers control the remaining 15 percent of the sheep and goats and keep them on the plains at all times. Usually, the animals of these farmers are combined under the care of Greek shepherds, whose responsibility is to prevent the animals from damaging the crops by restricting their grazing to the rougher foothills or the fallow or idle areas in the plains.

The best way, however, to describe the changing life of the shepherd is not to talk about sheep and goats, but to look him up wherever he is and try to view the world through his eyes. We will do this by visiting him in the Peloponnesos and in Epirus, by which time facts and figures on sheep and goats should have much more meaning.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance,*[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us
124 there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently
[491] the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under
669 the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still
727 stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. 362 727 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 844 124

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 221 361 423 427 246

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to
a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

[157] "Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peleponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
241 get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble
[511] the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
511 their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and
[221] children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1 Vlachs EH15 Peloponnesos Sara Katsani EH14

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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we ate, we watched the milking going on nearby. There was a rhythmic pitter-patter as the milk was squirted into the big receptacles. Each animal was named according to some physical characteristic, corresponding to "Brownie," "Dotty," "Blackie," or after some person whom the shepherd thought the sheep resembled. As the men sat there we asked them how they milked when it rained. They told us that they simply put on their heavy waterproof capes and kept right on milking.

Some of the sheep were sheared. We learned that the shearing was done below (on the plains) and sold unwashed for "it weighs more with the oil in it." The unsheared animals were simply carrying up to the summer camp the supply of wool that the women would need to use in making their blankets and heavy garments. Some of the animals were sheared in various symmetrical patterns, a style of decoration which pleases the children, so the older people said. These fancy designs are not nearly so common now as formerly, according to Berates.

Despite the magnificent mountain setting and the fascinating activities going on in the fire-lit darkness, the conversation itself — focusing on the present problems facing nomadic peoples — stands out most vividly as I look back upon this evening. Since my central interest was social change, I welcomed the turning of the talk into such a channel.

Without any doubt, the life of the nomad is getting more difficult every year. A major problem had already been brought out in many conversations along the roads of Greece as well as with the people of Valtetsi: land on the plains below is no longer so available as it used to be. Scientific agriculture is winning the day and pastoralism is on the way out. But Berates and his men were most bitter about the difficulties they faced on the road between summer and winter pastures. We had noticed the many signs represented by a pile of stones perhaps a foot high or by tufts of straw twisted onto a branch, warning the nomad not to trespass. These signs were numerous even as one approached and entered the mountain areas. That was why the men had had to drive in one day the sheep all the way from Kalpaki to Konitsa, using routes shorter than the main road but nevertheless arriving late at night. Tired from this experience, they felt such a long march to be most unfair. One man said, "Here in the mountains a peasant will sow only one oka of seed in a field so he will have an excuse to keep us out."

The field policeman, who serves a commune although under the authority of the central government, patrols his beat most vigorously during these days of migration. He not only sees that the animals keep out of the forbidden fields, but also enforces the custom that no nomad family camp in one place longer than twenty-four hours. But most field policemen are quite ready to show the nomads where they can find a camp site in the event some old one is no longer available, for these guards expect a tip — a box of cigarettes or "whatever one has the pleasure to give," as Berates put it.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen 512
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads 484
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 512
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 621
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any 512
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 241
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 805
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora,* one sees, first, a man going by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
574 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and
574 strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

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parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire 592
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and con- 804
sumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 273
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 252
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 147
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 461
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling
motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the 412
earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy 462
hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
465 wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
461 fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
[558] do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[571] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
461 The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[492] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
[445] hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
[465] or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
[314] countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
407
492
[221]

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steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter. "I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on
[702] his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

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period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465] net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804] per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461] serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

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248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

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240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
[433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
[434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat,
241 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their
652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are
exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac-
[583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to
pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings
[556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields.
This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to
[433] produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions,
[417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

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[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they
[462] are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease
each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria,* or the groups of
573 women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring
[562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are
[574] strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes
[535] the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing
[533] and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other
[589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid
[226] activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field
[241] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general,
[422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

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10. Print Hudson, *1952 Agricultural Report — Greece* (American Embassy, Athens, Dispatch No. 771, January 3, 1953), comments: "The foundation of the cooperative movement is the 8,700 village cooperatives (including fishing and forestry as well as farm coops). The total membership was 684,000 at the beginning of 1952. In each Nomos is found a Union of the Cooperatives of that region. This organization supplies the village cooperative with production credit obtained from the Agricultural Bank. In some districts more than one Union may be found, with the total for Greece being over one hundred. Most of the Unions belong to the Panhellenic Confederation of Unions of Agricultural Cooperatives with headquarters in Athens. Those in control of this Federation so centralize and direct the program of Agricultural cooperatives that it often works to the disadvantage of the movement by eliminating farmer participation. . . ." In addition to the geographical organization of the cooperatives, described above, there are several commodity cooperative associations. These include:

1. *KYDEP*. The Central Organization for the Administration of Indigenous Products. It collects quite a number of products under the Government's price support program. During 1952 it collected only wheat and rye.
2. *SEKE*. The Association of Tobacco Growers' Cooperative Unions, Ltd.
3. *KSOS*. The Union of Sultana Growers' Cooperatives. In 1952 this organization collected nearly 7,000 tons of sultanas (grapes).
4. *ELAIOURGIKE*. The Central Union of Olive Oil Producers.

It often happens that the village cooperatives indicate a certain degree of dissatisfaction with the commodity associations, particularly because of their high costs in handling the products.

Chapter XI. The Village Coffeehouse

1. Near East Foundation, *et al.*, mimeographed village studies, "A Village in the Arta Plain" (Athens, Spring 1951).
2. *Idem*, "A Mountain Village, Grammos Area" (Athens, March 1952).
3. *Idem*, "A Village in the Serres Plains" (Athens, December 1951).
4. *Idem*, "A Macedonian Village" (Athens, May 1951).
5. Chester Bowles, *Ideas, People and Peace* (New York, 1958), p. 86.
6. John Democritos Photiadis, "The Coffee House and Its Role in Stavroupolis, Greece" (unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University, 1956).
7. Near East Foundation, *et al.*, "A 'Control' Village in Macedonia" (Athens, November 1951).
8. *Idem*, "A Village in the Agrinion Area" (Athens, October 1951).

Chapter XII. Local Government

1. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, Civil Government Division, *Facts on Greek Local Government: A Preliminary Outline* (Athens, December 15, 1950), p. 2 (mimeographed).
2. K. Koukkidi, *To Pnevma tou Synergatismou ton Neoteron Hellenon kai t'Ambelakia, o Protos Synetairismos tou Kosmou* (The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greeks and Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World) (Athens, 1948).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
4. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, *Facts*, p. 7.
5. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, *Revitalizing Greek Local Government: Special Supplement*, Report 67, p. 3 (mimeographed).
6. Frank Smothers, William Hardy McNeill, Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill, *Report on the Greeks: Findings of a Twentieth Century Fund Team Which Surveyed*

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences
186 between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than
compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to
[439] 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage.
501 Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine,

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tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

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342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and 252 made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic- 184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

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Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

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Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, 272
flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

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tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why. 262 [146] 272 654

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home: 262

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven. [256] [465] [251] [415] [252]

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef. [251] [231]

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year. [251]

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite. [606]

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Before

Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller animals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will assume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women anywhere, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman. Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

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796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the
[785] latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
[652] taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agri-
[245] cultural Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance.
Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
[231] nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary
[235] cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this
[434] is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the foreigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way coopera-
[471] tives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the rea-
[652] son that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

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Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[10] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

631 634

> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

[828] [578]

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875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village,
871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-
educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and
[554] gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the
teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influ-
[242] ence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the
teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia,
who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first
apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in
that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees
for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the
teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various
problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since
they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is
cherished," he concluded.

871 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the
184 past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences
in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a
[231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from South-
ern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to
pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted:
"The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern
Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and
you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find
people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in
the Peloponnesos."

[175] But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a
verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred
years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our
heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better educa-
tion. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where
there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said
that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant
gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the
[875] state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not
sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the
first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three
grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for
Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated.
But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient
with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

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So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach 793
some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns 736
of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the 792
Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to
Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able 288
to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and [175]
started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how [231]
to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home.
So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a 793
tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through 734
the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the [788]
people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should [164]
a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside 783
and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church 788
dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come [734]
quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

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Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
[407] generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the
406 region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
[249] since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465] net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804] per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461] serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban [521]
visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers con- [434]
tended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaouboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and
[865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

232 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate,
[434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers'
233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered [552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them [865] as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of [178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the [373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing 511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small 592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to [422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever, [464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata,* several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata.* Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for [422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac- 511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 my journey with an escort of seven soldiers, and with a corporal of the gendarmerie as guide.

At three o'clock we reached Mavronoros, the 'Black Mountain'; a small village, quite deserted and in ruins. Somewhat surprisingly, [346] the church (which was dedicated to St. Theodore) had survived the bombardment. A single projectile had apparently found its mark and a portion of the vault had collapsed, but the walls were sound enough and the paintings which covered them had not as yet suffered greatly from exposure to the elements. A chapel on the hill above the village was completely gutted and almost every house was in ruins. So complete was the destruction that we were unable to identify the remains of the school.

484 A brief halt and we set out towards Ziakas, where I was to spend the night. We followed a water-course for some distance before intercepting the mule track. The ground had thawed since morning and the going was laborious. On a ridge commanding a wide prospect of this abandoned countryside we met the relief escort from the Ziakas garrison, and I reluctantly relinquished my handsome mount for a mule saddled after the school of Macedonia. We crossed the Venetikos by an ancient bridge and reached the headquarters of the garrison, a kilometre below the ruins of the village, a little before sunset.

727 It was too late to see anything of Ziakas that day, but the isolated community was delighted to have a visitor and the evening passed merrily enough. The night was chilly and I slept fitfully. From the [136] mountains, which rise to close on 5,000 feet above the village, came the [231] howling of wolves and jackals. Two wolves had ventured into Mavranaioi itself a few nights earlier, and, despite the vigilance of the sentries, had attacked and killed one of the mules picketed amongst the cottages. There had been neither sheep nor goats in these mountains for more than three years.

The morning was cold and cheerless without trace of sun. I took leave of my hosts about half-past nine and was accompanied to the village by a young lieutenant from Salonica. Ziakas had not only been burned by the Germans; it had more than once been the scene of heavy [346] fighting within the last three years. The church stood at the entrance [532] to the village. It was completely ruined, but a few paintings still clung to the walls of the apse, and, amidst the waste and desolation wrought by man's sin, the Son of the Virgin, the Alpha and the Omega, raised His hands in blessing. The destruction of the village—one of the

Megali Vrisi

[Inventory at the beginning of the year-
/43 cont./ taken from a representative farmer]

B. Livestock:	Number	Value in drachmas		
Cows	2	5,000		511
Oxen	2	8,000		422
Poultry	30	900		435
Turkeys	3	300		[231]
Hogs	1	250		
Bees	20	4,000		
			18,450	

C. Family food stuffs in storeroom: [251]

	Okes		
Wheat	300	2,100	
Lard	50	3,000	
Honey	10	300	/44/

D. Animal feed in store: [231]

	Okes	Value in Drachmas	
Chick peas	200	800	
Straw	1200	600	
Barley	400	2,000	
			8,800

E. Agricultural implements [241] [412]

	Number		
Plow	1	250	
Yoke	1	90	
Harrow	1	600	
Barrels	3	450	
Harrows	2	70	
Shovels	1	30	
Hatchet	1	60	
Axes	1	80	
Wagons	1	3,000	
Sickles	2	50	
			4,680
	Total		31,930

8:Stephanides--28 I.Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/44 cont./

511
422
435

Inventory at the end of the year. December 31st 1934.

Family, the same members as at the beginning.

[231]

A. Livestock:	Number	Value in Drachmas
Cows	3	6,000
Oxen	2	8,000
Hens	20	600
Turkeys	3	300
Pigs	1	600
Bees	20	4,000
		19,500

[251]

B. Family food in store:	Okes	
Wheat	350	2,450
Lard	40	2,400
Honey	15	450
Onions	20	60
Beans	15	150
Cracked wheat cereal	40	400
		5,910

[231]

C. Animal feed in store:		
Straw	1,600	800
Corn	60	300
Chickpea	200	800
		1,900 /45/

[241]
[412]

D. Agricultural implements:	Okes	Value in Drachmas
Plow	1	250
Yoke	1	90
Harrow	1	550
Barrels	3	450
Harrows	2	60
Shovel	1	30
Hatchets	1	60

9: Megas

EH1 Greece EH1

●

231, 252, 351, 354

/For the location of ovens, hearths, courtyards, stables and chicken coops in Greek houses, see category 116, pp. 6-46 and end plates 1-9./

In its completed form, the Greek rural house presents a tripartite composition, giving a separate space for each of its main elements, that is for the stay of the family, the stabling of the cattle and the storage of the cereals. But even in this form, the term «house» applies only to the room that includes the hearth and sometimes the granary, a custom which apparently remained from the days when that room was the entire dwelling (See figg. 3 and 6 where only one of the rooms is called «house»). 342× [231] [251]

And as the further expansion of the house is easy, especially for the wide-front houses, according to the methods described above, the rural house took a composite form in many places including under one roof all the spaces which are necessary to the development of the farmer's home economy. A single entity is thus created, an interior which is harmonious and presents an imposing view (1).

But while in Macedonia and Thrace the rural house of the plains has kept its unity till the end, symmetrically housing all these three parts under one and the same roof, the Thessalian house, after going through a long period of changes that tended to the improvement of the family's living conditions, it finally remained for the exclusive use as a living space for the family and as a store for the products of the farmer's work, while the stalls for the cattle were made separate (2). [251] [231]

These changes have as a basis the embodiment, at a later stage, of the προστῷον in the rest of the house. That is to say that the προστῷον did not originally constitute an organic element of the building, since it was constructed by a simple downward extension of the roof, but was gradually incorporated in the house. The transversal beams, supporting the roof of the house, were extended along the whole width of it reaching the front part of the portico, so that the highest beam of the roof was made to fall right in their middle. Thus, the roof of the house, which had become non-symmetric by the addition of the portico, regained all its symmetry, and the portico became higher, since it took the same height as the main house (3). (See figg. 3. 9 and 10).

Thus, the rooms built in the προστῷον, which previously were necessarily small, had a low ceiling and were used only as secondary spaces (kitchen, storeroom, or «little room for the old people»)

1) G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, p. 36.

2) G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, p. 33.

3) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 30 foll. figg. 19, 20. — Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 26 foll. figg. 18 A, 19-22.

x 342
231
353

The basement is used for stabling the cattle, keeping agricultural tools and storing cattle food and fruits. However, apart from the disadvantage of having the stable just underneath the living room, this double house is also insufficient to cover the needs of a family living on the produce of cattle breeding or vine growing, especially when this family is of somewhat comfortable means.

There is also a need for a separate storeroom suitable for the keeping of liquid products and supplies, and such one is created either by a division of the ground floor or by the addition to it of another space, in the direction of the top beam (1). Similarly, by a simple division of the space or by an addition, two rooms are created on the floor too, one of which is the kitchen. Down there in the hearth, in some places such as Agrafa, the bread is also baked (Fig. 16) (2).

In addition, the προστῷον, on the ground floor, is usually fenced on the front part by a wall and forms another space, used as an «outside basement», where cattle are often stabled, and on the upper floor, the προστῷον is closed on its narrow sides, and remains open on its front side and is thus used for spreading and drying maize and other fruits, for treating wool, weaving and for other occupations of mountainous populations, who also enjoy its cool shadow (fig. 17) (3).

That is why this originally open portico became an essential element of the building and has gradually been incorporated, in two-floored and in one-floored house, and finally even on its front part, has been closed off, partly or totally, by a thin wall.

By this arrangement, the προστῷον on the upper floor, has either formed a spacious, closed room, extending all along the front part of the rooms and has kept its original names (ἀνώϊ, ξάνωγο, κρεββάτι, ἡλιακός, χαγιάτι (4) (Plate III5, 6), or it was limited in space by the formation of one or two rooms at one or both ends of the portico by simple division (5) (Plate III, 4ª, 5ª, 7ª). Thus, the form of double upper-lower floor house was created, perfectly meeting the needs of mountainous, cattle-breeding families and having the staircase within the house, thus affording greater security (6).

1) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις figg. 32, 36.
2) Ibid. figg. 32, 34, 36.
3) Ibid. figg. 34, 36, 37.
4) Ibid. pp. 34, 50, 80a, 81a, 91.
5) Ibid. figg. 37, 38. 42, 44a, 48, 76.
6) Ibid. pp. 39 foll., 86 foll.

x 342 the genuine flat-roof type, but have their origin in the stone covered house, having a cylindrical dome for a roof.

[433] In the smaller islands (Cyclades, Dodecanese), where agricultural production is very moderate and where, owing to the peaceful manners and to the existing security, the stables of cattle and even the [231] [251] stores of cereals and of wine, oil etc. are mostly away from the dwelling places (see G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, pp. 5 and 45), the house is meant only to the purpose of sheltering the family and partly to the keeping of the agricultural and animal products. Owing [583] to the fact that the house is an essential element for the dowry and [592] for the housing of a couple with their unmarried children, the single house, that is the house which consists of one rectangular room, is the most common form in these islands. It is understood that there are also [231] some rural houses, especially in Rhodes, where the cattle is stabled (or has been stabled) at one end of the house under the same roof with the inhabitants (fig. 28).

This «single» house belongs to both forms of houses, the narrow and the wide form.

The first form mainly prevails in certain islands, such as Skyros, Amorgos, Kythnos, and sporadically in many other islands of the Cyclades, of the Dodecanese, and sometimes in Crete and Cyprus. This house has mainly a προστῷον on its narrow side, but, instead of supporting roof poles it has an arch on its front part (Plate VIIIa 5)(1), and more often it is enclosed on the front part as well, forming a real ante-room or a roofed yard (Cf. fig. 13, 14)(2). In several places, more over as in Crete, even in this form, it keeps the name of the open portico «γαγιάτι», as we have seen it in the case of the narrow-front houses of Thrace with the inclined roof. Consequently, the narrow-front house of the islands, in its simplest form, preserves the form of the ancient megaron.

The cylindrically-covered houses of Kimolos, Thera and Antiparos are also of the narrow-front type(3).

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1) See the Cypriot Rural House, in Laographia vol. 11 p. 81. Cf. the House of Nissyros (Fig. 26 above) and the House of Amorgos (Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδομία Λήμνου Fig. 15). In front of their covered yard, whose roof is supported by an arch, these houses have another open courtyard (Plate VIIIa 6).

2) **G. Megas,** Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 26.

3) **A. Wace,** The towns and houses of the archipelago, in the Burlington Magazine 26, 1914/15, 99 foll. **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus u. Hof im Altertum p. 64 where there is also a plan of a «Tonnendachhaus» of Kimolos.

villages the bread is brown and home-baked, and it may form the complete meal, with olive-oil for dipping. If there is any other food, there is only one dish, containing a variety of ingredients which usually make for balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish *(fasoulada)* for example, contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and, eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese, provides a complete nutritive meal, except that the proteins are not animal ones; and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit, or a leaf of lettuce, or cheese; this, however, is nothing to look forward to but, at most, puts a period to the meal. It is the bread, the "food", that is the point of the meal. Greeks in foreign parts, who have taken on rich foreign desserts, often top their meals with a bite of bread.

In the provinces, very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served, if at all, as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays, or when guests arrive, or on other festive occasions, there may be roast and potatoes; these are baked together and constitute the whole meal, with the ever-present bread. Fish is eaten in the villages wherever it is available. Processed fish—salted, dried, canned—is a great favourite, and salted roe, made into a "salad" is greatly enjoyed, and forms a regular item during Lent. Milk is consumed in the form of cheese and *yaourti*, a custard-like cultured milk; little is drunk. But the milk used is that of sheep and goats, which, according to Kaloyereas, is richer in fat and protein than cow's milk. In the villages, fruit and vegetables are eaten plentifully when in season; dried fruits and nuts are eaten, olives, cheese while it lasts, and a variety of legumes. There is skill in cooking, and since variety within a meal is not valued or demanded, the simple meals are much enjoyed, and wealthy emigrants, who have succumbed to the luxuries of the American meal pattern, often long for their peasant meals.

In the cities, the Greeks have learned to eat meat and to drink more milk. Here cow's milk and a taste for it have been introduced, and in the country around Athens and Salonica, the peasants raise cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities, and people, in their desire to take on American ways, eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of texture. Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names, Quaker Oats, pronounced unrecognizably. As *vromi*, it is food for animals, and the word is reminiscent of "stench". According to Dr. Katsigra, much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten; this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe. City people eat mostly white bread. In general, city food, which conforms in externals more closely to the list of the nutritionists, actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been

/104/

The Macedonians

I.

000 1. Konak in Alaklissa. 2. Shepherd's hut of loam and straw in the Campania, the lowlands north of Salonika. 3. Fortress-like warehouse in Palalitza. 4. Peasant woman at a weaving loom in Skoplje. 5. Farmyard near Skoplje. 6. Bagpipes. 7. Baking bell. 8. Magical charm. 9. and 10. Votive offerings. 11. Cotton cleaner (hatter's bow). 12. Riding donkey. 13. Pottery oven near Skoplje. 14. Armchair. 15. Plowing farmer. 16. Brand iron used for branding sheep. 17. Incense pot. 18. Earthenware cover for the coal basin, used for keeping the heat in; on top of it is placed the pot or coffee jug.[1]

(Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 1 , and 11 are in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg. Numbers 13, 16, and 17 in the Ethnographisches Museum at Dresden. Numbers 4, 5, 12, 13, and 16 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt /Chief surgeon-general/ Dr. Hansen in Lübeck.

101 144 In the lowlands between Albania, old Bulgaria, and Greece, that is, in Macedonia, and incessant movement of peaceable and war-like peoples has produced the racial mixture of present-day Macedonia, in which the Indo-Germanic Thracians constitute the basic stock. To this were added, in antiquity, Romans, in the middle ages Slavs and Bulgarians, Turks and their Turkomanic or Near Eastern camp-followers; and, finally, Rumanians, Greeks, and the tribally related Albanians. The level tracts of land along the coast and the ●231 swampy lowlands are maintained by a nomadic type of livestockbreeding; 241 the fertile fringe areas provide ample yields from the grain agriculture which cultivates primarily wheat and maize, but they are also receptive 342 to southerly cultures such as rice, opium, and cotton. The herders build for themselves hasty round huts of loam and straw; the field guards who here, as in all the other parts of the Balkans, watch over the cultivated fields all through the summer, construct frame-works shaped like beehives or pointed cones out of intertwined twigs and thick bundles of straw. Simple farmsteads also have a thatched roof on walls of tiles and loam; a combination of wood, loam, and tiles leads to two-storied panel-work structures (Figure 2) which contain, in the ground floor,

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a--Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5.9 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p 99]

[VI]

The Changing Life of the Shepherd

A year in Greece puts one on intimate terms with sheep and goats. They are everywhere. They dart across the highway before a speeding car and raise their tails in a contemptuous gesture as they leap to safety across the ditch into a field; they form a fitting part of almost every landscape one wants to photograph; and they provide the country's chief meat supply as well as the white *feta*, or soft cheese. Their wool and hides are also important sources of income to the shepherds. 233 [262] [234]

There is nothing particularly glamorous about the Balkan sheep of which those in Greece are typical. They have a narrow, long tail and wool mixed with hair. C. S. Stephanides in his article, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," writes: "The Greek sheep has a small skeleton; narrow body; short but strong legs, well-fitted for long journeys; the ability to feed on poor roughage, to withstand hardship; and early maturity." There are eleven leading breeds, seven of these being island sheep, which give much more milk, meat, and wool than the mainland sheep.[1] This is explained by the isolation of the islands, the comparative small acreage of some, and the poverty of the farmers there which forces them to keep but a few sheep and to select out the very best. The superiority of their livestock has come about through centuries of such selection. As a matter of fact, those mainlanders undertaking scientific improvement of their flocks import the island sheep for breeding purposes. 233 232 [735]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

156 hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and
828 some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but
771 God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes
867 affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an
[776] omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God
[821] has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

855 Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There
854 are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

855 Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

[865] In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed
[654] them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government
[232] agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the child that he would have the agent inject him just as if he were a chicken. The child started to cry, and after two or three minutes, his father righted the child and comforted him. 855 [654] [232]

Sometimes adults use similar methods to discipline a child. On one occasion, a group of women were discussing the coming Easter festivities, and the two-year-old niece of one of them kept climbing on and off her aunt's lap. The child was told several times to sit still but ignored the request. Finally, her aunt laid the child on its back across her knees and laughingly told her they would kill her like the Easter lamb. The woman ran the edge of her hand over the child's throat to demonstrate the slitting of the lamb's throat. The others laughed and added vivid details. The child's eyes showed panic; she struggled up out of her aunt's lap and sat quietly on a stool for about fifteen minutes until they both left. We heard the aunt speaking gently and endearingly to the child as they departed. 865 861

As the foregoing examples indicate, when adults deliberately frighten children or even stimulate milder forms of distress, they do not abandon the child to his misery but try to relieve the anxiety by physical affection and soothing words. In spite of this, however, a three-year-old child will often try to hit a parent or elder brother or sister who is causing distress. He is laughed at for his futile efforts by those watching the scene. Four- and five-year-old children respond to the teasing by walking away or by maintaining stolid expressions. Once they do this, the severity and frequency of the teasing by elders decreases, and the pattern continues mostly among the children themselves in their relations with each other. Practical jokes continue on into adolescence. From the adults' point of view, the teasing is no longer amusing or valuable for discipline because the child has gained enough knowledge, enough intelligence to know that the process is a kind of game and has acquired the skill with which to handle his side of it. Mentally retarded individuals never learn, and they are baited and teased for the amusement of the watchers all their lives. From the child's point of view, the constant reassurance he receives after the pain may teach him that there is no real or permanent danger in the adult actions except that of ridicule, and that is what he learns to try to avoid. [855] [732]

Just as the teasing leads to a recognition that other people's actions and words should not be taken at face value, so does another common pattern of dealing with children—the pattern of deliberately lying to them. Usually, parents or older brothers and sisters lie to a child to get him to do what he does not want to do. For example, a three-year-old child may be asked to go into another room to fetch something. The child does not respond to several requests; his mother then tells him his father is in the other room and will give him candy if he goes. The child thinks he remembers that his father left for the fields early in the morning, and therefore is not likely to be in the next room; he makes a comment to this effect; his mother seriously reassures him that his father is really in the next room; he becomes uncertain and, finally, cautiously goes to the door, opens it slowly and looks inside. At this point his mother and anyone else around laugh at his look of chagrin. 855 [867]

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Mountains

133 The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece
[311] as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields
[132] below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war
185 Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article
[311] in *Soil Conservation,* holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc-
[233]
[175]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[12] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[13] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

823 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits
361 about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages
241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos.
433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with
[233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our
[312] village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one
[423] stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired
[487] as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the
[312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P.36]

III

The Village Setting

621 361 [369] Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization. To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes, or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place, the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the more isolated areas. [491] [487]

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 [476] [438] [233] In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture, frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P 97]

[VI]

The Changing Life of the Shepherd

A year in Greece puts one on intimate terms with sheep and goats. They are everywhere. They dart across the highway before a speeding car and raise their tails in a contemptuous gesture as they leap to safety across the ditch into a field; they form a fitting part of almost every landscape one wants to photograph; and they provide the country's chief meat supply as well as the white *feta*, or soft cheese. Their wool and hides are also important sources of income to the shepherds. 233 [262] [234]

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 233 [439] Although before the war Greece had over 8 million sheep and almost 4.5 million goats, these were still insufficient to meet local needs, and additional animals had to be imported each year. The war brought a reduction of about 2 million sheep and over a million goats, but by 1954 the numbers had risen to more than the prewar figures, and by 1957 sheep were estimated at 9.3 million and goats at 4.9 million.[3] From 1922 to 1937, with the resettlement of the 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor, the pasture area in Greece decreased but the number of sheep rose from 6 million to well over 8 million. It takes little stretch of the imagination to see what this has meant in terms of overpasturing and in accentuating the competition for grazing land.

G [167]

The chief concentrations of sheep and goats are found in Thessaly and through the western part of the country (Epirus, Roumele, and the Peloponnesos). Even in Attica, according to P. J. Iliopoulos, a region where numbers are not so dense, the small livestock make the best adaptation to the natural conditions; they provide the peasants with some income to offset farms that are too small or harvests that are insufficient; and they require less capital investment than do large cattle.[4]

G [434]

V G 233 221 [427] There are three different systems of sheep management in Greece.[4] The first is that used by the so-called Vlachs, an interesting nomadic group to be discussed in detail later on. This group of grazers controls about 15 percent of the sheep. They are landless and rent grazing land from private landholders, the church, or the state. It is customary for them to graze their herds in the plains during the rainy winter months, while the lowland pastures are lush, and then drive their flocks into the mountains as spring and summer advance.

The second type of management is that practiced by the village ranchers, who control about 70 percent of the small animals. They own land in the plains, where they singly or cooperatively graze their flocks in the winter; they send them to the mountains in summer, as do the Vlachs. In some instances, farmers in this group will arrange with a Vlach to include their animals in his flock during the summer grazing in the mountains.

G 233 [476] The third type is connected with settled agriculture. Village farmers control the remaining 15 percent of the sheep and goats and keep them on the plains at all times. Usually, the animals of these farmers are combined under the care of Greek shepherds, whose responsibility is to prevent the animals from damaging the crops by restricting their grazing to the rougher foothills or the fallow or idle areas in the plains.

The best way, however, to describe the changing life of the shepherd is not to talk about sheep and goats, but to look him up wherever he is and try to view the world through his eyes. We will do this by visiting him in the Peloponnesos and in Epirus, by which time facts and figures on sheep and goats should have much more meaning.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us
124 there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along
[491] the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely
669 off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist
727 guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. 362 727 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 844 124

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 221 361 423 427 246

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

[157] "Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
●233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to
241 locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
[511] get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were
511 anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
[221] their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

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1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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Sara Katsani EH14

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do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

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These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

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The "Nomads" of Epirus

G 563

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring 272
tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, 515
the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the exception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

we ate, we watched the milking going on nearby. There was a rhythmic pitter-patter as the milk was squirted into the big receptacles. Each animal was named according to some physical characteristic, corresponding to "Brownie," "Dotty," "Blackie," or after some person whom the shepherd thought the sheep resembled. As the men sat there we asked them how they milked when it rained. They told us that they simply put on their heavy waterproof capes and kept right on milking.

Some of the sheep were sheared. We learned that the shearing was done below (on the plains) and sold unwashed for "it weighs more with the oil in it." The unsheared animals were simply carrying up to the summer camp the supply of wool that the women would need to use in making their blankets and heavy garments. Some of the animals were sheared in various symmetrical patterns, a style of decoration which pleases the children, so the older people said. These fancy designs are not nearly so common now as formerly, according to Berates.

Despite the magnificent mountain setting and the fascinating activities going on in the fire-lit darkness, the conversation itself — focusing on the present problems facing nomadic peoples — stands out most vividly as I look back upon this evening. Since my central interest was social change, I welcomed the turning of the talk into such a channel.

Without any doubt, the life of the nomad is getting more difficult every year. A major problem had already been brought out in many conversations along the roads of Greece as well as with the people of Valtetsi: land on the plains below is no longer so available as it used to be. Scientific agriculture is winning the day and pastoralism is on the way out. But Berates and his men were most bitter about the difficulties they faced on the road between summer and winter pastures. We had noticed the many signs represented by a pile of stones perhaps a foot high or by tufts of straw twisted onto a branch, warning the nomad not to trespass. These signs were numerous even as one approached and entered the mountain areas. That was why the men had had to drive in one day the sheep all the way from Kalpaki to Konitsa, using routes shorter than the main road but nevertheless arriving late at night. Tired from this experience, they felt such a long march to be most unfair. One man said, "Here in the mountains a peasant will sow only one oka of seed in a field so he will have an excuse to keep us out."

The field policeman, who serves a commune although under the authority of the central government, patrols his beat most vigorously during these days of migration. He not only sees that the animals keep out of the forbidden fields, but also enforces the custom that no nomad family camp in one place longer than twenty-four hours. But most field policemen are quite ready to show the nomads where they can find a camp site in the event some old one is no longer available, for these guards expect a tip — a box of cigarettes or "whatever one has the pleasure to give," as Berates put it.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

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These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[13]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

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1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

words, while their problems are growing, they are now gaining the constitutional means of handling them. They may feel oppressed economically, but they are not politically oppressed.

When I asked Berates if he wanted to settle down, he said that it was all right for the small livestock owners, but that it was impossible for a large owner like himself with eight hundred sheep. He would keep on trying to make a go of it as he had done in the past. When asked how he would feel if he did not have to move up to the mountains, his immediate reply was, "I would get sick," and all of the other men nodded their heads affirmatively. "I even have to go to the same spot, not just anywhere up the mountains. And the sheep need the change, too. They got sick during the war when they were not able to make the change."

The Disappearing Tselingata

One of the interesting types of cooperative organization which I hoped to find in Epirus was that of the *tselingata*. I had heard that, just as the agricultural peasants have their village community, so the shepherds in the past grouped themselves under a chief shepherd who directed their activities and also represented the whole group before the outside world. I had also been told that this form of association was found among the nomadic groups but that it was not necessarily identified solely with them.

A clear account of this primitive but practical shepherds' cooperative is contained in a helpful book by K. Koukkides entitled *The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greece and of Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World.*[18] In this arrangement each sheep and goat owner contributes his flock as capital and his labor. This union is usually governed by the eldest shepherd, who is called *architselingas* (chief shepherd), and who looks after the organization of the union, rents the pasture land, allots land to each according to the quality of land and to the different categories of animals to be grazed, specifies the work that each member will do, and makes payment for all of the necessary common expenses. In addition, he obtains credit to cover the living expenses of each member and the member's family, regulates the amount paid to each shepherd, pays taxes and any field damage done, and acts as the banker and the "grocer" of the union. At the end of each period he subtracts all these expenses from the general income or fund which has accumulated from the sale of the milk, wool, sheep, and cheese, gives back to his colleagues whatever is due each according to the flock he has brought into the union and according to the personal work he has done, such as pasturing, transporting milk to the cheese plant, milking, making cheese and other dairy products, and taking the goods to the market.

The quantity of milk is estimated according to the number of animals each shepherd has, so that if animal diseases occur in the merged flock the loss will be shared by everybody. An important part of the net profit is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

[The Tselingata]

used for public works, especially for the operation of schools. All these accounts are regulated by the general assembly of the members of the union.

In my conversations with Berates, the visit to whom has just been described, I learned that he considered himself an architselingas. True enough, he owned most of the sheep, but he did allow the six men who worked for him to have flocks of their own, say fifty to sixty head, if they could get a start. One of his shepherds was assigned the task of keeping the records of milk production so that each one could have a share prorated on the basis of the number of animals in the common flock. Every six months Berates draws up a contract with those associated with him; he supervises the cheese production up in the highland pastures and even helps process the milk for some of the smaller owners who are not in position to set up their own plant.

Those who knew Epirus a generation or so ago tell of the great authority these chief shepherds had, each ruling in autocratic fashion his people and the area in which they were established. Should one of the shepherds associated with any of these chieftains become dissatisfied and want to move away, he found it impossible to attach himself to any other chief shepherd, for these men of position stuck together. In the days of turmoil and disorder early in this century, it was almost necessary for a small owner to be connected in some way with a leading figure who could protect him and represent him to outside authorities.[14]

The tselingata, from many accounts, were not necessarily based on kinship, though there were interesting examples of the group of relatives being so large that they formed a union by themselves. In such a case, age and generation would usually determine who had the authority and his word would carry great weight among the others.

Even today there are powerful chief shepherds. The mayor of the city of Egoumenitsa, along the Ionian Sea, was the head of the Petoules family which is run on the principles of the traditional tselingata. There are eighty members in the family and all of them obey him. In 1953 I was told that the Petoules family collectively owned from 12,000 to 14,000 sheep, in spite of the fact that on one day in 1948 the Communist guerrillas took 4,200 sheep from them. Although they owned sufficient land to graze at least 14,000 sheep, they were improving the pastures by sowing wild clover. The summer area alone added up to about 3,450 acres and the winter area was additional.

One official in describing this family said that in 1952 some of the governmental representatives in Ioannina were ordered by the central government to go to the head of the Petoules family and take some of the pasture land for the settlement of refugees who needed land. They expected trouble but were pleasantly surprised when the architselingas agreed to give the land and also went with them to select it. Two villages were constructed,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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233 but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on
474 an elephant," as one of my informants put it.

Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoules Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

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[474]

The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of the chief shepherd.[15] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grandsons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

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Stress and Strain

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The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[16] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests.

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in.

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which
578 has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."
785 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep,
654 which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas-
[241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and
[249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

seemed sadly out of place in his mountain dweller's lambskin kalpaki (brimless hat) and his shepherd's staff, sitting under a tree and looking out at the fishing boats. 233 178

"Do you have sheep?" we wanted to know, both curious and surprised to see him there. [291]

"No."

"Then why are you wearing the kalpaki and carrying the shepherd's crook?"

"I've lost so much that I like to carry my crook just to have the illusion that I still have my sheep."

Some of the younger men in the group, separated by war from their mountains and their sheep, were full of talk and plans of farming. When we asked them if they had thought of fishing here by the sea, both young and old looked incredulous, even contemptuous. "We are shepherds," they said proudly. "We do not know the sea." Having lost the mountains, the younger men were willing to try the plain, but the older ones could not. The concept of occupational displacement took visible form in this fifty-year-old shepherd sitting idly and hopelessly under a tree, looking at the sea which he did not know and the plain which he could not understand, his big brown hands clasping the symbol of his lost world, the shepherd's crook.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula,
178 the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone." 476 539

Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yannes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need. 476 492

Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd. 476 233

Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakassa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." 476 241 [493]

But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. 476 [339]

Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari* [513]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me:

Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
[652] taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
[245] In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agricultura Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance. Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
[231] this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
[235] nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this
[434] is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the for-
[471] eigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way cooperatives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the rea-
652 son that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
[435] near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
[476] being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

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Vasilika

equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, 512
whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs
most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just
before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 484
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 512
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming 621
around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light
of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the
end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat
bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of move-
ment diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months
from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of
the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 512
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 241
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora*, one sees, first, a man going 805
by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its
saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same
direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go
past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a
horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no
movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people
involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morn-
ing may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home
one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the
following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the
timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, ap-
pears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, fami-
lies start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the
situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

242 178 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to plant on the highway near the village.

[245] [875] [435] [244] [434] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the techniques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with 492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of 231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaoubói* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and [865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, [434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes 262 the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt 233 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in [272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but [574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a 236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large 283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

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Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 983 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

233 563 [166] [463] [434] Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi* by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 563 511 434 [464] [262] [342] From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 563 621 555 871 [641] [435] Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their children are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 563 571 621 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 445 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans, and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
628 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the
692 question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
621 no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The
233 question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is,
[622] full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

727 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of
621 young men dressed in homespun.

[571] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat
[657] from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today
[491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn al-
[233] most the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The
[492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta
241 is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres
233 of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one
[242] of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

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corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow. 178x 241 233

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise. 669 621 [241] [517] [619]

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the village speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the 621 178x 197 [669] [191] [619]

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621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

*178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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led to this change. One was the rise of Volos as an important urban center, requiring charcoal as fuel for cooking and for heating houses. To supply the rising demand, the villagers of Cherasia began cutting off the forests of Mount Pelion with a new energy. A second factor was the growth of population in Cherasia itself. As more families appeared, sheep could not support them all, because the pastures could not be readily extended. So the people fell back on exploitation of the forests.

This "ancient" history is mostly speculation. I was not able to get any clear account of their distant past from the men of the village. What they did know was that in 1905 three families had secured title to 100 stremmata (25 acres) of land apiece in the little valley that spreads out below the site of their winter quarters at the foot of the mountain. At that time, very likely, the free villagers of the mountain saw little or no attraction in the toilsome life of a farmer, and preferred to keep to their ancient shepherd's way of life, supplemented by woodcutting and charcoal burning.

[423]
[241]

About the time of the first world war, things changed. As the population continued to grow, sheep and charcoal no longer sufficed to provide a satisfactory living for the members of the community. Many of them began to clear little patches of rocky mountainside in the hope of raising a crop or two on the land. Their tenure was legally recognized by a governmental survey made in 1922, which assigned to each family title to the patches its members had cleared and cultivated in preceding years. During the interwar period the pressure to find supplementary means of livelihood through agriculture continued to mount. In 1938, village authorities parceled out 500 stremmata of what had been common pasture to private family ownership. No further property changes had occurred in the village up to 1956.

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[314]

The brute fact remains, however, that fields cleared from mountain slopes are miserable agricultural land. These produce

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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178x households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423 also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565 The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578 these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 427 hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [302] village. [142]

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of eco- 178x nomics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 233 Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have al- 241 ways felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 433 plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 565 the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 578 part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even [579] today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dan- [461] gerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461] spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
● 233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
433 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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669 722 [727] too, burned some houses, including those belonging to the three "rich" families of the community. These had fled to Volos, together with some other families from the village. The people who remained were inclined to support the guerrillas.

The guerrillas,

About two weeks after my visit in 1947, the army evacuated all the remaining inhabitants of Cherasia to Volos. There they remained in refugee quarters for two and a half years. The last guerrilla band disappeared from Mount Pelion only in 1950, some six months after the main guerrilla army in the north had retreated across the Albanian frontier. It was therefore late in 1950 before the inhabitants of Cherasia were allowed – or compelled – to return to their village.

727 653 [657] [233] Government authorities were, however, well aware of the difficulties that confronted the community. The returned refugees were given every help to re-establish themselves. They received, gratis, 238 sheep to serve as a nucleus for their flock, as well as materials for the reconstruction of their houses, most of which had suffered damage. Officials issued seed and implements as well. A comprehensive work relief program was set up; for about two years after their return, the men of Cherasia received wages for working on projects that directly benefited their community. In this fashion the new road over the mountain was built – shortening the way to Volos by nearly half. [346] [312] Similarly, new and very handsome school and church buildings were constructed; and pipes from the spring in the upper village brought fresh water into lower Cherasia for the first time. This was vital if the population was to remain in the lower village the year around, since water had previously been unavailable there in summer. Another side of the government policy was to give no help toward reconstruction of the village of upper Cherasia – perched, as it was, high on the mountain beyond the reach of roads. No doubt the authorities in this fashion hoped to tie the villagers to the accessible lower village, and

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 233

/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies.

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241

1	Harrow	$3	422
1	Plow, iron	1.50	407
1	Wooden plow	1.00	[412]
1	Yoke	1.00	[435]
3	Hoes	0.35	
2	Shovels	0.25	
2	Sickles	0.35	

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

1:Sanders Z-5.9 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p 99]

[VI]

The Changing Life of the Shepherd

A year in Greece puts one on intimate terms with sheep and goats. They are everywhere. They dart across the highway before a speeding car and raise their tails in a contemptuous gesture as they leap to safety across the ditch into a field; they form a fitting part of almost every landscape one wants to photograph; and they provide the country's chief meat supply as well as the white *feta*, or soft cheese. Their wool and hides are also important sources of income to the shepherds. 233 [262] [234]

There is nothing particularly glamorous about the Balkan sheep of which those in Greece are typical. They have a narrow, long tail and wool mixed with hair. C. S. Stephanides in his article, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," writes: "The Greek sheep has a small skeleton; narrow body; short but strong legs, well-fitted for long journeys; the ability to feed on poor roughage, to withstand hardship; and early maturity." There are eleven leading breeds, seven of these being island sheep, which give much more milk, meat, and wool than the mainland sheep.[1] This is explained by the isolation of the islands, the comparative small acreage of some, and the poverty of the farmers there which forces them to keep but a few sheep and to select out the very best. The superiority of their livestock has come about through centuries of such selection. As a matter of fact, those mainlanders undertaking scientific improvement of their flocks import the island sheep for breeding purposes. 233 232 [735]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
241 get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble
[511] the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
●234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
511 their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and
[221] children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[4] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring 272
tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234 ●
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

[The Tselingata]

used for public works, especially for the operation of schools. All these accounts are regulated by the general assembly of the members of the union.

In my conversations with Berates, the visit to whom has just been described, I learned that he considered himself an architselingas. True enough, he owned most of the sheep, but he did allow the six men who worked for him to have flocks of their own, say fifty to sixty head, if they could get a start. One of his shepherds was assigned the task of keeping the records of milk production so that each one could have a share prorated on the basis of the number of animals in the common flock. Every six months Berates draws up a contract with those associated with him; he supervises the cheese production up in the highland pastures and even helps process the milk for some of the smaller owners who are not in position to set up their own plant.

Those who knew Epirus a generation or so ago tell of the great authority these chief shepherds had, each ruling in autocratic fashion his people and the area in which they were established. Should one of the shepherds associated with any of these chieftains become dissatisfied and want to move away, he found it impossible to attach himself to any other chief shepherd, for these men of position stuck together. In the days of turmoil and disorder early in this century, it was almost necessary for a small owner to be connected in some way with a leading figure who could protect him and represent him to outside authorities.[14]

The tselingata, from many accounts, were not necessarily based on kinship, though there were interesting examples of the group of relatives being so large that they formed a union by themselves. In such a case, age and generation would usually determine who had the authority and his word would carry great weight among the others.

Even today there are powerful chief shepherds. The mayor of the city of Egoumenitsa, along the Ionian Sea, was the head of the Petoules family which is run on the principles of the traditional tselingata. There are eighty members in the family and all of them obey him. In 1953 I was told that the Petoules family collectively owned from 12,000 to 14,000 sheep, in spite of the fact that on one day in 1948 the Communist guerrillas took 4,200 sheep from them. Although they owned sufficient land to graze at least 14,000 sheep, they were improving the pastures by sowing wild clover. The summer area alone added up to about 3,450 acres and the winter area was additional.

One official in describing this family said that in 1952 some of the governmental representatives in Ioannina were ordered by the central government to go to the head of the Petoules family and take some of the pasture land for the settlement of refugees who needed land. They expected trouble but were pleasantly surprised when the architselingas agreed to give the land and also went with them to select it. Two villages were constructed,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

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tobacco is the only product they can raise due to the lack of additional land. I think this is the reason why the Mission sent somebody to do a study of the village in 1952" (personal communication). [127]

Chapter VI. The Changing Life of the Shepherd

G

1. It is of interest to note the breakdown by products on a percentage basis for the total income from sheep. Figures for Greece are taken from C. S. Stephanides, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (July 1948), 153–155, as is the quotation about the characteristics of the Greek sheep used in the text of this chapter. Kentucky figures are from C. D. Phillips and J. L. Pearson of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture. [234] [433] [236] [281]

	Greece	*Kentucky*
Milk and milk products	45.10	
Mutton	14.26	
Lamb	24.77	84.00
Wool	8.68	16.00
Hides	7.19	
	100.00%	100.00%

2. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the human factors in the small livestock industry, the table below will give some basic information for those interested in livestock numbers and products. These data are based on official Greek Ministry of Agriculture figures.

Total Number of Sheep and Goats, Greece (In Thousands)

Period	Sheep	Goats
1935–38 (average)	8,304	5,111
1938	8,139	4,356
1945	6,262	3,066
1946	7,228	3,462
1949	6,785	3,629
1954	8,738	4,643
1957 (estimate)	9,300	4,900

3. See P. J. Iliopoulos, *L' Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951). Three other studies that deal with sheep production are: P. H. Kontos, *Dase kai ktenotrophia eis ten Hellada apo oikonomikes kai politikes apopseus* (Forestry and Livestock Production in Greece from the Economic and Political Aspect) (Thessalonike, 1932); G. D. Kyriakos, *E Ktenotrophia mas* (Our Livestock Industry) (Athens, 1941); V. Handziolos, *To Provlema tes ktenotrophias en Helladi* (The Problem of the Livestock Industry in Greece) (Athens, 1941).

4. The description of the three systems of grazing practices (Vlachs, village ranchers, and village farmers) is taken from the American Embassy, Athens, Report No. 1056 (February 29, 1952), p. 13.

5. The study of transhumance as a habitat adjustment is almost a field in itself and will not be tackled here. Suffice it to say that I recognize the difference geographers make between transhumance and nomadism. Nevertheless, in the next section on the "nomads" of Epirus, I have followed conventional practice in thus alluding to these people, although most of them may actually be practicing transhumance rather than nomadism. V [101] [221]

6. An interesting source in this connection is Jovan Cvijic's *La Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918). This was published in French before it G [114]

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks. 175 423

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica: 175 423 427

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops. [311]

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years. 178 241 [235] [462]

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

[584] Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

[654] Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the
[511] children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

[578] These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[831] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 [432] in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 [146] Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] [855] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[8]

262 264 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm porridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

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262 [574] [146] Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occasion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 184 [146] Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 572 184 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller animals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full re-
[235] sponsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women anywhere, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the
[461] family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman. Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to
[231] gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness
[745] and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
[652] taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
[245] In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agricultural Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance. Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
[231] this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
[235] nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this
[434] is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the foreigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way coopera-
[471] tives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the rea-
[652] son that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula,
178 the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[464] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness
[745] and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 000

tobacco is the only product they can raise due to the lack of additional land. I think this is the reason why the Mission sent somebody to do a study of the village in 1952" (personal communication). [127]

Chapter VI. The Changing Life of the Shepherd

G

1. It is of interest to note the breakdown by products on a percentage basis for the total income from sheep. Figures for Greece are taken from C. S. Stephanides, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (July 1948), 153–155, as is the quotation about the characteristics of the Greek sheep used in the text of this chapter. Kentucky figures are from C. D. Phillips and J. L. Pearson of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture. [234] [433] [236] [281]

	Greece	*Kentucky*
Milk and milk products	45.10	
Mutton	14.26	
Lamb	24.77	84.00
Wool		
Hides	8.68	16.00
	7.19	
	100.00%	100.00%

2. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the human factors in the small livestock industry, the table below will give some basic information for those interested in livestock numbers and products. These data are based on official Greek Ministry of Agriculture figures.

Total Number of Sheep and Goats, Greece (In Thousands)

Period	Sheep	Goats
1935–38 (average)	8,304	5,111
1938	8,139	4,356
1945	6,262	3,066
1946	7,228	3,462
1949	6,785	3,629
1954	8,738	4,643
1957 (estimate)	9,300	4,900

3. See P. J. Iliopoulos, *L' Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951). Three other studies that deal with sheep production are: P. H. Kontos, *Dase kai ktenotrophia eis ten Hellada apo oikonomikes kai politikes apopseus* (Forestry and Livestock Production in Greece from the Economic and Political Aspect) (Thessalonike, 1932); G. D. Kyriakos, *E Ktenotrophia mas* (Our Livestock Industry) (Athens, 1941); V. Handziolos, *To Provlema tes ktenotrophias en Helladi* (The Problem of the Livestock Industry in Greece) (Athens, 1941).

4. The description of the three systems of grazing practices (Vlachs, village ranchers, and village farmers) is taken from the American Embassy, Athens, Report No. 1056 (February 29, 1952), p. 13.

5. The study of transhumance as a habitat adjustment is almost a field in itself and will not be tackled here. Suffice it to say that I recognize the difference geographers make between transhumance and nomadism. Nevertheless, in the next section on the "nomads" of Epirus, I have followed conventional practice in thus alluding to these people, although most of them may actually be practicing transhumance rather than nomadism. V [101] [221]

6. An interesting source in this connection is Jovan Cvijic's *La Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918). This was published in French before it G [114]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaouboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not re-
[865] move the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy
[434] mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes
262 the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers'
233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

/59 cont./ 241
that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the [407]
iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes
too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the
field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow
over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without
bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron 241
plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on 242
such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are
plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to
plow the same field as many times as possible. The common
expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get."
This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under
all conditions.

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. 241
Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture 237
all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for 372
fuel.

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not
acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil
filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ can-
not afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding prob-
lems which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should
be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The [433]
productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus,
what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order
to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that
92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the
fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to [433]
the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel
of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the [354]
manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal,
but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm
family was not discovered.

241

/For information on Agricultural Cooperatives see category 474./

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

823 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits
361 about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages
● 241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos.
433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with
[233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our
[312] village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one
[423] stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired
[487] as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the
[312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] [291]

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Agricultural

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square. 241 621

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing. 621 609 574 275 [272] [273]

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention. 621 609 574 [312] [275] [494]

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 59]
[p. 58 is blank]

IV

Land as a Birthright

Grandfather slipped his hand underneath and drew out a little bundle which had lain over his heart. 423

"It is nothing. . . . A handful of earth. . . ."

"A handful of earth! . . ."

"Yes, a handful of earth from our fields so we can plant a root of basil in our land of exile, to remind us. . . ."

Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, p. 259

A Handful of Earth

To some readers, this passage will reveal a poetic insight into the mystic attachment which not only the refugees portrayed but people in many parts of the world have for the land which is theirs, which they revere, and for which they will endure bloody encounters. To other readers, this will seem an overromanticized stereotyping of the peasant. Which reaction is more justifiable in considering the Greek villages today?

Seeking an answer to this question brought me face to face with the dramatic social changes which have been occurring in Greece with all their marked regional differences. Facts and figures are a good starting point for trying to resolve a debated question. Certainly, in Greece today, with the population increase, good land is at a very high premium. The "handful of 423 178 241

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
[432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various *regions of Greece except to talk with them* and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary,
because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
[166] rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are
[578] three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511].

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks. 175 423

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica: 175 423 427

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops. [311]

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years. 178 241 [235] [462]

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of
241 summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illustrate modern Greek land reform.[12] The size of the farm holding in Thes-
[241] saly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still
[671] exists for those poor villagers who need it.

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful,"
[177 they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and
825] for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the
[685 point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever."
[521 The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land re-
● 241 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant became about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the
[311 entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

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Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan.

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future.

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem.

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity."

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 474 241 the smallest holdings, must have found sweet consolation in knowing that now many of their more advantaged village neighbors wish to join the cooperative pool. But this poses a problem. "How," the secretary asked anxiously, "can we calculate what arrangement to make with these people? How can we know what to charge them for the risk we took, the major expenses we bore? Certainly, now that we have succeeded, it would not be fair for them to come in and benefit free of cost from the pioneering work that we have done."

As these cooperative members talked of their plans, their eyes glowed with happiness and enthusiasm. The men had concrete proposals to solve other problems. They expect to shift from sole concentration upon grain production to more diversified farming, including livestock and poultry production, the raising of dry legumes and other crops that tend to give employment to the able-bodied members of the cooperating families.

International recognition as well as scientific farming is coming to Nees Karyes. Today there are people from Yugoslavia and Israel, as well as touring Americans, who have seen the way some of the peasant families in this village of Thessaly set about solving their problem of too little land in too many strips cultivated in unscientific ways. The secret of this undertaking, in great part at least, lies in the feeling of responsibility on the part of those who participate, since they originated and now conduct and plan for the cooperative which they jointly own.

Pressure on the Land

161 241 511 Most rural Greeks, however, struggle along with insufficient resources and with no cooperative venture such as Nees Karyes to give them hope. A village cobbler from Karpenesi in Central Greece explained the matter in this way: "There has been such an increase in population that the fields are no longer sufficient. The village child today lives more poorly than did his father as a child, because there are more mouths to feed and no added resources."

A well-informed Greek official put the problem in excellent perspective: "Today there is less income per family, less food, and the land values go [565] up. Those that have more land become better off, leading to totally new economic and social distinctions in the villages. Many of our farmers are trying to make a living on such small farms that all they produce is hate. The main problem of the Greek farm family is the population problem. There are too many people. The villager with nothing to do has no place to go in search of work. That is why you see here in Athens many strong, healthy men selling matches. They have no work to do either in their villages or here in the city."

What the Greek villagers are up against in one part of the Peloponnesos is revealed in *Greece, Ripe for Improvement:*

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Like many of the older agricultural areas of the world, this area is densely populated and now has far more people than its depleted resources can adequately support. . . . At the present time, nearly 10,000 people are attempting to support themselves on 25,000 hectares (62,500 acres) of land, some of it waterlogged, most of it eroded, and all of it reduced in productivity.[16] 161 241 511

Yet this population pressure is of relatively recent occurrence. One writer in 1842 described the large amount of land then available in the Greece which at that time consisted of the Peloponnesos and Central Greece: [131]

The industry of the 100,000 persons engaged in agriculture is almost completely lost to view in the extensive wilds of Greece; and the universal remark of tourists is, "What a pity that the cultivation of the soil is so neglected! what a rich and fertile country! what myriads of colonists might prosper here!" [17]

What happened between 1842 and 1952 to change the population picture so drastically? The population of Greece grew not only by natural increase but by the acquisition of new territory. The story can be told most simply by figures contained in the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook* for 1952; in 1861 there were 60 people per square mile in what was then Greece; in 1951 there were 149 people per square mile in what is Greece today. [131]

Students of population remind us quite properly that mere density per square mile is not a safe guide to the actual or the potential standard of living. The highly industrialized areas of Western Europe support several times the density of Greece and their people have many more modern conveniences. In a rural country, the density in terms of arable land is a more revealing indication of living conditions.

In the United States there are 17 acres of arable land for each farm person, but in both Greece and India there are only 1.3 acres. Our major farm problems come from surpluses; Greece, too, has her surpluses, although, like most countries moving away from a peasant economy, she is deficient in certain food supplies. One ray of hope for the less-privileged countries is the possibility that they may increase production per acre from 13 to 14 bushels (the present grain yields in Greece) closer to 30 bushels, a figure surpassed by the United Kingdom, Denmark, and the Netherlands, where scientific agriculture is practiced. But even here basic soil types set certain limits.

The present situation seems likely to become even more acute. In Greece between 1951 and 1961 there was a population increase of 9 percent, a figure which may grow larger if death rates are lowered faster than birth rates. Without a rapidly expanding economy to absorb these added people into productive jobs, the Greeks will feel their economic limitations even

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of the depressed areas of the country.

Land Use in Greece

What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[18] We may not be able to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest, and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres (double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

Greece Today, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens, in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation; and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Furthermore, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is 63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective average for these countries.

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of which are owned or administered by the state.[19] They were obtained in the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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villagers, then conservatism and lack of progress will handicap the peasant; if, on the other hand, the man-land bond becomes too abruptly broken, a rural proletariat will come into existence and will make demands beyond the capacity of the country to provide.

The golden mean would call for such a balancing of forces that Greek villagers, proud of their rural heritage but aware of steps necessary to improve their economic and educational position, would grow stronger with the passing of time. For some the answer to greater economic stability would lie in higher yields per acre through fertilization and better farming practices; in other cases mechanization may prove an aid, as would more efficient irrigation or marketing facilities and lower interest rates. Along with the economic remedies, whatever they prove to be, a sense of psychological security will develop in the peasant if he thinks of himself as a landowner and gets prestige and satisfaction from the intelligent way he treats his land. Linked to this, however, must be the feeling that he — the villager — is not Greece's forgotten or neglected man, but that those engaged in agriculture are viewed by policy makers as an important segment of national life. Individually and collectively, no people can afford the costly luxury of taking lightly their birthright of land.

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[p. 75]

[V]

The Peasant at Work

A description of how the land is owned and what it grows gives only one side of the agricultural picture. To round out the chapter just concluded, one needs to see the peasants at work, to follow them from tobacco field to olive orchard, to see how they plow and harvest, and what they do to the part of the earth they own. As they live and work in their small fields, the peasants develop their own way of looking at man and the world. This sets them off from the city dweller or the seafarer, for certain basic rural attitudes prevail all over Greece whether the farmer's energy goes into producing citrus fruits and olives in the south or tobacco and hardy grains in the north. Closeness to the land in the physical and often in the spiritual sense is one such attitude already described. Matching this is the villager's closeness to the changing seasons and weather and his dependence on them. For a truly genuine account we rely again upon T. K. Papaspyropoulos, who has vividly described contemporary life in Kleitoria. The entire following section on the seasons is a translation of his words.

241 184 127

The Cycle of the Seasons in the Peloponnesos

Winter. During winter we have finished all our tasks and we gather in our homes. We have sown, we have gathered our maize, beans, and what other goods God has given us — onions, garlic, potatoes, quince, pomegranates, and so on. We have put our cheese to age; we have rendered our

221 [241] [252]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peleponnesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their 221
caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered [796]
as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The
man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also [275]
go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly
the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder [241]
or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start prepar-
ing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do [462]
not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To
the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; [275]
they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few
understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not
wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of
wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it
out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others
curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have [796]
Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, [535]
then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help [462]
outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, [241]
beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When
some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes [342]
then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time
because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their [354]
games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a
fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and
get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then 221
onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our
work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do 796
something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church;
then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manli-
ness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass,
we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our 221
tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then
the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we 512
have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children [462]
return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by
themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many,
it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her
hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs
to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re- [275]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 512 [275] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that 221 of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever 241 else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we [432] start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it [273] and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot 82 south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare 4o, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

221
82
[186]

Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

241
[291]

Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

[492]
[427]
[652]

We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

[369]

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 [426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily [435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Ali- [464] strate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with [249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from [273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a [412] fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407] [412]

> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown. Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the [462] fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[2]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

they had a resilience that kept them going. When asked how their tobacco crop was doing, they broke into broad smiles, and the man said: 241

"This year our tobacco is just like basil." (By this they meant that it was nice, thick, and round.)

The woman was quick to add, "ho Theos na dosi" (may God grant it).

In a book of interpretations there is a temptation to linger with a couple like this, to record in detail their simple ways which contrast so markedly with the complicated life in the West. The temptation is even stronger when one encounters throughout Greece peasants who are as far removed from mechanization as the Acropolis is removed from the Empire State Building. The late Robert P. T. Coffin, during a year in Greece, caught their spirit in "The Golden Age," which begins:

> High in the back mountains of old Greece
> I came upon incredible peace;
> A wife with a distaff twisting wool
> A boy who filled wool breeches full,
> Riding together on a burro
> Ahead of a bronze man running a furrow
> On a steep acre mostly rocks,
> Twenty red hens, and two bronze cocks.[8]

Yet there is a spirit of change stirring in Greece that cannot be ignored no matter how strongly one may be drawn to the simplicity of the past. To drive along the road just south of Corinth and to see a new bright orange tractor plowing in the shadow of Akrokorinthos, with its lofty crown of crenelated medieval ruins on the summit, is a startling sensation; or between Levadeia and Lamia in Central Greece, to come suddenly upon a combine efficiently working its way through a wheat field with Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, as a backdrop, is to be jolted momentarily by the incongruities of an invasion by the machines into an ancient world which for ages had moved in the pattern of man, land, and animals. 178 241 407

The swiftly changing techniques are illustrated vividly on almost any day's tour through the countryside. At threshing time, for instance, I have seen peasants threshing grain by putting it into a bag and pounding it with sticks; not far away will be several threshing floors on the edge of the village with many teams of horses tramping out the grain; elsewhere there will be the slow-moving oxen pulling a little platform with metal teeth fixed underneath to separate the grain from the stalk; and around the next bend may be a big cooperatively owned threshing machine operated by a long belt turned by a tractor. Tired women, faces veiled with white scarves against the scorching heat and dust, stand feeding the broken sheaves into the thresher; other women sack the grain for the sweating men to carry away in trucks. In the memory of the traveler the impression of fierce heat and 243 178 [407]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241 311 406 462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a [407 452 464] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, [554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary. [407] [445]

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type. [407]

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly.

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.] [8]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors — [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of [454] his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.

At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.

[476] Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu-
[461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women. Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-to-do peasantry.

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case

1:Sanders Z-5,¢ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 of Alekos, the first few owners get good income from custom plowing, but
241 with many tractors there is not very much supplementary income to go
[434] around. These steel horses in Greece plow more deeply, give more leisure, help spread scientific farming throughout the plains, and service an increasingly larger proportion of the 950,000 farms of the land. But with one tractor to every 70–80 farms, it is not surprising that Yannes, the tobacco grower from Alistrate, still waits for his horse so that he will not have to stand idly by while another finishes plowing a field.

The Harvesters of Chalkidike (Macedonia)

Social changes, and especially those connected with mechanization, frequently wear two faces — one bright, the other dark. In Athens I had heard from fellow Americans about the growing use of machinery, the previously mentioned over-all increase in agricultural production to more than 37 percent above the prewar figure, and the steps being taken to rationalize agriculture to an even greater degree. These programs represented not only heavy investments of dollars and drachmas, but also considerable self-sacrifice on the part of American and Greek staff members with a missionary zeal for their work and a willingness to work overtime. There was no question of the need for Greece to become a part of the scientific revolution in farming, but it was at times perplexing to find that little thought was being given to the social effects of this revolution on the people in the rural areas.

178 Once out in the provinces, away from the bright programs of Athens, I
241 saw the dark face of mechanization. While riding with the director of agri-
243 culture of Larissa on the drive previously mentioned, I was somewhat
464 shocked to hear him say that he was glad the recent storm had visited the area.

"Why is that?" I asked. "Doesn't it make it harder to harvest the grain?"

"Yes, that's the point," he replied. "Now it will have to be done by hand in many places, giving work to some of the people from the mountain villages in this area who depend upon the harvesting to earn their supply of wheat for much of the year. Without the bread from this wheat they cannot live."

Again, a nomarch of Thessalonike talked to me of the people displaced by mechanization. He tried to see the good as well as the bad, indicating that machines without any question had raised the yields by putting more land under cultivation and by making better farming methods possible. He, too, however, used much the same words as had the official in Larissa, pointing out that he was glad to see the rains in Macedonia since it meant that harvesting would be done by hand.[8]

One bright June morning found us in Niketas, a small coastal village in
243 Chalkidike where mechanical threshing was in progress on the edge of the
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

621
land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business 463
(baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these land-
owners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade [423]
such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward
the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their 621
own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land 241
belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, 511
therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for
187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres,
and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon,
it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land.
There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it,
and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for
a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide suffi-
cient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since
other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities
are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural
areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in [369]
search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income 249
from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the 435
mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own 511
production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order
to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of [458]
Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, [204]
had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for,
in reading *Vema,* an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he
also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times,
fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and im-
ported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas 249
variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average
leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first
plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily man-
ured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds
are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered
over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually
morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to
be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located
near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the to-
bacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance. "No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil," which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged
[245] in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned. Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said, "If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive 2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition, their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing, many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware. What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices, and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
●241 get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble
[511] the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
511 their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and
[221] children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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V 484 492 221 V [482] horses on which very small children were perched somewhat precariously on wooly blanket-rugs stacked up on the saddles. On one horse we saw several hens tied to a saddle and I wondered what the horse thought of being turned into a mobile poultry yard; cows, heifers, and goats were also a part of the procession under the care of the women. The women were carrying their share of the load, some with babies, others with water kegs strapped to their backs. The lowly donkeys were carrying the tent poles. As we passed the long straggling march of people and animals, we blew our horn and enjoyed the open-mouthed astonishment of the other Vlachs as they saw one of their number riding in such state.

V 484 221 233 V 233 427 G 241 427 She explained to us how they stopped before midday and rested, and then after milking the sheep traveled during the night. When we wondered whether or not the children enjoyed the six-month shift, she said, "They learn to make the move for it is a necessity." "How many times have you moved like this?" we asked. "As many times as I have years — twenty-three." She was amused at our ignorance. Her family also was having trouble over the rental of winter pasture, for the farmer from whom they had been renting wanted to put the land into crops. With an air of assurance, she added, "But we are holding it under the rent law." Before the last war legislation had been passed forbidding a farmer to put into cultivation pasture that had been rented for three consecutive years to a shepherd, unless he proved to the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture that he absolutely needed it. This action had to be taken a year in advance and the shepherd had to be notified.

V 484 221 G 123 V 114 361 After a while, our lively passenger told us that she wanted to get out at the next turn, for that was the rendezvous point at which the women would stop to unload the pack animals, set up camp, and wait for the men with the flocks to catch up with them before noon. Our conversations with other members of this group dealt more with the problems they were facing as a shepherd people than with the customs and beliefs which set them off from their fellow nomads. In Metsovo, to be described later in connection with a funeral I witnessed, we saw other aspects of Koutso-Vlach character which need not concern us here. Of the three nomadic groups they have been most fully described and documented in the literature, notably in the memorable book by Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans* (1914), which was based on extended acquaintance with the people of Samarina, another well-known Koutso-Vlach village.[8]

V 221 182 Four of the effects of this migratory life which Wace and Thompson list seem to hold true for all of the nomadic groups even in 1953, and they deserve brief mention. Such a migration, for instance, presents a wider outlook on life in general in contrast to the utter stagnation normal in remote villages. At the same time, it is a serious financial drain, for two houses must be kept up; nevertheless, what is lost in cash is perhaps gained in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[13]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

G 563 233 V 648 G [241] V [361] G 563 641 V 648

The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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G 233 474 but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on an elephant," as one of my informants put it.

Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoules Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

V G 233 178 [474] The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of the chief shepherd.[15] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grandsons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

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Stress and Strain

233 241 578 621 The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[16] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests.

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in.

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which
578 has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."
185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep,
654 which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas-
[241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and
[249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She [249] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions [251] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is [236] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the [251] yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which 462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani- [235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as- [233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any [343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any- [461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman. [241] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to [231] gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, 241 the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work 178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the [313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As [589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop [464] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness [745] and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

758 [462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

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> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

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Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[4] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

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796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the
[785] latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

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considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[9]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

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gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone." 476 539

Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yannes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need. 476 492

Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd. 476 233

Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakassa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." 476 241 [493]

But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. 476 [339]

Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari* [573]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria,* or the groups of 573 women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring [562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are [574] strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work [535] is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes [533] are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other [589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have [226] numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field [241] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general, [422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

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474 to shift away from the village to the national capital, where the Agricul-
177 tural Bank is located, or to the provincial cities, where the bank has
[652] branches to which the individual peasants are supposed to go to "process" their loans.

A second important question touched upon in the FAO report was whether the producers' cooperative ought to be compulsory in one or both of two ways: first, requiring all of those who produce a given commodity (such as tobacco) and who live in a given village to belong to a cooperative and, second, forcing all cooperative members to market their produce and buy their supplies only through the cooperative. The FAO Mission counseled against making the cooperatives compulsory, and the same point of view has been held by most of the American advisers who have worked with the American Aid Mission in Greece. Greek government officials, [241] however, sometimes think that legal sanctions would strengthen cooperatives and thereby tighten the economic machinery through which 10–12 percent of the Greek tobacco crop and about 80 percent of olive oil, to mention but two crops, reach the market.[7]

474 The cooperative leaders, however, face a problem of social as well as
626 legal sanctions: they would like to guide the cooperative movement from the stage where each cooperative member is a law unto himself to the point where any farmer who fails to sell his produce through his cooperative has to reckon with the disapproval of his fellow farmers. This can only be done through a long-term program of education which stresses not cooperation as an abstract ideal but the fact that a cooperative organization depends upon the support of every member and is not much stronger than its weakest link. It is in this matter of interpretation, of teaching the villager the meaning of cooperation, that the cooperative movement is not very successful. Cooperative officials are so busy being administrators that they do not take time to be interpreters, to be sure their communication strikes a responsive chord in the peasant. Then, too, they tend to feel that they have so much authority (such as fiscal control) in their hands that they do not have to depend upon the subtler forms of authority — namely, pressure by loyal members upon those who would deviate from what is considered good cooperative practice. This is tied in with the psychological problem of making the members feel that the cooperative is theirs rather than the instrumentality of cooperative and governmental officials who live outside the community.

474 One report by A. W. Willis, an American marketing specialist, goes so far as to say: "The Greek cooperative law makes cooperatives an arm of the Government and actually prohibits member control as well as any profit acquiring to members. The entire agricultural economy of this state could profit through true Cooperatives but not through those now in existence under the present law."[8]

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How strong are cooperatives in Greece today? In 1957, they numbered 7,127 and had a membership of 718,000.[9] They therefore constitute the principal farm organization in Greece. Those who lead the cooperative movement are quick to point out what they hope to achieve: to narrow the ratio between prices received by the farmers and prices paid by the farmers; to market members' products and purchase for them equipment and supplies; to process farm commodities, produce pesticides, farm machinery; and to provide special services for members such as plowing, cultivating, and harvesting.[10] Since many of the Greek farmers are too impoverished to raise sufficient capital on their own to finance a local cooperative, they are therefore dependent upon those cooperatives for which the government, through the Agricultural Bank, provides all the funds and over which it insists on centralized control.

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How the Villagers View Cooperatives

What the FAO study team, the American missioners, and even the Greek government officials think about agricultural cooperatives is secondary to what the Greek peasants themselves think. Their opinions ranged all the way from those of open resentment and hostility to those of great pride in local cooperative achievements. To be told, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, that some villagers whom we wanted to see had hid upon our arrival, for they thought that we were either cooperative officials or connected with the Agricultural Bank, was an object lesson in itself. We asked one of them why he had run away. He replied: "I still owe the Bank a great deal. We have to pay 9 percent interest on what we borrow, 1 percent to the cooperative and 8 percent to the Bank. Last year I hadn't paid off my loan ($70.), so I couldn't get a new loan. I borrowed what I needed from a private individual at 20 percent and paid off this loan to the bank so that I could obtain potato seed on a new loan. Now I have sold my potatoes and the Bank will be after me to pay them what I owe."

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When we asked what happened to people who did not repay their loans, we were told that in such cases the collector came out, wrangled with the people, and if he received no repayment took them to court. To such villagers, cooperatives were chiefly credit agencies and in no sense stood for a local association of farmers pooling their energies and resources to achieve joint goals.

Now and then we found peasants who were anxious to start a cooperative but considered the initiation difficult. In a village near Megalopolis in the Peloponnesos, the people were well aware of the difference between prices received in the village for watermelons and what such products cost in Athens. Like farmers everywhere, they thought the price differences unjust. They blamed bureaucratic red tape for holding up the establishment of a cooperative. Some of the more dubious went on to say: "Even if we do

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1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch
[124] with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the rela-
[652] tionship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500 in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a com-
[621] mittee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all
[243] family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

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Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[10] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serral in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

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> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

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13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakassa, Central Greece.

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tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

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178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time
178 by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discus-
511 sion of religion, observed:
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> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have
[454] stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

178 A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the con-
433 nection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change.
464 The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transi-
241 tional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

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part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

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In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income. When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

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The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's economic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire.

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
241 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
594 near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
[435] ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates, being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
626 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
183 the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
369 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
602 emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

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177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias,* often translated "welfare through
653 employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
207 Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administra-
491 tion (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds
178 true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
[241] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these
[654] and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

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177 369 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so urbanized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

From Peasant to Farmer

184 241 [178] In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 241 511 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern
454 farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
241 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
594 but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away
184 from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization
184 is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [665 829]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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Vasilika with Parori and Mt. Parnassos in the background.

Women hoeing.

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The Area Surrounding Vasilika

●241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are
[621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to
[361] the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of
[423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the
[133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece,
[134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting
[312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently,
[134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

241 Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton
312 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural underground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere
[406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for
[363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not
621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider-
361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen,
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equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen 512
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads 484
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 512
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 621
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any 512
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 241
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 805
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora,* one sees, first, a man going by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

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parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*. 593

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters. 162 592

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households. 621 592 241 434 433

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or [illegible] *stremata* (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two 245 [illegible]21 804 273 372 252 147 461 412 462

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243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
241 questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
[249] since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.
[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
[433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
[434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat,
●241 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their
652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac-
[583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings
[556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields.
This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household
[433] and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few house-
[417] holds fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

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445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-
sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had
[178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innova-
tions since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have
involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new
attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these
items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assump-
tion that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late
fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit
in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his com-
ments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field
chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic
of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one,
as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even
to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one
farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stone-
mason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with
interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire struc-
ture collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it
a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did
they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job.
He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was
ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking in-
stances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally
try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point
here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have
skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance
of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they
are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

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fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

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Vasilika

relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari,* on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari,* neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons. 563

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export. 433 13 433 [439] [241]

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks. [505] [651] [464] [505]

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since 648

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648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 [369] [162] [434] [464] [463] The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families comprised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total population of the country in that year. Some of these families supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

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[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing 275
backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [275] [576]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really provides the village women with a meeting place where they may [521]
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk [794]
and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

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562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else 361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im- 433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill 438 villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads 241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will 433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is 433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be [464] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains [166] often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

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While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 [453] [435] [654]

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

433 511 454 556 178x [438]

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

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x178 life in Lofiscos dates only from 1952, it cannot be surprising to
241 find that as yet little has altered outwardly. But since the vil-
433 lage has been attuned to a market economy for generations, and since changes that increase income without involving more than the normal risks of farming meet with little resistance in the village, it seems entirely probable that in the future more and more substantial changes will come to Lofiscos. In 1956 there was still much that could be done to increase the intensity of
[312] farming and to enlarge the cash income of the farmers. Well irrigation is easy, because the water table lies close to the surface; and with such irrigation, a wide variety of hitherto untried crops will become possible: vegetables, fruit, fodder, in addition to cotton. The basis for a highly productive and diversified farming may thus appear in a relatively short period of time. Moreover, it would not be difficult or very expensive to build drainage works in the portion of the village lands that flood each spring, thus bringing some or all of that land into cultivation.

Two obstacles stand in the path of any such program of development in Lofiscos. One is the general inertia and conservatism of the farmers, who will have to learn a good deal about new crops and farming methods, and may also find themselves working a good deal more steadily through the year than was necessary when nearly all their land was still in wheat. Yet the means and incentive to overcome this difficulty both seemed to be present in 1956. Agricultural extension agents and the Agricultural Bank stand ready to give expert advice and instruction; and some of the farmers of Losfiscos have shown an eagerness to enrich themselves thereby.

The second problem is more complicated. If the farmers begin to exploit the possibilities of their land more fully, the village will very soon find itself short of labor, for the existing inhabitants are too few to attend to all the chores of high farming

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on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains.

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters.

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423 combined into one holding. The great majority of the families
425 of the village, however, still occupied 27 or 32 stremmata in 1956, and most of the original holders of the allotments were still alive.

x 178 The land settlement in Nea Eleftherohori differed from that
621 in Lofiscos in two respects. First, the farms in Nea Eleftherohori were less than one fifth as large as in Lofiscos. Second, the new
● 241 settlers, uprooted from their former homes, whether up the
433 mountain or in distant Asia Minor, left binding customary ways of life behind them, and started off in Nea Eleftherohori without the automatic conservatism and suspicion of innovation typical until very recently of the families of Lofiscos. These differences acted together to make the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori a good deal more willing to try new crops and methods, even before the war, than those in the older Thessalian community. Life on so little land was difficult at best, and anything that promised to bring in a little more seemed worth trying; and when the problems of farming the land were new in any event, there was far less psychological resistance against trying some further innovation.

621 Another contrast with Lofiscos, a contrast perhaps related
163 to the general shake-up of old customary routines which came to the inhabitants of Nea Eleftherohori between 1912 and 1923,
433 is that the new settlers proceeded to procreate children at a far greater rate than occurs in Lofiscos, where families are mostly quite small. [2]

2. It would be very interesting to know why the prosperous peasants of Lofiscos have fewer children than their much poorer fellows in Nea Eleftherohori, but I do not know Lofiscos well enough to hazard an opinion. Can it be that the general market orientation of their agriculture and the habit of calculating in monetary terms leads them to restrict the number of their children deliberately, in some fashion or other, realizing that to divide the family farm among many children spells impoverishment for

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ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for [241]
jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [434]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising market crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

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By 1956 "everybody"

×178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
●241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
×178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

×178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Eleftherohori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[245] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricul-
[452] tural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-centered type of agriculture. 178* 241 [464]

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Eleftherohori is to say that during the past five or six years commercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsistence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabitants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-respecting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors. [433] 178* 511 356 [291] [351]

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy members of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done. [563]

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. One very important consequence is the postponement of mar- 178* 511 582

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may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be 1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village [166]

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Paleo Corinthos.

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621 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill
166 villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

245 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become
439 prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devalua-
[436] tion of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good.

● 241 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing
474 largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in
433 the community, the two cooperatives which were organized
× 178 before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

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Paleo Corinthos

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lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

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[Villages of the Plains]

365 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, perhaps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, [425] supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. [427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several 423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained 428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would 476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth 464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others, either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the in- 465 troduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with [427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

727 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of
621 young men dressed in homespun.

[571] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat
[657] from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today
[491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn al-
[233] most the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The
[492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta
241 is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres
233 of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one
[242] of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow. 178x 241 233

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise. 669 621 [241] [517] [619]

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the village speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the 621 178x 197 [669] [191] [619]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

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178x
433
[438]

led to this change. One was the rise of Volos as an important urban center, requiring charcoal as fuel for cooking and for heating houses. To supply the rising demand, the villagers of Cherasia began cutting off the forests of Mount Pelion with a new energy. A second factor was the growth of population in Cherasia itself. As more families appeared, sheep could not support them all, because the pastures could not be readily extended. So the people fell back on exploitation of the forests.

This "ancient" history is mostly speculation. I was not able to get any clear account of their distant past from the men of the village. What they did know was that in 1905 three families had secured title to 100 stremmata (25 acres) of land apiece in the little valley that spreads out below the site of their winter quarters at the foot of the mountain. At that time, very likely, the free villagers of the mountain saw little or no attraction in the toilsome life of a farmer, and preferred to keep to their ancient shepherd's way of life, supplemented by woodcutting and charcoal burning.

[423]
[241]

About the time of the first world war, things changed. As the population continued to grow, sheep and charcoal no longer sufficed to provide a satisfactory living for the members of the community. Many of them began to clear little patches of rocky mountainside in the hope of raising a crop or two on the land. Their tenure was legally recognized by a governmental survey made in 1922, which assigned to each family title to the patches its members had cleared and cultivated in preceding years. During the interwar period the pressure to find supplementary means of livelihood through agriculture continued to mount. In 1938, village authorities parceled out 500 stremmata of what had been common pasture to private family ownership. No further property changes had occurred in the village up to 1956.

178x
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423
[314]

The brute fact remains, however, that fields cleared from mountain slopes are miserable agricultural land. These produce

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
•241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
565 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
578 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecrop-
427 ping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

178x households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423 also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565 The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578 these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 427 hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [302] village. [142]

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 178x 233 Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 241 plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 433 the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 565 part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even 578 today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [579] Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. [461] The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461] spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
● 241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
433 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

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EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hopefully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but because the villagers failed to look after them.

Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land – the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a forest preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical – pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

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Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land. 178x 829 669 433 313 656 [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death. 669 722 657 178x

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five 217 166 727

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Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

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Kardamili

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They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

/5 cont./

The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. 496
The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards 133
the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is sur- 134
rounded by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys. [137]
Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been going on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot [312]
of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago. With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the water buffaloes.

The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the nearby hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters. In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and 134
60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with 132
plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow. The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and [241]
germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farming.

The railroad station close to the village enables the village 438
to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location 443
[496]

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 233

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241 •
munity is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt. 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/18 cont./ 241 •
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/21 cont./ The
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 443
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 437
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they 433
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/23 cont./

more economical. It distributes the work among all members of the family. The cost of living is low and the depreciation on machinery and working animal is low. The difficulties that usually arise here are as follows: 596 [241]

1. One leader in the family who has the right to command all.

2. Mother-in-law has the complete house work organization. She tells the rest what each has to do. In case she has a special inclination to favor one, the rest have to bear the burden of the work without objection. This usually creates hard feelings and starts the division of the family.

3. Usually the older son has more children than the younger son, and in case one of the sons does not have any, he has to work just as hard for the support of his /24/ brother's children. Things of this sort usually create hard feelings and lead to the disorganization of the family.

4. Often the father of the family, taking advantage of the good cooperation of his sons, spends money for his own good time, like drinking, dressing better and traveling. With the increase of modern facilities and modern customs the compound family is disappearing. [178]

Marriage and Courtship.

It was the custom for many years for the parents to hunt and find a suitable wife for their son. Usually the girl had to satisfy the parents' desires. The son had to consent whether he wanted her or not. That was the accepted custom. This is still true with only 40% of the marriages and is rapidly disappearing. The young men are looking ahead of the time for their future partner. In dancing squares, during holiday celebrations and at wedding ceremonies they have a chance to express to each other their admiration and their preference. Nothing is done publicly so as to avoid gossip since the old customs still prevail. The young men very often form a group and sing by the window of their girl friend. If the father suspects anything the punishment is heavy. 584 178 [626] [832]

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

584 178 [241 476 533 832 583 369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

178 464 [249] [291 535 623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

178 583

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source 744
of the disease.

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular 164
feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and 165
long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children.

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor 758
only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will [777]
of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would [511]
hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge.

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. Accord- 888
ing to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die 593
and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged.

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farm- 241 •
ing. The people barely make their living and on lean years they 511
have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise.

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436]
[804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

8:Stephanides--27 I, Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1

Megali Vrisi

[Inventory at the beginning of the year-
/43 cont./ taken from a representative farmer]

B. Livestock:	Number	Value in drachmas		
Cows	2	5,000		511
Oxen	2	8,000		422
Poultry	30	900		435
Turkeys	3	300		[231]
Hogs	1	250		
Bees	20	4,000		
			18,450	

C. Family food stuffs in storeroom: [251]

	Okes		
Wheat	300	2,100	
Lard	50	3,000	
Honey	10	300	/44/

D. Animal feed in store: [231]

	Okes	Value in Drachmas	
Chick peas	200	800	
Straw	1200	600	
Barley	400	2,000	
			8,800

E. Agricultural implements [241] [412]

	Number		
Plow	1	250	
Yoke	1	90	
Harrow	1	600	
Barrels	3	450	
Harrows	2	70	
Shovels	1	30	
Hatchet	1	60	
Axes	1	80	
Wagons	1	3,000	
Sickles	2	50	
			4,680
	Total		31,930

/44 cont./

Inventory at the end of the year. December 31st 1934.

511
422
435
[231]

Family, the same members as at the beginning.

A. Livestock:	Number	Value in Drachmas	
Cows	3	6,000	
Oxen	2	8,000	
Hens	20	600	
Turkeys	3	300	
Pigs	1	600	
Bees	20	4,000	
			19,500

[251]

B. Family food in store:	Okes		
Wheat	350	2,450	
Lard	40	2,400	
Honey	15	450	
Onions	20	60	
Beans	15	150	
Cracked wheat cereal	40	400	
			5,910

[231]

C. Animal feed in store:			
Straw	1,600	800	
Corn	60	300	
Chickpea	200	800	
			1,900 /45/

[241]
[412]

D. Agricultural implements:	Okes	Value in Drachmas
Plow	1	250
Yoke	1	90
Harrow	1	550
Barrels	3	450
Harrows	2	60
Shovel	1	30
Hatchets	1	60

511
241

/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed. 241 423 [484] [433] [242] [476] [233]

We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241 422 407 [412] [435]

1	Harrow	$3
1	Plow, iron	1.50
1	Wooden plow	1.00
1	Yoke	1.00
3	Hoes	0.35
2	Shovels	0.25
2	Sickles	0.35

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

/51 cont./

Receipts Expenditures and Balances. The following account is more or less representative of the receipts expenditures and balances of the farmer.

241 ●
511
435

General farm accounts of income and expenses.

A. Income	Amount, Okes	Value in Drachmas
Wheat	840	5,040
Wheat seed	400	3,200
Wheat sold	2,560	17,920
Turkeys	36	3,600
Veg. & legumes		560
Watermelons sold		1,760
Milk (consumed at home)	300	2,100
Poultry (consumed at home)	8	320
Poultry sold	20	400
Cereal consumed	30	360
Eggs "	200	200
Eggs sold	700	700
Lard consumed	40	1,600
Wool used	20	600
Wool sold	50	1,500
Corn consumed	100	400
Chick peas used	200	800
Straw used	3,000	1,500
Barley "	200	800
Butter from cows sold		800
Heifers sold	1	1,200
	Total	46,160

8:Stephanides-- 4 I.Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 FH1 Greece FH1
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52

B. Expenses:	Amount in Okes	Value in Drachmas
Bread for the family (produced)	840	5,040
Wheat seed (produced)	400	3,200
Legumes "	60	180
Vegetables "		
Spinach	20	40
Onions	40	80
Beans	2	20
Potatoes	60	240
Vegetables bought		2,540
Milk (produced)	300	2,100
Poultry (produced)	8	320
Cereal "	30	360
Eggs "	200	200
Lard "	40	400
Honey "	20	600
Olives, macaroni sugar salt purchased		2,037
Clothing for family		6,227
General expenses, newspapers, travel, books		1,761
Doctor bills		530
Furniture and repairs		2,500
Animal feed: (produced)		
Corn	100	400
Chick peas	200	800
Straw	3,000	1,500
Barley	200	800
Agricultural implements bought		180
Fruit trees bought		400
Fuel (wood & kerosene)		1,085

241
511
435

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

/57 cont./
of the outstanding institutions in the village which guides the people in keeping accounts and in taking active part in appointing officers every year. 241 474 [621]

The yearly meeting of the cooperative lasts 2 days and all the men who served in the army take active part. After the committee presents its accounts and accomplishments and its future program, a discussion starts from different members either praising or criticising the work of the existing committee. Different proposals for improvement are made and finally it ends with a vote for a new committee of six. During these two days of discussion people learn from each other how to judge and evaluate certain deeds of the cooperative.

The government, understanding the importance of the cooperative has organized the Ministry of Cooperatives /58/ under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The effect of the cooperative on the people is great not only on the economic life but also on their social life as well. It draws the people close together and they think not in terms of their immediate needs but of their future welfare. [647]

Every year the cooperative sends two students to the high school, gives prizes to the farmers that raise good seed and better animals, gives financial aid to the poor, and helps the unfortunate sick to go to hospitals. These are signs of the role the cooperative can play in the near future. [741]

Besides unifying the whole village into an economic unit it also is becoming a center of spreading higher ideals among the people. Its powers at the present are restricted due to the lack of experienced men with foresight. There are possibilities for one to do more in devising community programs by working with the cooperative. [621]

Farm Techniques. The biblical type of farming is still the kind that yields the greater returns with the least cost. The animal power is composed of oxen with a yoke and an iron plow. The wooden plow still has its /59/ blessings for certain soils. In soil 241 [492] [407]

/59 cont./ 241 [407]

that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to plow the same field as many times as possible. The common expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get." This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under all conditions. 241 242

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for fuel. 241 237 372

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ cannot afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding problems which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus, what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that 92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal, but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm family was not discovered. [433] [433] [354]

/60 cont./ 241 242

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems.

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

/62 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard
but should not question how and why the money was spent. The
farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen,
implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are
responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the
stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife
and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spend-
ing money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241●
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
civilized the more his needs increase.

/63/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley.
Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The
wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal.
The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried
and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned
dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they
cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cook-
ing. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the lunch
food. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer
months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and [438]
are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled
cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best
combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed
daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed
oil.

[Caucasus]

/86 cont./

misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178]

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[167]

/87 cont./
impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

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Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

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Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born

[533]

[152]

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usualy exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692]
what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685]
families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scatered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578]
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [574]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [484]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either [178]
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, [437]
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

594 accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne
[156] with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like
[513] to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

594 Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-
593 dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an
156 organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

593 Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of
594 fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to
[589] find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed
[583] sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number
[167] of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for
602 younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions
593 and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserv-
661 ing by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who
156 have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

594 On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some
241 property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry.
423 This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece
425 at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness.

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

1: Karutz--73 E-4 (no date) 1925 El Europe
Greece EH1

/104/ The Macedonians

I.

000 1. Konak in Alaklissa. 2. Shepherd's hut of loam and straw in the Campania, the lowlands north of Salonika. 3. Fortress-like warehouse in Palalitza. 4. Peasant woman at a weaving loom in Skoplje. 5. Farmyard near Skoplje. 6. Bagpipes. 7. Baking bell. 8. Magical charm. 9. and 10. Votive offerings. 11. Cotton cleaner (batter's bow). 12. Riding donkey. 13. Pottery oven near Skoplje. 14. Armchair. 15. Flowing farmer. 16. Brand iron used for branding sheep. 17. Incense pot. 18. Earthenware cover for the coal basin, used for keeping the heat in; on top of it is placed the pot or coffee jug.[1]

(Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 1 , and 11 are in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg. Numbers 13, 16, and 17 in the Ethnographisches Museum at Dresden. Numbers 4, 5, 12, 13, and 16 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt /Chief surgeon-general/ Dr. Hansen in Lübeck.

101 144 In the lowlands between Albania, old Bulgaria, and Greece, that is, in Macedonia, and incessant movement of peaceable and warlike peoples has produced the racial mixture of present-day Macedonia, in which the Indo-Germanic Thracians constitute the basic stock. To this were added, in antiquity, Romans, in the middle ages Slavs and Bulgarians, Turks and their Turkomanic or Near Eastern camp-followers; and, finally, Rumanians, Greeks, and the tribally related Albanians. The level tracts of land along the coast and the swampy lowlands are maintained by a nomadic type of livestockbreeding; 231 241 the fertile fringe areas provide ample yields from the grain agriculture which cultivates primarily wheat and maize, but they are also receptive 342 to southerly cultures such as rice, opium, and cotton. The herders build for themselves hasty round huts of loam and straw; the field guards who here, as in all the other parts of the Balkans, watch over the cultivated fields all through the summer, construct frame-works shaped like beehives or pointed cones out of intertwined twigs and thick bundles of straw. Simple farmsteads also have a thatched roof on walls of tiles and loam; a combination of wood, loam, and tiles leads to two-storied panel-work structures (Figure 2) which contain, in the ground floor,

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a -- Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511].

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan. 423 474 241 [167]

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future. [242] [407] [435] [407]

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem. [652]

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity." [343] [242]

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. 462
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. 241
The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with [435]
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [452]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this [439]
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444]
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds [422]
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [474]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

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land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business (baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

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Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in search of work. [369]

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This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

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It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

249 year, since there is not sufficient land to permit crop rotation. This means that extensive use has to be made of costly chemical fertilizers, about 260 [242] pounds to the acre. Formerly, when fewer Turkish families lived in the village, they were able to keep more animals and had plenty of animal manure which, according to old-time residents of the area, gave a 40 percent higher yield. Since then the land has become more worn out, and more reliance must be placed on chemical fertilizers.

The transplanting of the young tobacco plants from the seedbed to the regular fields is done in rows which have been marked in the field by straight [412] lines, drawn by a hoe, about a foot apart. For each row the peasant uses a stick to make holes three inches apart, into which he puts the plants and presses the soil firmly down around the plant. He waters them immediately but is careful not to get any water on the tobacco leaves themselves. Ten days later he hoes around the plants and follows this with a second hoeing ten to fifteen days later.

[461] Usually tobacco-leaf collectors start about July 15 and continue their work until the end of October. They are up by 2 A.M. to gather the leaves before sunrise, and gather only once in a while in the evening. There are four or five collections from each plant during the season, with each leaf picked just at its maturity. During the daytime the members of the family string these leaves into long strands which are then hung up to dry in the sun. Once dried, they are hung in dry sheds or on the rafters of the house.

In November, after the first dews fall, the village home manipulation starts and continues until the middle of March. The purpose of this manipulation is to sort out the leaves into three categories: the first category includes the best small leaves; the second includes the larger sound leaves; and the third includes all those that do not meet the previous qualifications and yet are sound. This last class is called *refouzia*. Any broken leaves are thrown away or else made into pipe tobacco. The leaves of each class are made into bales of from 55 to 70 pounds and then stored in a dry, protected place for the merchant. By the time the baling has been completed, the family must begin once more the cycle of preparing and sowing the seedbed to start the next year's crop. The tobacco farmer, whether from [461] Macedonia, Thrace, or Central Greece, largely because of the traditional [221] pattern of manipulation, is on a twelve-month work year somewhat like the American dairy farmer. His year contrasts markedly with that of the Peloponnesian villager whose seasonal change was described at the opening of this chapter, or with the wheat farmer of Thessaly. Furthermore, what he grows he cannot eat but must sell as best he can to buy his food.

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462 241 178

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

758 [462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

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> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

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275 571 602 452 the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agriculural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques. 275 573 521 208 203

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury." [626]

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places. 275 461 [184]

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it [242] [208] [521]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

because of a conversation the previous evening with his cronies at the coffeehouse. One villager got to the crux of the matter: "In the coffeehouse we get into arguments over our political leaders and don't attend to our fields. We do this because we are uneducated and people do little to help us, and so we spend our time on foolish things. The government doesn't send people here to instruct us; we are farming the way our fathers did."

With the spread of the program of agricultural extension, perhaps this peasant can no longer legitimately make the same complaint, but the chances are that the men of his village are still arguing about many matters and, perhaps in his opinion, spending their time on "foolish things."

Even the critics admit that there are still many conditions which encourage the men to patronize the coffeehouse quite apart from the attractions already described. For most village men, home is a most unattractive place in the evening. Dimly lit, poorly heated in cold weather, dominated by women and their silly prattle, the home cannot begin to compete with the masculine company found at the coffeehouse. Furthermore, most men can think up perfectly valid reasons (in their opinion, at least) for going to the coffeehouse: they have a business matter to talk over; they want to know how some world crisis is shaping up; they need some advice on a farming decision.

Should they be found at the coffeehouse during the daytime, when conscientious farmers might be finding something worthwhile to do, they do not experience many twinges of conscience. They are not pricked by any Puritan ethic that teaches them constantly to be busy; instead, they save their energies for the time and place where it is unquestionably in their interest to work hard and long. When no such occasion presents itself, what more could a man ask than to enjoy his leisure, unplanned and unsought though it be? Nor does he think that it is up to him to seek out productive uses of his time. If people have good employment opportunities, they will seek him out, and he will respond. If he is from the tobacco-growing districts, the chances are that he has put his only resources (wife and children) to work for him and can take his ease until he must return to see how the work has progressed. He has no idle capital to invest but does his best with the human labor at his command. When heavy work is required, he will do his part, but when that is done others can harvest, string, and manipulate the tobacco. He provides the entrepreneurial skill.

Perhaps the coffeehouse and the attitudes of its habitués clash more strongly with American value orientations than do any other aspects of village life. To the Greek peasant, to be idle is no sin; to converse in the kouvenda can be as satisfying as to be a spectator sportsman; to seek to learn "what's new" if you live in a village is just as worthy as the search for novelty which motivates many in the United States. To get away from the women, the Greek peasant does not have to go on a long hunting trip to

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village,
871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-
educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and
[554] gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the
teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influ-
[242] ence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the
teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia,
who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first
apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in
that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees
for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the
teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various
problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since
they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is
cherished," he concluded.

871 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the
184 past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences
in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a
[231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from South-
ern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to
pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted:
"The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern
Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and
you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find
people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in
the Peloponnesos."

[175] But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a
verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred
years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our
heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better educa-
tion. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where
there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said
that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant
gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the
[875] state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not
sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the
first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three
grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for
Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated.
But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient
with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423] [427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned. 177 178 177 178 874 242

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities. [185]

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments. 178 474 185 242

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II. 178 185 654

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev- 177 464 653

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

increased economic activity and not become a disturbing political force. A further fact is the peasant's chronic tendency to assume that he is not getting a square deal, or everything that is due him, because throughout his memory and that of his forebears he has been used to what he considers exploitation by a government or those from the city who would take advantage of him. No aid program can ever create a contented peasantry. Yet it is fair to ask what is being done in Greece today to help the individual villager solve the problems of immediate interest to him. The brightest hope, and one recognized by Munkman, is the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service, so organized as to take advantage of the long American experience in this field, the lessons learned by the Near East Foundation in Greece, and the application by dedicated Greeks of these lessons to contemporary conditions. A comparison between what is now available to the farmer and what was available before the war shows a tremendous gain in his behalf. To be sure, the peasant does not apply all that he is taught by the extension worker, and now and then administrative decrees (such as cutting from the budget the transportation item) limit the effectiveness of the extension worker. But in every part of Greece trained personnel are visiting the villagers and, as never before, showing an interest in their welfare and helping them think through their economic problems. Home-economics workers, working with the farm women, are also making considerable headway.

When I investigated social changes occurring between 1952-53 and 1959, those whose knowledge of Greek village life I have found to be most accurate said, "Certainly the greatest change you will find is the development of the agricultural-extension program and the service it is rendering." In other words, the central government is sending "change agents" [10] throughout Greece to help initiate improvements in farming and homemaking, and it is not waiting for the peasants to journey to Athens for answers to their problems. There are limits to what any professional staff can do, but to the extent that these extension workers, both men and women, receive necessary support, to that extent one will find rapid change in the countryside.

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 15, of the organizations being set up in Greek villages by the extension service as well as by the Queen's Fund. This fund concentrates primarily upon Northern Greece and through its village welfare centers seeks to raise the educational, cultural, and economic level of the villages. The King's Fund is interested in the villager. In September 1959 I visited near Athens the handsome Community Development Training Center, financed by this fund, where I met with a group of about fifty teachers who had been invited there, with all expenses paid, to study how teachers can be agents of community improvement. When I joined the group, they were listening to a lecture on scientific beekeeping so that they could talk intelligently on this subject to their pupils and the pupils' parents.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
[407] generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
[249] since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter. "I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 83 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
[433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
[434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
241 what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat, cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their
652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac-
[583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings
[556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household
[433] and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions,
[417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaowboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and
[865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate,
[434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers'
233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthes

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178* [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178* 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178* [457] [265] [346] [365]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

727 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of
621 young men dressed in homespun.

[571] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat
[657] from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today
[491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn al-
[233] most the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The
[492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta
241 is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres
233 of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one
• [242] of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

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241

/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

241
423
[484]
[433]
[242]
[476]
[233]

We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

/59 cont./ 241
that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the [407]
iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes
too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the
field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow
over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without
bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron 241
plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on 242
such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are
plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to
plow the same field as many times as possible. The common
expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get."
This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under
all conditions.

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. 241
Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture 237
all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for 372
fuel.

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ cannot afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding problems which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The [433]
productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus,
what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order
to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that
92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the
fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to [433]
the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel
of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the [354]
manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal,
but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm
family was not discovered.

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems. 241 242

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 594
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242 ●
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. 476
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 621
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built [345]
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [533]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [735]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [314]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [185]
project which was started by this group has led to the development [526]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

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101 13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty [433] and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

Thessaly, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains [243] which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

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take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw.

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . .

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune.

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless.

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!)

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178 241 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illustrate modern Greek land reform.[11] The size of the farm holding in Thessaly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law. [241]

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly, there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still exists for those poor villagers who need it. [177] [243] [735] [671]

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the problem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees, with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding. 423 427 [671] [792]

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they had a resilience that kept them going. When asked how their tobacco crop was doing, they broke into broad smiles, and the man said: 241

"This year our tobacco is just like basil." (By this they meant that it was nice, thick, and round.)

The woman was quick to add, "ho Theos na dosi" (may God grant it).

In a book of interpretations there is a temptation to linger with a couple like this, to record in detail their simple ways which contrast so markedly with the complicated life in the West. The temptation is even stronger when one encounters throughout Greece peasants who are as far removed from mechanization as the Acropolis is removed from the Empire State Building. The late Robert P. T. Coffin, during a year in Greece, caught their spirit in "The Golden Age," which begins:

> High in the back mountains of old Greece
> I came upon incredible peace;
> A wife with a distaff twisting wool
> A boy who filled wool breeches full,
> Riding together on a burro
> Ahead of a bronze man running a furrow
> On a steep acre mostly rocks,
> Twenty red hens, and two bronze cocks.[8]

Yet there is a spirit of change stirring in Greece that cannot be ignored no matter how strongly one may be drawn to the simplicity of the past. To drive along the road just south of Corinth and to see a new bright orange tractor plowing in the shadow of Akrokorinthos, with its lofty crown of crenelated medieval ruins on the summit, is a startling sensation; or between Levadeia and Lamia in Central Greece, to come suddenly upon a combine efficiently working its way through a wheat field with Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, as a backdrop, is to be jolted momentarily by the incongruities of an invasion by the machines into an ancient world which for ages had moved in the pattern of man, land, and animals. 178 241 407

The swiftly changing techniques are illustrated vividly on almost any day's tour through the countryside. At threshing time, for instance, I have seen peasants threshing grain by putting it into a bag and pounding it with sticks; not far away will be several threshing floors on the edge of the village with many teams of horses tramping out the grain; elsewhere there will be the slow-moving oxen pulling a little platform with metal teeth fixed underneath to separate the grain from the stalk; and around the next bend may be a big cooperatively owned threshing machine operated by a long belt turned by a tractor. Tired women, faces veiled with white scarves against the scorching heat and dust, stand feeding the broken sheaves into the thresher; other women sack the grain for the sweating men to carry away in trucks. In the memory of the traveler the impression of fierce heat and 243 178 [407]

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243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] [311] [406] [462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 [407] [452] [464] Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243] [554] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

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178 241 [434] of Alekos, the first few owners get good income from custom plowing, but with many tractors there is not very much supplementary income to go around. These steel horses in Greece plow more deeply, give more leisure, help spread scientific farming throughout the plains, and service an increasingly larger proportion of the 950,000 farms of the land. But with one tractor to every 70–80 farms, it is not surprising that Yannes, the tobacco grower from Alistrate, still waits for his horse so that he will not have to stand idly by while another finishes plowing a field.

The Harvesters of Chalkidike (Macedonia)

Social changes, and especially those connected with mechanization, frequently wear two faces — one bright, the other dark. In Athens I had heard from fellow Americans about the growing use of machinery, the previously mentioned over-all increase in agricultural production to more than 37 percent above the prewar figure, and the steps being taken to rationalize agriculture to an even greater degree. These programs represented not only heavy investments of dollars and drachmas, but also considerable self-sacrifice on the part of American and Greek staff members with a missionary zeal for their work and a willingness to work overtime. There was no question of the need for Greece to become a part of the scientific revolution in farming, but it was at times perplexing to find that little thought was being given to the social effects of this revolution on the people in the rural areas.

178 241 243 464 Once out in the provinces, away from the bright programs of Athens, I saw the dark face of mechanization. While riding with the director of agriculture of Larissa on the drive previously mentioned, I was somewhat shocked to hear him say that he was glad the recent storm had visited the area.

"Why is that?" I asked. "Doesn't it make it harder to harvest the grain?"

"Yes, that's the point," he replied. "Now it will have to be done by hand in many places, giving work to some of the people from the mountain villages in this area who depend upon the harvesting to earn their supply of wheat for much of the year. Without the bread from this wheat they cannot live."

Again, a nomarch of Thessalonike talked to me of the people displaced by mechanization. He tried to see the good as well as the bad, indicating that machines without any question had raised the yields by putting more land under cultivation and by making better farming methods possible. He, too, however, used much the same words as had the official in Larissa, pointing out that he was glad to see the rains in Macedonia since it meant that harvesting would be done by hand.[6]

243 124 One bright June morning found us in Niketas, a small coastal village in Chalkidike where mechanical threshing was in progress on the edge of the

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village. We hired a caique, with both sails and motor, to take us on the three-hour trip to Neos Marmaras, a picturesque refugee village. Hardly were we aboard when a group of excited peasants came to ask if they could go with us. Our one crewman seemed to have no objection so we told them to join us. 243 124 [501]

Almost at once these lively individuals explained that they were from the village of Parthenon. They had been spending the past twenty-five days helping the peasants around Niketas harvest their grain and were no longer needed now that threshing had begun. Before talking about their work, however, we had to exchange the rites of hospitality. We had spread out a blanket on which we placed a large piece of bread bought just before departure and a portion of white cheese given me by the teacher in the village. Although the peasants looked thin and hungry, they refused our food. One man, carefully eyeing our bread, said, "Here, take some of my bread; yours isn't well done." [464] [574]

Six or seven of the people of Parthenon, sprawled around the blanket while we ate, tried politely to hide their curiosity. Our lunch finished and the purpose of our trip explained to them several times, it became our turn to ask them questions. We started with a woman in her thirties, a widow. She was dressed in a poor cotton dress, was barefoot, wore a kerchief on her head, but her proud look and direct answers were those of an independent spirit. She was obviously very anxious to get back to Parthenon and several times expressed her gratitude for the lift. "Thank you very much. You have saved us four or five hours of walking on this warm day." She had had to leave her four children at home twenty-five days ago and had had no word from them since then, even though her village was only a relatively few kilometers away. Apparently she had gone on working in the harvest fields for winter bread, clinging to the belief that "no news was good news," but her drawn face showed her long concern: "I left them with only a piece of bread to eat. I don't know how they made out." 243 855

"How old are your children?"

"My eldest child is fifteen, the next is eleven, and the other two quite young."

"Does the fifteen-year-old take care of the rest while you are away?"

"He would if he could, but he must look after the cows of my brother who is a soldier, and so the eleven-year-old takes care of the younger two." [857]

We learned that there were some relatives living in the village who probably kept an eye on the youngsters but did not assume full responsibility for them.

We were told that these villagers did not look forward to this trip. It is a trial, an ordeal that must be endured if they are to have any bread, for the men cannot find work in Parthenon that will provide them with money to buy bread. 243 464

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243 466 "You ought to come harvesting and stay with us for a week and you would have plenty of material for your book," said one of the men good-naturedly. "When working in the wheat we sleep in the fields with only a blanket for a bed. It has been raining and we have been wet through and through. We can't wash ourselves, we can't even wash our plates — we are so busy."

243 "Where do you get your food?"

465 "The person for whom we work feeds us. He gives us garlic, olives, bread, salted fish, and sometimes a bean soup or potatoes. We all lose [262] weight during this period and wish we didn't have to work this way."

"Are you well paid for your work?"

One of the men, unshaven and tired, but gay throughout the conversation, said that the average pay was about 10 okas of grain for 1 stremma of land (28 pounds for one fourth of an acre). A man might get 14 okas and a woman as low as 7 okas, but the average ran about 10. There was no [562] explanation for this different treatment of the sexes except that the bargaining position of the woman was lower. (I compared this figure of 10 okas with the 20 okas that the farmers of Thessaly paid a combine owner for each stremma of land harvested, while they had to pay 30 okas per stremma when the harvesting was done by hand, losing about 10 okas through this less efficient way. Out of the total yield of 150 to 200 okas per stremma in Thessaly, the cost amounted to 7 to 10 percent of the crop in the case of the machine and 15 to 20 percent in the case of hand harvesting.)

511 "Do you get enough wheat during the harvesting period to see you through the year?"

"It all depends. Some years we do and some years we don't. Bread is our only food. It is our milk, cheese, butter, honey, sugar, all in one. What the grass is to the animal, bread is to us. Otherwise we live on air and water."

511 773 Then, as though carried away with some of their troubles, one of the men asked, "Do you know what we say about our village of Parthenon? We say that when Christ walked by our village he left us a curse, for we have only stones there." Another added a variation, "Yes, when Christ passed he blessed what was on his right, but on his left he threw stones." Even this rationalization had no trace of bitterness, but a matter-of-factness that was supposed to help the foreigner understand why they were having difficulties with food. Other villages down on the plains had an easier time of it, but Parthenon, high on its rocks, had to make a living the hard way.

243 465 Coming back to the question of harvesting, we asked them when they would get their wheat, for they were carrying nothing but a woven handbag or a spare jacket. In about a month they would return, for then the grain would be threshed and ready to distribute. Each person had carried his

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own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?" "Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agreement is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea. 243 465

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker provided for himself. 243 464 594 243 466 [412]

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where their services are no longer needed. 124 464 178

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

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584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

583 In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were [243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of [465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

"It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of 594 it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee [571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries [438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra,* or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[4] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what [583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of 184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers 178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

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796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened
[241] (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
[124] asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[634] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the rela-
[652] tionship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
[621] in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

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were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me:

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

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[778]
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We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

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The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

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In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

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Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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6. Plowing an olive grove near Lechonia, Thessaly. The olive harvest will draw a crowd of young people to the grove to rake or beat or gather as their foreman orders.

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7. A wheat combine traces the plain of Thessaly, below Mount Parnassus.

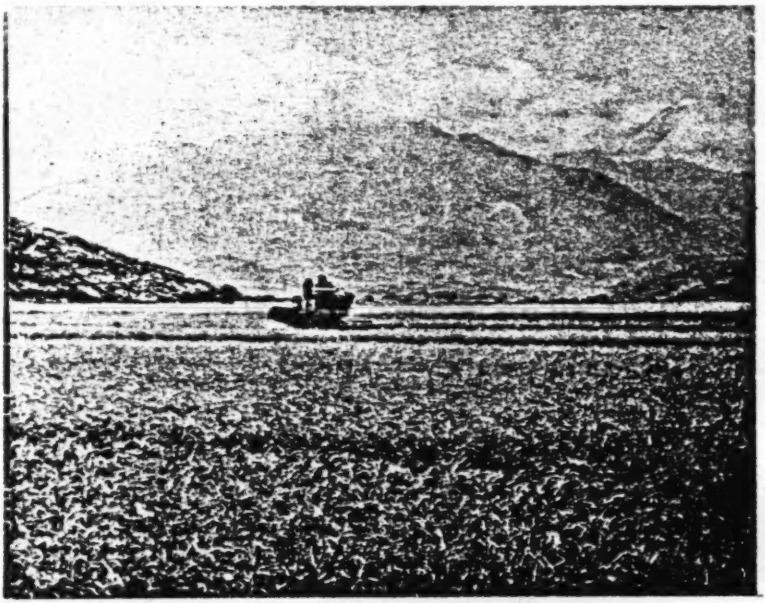

[p. 272-D]

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
465 wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
461 fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
[558] considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[571] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[461] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[492] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
[445] is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
[465] or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
[314] countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

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427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 427 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231 471 407] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Unquestionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of [241 433 242] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 437 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as [262 438 231] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families' bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced. As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 231 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a 244 262 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food supply.

248 312 406 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure [249 621 427] since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II, [662 427] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment. Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Simi-
184 larly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peas-
369 ants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain
with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next
[243] field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long,
161 least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost
648 continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community. 621 654 178x

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today. 361 [132] [133] [243]

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress. [487] [356] [712]

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the 361 423 [712] 000

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
• [243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

By 1956 "everybody"

×178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
×178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

×178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Eleftherohori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[245] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricul-
[452] tural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 423 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241
munity is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584] 562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Mutual Aid and Cooperatives in Rural Greece

The Greek village provides many evidences of mutual aid, although the Greeks are not renowned for their cooperative tendencies. Indeed, those commenting on Greek national character usually state that the Greeks cooperate only in a crisis. If there is no crisis at hand, they have to make one in order to get the job done. This view is partially correct, since some examples of mutual aid respond directly to a sense of urgency, while others follow traditional patterns at a leisurely pace. For instance, a group of potato diggers near Neochori were brought together to meet a sudden need. 476 181

A Potato-digging Group near Thebes

It was March 28, 1953. We had turned off the main highway between Thebes and Athens and were headed eastward along a secondary road in search of some villagers whose relatives in California had insisted that we carry their greetings in person. Before we had found the right village, we noticed more than forty people busily harvesting potatoes in a nearby field. We stopped the car, walked into the field, and were greeted by Yannes P. Katseles, the owner, who lives in Neochori, the village just up the way. The men were digging the potatoes; the women were picking them up and cleaning them; and a commission merchant standing on his truck was 244 476 [123] [462]

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less
476 interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby
[462] forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of
[465] what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that
466 we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how
476 the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close supervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The
[123] owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in
[539] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pic-
[126] tures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is
[785] served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

244 466 476 [262]

being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

124 244 476

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

244 476 602 621 [124]

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

244 476 [562]

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

[578]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

244 476 578 issuing invitations usually avoid other women with whom they have had a recent quarrel, although they do not hesitate to invite two women on good terms with the hostess but not on good terms with each other. These women can usually stay far enough apart in such a large group that they do not have to associate with each other or air their differences. Men are said to be less inclined to let previous disagreements affect their invitations, even inviting those with whom they may have sharp differences. Their main concern is to get the job done. Just the same, they rely chiefly upon relatives and neighbors. The women in Yannes' living room all agreed that there was no one in the village who had the reputation for not paying back the work that others had contributed, which shows the seriousness with which this obligation is assumed and discharged.

124 But no interview in a Greek village is a one-sided affair. The visitor has to answer questions if he has asked them. Never have I heard questions fly quicker and faster than on this visit to Neochori when the women sensed that I had finished my inquiry about potato diggers. My interpreter was quizzed about her life in Athens, where she got her clothes, how she had learned to drive a car, and about members of her family. I was asked about my income in America, what kind of kitchen my wife had, and about many details which she could have answered much better than I if she had been able to accompany us up from Athens on that particular afternoon. This [181] occasion showed that when the Greek villagers began to express themselves on their home ground, in a familiar setting, they stood out as inquisitive, interesting personalities who shared many of the same concerns as fellow human beings in other countries despite their noticeable differences of dress, speech, and other cultural manifestations.

000 In driving back to Athens we had to pass the same potato field which had been the cause of this excursion. I thought at the time that a study, at a later date, of changes in the mutual-aid groups would tell much about changes in Greek life in general. Will mechanization eliminate the necessity of group harvesting? Will economic considerations so rule a later day that Yannes will invite only efficient workers from throughout the village, or will he continue to use relatives and neighbors because of his close social bonds with them?

Traditional Patterns of Mutual Aid

476 539 Throughout rural Greece one finds many examples of mutual aid. Even proverbs attest to the value of cooperation: "bean by bean the bag is filled"; "many streams make up the river"; "many stones knock down the walnut."Union in strength is stressed as well: "where there are many, God's blessing"; "where there are many, many riches"; "the many are the ones who will take Constantinople."

It is understood, too, that each party will live up to his end of the bar-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
[407] generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing will-
[241] ingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[433] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor
[242] and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the
406 region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
[249] since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

249 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the [221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and [433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the [434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance 241 what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat, 454 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to 652 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are [583] exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac- [556] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from [242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the [462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to [433] produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, [417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks.

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet.

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need.

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes.

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument.

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children

242 178 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to plant on the highway near the village.

[245] [875] [435] [244] [434] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the techniques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with 492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of 231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaonboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and [865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, [434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt 262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' 233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in [272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but [574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a 236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large 283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw. 821 [539]

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . . [245] [243] [132]

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune. 731

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless. 731 133 [361]

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!) 731 821 [123]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic- 184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Harvesting Olives in Southern Greece

During my travels in Greece I have passed countless olive trees, for they hug the coasts, crowd the islands, and thrive inland where the climate is mild enough. But I never really understood the significance of the olive tree until I visited an estate in Southern Greece where three thousand trees of about seven varieties provided the only income. 245

I had already learned that over 12 percent of the caloric intake of the Greek people came from olives or olive oil; that Greece produced in 1948–1950 an annual average of 47,000 metric tons of table olives, chiefly in Thessaly and Central Greece; that the smaller oil olives, grown elsewhere in the country, accounted for 103,000 metric tons annually of this precious oil, which was bought and stored as a financial reserve whenever the currency became the least bit shaky. The oil olives also produced another 12,000 tons of residue oil. Friends had said that olive growing was a story of "from rags to riches," since one year might bring an outstanding crop and the next a disastrously poor one,* but that this was one of the accepted features of growing olives. [146] [454] [458]

Some inquiring students think the olive was in Greece before the goddess Athena, with whom it is so closely associated in myth, and was originally associated with the cult of Erechtheus. Be that as it may, the olive — the "All-Dewy One" — has held a special place in the tradition of the Greek people. They have also come to know that olive growing is much more than storytelling or the writing of descriptive poetry; it is hard work. In Thessaly, around the Gulf of Volos, it was interesting to watch men plow underneath the trees and fertilize the soil to increase the olive crop; to see on the western coast of Greece and in the Peloponnesos how the peasants irrigated the fifteen to twenty trees that each might own, thereby adding to the quality and the size of the fruit. In Attica one could watch the men expertly trimming the tree so that it would bunch as it grew, making harvesting a simpler task. In the Ionian Islands, where the air is humid and growth more lush, the trees reached much higher, causing the people there to wait for the olives to fall after ripening rather than pick them directly from the tree. "A lazy man's way," said a mainland peasant. [824]

Like many things of importance, the olive harvest has a slow beginning. In October, walking through the olive groves of this estate, one could see the table varieties beginning to ripen. The Kalamata olive was one. At first, the few workers on the estate gather the olives falling to the ground, but within a week's time they begin to gather some from the trees. It is then that the girls from the surrounding villages make their gay appearance. Not many are married, for this would show that their husbands were [464]

* Compared to the 1959–60 figure of 156,000 tons of oil, 1960–61 showed 75,000 tons.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

[Harvesting Olives]

245 [464] not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 461 [264] To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled rakes and "combed" the tree.

[412] "Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to [832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come [264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he [466] was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between [264] ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each [521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends. 245 461 [521]

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground. 245 258 461 [492]

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?" [521] [273] [264]

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re- 258 576

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance. "No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil," which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
● [245] Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said, "If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive 2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition, their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing, many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware. What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices, and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece
[245] will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17, the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
[652] taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
[245] In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agricultural Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance. Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
[231] this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
[235] nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this
[434] is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the fo-
[471] reigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way coopera-
tives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the rea-
[652] son that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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6. Plowing an olive grove near Lechonia, Thessaly. The olive harvest will draw a crowd of young people to the grove to rake or beat or gather as their foreman orders.

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7. A wheat combine traces the plain of Thessaly, below Mount Parnassus.

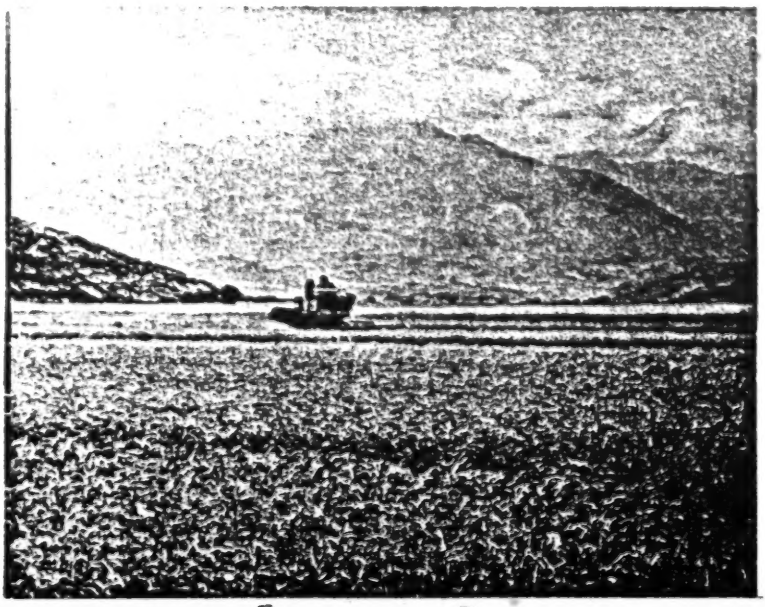

[p. 272-D]

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000 "Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412–413; and Angelike Chatzemichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826–827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

Chapter IV. Land as a Birthright

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece*, Oct.–Nov. 1947 (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166–167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

[186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

[245] [185] [583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugee from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

+9 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.
484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of
443 fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use
484 them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation.
484 But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or
49 a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of
[205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and com-
484 munities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built,
[49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-
[346] tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959,
[245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and another of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the
[764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, 512
whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs
most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just
before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 484
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 512
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming 621
around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light
of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the
end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat
bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any 512
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 241
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 805
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora*, one sees, first, a man going
by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its
saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same
direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go
past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a
horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no
movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people
involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home
one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the
following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the
timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the
situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

245 221 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 574 527 [553] The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders, and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 574 796 [361] The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 [484] [461] The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them. Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 178 [576] When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 83 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire 592
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 804
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have 273
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 252
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 147
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 461
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the 412
earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy 462
hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221 sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
465 wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
436 and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
461 fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
558 considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
462 possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
626 cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221 vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
571 sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
461 The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
492 their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
445 is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
465 or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
443 of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
314 countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
123 nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaouboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not re-
[865] move the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy
[434] mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes
262 the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
233 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

By 1956 "everybody"

×178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
×178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656 tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Elefthero-
[435] hori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

×178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees
[245 to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Elefthero-
[452] hori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricultural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos.

[Villages of the Plains]

621 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill
166 villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

• 245 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become
439 prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devaluation of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good.

[436]

241 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing
474 largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in
433 the community, the two cooperatives which were organized
× 178 before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

x 178 commands a premium price in Athens and elsewhere, the use
● 245 of fertilizer becomes a somewhat dubious economic advantage.
[438] The fact is, I believe, that the age-old adjustment of traditional peasant agriculture in the olive-growing regions of Greece is very nearly perfect. Certainly every scrap of potential soil is used in Kardamili, and the peasants know very well how to care for their trees. Except for chemical sprays that discourage a number of insect pests damaging to the crop, scientific agriculture has not yet devised any very important improvement upon traditional peasant methods of olive culture. But sprays were known in Kardamili before the war, and their use was resumed as soon as the chemicals became available.

x 178 In 1956 the village launched a project for bringing water
312 down the mountain. An interest-free government loan made the
[652] enterprise possible; but, even when completed, the water pipes will not supply more than household needs, leaving a little over, perhaps, for watering gardens. Shortage of water has been the long-standing problem of the community. There was scarcely enough to drink when I was there, and each glassful was treated as something precious, since the women of the village had to carry it in jars from a trickling spring half a mile away.

x 178 Yet in spite of the stability of agricultural methods, the social
621 system of the village, to all appearances, is beginning to change,
873 more or less as the social system of Nea Eleftherohori is changing. For one thing, the villagers have begun to place great hopes in education, seeing in it a means of escaping from the land. Fifteen boys from the village were enrolled in the gymnasium in Kalamata in 1956, a quite considerable number in view of the fact that they had to live away from home, and thus had to meet expenses far greater than those confronting the boys from Nea Eleftherohori. In Kardamili itself, there is a school that teaches the first two years of the standard four-year gymnasium course. This school had eighty students, five more than

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The
land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is
allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only
three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down
below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking
out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the
sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to
a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise
in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

[157] "Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly
moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been
told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd
takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the
market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
[407] generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing will-
[241] ingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[433] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor
[242] and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic- 184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
●247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
623 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
653 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
651
727

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like
[354] fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

2:Friedl, E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

178 361 367 [211] [883] 178 [312] [103] [527]

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

[342] [247] [621]

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

167 342 722 511 [435]

113, 248, 288, 439, 442 Greece EH1

[For information on agriculture, imports and exports, the textile industry and cotton production in Greece from a report published in 1952 by The National Cotton Council of America entitled "Cotton In The Middle East", see category 116, M1 Middle East, 29: Dunn, pp. 163-182.]

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Vasilika

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
[221 earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
248 sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
465 land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
436 relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
461 wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
558 and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
462 *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
626 fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221 vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
571 grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
461 sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
492 The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
445 tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
465 their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
443 of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
314 trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
123 nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221

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Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
[407] generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
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Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II, [illegible] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment. [illegible] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter. "I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The
292 weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and
464 his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them.
312 Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248 time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221 been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464 prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465] net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804] per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461] serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248 the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435] is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers [465] a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451] the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462] horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492] stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451] identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465] the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231] pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443] villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437] Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248 high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435 share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521] a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434] calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
• [248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101 13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[433] [243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[12] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[13] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511]

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 [426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily [435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Ali- [464] strate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with [249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from [273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and [412] potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407] [412] Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown.

Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the [462] fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[2]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 276 656 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 [123] [312] This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[7]

621 162 [167] Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 36 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

[727] [526] [373]

621 463 423 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

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land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business (baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

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Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in search of work.

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This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema,* an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

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It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

[242]

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

249 year, since there is not sufficient land to permit crop rotation. This means that extensive use has to be made of costly chemical fertilizers, about 260 [242] pounds to the acre. Formerly, when fewer Turkish families lived in the village, they were able to keep more animals and had plenty of animal manure which, according to old-time residents of the area, gave a 40 percent higher yield. Since then the land has become more worn out, and more reliance must be placed on chemical fertilizers.

The transplanting of the young tobacco plants from the seedbed to the regular fields is done in rows which have been marked in the field by straight [412] lines, drawn by a hoe, about a foot apart. For each row the peasant uses a stick to make holes three inches apart, into which he puts the plants and presses the soil firmly down around the plant. He waters them immediately but is careful not to get any water on the tobacco leaves themselves. Ten days later he hoes around the plants and follows this with a second hoeing ten to fifteen days later.

[461] Usually tobacco-leaf collectors start about July 15 and continue their work until the end of October. They are up by 2 A.M. to gather the leaves before sunrise, and gather only once in a while in the evening. There are four or five collections from each plant during the season, with each leaf picked just at its maturity. During the daytime the members of the family string these leaves into long strands which are then hung up to dry in the sun. Once dried, they are hung in dry sheds or on the rafters of the house.

In November, after the first dews fall, the village home manipulation starts and continues until the middle of March. The purpose of this manipulation is to sort out the leaves into three categories: the first category includes the best small leaves; the second includes the larger sound leaves; and the third includes all those that do not meet the previous qualifications and yet are sound. This last class is called *refouzia*. Any broken leaves are thrown away or else made into pipe tobacco. The leaves of each class are made into bales of from 55 to 70 pounds and then stored in a dry, protected place for the merchant. By the time the baling has been completed, the family must begin once more the cycle of preparing and sowing the seedbed to start the next year's crop. The tobacco farmer, whether from [461] Macedonia, Thrace, or Central Greece, largely because of the traditional [221] pattern of manipulation, is on a twelve-month work year somewhat like the American dairy farmer. His year contrasts markedly with that of the Peloponnesian villager whose seasonal change was described at the opening of this chapter, or with the wheat farmer of Thessaly. Furthermore, what he grows he cannot eat but must sell as best he can to buy his food.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which
578 has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep,
654 which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas-
[241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double
• [249] purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman. Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to
[231] gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch
[124] with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500 in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a com-
[621] mittee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a different administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain. 625 659 [167]

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental services enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include: 65 [369]

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area. [625]
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco. [249]
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[13]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government carries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax 651 631

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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291
412

8. On the tenth day after transplanting, Macedonia; his hoe is said to be short-handled so that he can watch the fragile tobacco leaves as he moves.

[p. 272-E]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
241 questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
438 bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[624] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another, at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

249 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
[433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka,* he receives the
[434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
241 what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat,
454 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
652 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are
[583] exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which accumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to
[556] pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to
[433] produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions,
[417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya.* The wire or reed fenc-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

By 1956 "everybody"
×178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
×178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
● 249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

×178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Eleftherohori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[245] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricul-
[452] tural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241
munity is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl. 584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain. 178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression. 178 583

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

abstract calculation, is meaningless to people for whom experience is body-patterned. More than this, such plans represent external limits and directives, and to this extent are hampering and even frightening. Charts and diagrams are now common in Greek books, but the lineal diagram as a blueprint of action is not within the framework of Greek life; the nearest most Greeks come to a diagram is a map, which is diagrammatic of something concrete. Foresight is good, and is extolled in proverbs; preparation is always present. But this is following along a known trail, repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example, when a girl is 10 or 12, she may start working on her dowry; a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life, to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way, a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal, arising from the rhythm of life; it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform. 178 185

This attitude presents difficulties, such as, for example, in industrialization in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule; they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without supported expectations. 178 [95]

Again, Greeks are motivated by demonstrated, concrete results, not by diagrams of future benefits, or by statistics. The great success of the DDT programme was due to its quick, clear, obvious results. Much of the success of new practices initiated under the auspices of the Near East Foundation may also be attributed to their principle of demonstration. [044]

Another attitude concerned with the introduction of change is that of coping with what is there. Americans are ready to change anything that does not measure up to specifications, or even anything that can be exchanged for something more efficient, more convenient, newer. Greeks accustom themselves to inconveniences and cope with them; they do not do away with them. Greeks, after a visit to the United States, see their countrymen putting up with the same difficulties, the same time-wasting operations, the same discomforts, but when they ask: "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used; a chipped dish can still hold food, a suit may have a few spots and still be clean, a woman may have a number of ills and still have health, and people can still travel when the steamships are crowded three times their capacity, and cannot provide the beds for which the passengers have paid; why make a change? As there is no superlative, so there are not exclusive oppositives, and one learns to cope with the common ailments, the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

132

Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic- 184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [231] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are [251] stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
● 251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance. "No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil," which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
[245] Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said, "If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive 2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition, their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing, many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware. What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices, and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why. 262 [146] 272 654

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home: 262

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven. [256] [465] [251] [415] [252]

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef. [251] [231]

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year. [251]

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite. [606]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than
[146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[4]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
●251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he
[146] leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
184

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Before

Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller animals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will assume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women anywhere, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman. Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

8:Stephanides--27 I. Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1

Megali Vrisi

[Inventory at the beginning of the year-
/43 cont./ taken from a representative farmer]

B. Livestock:	Number	Value in drachmas		
Cows	2	5,000		511
Oxen	2	8,000		422
Poultry	30	900		435
Turkeys	3	300		[231]
Hogs	1	250		
Bees	20	4,000		
			18,450	

C. Family food stuffs in storeroom: [251]

	Okes		
Wheat	300	2,100	
Lard	50	3,000	
Honey	10	300	/44/

D. Animal feed in store: [231]

	Okes	Value in Drachmas	
Chick peas	200	800	
Straw	1200	600	
Barley	400	2,000	
			8,800

E. Agricultural implements [241] [412]

	Number		
Plow	1	250	
Yoke	1	90	
Harrow	1	600	
Barrels	3	450	
Harrows	2	70	
Shovels	1	30	
Hatchet	1	60	
Axes	1	80	
Wagons	1	3,000	
Sickles	2	50	
			4,680
	Total		31,930

8:Stephanides--28 I.Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/44 cont./

Inventory at the end of the year. December 31st 1934.

Family, the same members as at the beginning.

511
422
435
[231]

A. Livestock:	Number	Value in Drachmas	
Cows	3	6,000	
Oxen	2	8,000	
Hens	20	600	
Turkeys	3	300	
Pigs	1	600	
Bees	20	4,000	
			19,500

[251]

B. Family food in store:	Okes		
Wheat	350	2,450	
Lard	40	2,400	
Honey	15	450	
Onions	20	60	
Beans	15	150	
Cracked wheat cereal	40	400	
			5,910

[231]

C. Animal feed in store:			
Straw	1,600	800	
Corn	60	300	
Chickpea	200	800	
			1,900 /45/

[241]
[412]

D. Agricultural implements:	Okes	Value in Drachmas
Plow	1	250
Yoke	1	90
Harrow	1	550
Barrels	3	450
Harrows	2	60
Shovel	1	30
Hatchets	1	60

/52 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard
but should not question how and why the money was spent. The
farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen,
implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are
responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the
stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife
and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spend-
ing money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
civilized the more his needs increase.

/53/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley.
Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The
wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal.
The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried
and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned
dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they
cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cook-
ing. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the much
food. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer
months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and [438]
are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled
cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best
combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed
daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed
oil.

*342 The προστῷον is formed by a simple extention of the roof of the
341 house downwards, and consitutes a very useful element for the needs of agricultural life in general, as it not only protects the entrance of the house from the rain, but it also provides a well aired and at the same time a well protected residence, where the family may
[264 gather, especially during the summer months. It is here that the
513 family takes its meals and sleeps in summer time. It is here that the
286 women put up their loom, spread and comb the wool, dry the maize
251 and the sesame, the onions and the other fruits. And it is also here
252] that the oven is usually built.

Fig. 4 Old house at Perral in Thrace
(G. Megas, Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, fig. 3)

The increase of space in the houses of both types is done in two directions: a) by extending the top beam of the roof and b) by extending the roof in the direction of the sides of the gable.

*342 In the first instance, and in the case of narrow-front houses, two succesive rooms are formed in depth, the προστῷον remaining on the front of the house either open or closed (Fig. 5. Plate I b 1-3). In this last case, a new προστῷον is sometimes added, open on its front side (Fig. 1 c. Plate I a 6). In the case of the wide-front houses, two or more rooms are being formed on the same horizontal line (Figg. 3 and 6. Plate III-VII).

In the second instance and in the case of the narrow-front houses,

[prostoon = open portico - Analyst.]

342x

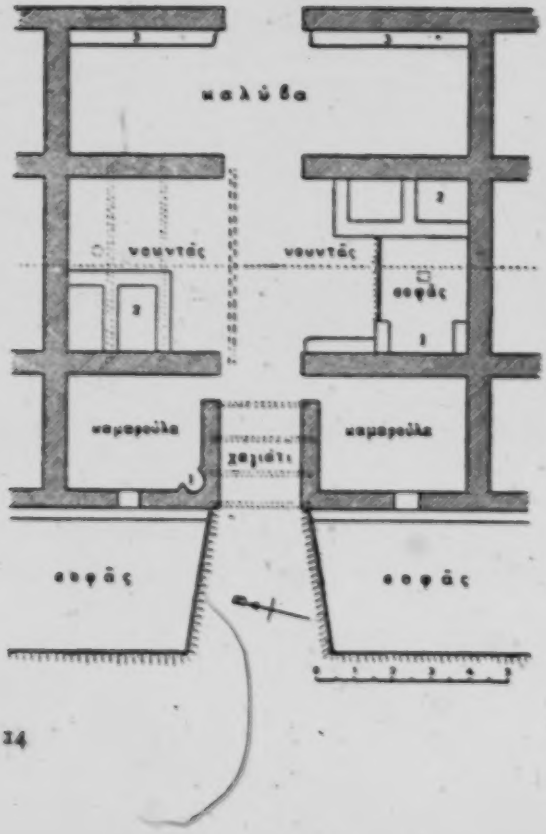

Fig. 9a. Plan of a part of the above pictured «syrtara» at the village of Koutsochero in Thessaly

(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκίαι fig. 17)

noudas — main room'
camarouls — little room
calyva — stable
1 hearth
Xyrisplo — granarium
Xipochaia — manger

[251]

In its completed form, the Greek rural house presents a tripartite composition, giving a separate space for each of its main elements, that is for the stay of the family, the stabling of the cattle and the storage of the cereals. But even in this form, the term «house» applies only to the room that includes the hearth and sometimes the granary, a custom which apparently remained from the days when that room was the entire dwelling (See figg. 3 and 6 where only one of the rooms is called «house»). 342× [231] [251]

And as the further expansion of the house is easy, especially for the wide-front houses, according to the methods described above, the rural house took a composite form in many places including under one roof all the spaces which are necessary to the development of the farmer's home economy. A single entity is thus created, an interior which is harmonious and presents an imposing view (1).

But while in Macedonia and Thrace the rural house of the plains has kept its unity till the end, symmetrically housing all these three parts under one and the same roof, the Thessalian house, after going through a long period of changes that tended to the improvement of the family's living conditions, it finally remained for the exclusive use as a living space for the family and as a store for the products of the farmer's work, while the stalls for the cattle were made separate (2). [251] [231]

These changes have as a basis the embodiment, at a later stage, of the προστῷον in the rest of the house. That is to say that the προστῷον did not originally constitute an organic element of the building, since it was constructed by a simple downward extension of the roof, but was gradually incorporated in the house. The transversal beams, supporting the roof of the house, were extended along the whole width of it reaching the front part of the portico, so that the highest beam of the roof was made to fall right in their middle. Thus, the roof of the house, which had become non-symmetric by the addition of the portico, regained all its symmetry, and the portico became higher, since it took the same height as the main house (3). (See figg. 3, 9 and 10).

Thus, the rooms built in the προστῷον, which previously were necessarily small, had a low ceiling and were used only as secondary spaces (kitchen, storeroom, or «little room for the old people»)

1) G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, p. 36.

2) G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, p. 33.

3) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 30 foll. figg. 19, 20. — Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 26 foll. figg. 18 A, 19-22.

x 342 the genuine flat-roof type, but have their origin in the stone covered house, having a cylindrical dome for a roof.

[433] In the smaller islands (Cyclades, Dodecanese), where agricultural [231] production is very moderate and where, owing to the peaceful man- [251] ners and to the existing security, the stables of cattle and even the stores of cereals and of wine, oil etc. are mostly away from the dwelling places (see G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, pp. 5 and 45), the house is meant only to the purpose of sheltering the family and [583] partly to the keeping of the agricultural and animal products. Owing [592] to the fact that the house is an essential element for the dowry and for the housing of a couple with their unmarried children, the single house, that is the house which consists of one rectangular room, is the most common form in these islands. It is understood that there are also [231] some rural houses, especially in Rhodes, where the cattle is stabled (or has been stabled) at one end of the house under the same roof with the inhabitants (fig. 28).

This «single» house belongs to both forms of houses, the narrow and the wide form.

The first form mainly prevails in certain islands, such as Skyros, Amorgos, Kythnos, and sporadically in many other islands of the Cyclades, of the Dodecanese, and sometimes in Crete and Cyprus. This house has mainly a πρόστῳον on its narrow side, but, instead of supporting roof poles it has an arch on its front part (Plate VIIIa 5)(1), and more often it is enclosed on the front part as well, forming a real ante-room or a roofed yard (Cf. fig. 13, 14)(2). In several places, more over as in Crete, even in this form, it keeps the name of the open portico «γαγιάτι», as we have seen it in the case of the narrow-front houses of Thrace with the inclined roof. Consequently, the narrow-front house of the islands, in its simplest form, preserves the form of the ancient megaron.

The cylindrically-covered houses of Kimolos, Thera and Antiparos are also of the narrow-front type (3).

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1) See the Cypriot Rural House, in Laographia vol. 11 p. 81. Cf. the House of Nissyros (Fig. 26 above) and the House of Amorgos (Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδομία Λήμνου Fig. 15). In front of their covered yard, whose roof is supported by an arch, these houses have another open courtyard (Plate VIIIa 6).

2) **G. Megas,** Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 26.

3) **A. Wace,** The towns and houses of the archipelago, in the Burlington Magazine 26, 1914/16, 99 foll. **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus u. Hof im Altertum p. 64 where there is also a plan of a «Tonnendachhaus» of Kimolos.

[For information pertaining to Greek recipes and food preparation see 70: Rowland , M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 88-123.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastoro* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendicular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, 184 according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the basement where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are [251] stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

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[p. 75]

[V]

The Peasant at Work

A description of how the land is owned and what it grows gives only one side of the agricultural picture. To round out the chapter just concluded, one needs to see the peasants at work, to follow them from tobacco field to olive orchard, to see how they plow and harvest, and what they do to the part of the earth they own. As they live and work in their small fields, the peasants develop their own way of looking at man and the world. This sets them off from the city dweller or the seafarer, for certain basic rural attitudes prevail all over Greece whether the farmer's energy goes into producing citrus fruits and olives in the south or tobacco and hardy grains in the north. Closeness to the land in the physical and often in the spiritual sense is one such attitude already described. Matching this is the villager's closeness to the changing seasons and weather and his dependence on them. For a truly genuine account we rely again upon T. K. Papaspyropoulos, who has vividly described contemporary life in Kleitoria. The entire following section on the seasons is a translation of his words. 241 184 127

The Cycle of the Seasons in the Peloponnesos

Winter. During winter we have finished all our tasks and we gather in our homes. We have sown, we have gathered our maize, beans, and what other goods God has given us — onions, garlic, potatoes, quince, pomegranates, and so on. We have put our cheese to age; we have rendered our 221 [241] [252]

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[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

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524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

● 252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

[178] If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But [261] everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [6] Therefore, when we de- 146 scribe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

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tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why. 262 [146] 272 654

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home: 262

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven. [256] [465] [251] [415] [252]

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef. [251] [231]

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year. [251]

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite. [606]

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262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than
[146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[8]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he
[146] leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
184

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Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted. 512 184 178 256

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as 273

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[1]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo. 527

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers. 291 462 294 177 292 184 563

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the 184 294 286 292 369 177

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[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another [788] "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

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796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece
[245] will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17, the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
535 as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed
[252] with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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11. At the oven for Sunday afternoon lamb and rice, Attica.

[p. 272-G]

1:Sanders Z-5/f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakassa, Central Greece.

142
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[p. 272-I]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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516

Roasting the paschal lamb.

142
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[302]

A woman of the village.

A young girl of the village.

[p. xviii]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire 592
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and con- 804
sumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 273
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have 372
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 252
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are 147
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 461
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling 412
motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy 462
hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers), who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

793 Greece have studied in western Europe or America after completing
[874] their course at Athens or at the Academy of Halki, near Constantinople. Of those who go abroad for post-graduate theological studies far the greater number marry and become lay theologians, and it is to the latter rather than the episcopate that the Greek layman looks for academic learning. The metropolitan of scholarly interests, though far from unknown, is somewhat exceptional in these days. Happily, however, it is not necessary to burn midnight oil at Halle or Tübingen in order to learn to love our Lord with great fervour and simplicity and to feed His flock, and among the bishops of the Church of Greece there are many devoted pastors and fathers in God tending their scattered flocks in the obscurity of the war-ravaged mountain dioceses with a zeal not unworthy of the successor of the apostles.

The office of deacon has, so far as the west is concerned, long since ceased to be a reality. In Greece, however, it is otherwise. The diaconate is not, as in this country, a mere step to the priesthood; a kind of noviciate which the ordinand must needs serve before being admitted into priests' orders. In the Greek Church a man who has been ordained deacon may well remain in the diaconate for the rest of his days. The function of the deacon is essentially different from that of the presbyter. His liturgical rôle is of the utmost importance, and one of the chief qualifications in the candidate for the diaconate is the possession of a powerful and resonant voice. It is the deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation from the space before the royal doors—"a body standing before men, but a mind knocking at the gates of heaven through prayer"—in the vivid image of the sixth-century ascetic and master of the spiritual life, St. John of the Ladder; it is he who sings the Gospel from the *ambon*, or pulpit, high on the north side of the church.

[252] In the monasteries the deacons are responsible for baking the *prosphora*, the loaves used at the eucharist. Thus Covel remarks somewhere in his Athonite journals that: "The priests and deacons do no work but what is in ye church or immediately belonging to it . . . ye deacons bake ye *προσφορά*, and may sometimes be sent of an errand, but nothing else. Ye priests do nothing at all. All laborious work wtever out of ye church else is done by *καλόγ*. or hired labourers." And elsewhere: "The *προσφορά* is baked by ye deacons, ye other bread by ye *καλόγ*. aforesaid."

In Athens and its suburbs, and in Salonica, there are a few married

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

123 inhabitants malevolently. As we dismounted outside the cottage of Papa Costas we were greeted by a score of old friends headed by Basil the resourceful, just descended from Aghios Stephanos and bound for Trikkala to negotiate some delicate piece of monkish diplomacy. Papa Costas' daughter and two cousins from Trikkala were bent over their [252] sewing, and a dish of bean soup simmered on the stove.

123 Boris bade us farewell that afternoon and set out for Larissa, whence he would travel southwards the following day to sunny Attica and the 513 populous cities: back to that strange, mad world where men spent their days poring over antique folios and writing solemn dissertations; effeminate creatures who slept at night between linen sheets and pillowed in soft down, clad in ridiculous garments fit only for infidels: not indiscriminately, men and women together, upon the hard earth, snugly rolled in warm rugs beside a roaring fire; a pampered and degenerate race.

123 As the sun went to his rest that evening amongst the snows of Pindos I sat for the last time amidst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi and related the strange and terrible things that we had seen [252] during the past few days, while Father Anthimos boiled some eggs in an empty salmon tin, the stylite cats lurked in the shadows, and old Papa Iannis stroked his venerable beard and murmured an occasional *Kyrie eleison!*

*

793 The country parson of Pindos, writes an early nineteenth-century traveller, displays a truly primitive simplicity. He is at once the director, adviser, friend and companion of those who till the same fields or pursue the same occupations as himself. The unaspiring *papas*, endued, as it were,

> . . . in spite of his ignorance with an evangelical instinct, sympathised with the sorrows and shared in the joys of his people, and abandoning himself to them, made up for any deficiency of ecclesiastical dignity by a fraternal affection which was rendered doubly dear by the misfortunes and misery of those on whom it was bestowed. In the evening, when the labours of the day were finished, the pastor of the mountain assembled with his parishioners at one of their unadorned chapels on the hills. . . . On the festival and the feast, when

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation. which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional customs handed down from generation to generation provide both group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the ceremonial feast. When a member of the family gets married the whole village participated with their musical instruments. The marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male person is observed more than the female name day.

517 [526] [846] [851] [585] [527] [562]

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the United States. After the church service the people gather around the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

796 628 574 [535]

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place. This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry. The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

796 574 [735] [252]

9: Megas

EH1 Greece EH1

231, 252, 351, 354

/For the location of ovens, hearths, courtyards, stables and chicken coops in Greek houses, see category 116, pp. 6-46 and end plates 1-9./

*342 The προστῷον[1] is formed by a simple extention of the roof of the
341 house downwards, and consitutes a very useful element for the needs of agricultural life in general, as it not only protects the entrance of the house from the rain, but it also provides a well aired and at the same time a well protected residence, where the family may
[264] gather, especially during the summer months. It is here that the
[513] family takes its meals and sleeps in summer time. It is here that the
[286] women put up their loom, spread and comb the wool, dry the maize
[251] and the sesame, the onions and the other fruits. And it is also here
[252] that the oven is usually built.

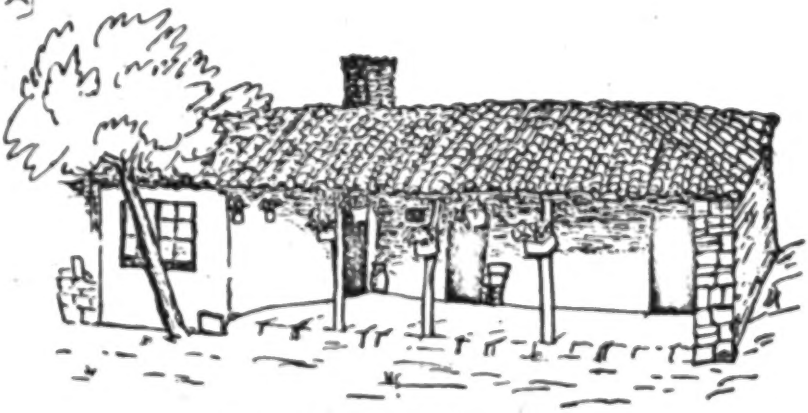

Fig. 4 Old house at Ferrai in Thrace
(G. Megas, Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, fig. 3)

The increase of space in the houses of both types is done in two directions: a) by extending the top beam of the roof and b) by extending the roof in the direction of the sides of the gable.

*342 In the first instance, and in the case of narrow-front houses, two succesive rooms are formed in depth, the προστῷον remaining on the front of the house either open or closed (Fig. 5. Plate I b 1-3). In this last case, a new προστῷον is sometimes added, open on its front side (Fig. 1 c. Plate I a 6). In the case of the wide-front houses, two or more rooms are being formed on the same horizontal line (Figg. 3 and 6. Plate III-VII).

In the second instance and in the case of the narrow-front houses,

1 [prostoon = open portico - Analyst.]

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end.

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act.

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!"

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure.

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 1. BUSINESSES AND SERVICES IN EIGHT GREEK VILLAGES*

	Tobacco village near Xanthe	Village A near Mesolongi	Village B near Mesolongi	Village in Central Greece	Mountain village near Lamia	Village near Agrinion	Village A in Macedonia	Village B in Macedonia
Population	1145	1062	2030	1372	1060	2915	1654	2493
Flour mills	6	1			2	3	2	
Bakeries	1		3	1		3		
Groceries	6	8	3	7	6	21	7	8
Barbershops	3	2	3	3	2	5		
Coffeeshops	6	8	5	5	1	7	3	3
Carpenters	5				2			
Masons	12			4	4			
Shoemakers	5	1		2	1	4	1	1
Saddlemakers	1		1	2				
Tinsmiths	1					1		
Blacksmiths	2	1	2	3				
Butchers	2	5		4	3	6		
Tailors	1	1		3	1	1	2	3
Dressmakers	3	6		10	2			
Carriagemakers						2	1	
Yardgoods shops				2		1		
Tobacco-news			2			2		
Restaurants			6			4		

* Includes those services mentioned for two or more villages.
Source: Village studies by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece (mimeographed).

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1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends. 245 461 [521]

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground. 245 258 461 [492]

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?" [521] [273] [264]

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re- 258 576

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance. "No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil," which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
[245] Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said, "If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive 2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition, their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing, many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware. What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices, and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474
were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles 178
and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women 243
also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. [293]
The president of the community told me: [751]

Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals. [464]

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a 474
loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this 258
part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each [652]
family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that
it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount
taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the
machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the
customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the man- [778]
ager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning
of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, [788]
but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed
to agree.

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized 474
what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative ac-
cumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or
special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For exam- [758]
ple, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for
looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong,
there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit coopera- [652]
tive explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend
upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money
for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local
peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed.
The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no member-
ship dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president
and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the
five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five [233]
thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which employed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the season. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a decrease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabitants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kalamata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

[178] If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food [261] is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [6] Therefore, when we describe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared 146 with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal. [461] [369]

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 261 855 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread. [369]

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
macedonia

243 466 "You ought to come harvesting and stay with us for a week and you would have plenty of material for your book," said one of the men good-naturedly. "When working in the wheat we sleep in the fields with only a blanket for a bed. It has been raining and we have been wet through and through. We can't wash ourselves, we can't even wash our plates — we are so busy."

243 465 "Where do you get your food?"

"The person for whom we work feeds us. He gives us garlic, olives, bread, salted fish, and sometimes a bean soup or potatoes. We all lose weight during this period and wish we didn't have to work this way."

[262] "Are you well paid for your work?"

One of the men, unshaven and tired, but gay throughout the conversation, said that the average pay was about 10 okas of grain for 1 stremma of land (28 pounds for one fourth of an acre). A man might get 14 okas and a woman as low as 7 okas, but the average ran about 10. There was no [562] explanation for this different treatment of the sexes except that the bargaining position of the woman was lower. (I compared this figure of 10 okas with the 20 okas that the farmers of Thessaly paid a combine owner for each stremma of land harvested, while they had to pay 30 okas per stremma when the harvesting was done by hand, losing about 10 okas through this less efficient way. Out of the total yield of 150 to 200 okas per stremma in Thessaly, the cost amounted to 7 to 10 percent of the crop in the case of the machine and 15 to 20 percent in the case of hand harvesting.)

511 "Do you get enough wheat during the harvesting period to see you through the year?"

"It all depends. Some years we do and some years we don't. Bread is our only food. It is our milk, cheese, butter, honey, sugar, all in one. What the grass is to the animal, bread is to us. Otherwise we live on air and water."

511 773 Then, as though carried away with some of their troubles, one of the men asked, "Do you know what we say about our village of Parthenon? We say that when Christ walked by our village he left us a curse, for we have only stones there." Another added a variation, "Yes, when Christ passed he blessed what was on his right, but on his left he threw stones." Even this rationalization had no trace of bitterness, but a matter-of-factness that was supposed to help the foreigner understand why they were having difficulties with food. Other villages down on the plains had an easier time of it, but Parthenon, high on its rocks, had to make a living the hard way.

243 465 Coming back to the question of harvesting, we asked them when they would get their wheat, for they were carrying nothing but a woven handbag or a spare jacket. In about a month they would return, for then the grain would be threshed and ready to distribute. Each person had carried his

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds
of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to
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433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not
so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan
from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equip-
ment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing,
many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware.
What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit
and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices,
and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-59 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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VI

The Changing Life of the Shepherd

A year in Greece puts one on intimate terms with sheep and goats. They are everywhere. They dart across the highway before a speeding car and raise their tails in a contemptuous gesture as they leap to safety across the ditch into a field; they form a fitting part of almost every landscape one wants to photograph; and they provide the country's chief meat supply as well as the white *feta*, or soft cheese. Their wool and hides are also important sources of income to the shepherds. 233 [262] [234]

There is nothing particularly glamorous about the Balkan sheep of which those in Greece are typical. They have a narrow, long tail and wool mixed with hair. C. S. Stephanides in his article, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," writes: "The Greek sheep has a small skeleton; narrow body; short but strong legs, well-fitted for long journeys; the ability to feed on poor roughage, to withstand hardship; and early maturity." There are eleven leading breeds, seven of these being island sheep, which give much more milk, meat, and wool than the mainland sheep.[1] This is explained by the isolation of the islands, the comparative small acreage of some, and the poverty of the farmers there which forces them to keep but a few sheep and to select out the very best. The superiority of their livestock has come about through centuries of such selection. As a matter of fact, those mainlanders undertaking scientific improvement of their flocks import the island sheep for breeding purposes. 233 232 [735]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring 272
tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They 234
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437] along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

[313] [492] [462]

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

[178] [415] 264

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [6] Therefore, when we describe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

[261] 146 262

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [tsai tou vounou], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including
[146] the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 60 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[6]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he
[146] leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
184

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 ence. On the island of Salamis, not far from Athens, while visiting in a village home we asked a young woman to tell us about her engagement. This is her account, which highlights some of the points previously made:

A matchmaker arranged our marriage. When my mother finally decided that it was time to have a man in the house, we discussed with which family we wanted to affiliate. We had heard my father say before his death that he wanted his daughter to marry one of the sons of a retired chief petty officer in the village. My mother and sisters named one of the sons who was still single and I said, "All right. Whatever you decide," even though I didn't know the boy. So my brother-in-law (my oldest sister's husband), as head of the family, arranged the contact through a third person. I had said that I would take anything but a bald-headed man. [At this point everyone laughed for the one selected was prematurely bald.] On a Tuesday both families had said *Entaxei* [all right], and on Saturday the groom-to-be was supposed to visit me. He didn't try to see me in advance, for he had faith in his parents and, besides, we all live in the same village. But he sent word that he couldn't come on Saturday, for as a petty officer he was on duty. Instead he came on Thursday with a friend. He sent his friend in first to announce that he was here and to ask if he could come in. I said certainly but spoke in the plural form; he said not to do this for it annoyed him. We looked at each other for the first time. He asked, "Do you like me?" I said, "Of course." What else could I say? I shrieked when I saw his bald head, shrieked with disappointment. He came and sat near me. My mother said, "You see, he has already become very bald." [The fiancé, who was present during the interview, was asked what had been his thoughts when the match was made. He replied, "Since her father and my father had known each other, I said what is the use of pretending."]

On the Saturday following his visit to me I went to pay my first visit to my in-laws. I took candied almonds and flowers to my mother-in-law and we all ate, drank, and were merry. Then he and I started visiting each other. But the people began to say, "How does such traffic go on since they don't have an engagement ring?" So we decided to have the formal engagement. We were going to do it on his name day, but he got sick and we postponed it to Easter. The groom bought the ring and gave me a silk dress, shoes and stockings, and his relatives gave me some earrings and beads. I gave him slippers, pajamas, shirts, and handkerchiefs. On the day of the engagement, I sent his mother a large
• [262] bread ring with thirty-one red Easter eggs on top and she sent a cake containing five eggs to my home. At the engagement ceremony the fathers of the couple usually place the rings on the fingers, but since my father was dead his father put the rings on both of our fingers.

Engagements in this Salamis village last two years or more unless the families are rich and can hurry the matter along. The length of time is based on the dowry that the girl must accumulate. Not only must she bring the
[583] house but must furnish it with a bureau (or chiffonier), a buffet, six dining-
[352] room chairs, four kitchen chairs, and a mattress. The groom provides the dining-room table, a cupboard, and a bed.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[835] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings. The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times
[789] to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The god-
608 parent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[262] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
[553] fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 [776] [784] [296] [241] [426] [787] [262]

considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[9]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

[533] [824] [777] [431] 796 777

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

[431] [524]

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

796 [788] [574] [524]

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

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On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

789

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata,* or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti,* since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

585 369 785 769 777

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

785 262 372 783

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

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796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

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the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ.

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from alcoholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so.

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city.

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are considered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church.

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[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less
476 interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby
forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at
[462] hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of
[465] what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that
466 we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how
476 the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close supervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The
[123] owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in
[539] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pic-
[126] tures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is
[785] served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

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being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

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275 369 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison, its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it has a variety of forms.

Coffeehouse Types

275 443 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three assorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles [562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's 275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four 443 by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches 347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves [262] Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly [373] glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

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supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[2] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis*, while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[3] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

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631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
● 262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
727

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Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." [24] 765 775 782 262 769 824

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion,* or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 292 783 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. 787

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
[407] generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
241 questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
[249] since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

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ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

242 178 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to plant on the highway near the village.

[245] [875] [435] [244] [434] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the techniques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with 492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of 231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaouboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and [865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, [434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt 262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' 233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in [272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but [574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a 236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large 283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

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into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

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Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
[166 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
463 shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
[434 settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They aug-
ment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
[464 women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
262 longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
[342 shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly
built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
563 have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
621 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
555 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
87 he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
[641 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under
the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
[435 shepherds in Vásilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more for-
mal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shep-
herd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a
year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm
families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous
in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in
the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people
of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident car-
penters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very
existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time
to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old patterns.

463 The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and [433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had [178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the 262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is 438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have 178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro- 511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a 517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care 356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on 463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the 626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations 183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter 241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five 433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

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583 wedding to take the *rukba* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukba*. A Vasilika girl is ex-
[286] pected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets,
two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen
blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental
table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth
with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two
long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before
baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town,
are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
[431] given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men
585 crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning
the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the
house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find
the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside
giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining,
the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*,
[262] the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with
a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
[534] and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are
[152] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few
years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's vil-
lage and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

[Good Friday]

796 morning, small boys went from house to house crying, *"Mavros in o uranos,"* [778] "The sky is black," and they were given money or eggs. Meanwhile, the girls [788] of the village worked inside the church covering with wild flowers the sedan-chairlike wooden frame in which an oil painting of Jesus on his bier was to be carried around the village that night. The frame and the icon together are called the *epitafios*. The girls seemed thoroughly to enjoy the morning's work, and they 796 laughed, giggled, jostled each other, and called out orders. Occasionally they 562 sang as they worked. It appeared also as if they were taking particular joy in being inside the church with no men to restrain them. They took turns sprawling over the stalls in which, as females, they rarely sat during a service. They also went up to the chanters' stand and recited some of the cantilations which were to be sung that night—the girls can follow the liturgy only silently during the course of the actual service. Some of the younger girls even dared each other [778] to go behind the panel to the altar, a place forbidden to females, but none actually did. They seemed uneasy and were even frightened at the suggestion.

796 The church bell rang at 2:20 that afternoon. The priest, with one of the chanters and his son, performed the service in the course of which he brought 788 the icon from behind the altar, covered it with a white cloth and placed it in its bower. In accordance with the symbolic re-enactment of the event, only the women and girls (and a few schoolboys) were in the church at the time. Once the icon was in place and strewn with flowers, the priest and then the children went up to kiss it. The priest explained that it should be done slowly and [764] deliberately, exactly as it was done for the dead in the village funeral rituals.

Good Friday services began that night at 9:00. At 11:00 the *epitafios* was carried out of the church by four boys. These marched in procession with the *epitafios* behind boys carrying the *lavara* (standards). Behind the *epitafios* walked the priest and the chanters. The rest of the villagers followed holding candles to light the way as the *epitafios* was carried around the entire village. As the bells of the three village churches pealed, and the children chanted *"Enas ine o theos"* and *"Panayia dhespina,"* "God is one" and "Our Lady, the All Holy One," the villagers picked their way carefully over the stones and ruts as they climbed the hillside, circled the whole settlement, and climbed down again on the other side. When the procession reached the church door once more, the boys held the bier high so that the returning congregation passed into the church under it. The service was over shortly after midnight.

796 On Holy Saturday, sweet Easter breads with red eggs inside were displayed, other eggs were dyed red, last minute finishing touches were given to [262] Easter clothes and last house-cleaning chores were completed. Some people slaughtered the Easter lamb on Saturday, others waited until Sunday. In the [461] meantime, field chores went on as usual. Everyone rested for a few hours, from about 9:00 Saturday night until the Easter Sunday services began shortly after midnight. These lasted until 4:00 in the morning, with two periods of climax. [788] The first occurred when all the lights in the church were put out and the priest [787] kindled the new light. The boys rushed up to see who could be the first to light his own candle from that of the priest's. They said the winner would be the first of the boys to be married. The rest of the congregation then lit its

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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

793

When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver-headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

788 [346] [346]

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis.

262 785 [485]

The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

796 793

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

795 648

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796 priest resumed his place before the doors and took up anew the litanies
788 which properly pertain to the deacon's liturgy:

> For the precious gifts which have been offered,
> For this holy temple, and for those who enter it in
> faith, reverence and the fear of God . . .

while the reiterated *Kyrie eleison* of the singers rose and fell and we commended "ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God".

At the cry: "The doors, the doors!" all became suddenly alert, and a young girl—one of those celebrating their name-day—pushed through the crowd of women and children who filled the space between the lectern of the singers and the eikonostasis on the north side of the church and, standing before the eikon of the Mother of God, read the Nicene Creed. The Bishop commenced the great eucharistic prayer and the climax of the liturgy drew near. After the loaves that remained over from
796 the consecrated bread had been blessed, the Bishop sent me, by the hand
778 of his assistant, a portion bearing the seal IC . XC . NI . KA: how many a
●262 holy custom have we forfeited in exchanging the *artos* of scripture and primitive tradition for the *azymes* which bear no evident relation to the
788 common bread which one bakes and breaks at home, or to the daily toil of ordinary men and women. In Greece the bread and the wine
[793] that are brought to the altar are the very same as those which are eaten and drunk at home, and such loaves as remain over after the distribution of the blessed bread—the *antidoron* (literally, 'instead of the gift')—go to the parish priest; so, we may recall, the English Prayer Book requires that: "the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten. . . . And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated the Curate shall have it to his own use."

Came the solemn pronouncement of the Lord's words: "This is my body. . . . This is my blood", and the great cry "Thine of thine own we offer to thee . . ." and then the Bishop knelt before the holy table and called upon God to "send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit", while the singers softly intoned their hymn of adoring praise, and the holy people of God stood with bowed heads in the pools of sunlight, veiled by the slowly spiralling haze of incense.

796 In some parts of Greece where movements such as the Brotherhood
788
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796 peculiar Saint, especially those to whom they are particularly devoted. These jolly Easterlings, when they hear . . . that the Christians pretending to be Reformed in the West, do utterly hate and abjure all such Practices as *Heathenish* and *Prophane*, must think them all the vilest Miscreants living.

796 When the last of the *antidoron* had been distributed, Anargyri had
793 replaced the mitre in its brass box, and the Metropolitan had concluded
574 a long conversation with the churchwardens about the best method of shoring up the roof—a section of which was sagging ominously—we left the church and made our way to the dwelling of the parish priest where a vast table had been erected in the shade of a vine. There we feasted until it was high afternoon: the Lord Agathangellos, the president of the community, the *kapetanios* of the militia, the *papas*, the schoolmaster, Anargyri, the churchwardens, the singers and several officers from the garrison of Nevrokopi who had accompanied us to Dasoto that morning.

796 It was not by any means my first experience of a village festival: a
574 few months earlier I might well have been deceived into thinking that
262 the bowls of eggs, goat's milk cheese, olives, and finely-shredded
273 vegetables soaked in oil and lemon which appeared with the *ouzo* constituted the substance of the feast and not a mere *hors d'oeuvre*. Now I knew better, and I was not surprised when the clearing of the table by the *papadia* and her daughters after forty minutes proved to be no more than a prelude to a banquet of an altogether more serious character.

As the dishes came and went and the dark wine flowed freely, I recalled Dr. Covel's description of another such festival at the great Athonite house of Iveron: "The best monkish fare that could be gotten was provided, excellent fish (severall ways), oyl, salet, beanes, hortechockes, beets . . . chees, onions, garlick, olives, caveor, Pyes of herbs, φακαὶς, κτωπόδι; pepper, salt, saffron in all. At last conserved little oranges, most exquisite, good wine (a sort of small claret), and we alwayes drank most plentifully. . . . He is no Greek that cannot drink twenty or thirty plump glasses at a setting."

[535] After the feast there was dancing, and the sun was low in the west when we drove back to Nevrokopi. The day drew to a close amongst the eikons of those who had finished their course, with those yet in the way of salvation joining with one voice in the ancient canticle, *Hail! Gladdening Light*, to the praise and glory of the Holy Trinity.

THE WATERS OF MARAH

346 *Autres temps, autres moeurs.* "Unhappily", said Father Callinicos, as
792 we waited at the foot of the precipice and Gregorios unsaddled the pony, "there have been regrettable changes; formerly there was great
[406] security." The windlass, it appeared, was now used only for hauling up firewood and victuals. We took a last look at the leeks, now 100 feet above our heads, and entered the dark passage which gives access to the steps leading to the monastery. Agathangellos was awaiting us outside the now disused refectory: a youngish monk, clad in a tattered grey cassock and soft cap, who had come to the Meteora, we subsequently discovered, in 1939. He carried us off to the guest-chamber (little used in these days) and left us among the faded memorials of former splendour while he went in search of refreshment. A few
[796] minutes later the insistent clamour of the *semandron* summoned us to vespers in the fine *catholicon*, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, where Athanasius the Athonite, clad in the habit of a western monk, looks down from the apse—a fragment of an earlier church on the
[262] same site, built by Ioasaph in 1388. A frugal supper of vegetables,
[352] goats' milk cheese and bread followed, and afterwards we sat on wooden stools round a fire of brushwood and talked to the *Igoumenos*
[372] and the other members of his little family, while Agathangellos busied himself in the kitchens, where cats as lean as the stylite saints depicted
792 in the frescoes of the narthex lurked in the shadows. Father Callinicos, we discovered, had been at the Great Meteoron for nearly forty years. There was one other priest in the community: a Father Theophylaktos who had lived in the Athonite house of Xeropotamou for several years as a simple monk before he was ordained and came to Thessaly in 1935. Another monk—also named Callinicos—had been carried off by the Italians and had died in exile. Apart from Father Agathangellos, the only remaining member of the community was a very ancient personage named Paul who appeared to lead the life of a solitary, and whom we but dimly discerned amidst the shadows of the church. Gregorios, who had accompanied us from Kalambaka, was no monk but a married man with a wife and several children, lately returned to their village in the mountains to the west of Trikkala. We encountered him again some ten days later, breasting a snow-covered ridge among the foothills of Pindos with a couple of heavily-laden pack-animals, and accompanied by a little troop of refugees on their way home after three years in Kalambaka.

[796] Shortly after eight o'clock Father Agathangellos reappeared with a
[346]

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pended in the void, without visible contact with the world which we had revisited the previous afternoon. We returned to the *Igoumenos'* cell and sat and talked around a brazier filled with glowing charcoal, while we waited for the weather to moderate. Father Christopher told us of his own experiences during the troubled years of war; how he had been thrown into prison at Trikkala by the Italians and had escaped by jumping from a window; how several years later he had been carried off by the Communists in company with some 300 men, women and children from Kalambaka, and had been in the mountains for six days before his release; he told us too of the great monastery where he had taken the monastic habit, and of its 366 cells. Father Ambrose joined our little circle and catechised us as to our age, our families, were our parents living, were we married or *agamos*: "Certainly marriage is of God; a soldier from England and a *koritsi* from Piraeus, and God joins them. Truly, this is a great mystery, as says the apostle."

So the morning passed and at midday Father Bessarion reappeared with bean soup and bread for our lunch. By one o'clock the snow had somewhat abated, and since the visibility had increased sufficiently to enable us to see the monastery of Rosani, 500 yards distant, we decided to set out for St. Stephen where we were expected that evening. The *Igoumenos* and Father Ambrose advised us to take the easier, though less direct, path by way of Kalambaka; but being reluctant to add two miles or more to our journey in such weather we insisted on following the path which keeps to the high ground. Father Bessarion accompanied us a little way, and then, since the weather seemed to be improving, he left us after giving us precise directions as to our route.

All went well for a time, despite the fact that the path was entirely obscured beneath the drifting snow, and Rosani (formerly the dwelling of an aged female solitary) gradually faded from our view. Shortly afterwards, however, the mist thickened until visibility was but a few yards, and it was not long before we were in difficulties. For a time we crept along the edge of the abyss, edging our way cautiously across expanses of bare rock scoured by the wind, a thin coating of ice affording none save the most precarious foothold, until it seemed that we must be within a stone's throw of Aghia Trias. Alas! there were no monks left to answer our shouts; no slight thinning of the mist afforded us a momentary glimpse of the encompassing heights such as would have sufficed to give us our bearings. For three hours we wandered in an unfamiliar world until, an hour before dark, the mist lifted somewhat,

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THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

He had set out from Palaiochori at half-past two that morning, and with the moon often obscured by clouds and with drifts of snow lying deep in places, it was well past ten before he reached the town. We had taken refuge from the bitter winds that scoured the valley of the Peneios and brought sudden flurries of snow down the pass from the mountains above Metsovo, in one of the dimly lighted taverns that open off the main street, and were deep in conversation with the president and schoolmaster from a village away to the north-eastward of Kalambaka when Papa Costas arrived. We shared a further bottle of ouzo and he invited us to lunch in his cottage. 123 793

He had come down, he told us, to do some shopping, and was off to Trikkala the next morning. He would return to Palaiochori early the following day. Why did we not come with him and see with our own eyes the ruined villages of Pindos? Mitsos—a cousin, we subsequently discovered—would be in Kalambaka with the remaining animals the next evening and there would be mounts to spare if we would come. We were not afraid of *katsapliades*? We fairly jumped at the suggestion —*katsapliades* indeed! I sat down there and then and addressed a hasty note to the Lord Theokletos, Metropolitan of Grevena, which was carried off by Athanasi and put aboard the afternoon bus to Trikkala, informing him that I should be several days later in reaching his diocese on the fringes of Macedonia than I had supposed. We laid our plans for the journey, and the light was failing as we set out to climb to the monastery of St. Stephen where we were expected that evening.

Two days later we left the monastery at daybreak: all the monks were ill, and, since Basil was away in Trikkala, we had ourselves to unbar the massive doors that open on to the encompassing abyss. Forty minutes after leaving St. Stephen we were breaking our fast at Papa Costas' cottage: scraps of pork, bread soaked in oil, cognac and retsina. [262] Our priest-carpenter had brought back from Trikkala a great saw, and a pig to be fattened against the following winter. The pig, despite loud protestations, was tied up in a sack and slung from his owner's saddle: [492]

"He has a splendid voice—we must make a *psaltes* of him when we get him back to Palaiochori."

We led our horses out along the Metsovo road. Papa Costas' niece, Katina, had been staying at the 'town-house' for the festival and was returning with her uncle to Palaiochori. [484] On the outskirts of Kalambaka we overtook a party of homeward-bound refugees, their beasts heavy-laden with bedding and great copper pans. A little way out of the town

THE WATERS OF MARAH

123 we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river
793 Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the
swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and
484 screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river
the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to
dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly
difficult stretch of terrain.

About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages
[342] and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside
what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had
been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn
timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins.
Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years
and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the
cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened
[262] one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out
walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge
crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the
boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the
day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and
white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our
way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts
delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—
winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy
ridges of Pindos far above us.

123 It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the
793 tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—
was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless.
[875] Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage
where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young
girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the
fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa
Costas divested himself of his outer *rason*, and, commending ourselves
to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay
down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a
[262] few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas,
[346] Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin, the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least, far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and drastic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

/32 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard
but should not question how and why the money was spent. The
farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen,
implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are
responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the
stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife
and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spend-
ing money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
embitzed the more his needs increase.

/33/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262 ●
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley.
Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The
wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal.
The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried
and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned
dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they
cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cook-
ing. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the starch
foods. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer
months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and [438]
are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled
cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best
combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed
daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed
oil.

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(yoghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [109] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [599] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 556 457 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
[856] the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however,
[369] to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
[862] easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
[864] period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
[843] be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal.

[461] [369]

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 261 855 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread.

[369]

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

villages the bread is brown and home-baked, and it may form the complete meal, with olive-oil for dipping. If there is any other food, there is only one dish, containing a variety of ingredients which usually make for balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish *(fasoulada)* for example, contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and, eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese, provides a complete nutritive meal, except that the proteins are not animal ones; and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit, or a leaf of lettuce, or cheese; this, however, is nothing to look forward to but, at most, puts a period to the meal. It is the bread, the "food", that is the point of the meal. Greeks in foreign parts, who have taken on rich foreign desserts, often top their meals with a bite of bread.

In the provinces, very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served, if at all, as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays, or when guests arrive, or on other festive occasions, there may be roast and potatoes; these are baked together and constitute the whole meal, with the ever-present bread. Fish is eaten in the villages wherever it is available. Processed fish—salted, dried, canned—is a great favourite, and salted roe, made into a "salad" is greatly enjoyed, and forms a regular item during Lent. Milk is consumed in the form of cheese and *yaourti*, a custard-like cultured milk; little is drunk. But the milk used is that of sheep and goats, which, according to Kaloyereas, is richer in fat and protein than cow's milk. In the villages, fruit and vegetables are eaten plentifully when in season; dried fruits and nuts are eaten, olives, cheese while it lasts, and a variety of legumes. There is skill in cooking, and since variety within a meal is not valued or demanded, the simple meals are much enjoyed, and wealthy emigrants, who have succumbed to the luxuries of the American meal pattern, often long for their peasant meals.

In the cities, the Greeks have learned to eat meat and to drink more milk. Here cow's milk and a taste for it have been introduced, and in the country around Athens and Salonica, the peasants raise cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities, and people, in their desire to take on American ways, eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of texture. Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names, Quaker Oats, pronounced unrecognizably. As *vromi*, it is food for animals, and the word is reminiscent of "stench". According to Dr. Katsigra, much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten; this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe. City people eat mostly white bread. In general, city food, which conforms in externals more closely to the list of the nutritionists, actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been

much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) #63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to en-
[356] tertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed
[583] along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like
[354] fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and drastic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
● 264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

[Harvesting Olives]

245 not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to
[464] earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up
461 long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to
[264] last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled
[412] rakes and "combed" the tree.

"Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to
[832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come
[264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he
[466] was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in
[264] picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each
[521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends. 245 461 [521]

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground. 245 258 461 [492]

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?" [521] [273] [264]

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re- 258 576

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

[178] If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. ●264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food [261] is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [6] Therefore, when we describe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared 146 with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than
[146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[8]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he
[146] leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
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1:Sanders Z-5pt (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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291
241
264
415
576

13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakassa, Central Greece.

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[p. 272-I]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) #63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every
[574] housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like
[354] fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately

[263]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959):963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth. 356 353 [296]

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping. 356 515 [574] [751] [264]

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters. 356 512 [264]

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is
tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while
the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out.
/69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264] [515]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth
healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any
village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a
doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many
farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing
two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever
is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and every-
thing evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned 744
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house
flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children.
Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the
troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat
them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a
time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the
sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their
families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few
windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost.
Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the
same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

*342 The προστῷον[1] is formed by a simple extention of the roof of the
341 house downwards, and consitutes a very useful element for the needs of agricultural life in general, as it not only protects the entrance of the house from the rain, but it also provides a well aired and at the same time a well protected residence, where the family may
[264] gather, especially during the summer months. It is here that the
[513] family takes its meals and sleeps in summer time. It is here that the
[286] women put up their loom, spread and comb the wool, dry the maize
[251] and the sesame, the onions and the other fruits. And it is also here
[252] that the oven is usually built.

Fig. 4 Old house at Ferrai in Thrace
(G. Μεγας, Θρακικοί Οικισμοί, fig. 3)

The increase of space in the houses of both types is done in two directions: a) by extending the top beam of the roof and b) by extending the roof in the direction of the sides of the gable.

*342 In the first instance, and in the case of narrow-front houses, two
succesive rooms are formed in depth, the προστῷον remaining on the front of the house either open or closed (Fig. 5. Plate I b 1-3). In this last case, a new προστῷον is sometimes added, open on its front side (Fig. 1 c. Plate I a 6). In the case of the wide-front houses, two or more rooms are being formed on the same horizontal line (Figg. 3 and 6. Plate III-VII).

In the second instance and in the case of the narrow-front houses,

1 [prestoon = open portico - Analyst.]

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end. 805 461

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act. 805 264 252

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!" 805 195 [369] [555]

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. 805 [405] [301] [353] [655] [804]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other [202]

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

594
602

I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter [855] practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular [852] liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [996] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father [527] leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally. 164

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined. 159 562 554 [831]

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him. 732 [551]

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people. 178 744 164 [513]

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines. 751 515 514

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special 264 594

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal.

[461] [369]

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 26 155 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread.

[369]

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

821 one of the high schools in Athens. T. K. Papaspyropoulos has written of
[127] his native settlement near Kalavryta in the Peloponnesos.[8] A literal translation has been used in order to retain some of the flavor of the village informants.

The sky. Our mother told us that the sky was a big dome which covers the earth like a lid of a cauldron. This dome has for ornaments the sun, the moon,
[772] and the stars. High up in this dome God has his throne and sits with Christ, the Virgin, with all the saints and the angels. Near the throne of God is Paradise with the souls of the good people and the saints. Hell is down below in the deepest part of the earth, together with the devils and the sinners. May God protect us!

The sun. The sun is the god of the day. He throws light on the earth and warms the people. The sun brings cereals and all the goods which are upon the earth. Without him we would be dead from cold. The sun does not only warm us but tours the whole world and brings greetings to all those who are away
[533] from their home. He also tells us what he sees. We have many songs for the sun, such as those which begin "My sun, three times my sun, and my world-roamer." "The working people watch for him."

[271] Everybody is afraid of the sun. We do not drink water while facing him, neither do we look straight into him because we get blind. In summer time the sun either burns our cereals or our heads. But in winter we beg him to come out and warm us up. We sit there by the sunny spot and he bakes our bodies. We
[533] also sing him a song: "Come on out, my sun. Just come out a little bit so that we can take a walk near the threshing floor." Sometimes it rains heavily and the sun is out at the same time. Then we sing to him: "Sun, sun and rain, when the poor get married. Sun, sun and moon, when the donkeys get married. Sun, sun and drizzle, when the female teacher gets married."

The moon. Just as the day has for a king the sun, the night has the moon as its king. The moon is a more agile king than the sun. It takes a walk on the sky shining and chasing the clouds and makes people come out of their homes.
[512] With the moon the women spin at night; the children play on the threshing floors; the men water their fields; the muleteers can see and go to their work; and the shepherds enjoy the slopes together with their sheep while playing the flute. But the moon can also harm. The biggest harm is done to the thieves because it throws its light and does not allow them to rob for they can be seen. "The thief enjoys darkness and the wolf the upheaval" [distracting disturbance]. When the moon comes out for the first time we say: "Welcome to the new moon. We are happy to see you. Bring us good." Many seek to find money. They get hold of it and say: "As the moon gets full may my purse get full of coins." When the moon disappears those who are in the mountain and see it set say: "May you fare well and return better and achieve better things." "My moon, my shining moon, and beautifully adorned, did you by any chance see Andrew and his ship?" . . .

[539] *The milky way* (the priest's straw). Do you see those stars that divide the sky into two? We call them the priest's straw. Once upon a time a priest went to stay for a couple of days in a monastery. When he left, because he couldn't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even to the extent of sleeping on the portico, on the roof balcony, or anywhere else where they found it comfortable. As a matter of fact, some students of the Greek house think the court the basic element, and the other parts of the house an adaptation to it and to the other needs connected with the individual peasant's kind of agriculture. Where the court is covered with flagstones, it serves for a longer season than do those that turn to mud after the fall or spring rains begin. 351 [513]

The court is separated from the street by some kind of wall or a fence of holm-oak branches. In the plains villages these walls, like the houses, are of mud brick. They too are white-washed a brilliant white on the Monday of Holy Week before Easter. Later on, when the rains come and the white-wash wears away, the walls take on a drabness that made travelers from early times on down to our day describe these plains villages as unattractive. Where the walls are well kept, where there are attractive tiled gateways — as in Macedonia — large enough for the wagon to drive through, the yards behind have a mysterious and richer look. 351 184

The village setting is part of the Greek peasant's physical adjustment to the land. Throughout Greece there are many variations in the appearances of the settlements due to differences in terrain, location, and communication. Villages set in the shadow of a towering mountain and surrounded by a forest of firs have a snug look; those whose green trees and vines are the only cool color in a vast stretch of hot brown fields invite one to stop and rest; those which stand proudly on the brow of a hill seem to be keeping a watchful eye on the farmlands lying around. Others, perched on some airy height, dare you to climb and visit them, and anyone doing so will be surprised to find that behind the village there is a broad shoulder of the mountain which provides good farmland to those willing to live there on the heights. For many villages the dark blue sea is part of the setting, even though none of the villagers may be able to swim a stroke. Whatever the location, the villager has the deep belief that his village site is the best possible one. The water of his village is the best-tasting in the world, and in moments of homesickness when he is away from his native place he would give anything for a drink of that water again and for a chance to see the incomparable view from his village. 361 361 186 271

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the
[591] bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Agricultural

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square. 241 621

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing. 621 609 574 275 [272] [273]

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention. 621 609 574 [312] [275] [494]

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversa- 272
tion, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then pro- [462]
ceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, [437]
rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including
[146] the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[6]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person
[146] for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959,
therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens.
By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues
that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One
or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two
goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses,
as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from
Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying
people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between
the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women,
but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the
young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, gallop-
ing and whooping in what they call *kaonboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take
no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in
the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not re-
[865] move the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and
kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Never-
theless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage
children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy
[434] mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate,
the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes
262 the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
233 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers'
diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of
age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun
into thread at home by the women.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

villages the bread is brown and home-baked, and it may form the complete meal, with olive-oil for dipping. If there is any other food, there is only one dish, containing a variety of ingredients which usually make for balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish *(fasoulada)* for example, contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and, eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese, provides a complete nutritive meal, except that the proteins are not animal ones; and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit, or a leaf of lettuce, or cheese; this, however, is nothing to look forward to but, at most, puts a period to the meal. It is the bread, the "food", that is the point of the meal. Greeks in foreign parts, who have taken on rich foreign desserts, often top their meals with a bite of bread.

In the provinces, very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served, if at all, as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays, or when guests arrive, or on other festive occasions, there may be roast and potatoes; these are baked together and constitute the whole meal, with the ever-present bread. Fish is eaten in the villages wherever it is available. Processed fish—salted, dried, canned—is a great favourite, and salted roe, made into a "salad" is greatly enjoyed, and forms a regular item during Lent. Milk is consumed in the form of cheese and *yaourti*, a custard-like cultured milk; little is drunk. But the milk used is that of sheep and goats, which, according to Kaloyereas, is richer in fat and protein than cow's milk. In the villages, fruit and vegetables are eaten plentifully when in season; dried fruits and nuts are eaten, olives, cheese while it lasts, and a variety of legumes. There is skill in cooking, and since variety within a meal is not valued or demanded, the simple meals are much enjoyed, and wealthy emigrants, who have succumbed to the luxuries of the American meal pattern, often long for their peasant meals.

In the cities, the Greeks have learned to eat meat and to drink more milk. Here cow's milk and a taste for it have been introduced, and in the country around Athens and Salonica, the peasants raise cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities, and people, in their desire to take on American ways, eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of texture. Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names, Quaker Oats, pronounced unrecognizably. As *vromi*, it is food for animals, and the word is reminiscent of "stench". According to Dr. Katsigra, much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten; this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe. City people eat mostly white bread. In general, city food, which conforms in externals more closely to the list of the nutritionists, actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square. 241 621

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing. 621 609 574 275 [272] [273]

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention. 621 609 574 [312] [275] [494]

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,¶ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[8] 423 [369]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago. [438] [273] [372] [137]

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[9] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow. 175 423

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[9] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria*, did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

221 512 [275] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that 221 of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 241 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts [432] we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it [273] and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot 82 south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare so, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Alistrate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown. Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[9]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends. 245 461 [521]

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground. 245 258 461 [492]

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?" [521] [273] [264]

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re- 258 576

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance. "No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil," which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
[245] Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said, "If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive 2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition, their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing, many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware. What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices, and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter. 582 [178] [608]

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 581 779 795 584 585

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon. 779
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown. [301]
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life. [273]
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9] [788]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10] 585

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the [587]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas*, where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions force-
571 fully expressed.

A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis: 1/1

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

1/1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two *stremata* (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221 sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
465] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
461] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
558] do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
279 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221 vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
571] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
461] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
492] tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
445] is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
465] or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443 of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
314] countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123 nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday, but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village, the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast, after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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796 peculiar Saint, especially those to whom they are particularly devoted. These jolly Easterlings, when they hear . . . that the Christians pretending to be Reformed in the West, do utterly hate and abjure all such Practices as *Heathenish* and *Prophane*, must think them all the vilest Miscreants living.

796 When the last of the *antidoron* had been distributed, Anargyri had
793 replaced the mitre in its brass box, and the Metropolitan had concluded
574 a long conversation with the churchwardens about the best method of shoring up the roof—a section of which was sagging ominously—we left the church and made our way to the dwelling of the parish priest where a vast table had been erected in the shade of a vine. There we feasted until it was high afternoon: the Lord Agathangellos, the president of the community, the *kapetanios* of the militia, the *papas*, the schoolmaster, Anargyri, the churchwardens, the singers and several officers from the garrison of Nevrokopi who had accompanied us to Dasoto that morning.

796 It was not by any means my first experience of a village festival: a
574 few months earlier I might well have been deceived into thinking that the bowls of eggs, goat's milk cheese, olives, and finely-shredded
262 vegetables soaked in oil and lemon which appeared with the *ouzo*
273 constituted the substance of the feast and not a mere *hors d'oeuvre*. Now I knew better, and I was not surprised when the clearing of the table by the *papadia* and her daughters after forty minutes proved to be no more than a prelude to a banquet of an altogether more serious character.

As the dishes came and went and the dark wine flowed freely, I recalled Dr. Covel's description of another such festival at the great Athonite house of Iveron: "The best monkish fare that could be gotten was provided, excellent fish (severall ways), oyl, salet, beanes, hortechockes, beets . . . chees, onions, garlick, olives, caveor, Pyes of herbs, φακαῖς, κτωπόδι; pepper, salt, saffron in all. At last conserved little oranges, most exquisite, good wine (a sort of small claret), and we alwayes drank most plentifully. . . . He is no Greek that cannot drink twenty or thirty plump glasses at a setting."

[535] After the feast there was dancing, and the sun was low in the west when we drove back to Nevrokopi. The day drew to a close amongst the eikons of those who had finished their course, with those yet in the way of salvation joining with one voice in the ancient canticle, *Hail! Gladdening Light*, to the praise and glory of the Holy Trinity.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

students from places as far distant as Drama and Katerini. A candidate for the two-year course which the seminary provided must have reached the fourth class of his elementary school: an event which in the case of certain of the more venerable amongst these bewhiskered scholars must have been more than a generation remote from their reappearance *in statu pupillari*. 793 874

The programme of studies, as at all these lower seminaries, was eminently practical and was related at every point to the peculiar circumstances within which the Greek country parson exercises his priestly ministry. It was grounded, as is fitting, "in the Book of books, the store-house and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures," and, in particular, in the study of the text of the Gospels. The director was assisted by another lay theologian, the preacher of the diocese. Their lectures on the Bible, doctrine, catechising, the holy canons and liturgical matters, were supplemented by instruction in the ecclesiastical chant (given by the chief singer of the metropolis), and by talks on the rudiments of first-aid from a local doctor: for the country parson does not merely "condescend to the knowledge of tillage and pasturage"; he desires to be all to his parish, and "not only a pastor but also a physician". A little medical knowledge does indeed constitute an invaluable addition to the skills of a country priest in a region where the only known medicaments are aspirins and ouzo, and doctors are as rare as dissenters. [759] [757] [273]

The seminary at Kozani was housed in a rambling, somewhat dilapidated building adjoining the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Its furnishing and equipment were simple in the extreme. Twice a day the lecture-room was transformed into a refectory. The students slept seven or eight to a room on straw mattresses laid on the bare boards, and St. Benedict's maxim: *stramenta . . . sufficiant matta, sagum et lena et capitale*, was observed by all alike. 874 346

The liturgical life of the seminary was centred in the church which lies on the other side of the courtyard. The whole community assembled twice daily to sing the divine office, and on Sundays and holy days the liturgy was celebrated. Those amongst the students who lived within easy distance of Kozani used to go home every Saturday and return on Monday morning after celebrating the holy mysteries in their own parish churches. They used also to go to their villages for the great festivals. In other cases some temporary provision would be made for the parishes concerned: the late Metropolitan of Grevena, for example, would allow 793 796 874 793 874

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems. 241 242

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control [692]
over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of
what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence [685]
in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many
families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields;
their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out
in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk.
When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they
do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable
life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost
all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find
is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued
these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and
athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578]
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two
months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very
little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from
December to April there is no farm work except the chores which
are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute
problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

369 nians. According to the story, a man reading his newspaper at a café table
829 was studying the battle plans and maps of the Russian command. The more
195 he studied the newspaper details of the Russian army lines, the more excited he became, until he finally called out a warning to the Russian general half a world away in these classic words, "More to the right, Koropotkin! More to the right!" This phrase is repeated with a smile by one Athenian to another when he wants to imply that the other is passing judgment on something a little — but only a little — out of his field of competence. As
369 a matter of fact, a multitude of anecdotes told by city Greeks about them-
829 selves swarm into memory. One way of gaining an insight into the Greek mind is to listen to these stories.

The Greek shows pride in his intellectual curiosity by relating the tale of the Greek walking along a Paris street with a French friend. The Greek in the excitement of a discussion of nationality traits boasted that he could identify any Greek who came down the street. To the Frenchman this seemed impossible in such a cosmopolitan city as Paris.

"Let us wait here for a few minutes and I will find the Greeks for you," said the Athenian, who thereupon began to twist his cane into a nearby wall as though he were boring a hole. Many people passed by without paying any attention, when all of a sudden one man stopped to observe this strange behavior. He looked at the cane, the small hole, and at the man turning the cane as though trying to figure out the reason for the procedure. The Greek with the cane asked, "Are you Greek?" "Yes, I am," said the inquisitive passerby. "What are you doing with that cane?" The performance with the cane was repeated and after an interval a second man — of course, another Greek — stopped to observe. This was enough to convince the Frenchman of his Greek friend's ability to discover his fellow countrymen by tickling their curiosity.

This intellectual curiosity has its other side, too. One Greek social worker with an objective view of herself and her associates said, "When we Greeks face a crucial problem in social welfare or elsewhere, we are inclined to examine it from all sides. We look at it from so many points of view that we finally convince ourselves that it is not a very serious problem and practically explain it away, with the result that we do not feel the need to take any action about it at all."

369 It must be obvious by now that city Greeks are never dull. Conversations
521 with them do not merely flow; they roar along. They always have some prin-
[275] ciples to defend, some causes or organizations to promote, or some absorb-
[829] ing hobbies to share. The mark of the true urbanite, as previously implied, is the regular visit to a favorite café, the modern version of the ancient agora, to transact business or to discuss with friends every conceivable facet of the happenings of the past twenty-four hours, not only in his own social group but in the world at large. It is only fair to point out that a few of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square. 241 621

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing. 621 609 574 275 [272] [273]

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention. 621 609 594 [312] [275] [494]

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

TABLE 1. BUSINESSES AND SERVICES IN EIGHT GREEK VILLAGES*

	Tobacco village near Xanthe	Village A near Mesolongi	Village B near Mesolongi	Village in Central Greece	Mountain village near Lamia	Village near Agrinion	Village A in Macedonia	Village B in Macedonia
Population	1145	1062	2030	1372	1060	2915	1654	2493
Flour mills	6	1			2	3	2	
Bakeries	1		3	1		3		
Groceries	6	8	3	7	6	21	7	8
Barbershops	3	2	3	3	2	5		
Coffeeshops	6	8	5	5	1	7	3	3
Carpenters	5				2			
Masons	12			4	4			
Shoemakers	5	1		2	1	4	1	1
Saddlemakers	1		1	2				
Tinsmiths	1					1		
Blacksmiths	2	1	2	3				
Butchers	2	5		4	3	6		
Tailors	1	1		3	1	1	2	3
Dressmakers	3	6		10	2			
Carriagemakers						2	1	
Yardgoods shops				2		1		
Tobacco-news			2			2		
Restaurants			6			4		

* Includes those services mentioned for two or more villages.
Source: Village studies by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece (mimeographed).

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[9]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start preparing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church; then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manliness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass, we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many, it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re-

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 512 turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[275]

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 221 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever 241 else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we [432] start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it [273] and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot 82 south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare 40, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where 796
people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this [262]
day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ.

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick [778]
flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. [275]
All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from al- [785]
coholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church [788]
service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so.

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A [262]
few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the [541]
firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a [778]
black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day [785]
to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed 262
Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's [574]
visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city.

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are con- [527]
sidered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful [771]
dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church.

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[P 205]

XI

The Village Coffeehouse

Eventually the coffeehouse, instead of being merely the setting for many lively conversations about village life, became an object of interest in its own right. It, too, is a village institution which takes its rank along with the school and the church. The coffeehouse, or *kaphenelon*, is more than just a structure. Like the English pub, it is a place of assembly, a communication center, a place to transact business, satisfy one's thirst, or find out about the health of one's friend. 275 182

Most coffeehouses are located near the main square or at some crossroads where things are apt to happen. They find their fullest development in the cities. In the early evening, the time of day when Washington "rolls up its sidewalks" and becomes quieter and quieter, the squares of Athens, the Greek capital, literally burst into life. Constitution Square, for instance, after hundreds of chairs, which have been stacked during the day, are set up around small tables, the waiters begin their hazardous dashes back and forth across the busy street to the food shops which line the square. Their frenetic activity contrasts with the leisurely attack by the patrons upon the small cup of sweet, sirupy coffee and glass of water before them, although a conversation at some table may reach such proportions that one becomes oblivious to the automobile horns, the radio blaring out some popular tune, or the clink of spoons on a glass as people try to attract the attention of a waiter. 275 369 [521 201

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275 369 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison, its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it has a variety of forms.

Coffeehouse Types

275 443 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three assorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles [562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's 275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four 443 by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches 347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves [262] Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly [373] glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

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supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[9] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis*, while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[9] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

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[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas*, where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek coffeehouses we find the equivalent of what Chester Bowles has referred to as the "tea house jury": 275 521 208

> One evening in Taipeh I asked a world-wise old Chinese diplomat what he thought would happen on the mainland. "Have you ever been to China?" he asked. When I said that I had not, he said, "In every one of China's one million villages is a tea house. Every day at the tea hour the people, especially the wise people of the village, gather to talk.
>
> "Chiang lost," the old man continued, "because this great 'tea house jury' decided that he had failed. The villagers came to believe that the Communists could do no worse, and they might be better.
>
> "Someday perhaps the 'tea house jury' will bring a verdict against Mao. Then China will be ready for a change." *

Although my study of the Greek coffeehouse never got beyond the introductory stage, I felt fortunate indeed to find that the investigation by John Photiadis of Stavroupolis in Macedonia had addressed itself to many of the specific questions in which I had been interested.* No one would claim that all of his findings for one village in Northern Greece would automatically apply to the whole country, but they do possess enough generality to provide some penetrating insight. For example, his discussion * of the coffeehouse attractions are most helpful. 275 521

The primary appeal is *kouvenda*, or conversation, explained as follows: 275

> *Kouvenda* means conversation without any particular purpose, a recognized form of "passing the time." It is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of ideas or description of events, or delving into the past in a quiet manner. But sometimes it is contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud, a statement or a question is countered by a challenging question, tact and gentleness have no part, insults are hurled, but within appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinions, and its end is neither to reach truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech. But whatever impression this occupation of passing the time makes on someone who is a stranger to this custom, to these people it is their enjoyment. It constitutes one of the attractions that makes the coffeehouse a necessity for the villager. 521 571

Photiadis points out that during the kouvenda the participant is involved emotionally, is not only trying to prove his point but is also enjoying this oratory. The irresponsible statements are not to be taken seriously, although they sometimes are, with unfortunate consequences. In this connection, I was always interested in what the men argued about most in the village coffeehouses and found that they did not discuss politics to the same extent as the denizens of the urban coffeehouses. They preferred to talk about community affairs, crops, and personalities, although the announcement about some [369]

* Relying on some of Dorothy Lee's analysis.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions forcefully expressed.

571 A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis:[3/4]

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the avail-
204 ability of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

[3/4 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravropolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

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571
[512]

they spend more than twice as much time during the non-busy period than during the busy period.

Apparently Stavroupolis also follows the pattern generally encountered throughout Greece in which the peasants spend much more time during the day in the coffeehouse in the winter months but more time during the evening hours in the summer. This of course follows the cycle of farm work.

When asked to give the reasons why they go to the coffeehouse, those with high yearly participation in Stavroupolis coffeehouses replied as follows: have nothing else to do (76 percent); to play a game (74 percent); to have a drink (64 percent); to see friends (63 percent); to hear what is new (56 percent); to talk with someone (51 percent); to go to a place where men go (25 percent). On the other hand, when all the men — not just the "high participants" — were asked to check which three of the seven reasons above were most likely to apply in their case, and the checks for each reason were computed as a percentage of all checks, the following distribution was obtained: to hear what is new (32 percent); to meet friends (26 percent); to have a drink (14 percent); to talk with someone (13 percent); to play a game (8 percent); nothing else to do (4 percent); it is the place where men go (3 percent).

These differences in response deserve a word of explanation. Apparently the high participators have gotten to the point where going to the coffeehouse is an end in itself, a habit which requires no justification other than to say that there is nothing else to do. Most men, however, try to give a more logical explanation, since they are aware that there are supposedly serious alternatives to going to the coffeehouse and that there are other things they might be doing. So more than half of all the reasons checked included the two most socially acceptable: to hear what is new and to meet friends.

But what are characteristics of those who are the "high participants"? In Stavroupolis, at least, the following facts hold true:

The higher a man's education, and particularly the higher his wife's education, the less time he spends at the coffeehouse.

Older people participate more than younger people.

People of higher economic efficiency participate more than those of low economic efficiency.

Nonfarmers participate more than part-time farmers, and part-time farmers more than farmers.

The most frequent participants are also apt to be leaders in the village organizations.

Furthermore, more high participants look unfavorably upon farming and living in the village than do low participants.

The native-born participate much less than do the settlers from eastern Thrace

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or Asia Minor who moved into the village in the 1920s, thus showing that participation may have something to do with cultural traditions. 275 571

These factors associated with participation may themselves be related to others which have not been spelled out. Then, too, the fact that participation increases with age would also be tied in with the leadership in organizations, since young people seldom attain official positions. Although findings such as these have to be tested in many ways before they become accepted generalizations, they do at least suggest some fruitful leads for further research.

Of equal interest is the reason the peasants give for going to one coffeehouse instead of another. Other accounts of village life had listed cleanliness, reputation, honesty, services provided, and the credit extended as the determining factors in the choice of coffeehouses. [452]

One village study reports as follows:

> Determining factors in the choice of a coffeehouse are the reputation of the owner, his cleanliness, honesty, and the extent of credit given to customers. Social class of an individual does not determine choice of a coffeehouse. An outsider coming to the village for the first time may visit any coffeehouse, but gradually as he becomes acquainted with the village people he will be drawn to a certain shop according to his interests, age, associates, etc.[7]

In this same village one coffeehouse is preferred by aged people. Youngsters, noisy people, and those who play technical games such as cards, chess, and checkers are not found there. A second coffeehouse is preferred by adult and old people, while all the younger people of the village gather in the third coffeehouse, which is popular because of the different games available there and because of its dance floor. This latter innovation means that girls, in the company of their parents or relatives, may visit this particular coffeehouse on Sunday afternoons or holidays in order to dance both the traditional folk dances and what passes in rural areas for modern dances. [535] [562]

One additional study is worth mentioning because it summarizes the type of patronage a village's seven coffeehouses enjoy:

A. Frequented by out-of-towners and employees
B. Employees, strangers, workers in village
C. Dance floor, so attracts mostly young men
D. Adult and old men of village
E. Village residents — not young men
F. Card-playing, so frequented mostly by young men
G. Outdoor coffeehouse — frequented by young men in summer.[8]

A villager will usually patronize the coffeehouse of which a relative is in charge so that he can get credit more easily, or simply give his trade to [602] [452]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend [602] any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes [452] from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agriculural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques.

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury."

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places.

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

because of a conversation the previous evening with his cronies at the coffeehouse. One villager got to the crux of the matter: "In the coffeehouse we get into arguments over our political leaders and don't attend to our fields. We do this because we are uneducated and people do little to help us, and so we spend our time on foolish things. The government doesn't send people here to instruct us; we are farming the way our fathers did."

With the spread of the program of agricultural extension, perhaps this peasant can no longer legitimately make the same complaint, but the chances are that the men of his village are still arguing about many matters and, perhaps in his opinion, spending their time on "foolish things."

Even the critics admit that there are still many conditions which encourage the men to patronize the coffeehouse quite apart from the attractions already described. For most village men, home is a most unattractive place in the evening. Dimly lit, poorly heated in cold weather, dominated by women and their silly prattle, the home cannot begin to compete with the masculine company found at the coffeehouse. Furthermore, most men can think up perfectly valid reasons (in their opinion, at least) for going to the coffeehouse: they have a business matter to talk over; they want to know how some world crisis is shaping up; they need some advice on a farming decision.

Should they be found at the coffeehouse during the daytime, when conscientious farmers might be finding something worthwhile to do, they do not experience many twinges of conscience. They are not pricked by any Puritan ethic that teaches them constantly to be busy; instead, they save their energies for the time and place where it is unquestionably in their interest to work hard and long. When no such occasion presents itself, what more could a man ask than to enjoy his leisure, unplanned and unsought though it be? Nor does he think that it is up to him to seek out productive uses of his time. If people have good employment opportunities, they will seek him out, and he will respond. If he is from the tobacco-growing districts, the chances are that he has put his only resources (wife and children) to work for him and can take his ease until he must return to see how the work has progressed. He has no idle capital to invest but does his best with the human labor at his command. When heavy work is required, he will do his part, but when that is done others can harvest, string, and manipulate the tobacco. He provides the entrepreneurial skill.

Perhaps the coffeehouse and the attitudes of its habitués clash more strongly with American value orientations than do any other aspects of village life. To the Greek peasant, to be idle is no sin; to converse in the kouvenda can be as satisfying as to be a spectator sportsman; to seek to learn "what's new" if you live in a village is just as worthy as the search for novelty which motivates many in the United States. To get away from the women, the Greek peasant does not have to go on a long hunting trip to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Maine or a fishing shack on the river; he simply goes to his coffeehouse. To feel important, he needs only to provide some morsel of news which others may not have heard or to give words of wisdom to those younger men who seek his counsel. He has a club — something which the middle-class American male does not possess and for which he constantly seeks substitutes.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

275 This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
243 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
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1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many argu-
578 ments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
634 for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
623 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The
653 nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guerrillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office 75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
634 twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a
275 truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted, "did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sundays before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one
[577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life.
627 Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught
[685] stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in
[834] turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you."*

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday, but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos, sirtos,* and *tsamikos,* danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village, the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast, after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one realizes that according to this same census the average family farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just 1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year. 241 433 463 [423]

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses. 461 517 275 [521]

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really provides the village women with a meeting place where they may on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus 517 562 [462] [275] [576] [521] [794]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

621 369 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns [513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 517 275 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied [435] by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 464 166 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from villages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons [434] can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his [602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/29 cont./
leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

/31 cont./ 275
where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political 517
leaders meet their followers.

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government [208]
employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house [203]
where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission.

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people 794
directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, 869
and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole 872
family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child
follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through [796]
its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings
up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/
learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or
that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its
religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend
church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such [796]
holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance
of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their 782
Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other 776
sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as 795
his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to
special designated saints whom they think are able to help them.
For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage
and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For
travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to
St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line.
It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as [771]
Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They
take their religion seriously and believe in it completely.

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop 793
is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the 782
priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the repre- [776]
sentative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God.
Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters 869
as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places.

70 cont./

Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house: storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

71 Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

/98 cont./ 796

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the
[526] houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

831 834 593 577 [533] [539]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

[276]

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyme, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

184 834

156 is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by
828 overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individ-
571 ual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its mem-
594 bers, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

571 Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not
578 between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

571 Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly
561 as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they
88 have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference
561 toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior
576 among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older
888 men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in
[593] front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the
[276] age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba*
[521] (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and
[793] older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Gligbora!, gligbora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

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tobacco is the only product they can raise due to the lack of additional land. I think this is the reason why the Mission sent somebody to do a study of the village in 1952" (personal communication). [127]

Chapter VI. The Changing Life of the Shepherd

G

1. It is of interest to note the breakdown by products on a percentage basis for the total income from sheep. Figures for Greece are taken from C. S. Stephanides, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (July 1948), 153–155, as is the quotation about the characteristics of the Greek sheep used in the text of this chapter. Kentucky figures are from C. D. Phillips and J. L. Pearson of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture. [234] [433] [236] [281]

	Greece	*Kentucky*
Milk and milk products	45.10	
Mutton	14.26	
Lamb	24.77	84.00
Wool	8.68	16.00
Hides	7.19	
	100.00%	100.00%

2. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the human factors in the small livestock industry, the table below will give some basic information for those interested in livestock numbers and products. These data are based on official Greek Ministry of Agriculture figures.

Total Number of Sheep and Goats, Greece (In Thousands)

Period	Sheep	Goats
1935–38 (average)	8,304	5,111
1938	8,139	4,356
1945	6,262	3,066
1946	7,228	3,462
1949	6,785	3,629
1954	8,738	4,643
1957 (estimate)	9,300	4,900

3. See P. J. Iliopoulos, *L' Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951). Three other studies that deal with sheep production are: P. H. Kontos, *Dase kai ktenotrophia eis ten Hellada apo oikonomikes kai politikes apopseus* (Forestry and Livestock Production in Greece from the Economic and Political Aspect) (Thessalonike, 1932); G. D. Kyriakos, *E Ktenotrophia mas* (Our Livestock Industry) (Athens, 1941); V. Handziolos, *To Provlema tes ktenotrophias en Helladi* (The Problem of the Livestock Industry in Greece) (Athens, 1941).

4. The description of the three systems of grazing practices (Vlachs, village ranchers, and village farmers) is taken from the American Embassy, Athens, Report No. 1056 (February 29, 1952), p. 13.

5. The study of transhumance as a habitat adjustment is almost a field in itself and will not be tackled here. Suffice it to say that I recognize the difference geographers make between transhumance and nomadism. Nevertheless, in the next section on the "nomads" of Epirus, I have followed conventional practice in thus alluding to these people, although most of them may actually be practicing transhumance rather than nomadism. V [101] [221]

6. An interesting source in this connection is Jovan Cvijic's *La Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918). This was published in French before it G [114]

1:Sanders Z-5,t (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-[292] made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when [294] it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959,
therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens.
By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues
that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaouboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and
[865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate,
[434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers'
233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
•283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma,* found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture.

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?"

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,t (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

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and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

286

[765]

12. A widow at the loom, Salamis. For two years there must be no levity in her presence.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but
[286] gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices
406 that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
[431] given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
534 and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

/21 cont./ The

one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing together. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is, "God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of preventing birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3 members in the family. The compound family makes farming

443 437 433 834 [872] [602] 582 883 583 286 294 [581] 842 [521] [867] [165] 596 [178] [241]

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

*342 The προστῷον[1] is formed by a simple extention of the roof of the
341 house downwards, and consitutes a very useful element for the needs of agricultural life in general, as it not only protects the entrance of the house from the rain, but it also provides a well aired and at the same time a well protected residence, where the family may
[264] gather, especially during the summer months. It is here that the
[513] family takes its meals and sleeps in summer time. It is here that the
[286] women put up their loom, spread and comb the wool, dry the maize and the sesame,* the onions and the other fruits. And it is also here
[251] that the oven is usually built.
[252]

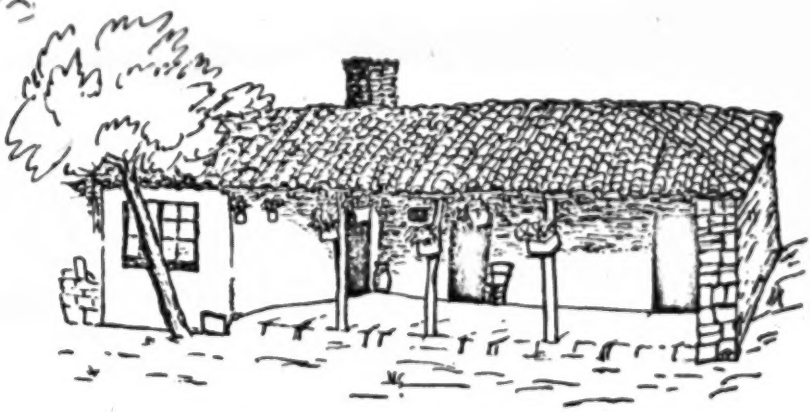

Fig. 4 Old house at Ferral in Thrace
(G. Megas, Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, fig. 5)

The increase of space in the houses of both types is done in two directions: a) by extending the top beam of the roof and b) by extending the roof in the direction of the sides of the gable.

*342 In the first instance, and in the case of narrow-front houses, two succesive rooms are formed in depth, the προστῷον remaining on the front of the house either open or closed (Fig. 5. Plate I b 1-3). In this last case, a new προστῷον is sometimes added, open on its front side (Fig. 1 c. Plate I a 6). In the case of the wide-front houses, two or more rooms are being formed on the same horizontal line (Figg. 3 and 6. Plate III-VII).

In the second instance and in the case of the narrow-front houses,

1 [prostoon = open portico - Analyst.]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Island Greece

X 342 that the beams would be put in two successive lines, thus covering a
335 wider space.

This support is actually created by placing a long and resistant beam of 9-12 m. lentgh, leading from the middle of the one short wall to the middle of the other, (μεσάς, Fig. 28 Plate IXa 1[a]) or by using a shorter beam, but which is leaning on one or both its ends upon built supports called «pilieri» (single-pilieri or double-pilieri house) in Rhodes and Cyprus (Fig. 29 Plate IXa 1[b c])(1). This beam, especially when it is long, is supported in its centre or its one end by a wooden pole.

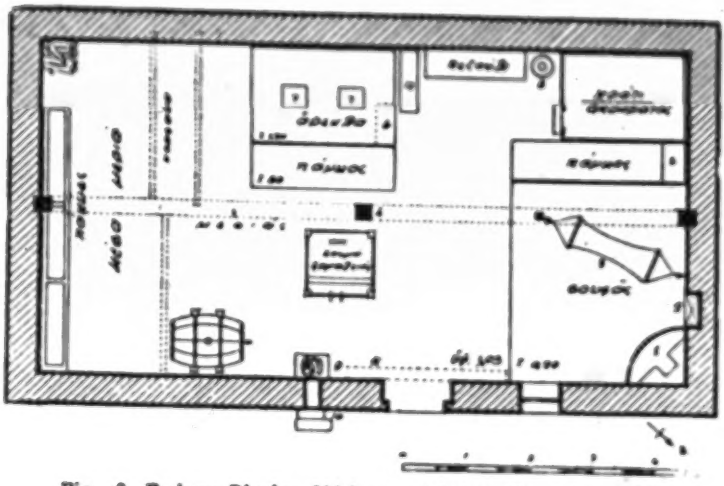

Fig. 28 Embona-Rhodes. Old house of Antony Emm. Antonakis
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, N. 5)
Ploughing animals are stabled in the inner part (μέσα μερά).
Μεσάς (mesias) — middle beam πάγκος — bench κρέβατι — bed ἀρκάλα — arcula
ἀργαλειός — loom 1 hearth 4 pole

[352
286]

X 342 In places, however, where building stone is abundant, such as
333 in many of the Cyclades, the eastern part of Rhodes, Nisyros etc. in order to support the roof, a big arch (καμάρα) is constructed, which was probably introduced in popular house building, just as the construction of domes, through the construction of fortresses, prevalent

1) G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 7 and 8. In Katavia of Rhodes these are called «antimissia».

113, 248, 288, 439, 442 Greece EH1

[For information on agriculture, imports and exports, the textile industry and cotton production in Greece from a report published in 1952 by The National Cotton Council of America entitled "Cotton In The Middle East", see category 116, M1 Middle East, 29: Dunn, pp. 163-182.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed
727 dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very
[669] poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
[653] in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] [291]

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a 221
miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our 82
homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to [186]
eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations 241
under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants [291]
of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My [492]
animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; [427]
the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 [652]
drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Re- [369]
flecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

G 233 474

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

G 233 241 177 178 [291] [234]

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

G 124 137

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

G 517 233

The "Nomads" of Epirus

G 563

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

S V G [233] [221]

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which
578 has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep,
654 which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas-
[241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and
[249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

seemed sadly out of place in his mountain dweller's lambskin kalpaki (brimless hat) and his shepherd's staff, sitting under a tree and looking out at the fishing boats. 233 178

"Do you have sheep?" we wanted to know, both curious and surprised to see him there. [291]

"No."

"Then why are you wearing the kalpaki and carrying the shepherd's crook?"

"I've lost so much that I like to carry my crook just to have the illusion that I still have my sheep."

Some of the younger men in the group, separated by war from their mountains and their sheep, were full of talk and plans of farming. When we asked them if they had thought of fishing here by the sea, both young and old looked incredulous, even contemptuous. "We are shepherds," they said proudly. "We do not know the sea." Having lost the mountains, the younger men were willing to try the plain, but the older ones could not. The concept of occupational displacement took visible form in this fifty-year-old shepherd sitting idly and hopelessly under a tree, looking at the sea which he did not know and the plain which he could not understand, his big brown hands clasping the symbol of his lost world, the shepherd's crook.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,t (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 286 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the [437] priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 517 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 184 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such [438] handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

feeling the mystery and fear that surrounds the whole discussion of the cause and cure of an illness attributed to the Evil Eye. As they grow older, they understand why the parent of a child or the owner of an animal will say in reply to any words of admiration: *Phtyse* (Spit) or *Phtys' to* (Spit it), at which you must pretend to spit.

It is into such an atmosphere of half-truth, and even harmful customs, that those interested in scientific medicine must practice their profession. They quickly find that patients are often brought to them after the priest and the wise women have done their best and failed. They also know that merely giving a prescription is no guarantee that it will be followed as directed, but may even be blended with folk medicine that makes it ineffective. In Greece today there is one physician for every thousand people, a proportion usually considered adequate in the United States. The difficulty comes with their maldistribution, for over 50 percent of all doctors are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area. Consequently, many villagers have to travel long distances to obtain medical treatment, but the improved roads are making such trips less time-consuming.[15]

Once in a while some member of the family has to be hospitalized. An American, thinking only in terms of scientific sanitation concepts, is often amazed at what he observes if he chances into a small Greek provincial private hospital, one of which has been well described by Dr. Ernestine Friedl:

> One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient. Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.[16]

Before one condemns too quickly such medical practices, it is well to try to understand some of the cultural factors which explain them. These have

1;Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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8. On the tenth day after transplanting, Macedonia; his hoe is said to be short-handled so that he can watch the fragile tobacco leaves as he moves.

[p. 272-E]

1:Sanders Z-5ɣ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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9. Our hosts in a Peloponnesian village: *Xenos* is the password for stranger and guest. Their hospitality was radiant; their posing was a serious project.

10. Mr. Papaspyropoulos and his wife. He wrote the account of Ano-Kleitoria, Peloponnesos.

[p. 272-F]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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11. At the oven for Sunday afternoon lamb and rice, Attica.

[p. 272-G]

1:Sanders Z-5pt (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakasa, Central Greece.

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[p. 272-I]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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15. The schoolmaster and his pupils by their century-old school, Kyparissia, Peloponnesos. Originally the school was privately endowed.

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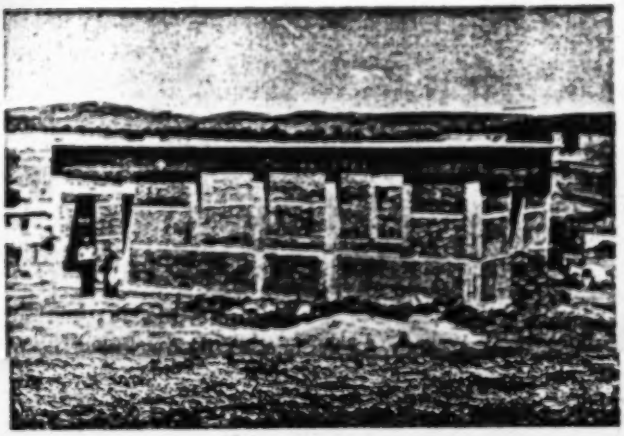

[177] 16. A school building under construction in Malakasa village, new promise for two dozen children. The Save the Children Federation provides the materials; Malakasa, the labor.

[p. 272-J]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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17. A monk on the ageless journey to Salamis with casks from his monastery to be filled or to sell.

18. Godparents hold the child before the priest for a controlled moment in the exuberance of a baptism, Macedonia.

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[p. 272-K]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one
[577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life.
627 Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught
[685] stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in
[834] turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you."[8]

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

• [291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [665 829]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

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For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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Vasilika with Parori and Mt. Parnassos in the background.

Women hoeing.

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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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Roasting the paschal lamb.

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A woman of the village.

A young girl of the village.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

mist—these specialties already exist and their practitioners can be consulted. Nor 121
does the anthropologist have to discover the structure of the language for himself, nor is his vocabulary limited to what he can learn directly from the people he studies. An anthropologist working in old national cultures is able to concentrate his energies in the field on that aspect of his profession for which he is specifically trained and best fitted: the observation of the behavior of those he lives with for the purpose of discovering its regularities, its range of variation, its internal interrelationships, and its association or articulation with the culture of the nation of which the village community is a part.

There are, however, some unexpected mental hazards in doing anthropological field work in a society whose culture is a contemporary variation on one's own basic tradition. We had two opposite reactions to the way of life of the village; one was a strong sense of its familiarity, and the other was a surprised awareness of its strangeness. The sense of familarity grows out of the similarity of so many cultural elements with those one knows from home; the sense of strangeness partially from the often slight variation in the form of the elements, but more particularly from the way the elements are combined, from the new patterns created by a different organization of the items and by the different contexts in which they appear.

A trivial example may illustrate the point. If the cultural element under 121
discussion is adult footwear, we are immediately conscious of familiar elements. Shoes and slippers are purchased, not manufactured by each family; men and 291
women do not wear the same types; the man's shoe is a standard low oxford tie, 292
and the women wear leather pumps with medium high heels, or cloth slippers. [432]
The shoes, pumps, and slippers are within the range of styles for such items available in the United States. But the contexts in which the Greek villagers wear their shoes and slippers provide surprises. Men in Vasilika wear ordinary oxfords for work in the fields, for walking in mud, rain, and even snow during the winter—with no other foot protection. When the fields are flooded for irrigation, men remove their shoes and work barefoot. Within their houses, men do not change into slippers; they do not own any. Women, on the other hand, wear cloth slippers both indoors and outdoors, around the house and in the fields, in all weathers and in all seasons. Their leather pumps are saved for church, for holidays, and for journeys. On such occasions women wear pumps regardless of the weather. They daintily pick their way through muddy, unpaved village paths and stand for hours in unsubstantial pumps on the stone floor of the unheated church each Sunday throughout the cold, rainy winter.

Ways in which the same cultural elements are differently combined in 121
the Greek village from the way they are in the United States will be noticed as family organization, values, and the like are discussed. The hazard this kind of situation creates for the anthropological field worker is that he may not even become aware of certain characteristics of village culture because their superficial familiarity leads him to take them for granted. For example, once I learned [343]
that farm animals and stores of farm produce were not kept in the houses, I assumed they must be maintained in buildings of distinctive design. Although

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/43 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
[292] Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[427] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
[360] avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[626] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
[292] up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
[511] They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the
[965] colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

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Vasilika

Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [177] [302] [178] [305] [445]

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 [178] [855]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but
[286] gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
312 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices
406 that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one
511 of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something
new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

574 and we found ourselves clear of the rocky wilderness, among low hills covered with dwarf oaks, and detected the distant barking of a dog. We struck down the bed of a torrent in the direction of the sound and came, after some forty minutes, upon a fold of muddy sheep guarded by two shepherd-lads, who, startled though they were at our sudden appearance, directed us to the nearby hamlet of Kopraina. In the gathering darkness, and as men with long-barrelled guns converged upon us from all sides, we entered the village, and bursting in upon an astonished assembly in the tavern called for the president. Ten minutes later, elated by several draughts of raw spirits, we were reclining on the presidential hearth, while the maidens of the household unlaced our boots, and our sodden outer garments steamed before a huge fire. The parish priest arrived in breathless haste to welcome the strangers, and the whole village buzzed with the news of our unlooked-for advent.

That night we enjoyed the hospitality of the village president, who had fought with Zervas in the mountains of Epirus, and who slept like a good soldier with a greatcoat for pillow and a loaded rifle beside him on the hearth. Earlier that evening he had told us of the English officer who had once come to the village, during the long years of the occupation, and who had snatched a few hours sleep in that same room where we supped, before slipping away to the mountains at daybreak.

[346] Our own visit to Kopraina was more prolonged: we were taken to see the church, the chapel in the cemetery on the hillside above the village, and the school, where a geography lesson was in progress.

The parish priest excused himself and retired to supervise the preparations which, we gathered, were even then in hand for a festal lunch.

[291] At high noon the *kapetanios* reappeared and led the way to the half-finished parsonage, where we found the parish priest drawing water from the well, his flocks and herds all about him, while his two sturdy daughters laboured excitedly in the kitchen and clattered to and fro in their wooden shoes. "*Kalos orisete*, welcome!" exclaimed Father Apostolos, setting down his bucket in great haste and rubbing his hands on the skirt of his cassock; "Come, all is ready, let us eat! Some wine, O *Papadia!*" He led the way indoors and we took our places at the

[352] festal board—a section sawn from the trunk of a great oak. It was a merry gathering, and as we feasted in this country parsonage and the children listened wide-eyed to our tales of the strange and marvellous ways of the Franks, that other world from which we had so lately descended took on a curious, dream-like quality. It was hard to realise

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the 178x
early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor 241
over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long [464]
seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-
centered type of agriculture.

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Elef- [433]
therohori is to say that during the past five or six years com-
mercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsist-
ence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very 178x
great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabit- 511
ants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has 356
been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-re- [291]
specting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has
been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean
and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, [351]
and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine
trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Elefthero-
hori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a
fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea
Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to
present a good front to the neighbors.

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception [563]
to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress
perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as
careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not
really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has
probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy mem-
bers of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their
homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done.

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the 178x
desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the 511
world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. 582
One very important consequence is the postponement of mar-

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl. 584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain. 178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression. 178 583

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291 ●
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings. The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude, and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions; and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

000 the region of Monastir. 3. Shepherds from the foreland of the Rhodope mountains. 4. Woman spinning from her hand. 5. Women from the region of Skoplje. 6. Older women as spectators at the horo dance. 7. Macedonian girl from Krustavo. 8. Two farmers from Glumovo near Skoplje. 1/1

(Numbers 3, 6, and 7 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt Dr. Hansen, in Lübeck.

271 The mixture of peoples in Macedonia manifests itself in the dress. Side by side with ancient Illyrian semi-spherical caps and tightly fitting trousers and shoes tied with strings, there are Turko-Tataric kerchiefs and chin cloths and ornamental chains, Slavic kerchiefs, Greek kerchiefs, Slavic embroidered shirts, as well as Turkish sleeveless jackets. There is a great deal of joy in colors and variety in the colorful socks, the embroidered belts, and the ornamental silver chains. Quite particularly charming, however, are the women's aprons, and they contribute greatly to the festive picture presented by the Macedonian national dress. They dominate the fashions with their multiplicity of styles. They appear in all widths and lengths, in wool, in velvet, and in silk; they come in one piece as well as divided into a front piece and a back piece. They are woven and embroidered, and also patterned in stripes, and they display an enormous variety of luminous colors.

/107: Illustrations./

104 A note on the translation: The German word Dachreiter, which appears at various places in the text, is rendered into English by the dictionary as 'standard knee on the ridge of a thatched roof.' For the sake of stylistic economy and elegance I have translated the German term as "ridge rider." (Translator /R.T.N.)

1/1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, photo-Andrys]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[1]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the [437] priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being 517 produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and 184 embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She [438] and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [305] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into [302] curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece [777] of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religious belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interest and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[6]

Greeks view contemporary events in terms of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[7] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because these touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priest, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married and unmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmarried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks, can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlach EH15

G 764 533 [562] [369] traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myriologia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing, but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

G V 764 The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

G V 764 152 As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

G 764 775 In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person.[22]

1:Sanders Z-5,√ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ."[24] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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mist—these specialties already exist and their practitioners can be consulted. Nor 121
does the anthropologist have to discover the structure of the language for himself, nor is his vocabulary limited to what he can learn directly from the people he studies. An anthropologist working in old national cultures is able to concentrate his energies in the field on that aspect of his profession for which he is specifically trained and best fitted: the observation of the behavior of those he lives with for the purpose of discovering its regularities, its range of variation, its internal interrelationships, and its association or articulation with the culture of the nation of which the village community is a part.

There are, however, some unexpected mental hazards in doing anthropological field work in a society whose culture is a contemporary variation on one's own basic tradition. We had two opposite reactions to the way of life of the village; one was a strong sense of its familiarity, and the other was a surprised awareness of its strangeness. The sense of familarity grows out of the similarity of so many cultural elements with those one knows from home; the sense of strangeness partially from the often slight variation in the form of the elements, but more particularly from the way the elements are combined, from the new patterns created by a different organization of the items and by the different contexts in which they appear.

A trivial example may illustrate the point. If the cultural element under 121
discussion is adult footwear, we are immediately conscious of familiar elements. 291
Shoes and slippers are purchased, not manufactured by each family; men and 292
women do not wear the same types; the man's shoe is a standard low oxford tie, and the women wear leather pumps with medium high heels, or cloth slippers. [432]
The shoes, pumps, and slippers are within the range of styles for such items available in the United States. But the contexts in which the Greek villagers wear their shoes and slippers provide surprises. Men in Vasilika wear ordinary oxfords for work in the fields, for walking in mud, rain, and even snow during the winter—with no other foot protection. When the fields are flooded for irrigation, men remove their shoes and work barefoot. Within their houses, men do not change into slippers; they do not own any. Women, on the other hand, wear cloth slippers both indoors and outdoors, around the house and in the fields, in all weathers and in all seasons. Their leather pumps are saved for church, for holidays, and for journeys. On such occasions women wear pumps regardless of the weather. They daintily pick their way through muddy, unpaved village paths and stand for hours in unsubstantial pumps on the stone floor of the unheated church each Sunday throughout the cold, rainy winter.

Ways in which the same cultural elements are differently combined in 121
the Greek village from the way they are in the United States will be noticed as family organization, values, and the like are discussed. The hazard this kind of situation creates for the anthropological field worker is that he may not even become aware of certain characteristics of village culture because their superficial familiarity leads him to take them for granted. For example, once I learned [343]
that farm animals and stores of farm produce were not kept in the houses, I assumed they must be maintained in buildings of distinctive design. Although

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The
●292 weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed
[152] when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
462 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on
[702] his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[292] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes
somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white
[427] wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at
least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like
skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now
worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic oc-
casions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[360] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for
Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of
[626] the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the
[292] village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men,
when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by
men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and
wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear
all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves
more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men
wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue
homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
[511] They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief,
wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely
removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around
the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields,
these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is
loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the
[765] colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourn-
ing. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is
in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the
[554] outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

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Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [177] [302] [178] [305] [445]

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 [178] [855]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of Octo-
[292] ber), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast
[541] of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday, but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village, the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast, after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE WATERS OF MARAH

788 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat,
796 almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy
533 as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary
[782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear
[292] lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an
[369] *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the
788 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way
796 for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the
[175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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159
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VII Constantinos Photis

[facing p. 158]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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VIII The phelonion

[facing p. 159]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

XV

●292

GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

The true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their Prelacy and Clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special Messengers and Ministers of Almighty God.

Canons of 1604

The parson's apparel . . . plain but reverend, and clean, without spots, or dust, or smell.

GEORGE HERBERT

361
[439] CAVALLA, the ancient Neapolis, where St. Paul first set foot on European soil, is a flourishing port, the chief centre for exporting the tobacco grown on the rich coastal plains of Thrace and Macedonia east of the river Strymon, the gateway to the Plain of Gold which stretches from the marshes of Philippi to the mountains to the northward of Drama. Great stone warehouses surround the harbour and give an air of solid commercial prosperity to the town, which boasts, moreover, two cinemas, a restaurant with plate-glass windows and chromium fittings, and a remarkable town hall in Hungarian baroque, apart from lesser amenities. Yet the pedestrian who pauses for breath after scrambling up the steps which give access to the metropolis, or who through some narrow break in the line of warehouses gazes out across the busy harbour and the waters of the Aegean, may observe—faint and barely discernible at midday, sharper and more clearly defined at dawn and towards sunset—a distant triangle rising from beyond the sea's rim: Aghion Oros, the holy mountain of Athos, "that is so highe, that the Schadewe of hym rechethe to Lempne, that is an Ile; and it is lxxvi Myle betwene".

[792]
[292] Thence, as from another world, come occasional caiques manned by singular bearded figures in black gowns and tall cylindrical caps;

mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin, the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least, far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 Ministers" down to the simple monk, is substantially identical. It
292 consists of an inner *rason* (corresponding to the western cassock), very
[792] long and with narrow sleeves, often—but not invariably—belted at the waist. This is essentially an undergarment, and this it was that the metropolitan of a Macedonian diocese presumably had in mind when he returned some patterns of heavy black serge, which had been sent to him for inspection, with the comment that the cloth would be most suitable for making "warm winter underwear" for his clergy. Over it is worn a fuller gown with wide sleeves: the outer *rason*. The latter is always of black stuff but the inner *rason* may be of various colours. Purple and dark blue are often favoured by the higher clergy, while in
[792] the monasteries a grey cassock made of very light material is frequently worn. One abbot of my acquaintance (a resourceful and many-sided character) is accustomed to appear on Sundays and holy days decked in the purest crimson—a splendid sight for eyes grown weary of the joylessness of English clerical attire—while on lesser days he wears a fur-lined outer *rason* (if the season be chill) over a cassock of russet. Among a nation of individualists it would indeed be remarkable if
[189] one did not from time to time stumble upon minor sartorial eccentricities on the part of the clergy. These divergences from the norm of unchanging custom are never, however, of so radical a nature as to obscure the ecclesiastical character of their author. In Greece the priest and the monk are marked men, instantly recognisable to all.

793 I have already referred to the distinctive form of headgear in use
792 among the Greek clergy. This is simply a cylinder of stiffened cloth
292 about nine inches in height, most commonly known as the *kalymmafchion*. That worn by the married clergy is *surmounted* by a narrow brim, but the monastic form, sometimes called a *skoufos*, is brimless. In Greece all the bishops as well as monastic clergy not actually residing in a regular community, wear the former type of *kalymmafchion*. Over this, on formal occasions, a bishop or an archimandrite will wear a long black veil known as the *epanokalymmafchion*. This, however, forms part of the monastic habit, and consequently is never worn by the secular clergy. In the monasteries a soft cap often takes the place of the more formal *kalymmafchion*, though, unlike the Russians, the Greek monks do not venture abroad thus attired. Dr. Covel notes, somewhere in his journals, that on Athos the priests and deacons knit their own caps.

792 An English visitor to the monastery of Megaspelaion in 1829, the
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5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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milordos Thomas Alcock, comments unfavourably on the attire of the monks: "the want of neatness in the persons of these people", he remarks, "is too conspicuous", a failing our traveller denounces as one of the sure consequences of "an unnatural and unsocial life". Thomas Alcock, it is hardly necessary to add, found the mode of life and habits of Greek monks "little agreeable". "They flatter themselves", he writes, "that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove." Whatever may have been the condition of the monks of Megaspelaion in 1829, certainly to-day the great poverty which afflicts many of the surviving communities is sufficient explanation of some want of neatness in their members. 792 292

The costume which I have thus briefly described, inner and outer *rason* and the appropriate form of *kalymmafchion*, is the customary outdoor dress of the Greek ecclesiastic, regardless of his status or office: of the aspiring archimandrite, in silken gown and with rolled umbrella and brief-case, who hovers discreetly about the chambers of the Holy Synod, as of the village *papas* who labours at his plot of ground, or, with a train of pack-animals picks his way along the boulder-strewn bed of some water-course in trackless Pindos. 793 292 184

Within doors, though the parish priest may put off his tall hat and outer garment, he is seldom to be seen less formally apparelled. And in the mountain villages what more appropriate night-attire for an ecclesiastical person than a thick homespun *rason*: though holy tradition be silent and the Greek country parson abed be subject to no such irksome canonical prohibitions as his brother, tending his flock beneath the vigilant eye of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is strictly charged that in the interests of decency, gravity and order, he shall not wear "any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet". 793 292 [513]

It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed description of the liturgical vestments of the Greek clergy. "It would be impossible", asserts Dr. King, "to give a description of the habits of the clergy . . . to an English reader without the assistance of figures: for as we have none which resemble them so we have no names in our language to express them by." The reader who would learn to distinguish an *epigonation* from an *epitrachelion* or would comprehend the mystical signification of [113]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 the stripes of red and white which adorn an episcopal *mandyas* and are
292 called *pomata and potama*, may with great profit refer to the delightful
[113] engravings which illuminate that learned writer's discussion of these matters in his work on *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*.

I will but refer briefly to the vestment known as the *phelonion*, which is of primary importance so far as the ordinary parish church is concerned. It is always worn by the celebrant at the liturgy and in its general appearance somewhat resembles the western cope, being of far more ample cut than the chasuble to which it in fact corresponds.

Dr. Covel (who has some diverting observations on this topic) connects it with the 'cloke' (*phailones*) which the Apostle asks Timothy to bring him from Troas (II Timothy, iv. 13), and with the ancient *penula* which was made in such fashion that "when the Head is put through the Top, all the rest hangs down round on all Sides, sloping like the Top of a round Tower or the Roof of a house . . . *Penula* was worn both by Men and Women in Winter upon their Journeys . . . purely to fence off Rain or cold Winter-like Weather. . . . *Tully* takes notice that it was a *peaceable* Garment (and so much more becoming *St. Paul* and a *Greek* Priest), for he was excuseth *Milo* from being guilty of Murder from having it on: *cum Penula irretitus, when he was wrapt up in his winter Peticoat, what could be less prepared or fit for fighting?* For a man cannot handle a Sword or any Weapon under it, either to assault another or to defend himself." The *phelonion*, he continues, is "something like a Woman's Petticoat, with only a hole at the top to put their Heads through, and the rest of it hangs down round about their thighs to their ankles. It is richly wrought with Gold and Silver; and the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one, though of a meaner making".

So much for the *phelonion*. Of the other vestures worn by the clergy at their various offices I will only observe that in former days every church would normally possess a complete set, while a large urban parish where several clergy might concelebrate on a Sunday or a festival would as a rule be suitably furnished with the appropriate vestments.
[822] The Greek Church has no scheme of liturgical colours: if a church possesses more than one vestment, the best will be brought out on high days without any regard to colour. The *kalymmafchion* is worn in church, as well as forming part of the outdoor attire of the clergy.

[727] To-day, alas, it can no longer be affirmed with any confidence of the *phelonion* that "the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one"—of however

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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mean a making—or that the other "Garments and Accoutrements" of the clergy are "very Glorious and different". The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings. 793 292 727

The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred. [648]

During the winter of 1949-50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves. [669]

The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

> In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askue even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various 793 292 186

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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degrees, from the Primates and Metropolites down to the lowest Order of Deacons . . . and if we English Churchmen are lookt upon by the Easterlings in this Point, but as Mongrels or half primitive Clergy-men at the best, how odious and abominable must the Calvinists appear to them, when they shall be told . . . that there is no such outward Pomp, or any reverend or decent Garments used in their divine Offices amongst them; their Ministers are not Episcopally ordain'd, and they wear only a common black Cloak and a Coat or Jump.

The Greek Church has never known a vestiarian controversy. The *phelonion*, richly wrought with gold and silver though it be, has never, like the western vestment and the comely surplice, served to kindle polemical ardour. It is evident to all men that the earthly ministers of Christ should be clothed in such apparel as becomes their high calling: to celebrate the divine mysteries in a common black cloak or Calvinistic "jump" would be indecent, a breach of good manners—like going to a formal banquet in one's workaday clothes.

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It is not a little startling to turn from the controversies about vestments and lights and incense which continue to agitate many western Christians, to a church where these things are used quite simply and naturally and without occasioning the slightest comment. The Greek attitude towards the liturgical use of incense does indeed afford a peculiarly striking instance of the dangers awaiting the Frankish controversialist who seeks to bolster up his tottering defences with unwary borrowings from beyond the Adriatic shores. Amongst the Greeks incense is used at every service, from the most elaborate of pontifical liturgies to a simple ceremony such as the blessing of a house. To do otherwise would be thought irreverent: if any custom can claim to be evangelical it is surely this. Did not the Lord God Himself command Moses his servant:

> Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy. And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

Pontikonisi and the Nuns' Island

We came out from the olive-groves on to the lagoon-edge and, rounding a corner, saw before us the two celebrated islands—the Nuns' Island with its modest little church and tiny red-roofed cottages, and Pontikonisi with its monastery and pointed cypresses. Pontikonisi is held by some to be the ship of Ulysses, whereas others favour the claims of the rival islet off the northern coast which, to tell the truth, much more nearly resembles a ship than does Pontikonisi. Behind the two islands, fading away into the blue distance, stretched the southern portion of Corfu. On the far horizon the mountains of Greece were faintly visible. The nearer Greek coastline was hidden by the promontory of Kanoni.

A ferryman rowed us across the lagoon entrance and we continued our walk up a hillside splashed with the scarlet of poppies and the purple of a very beautiful variety of pimpernel which grows in profusion all over the island. Broom in full flower struck a vivid note of yellow, as did the ubiquitous sage plant. The path ran through terraced olive groves giving delightful glimpses of sea and mountain, and eventually brought us out on to the Gastouri road just below the village. Postponing our visit to the Achilleion, we went to a little inn calling itself the Hotel L'Europe and, in a garden overgrown with wild flowers and shaded by loquat trees laden with fruit, lunched at our leisure.

Gastouri is celebrated for the good looks of its women and for the beauty of the local costume. The native dress, however, is only worn on Sundays and feast-days, and we did not see it. The married women, as they do elsewhere

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

To the Land of the Eagle

292 in the island, encircle their heads with an enormous roll of
[302] extra hair bound with red ribbon. This curious adornment —let me resist the obvious pun!—is an heirloom, and consists of hair which at one time belonged to a grandmother or other female ancestor. It is as much a visible sign of the married state as the ring is with us.

MARRIED WOMAN, GASTOURI

361 The chief feature of the village[1] is a very old well sur-
312 rounded by enormous plane trees of unknown antiquity. Here we watched the Gastouri girls coming for water, dawdling at the well's edge, and departing homeward with great jars of shining pottery—successors to the amphoræ of classical times—balanced on their heads. The painter in search of a subject, in whatever part of the world he may happen to be, can always find one at a well.

1 [i.e. Gastouri --- Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
[124] asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
[621] in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me:

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *agbora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the in-
[294] testines which they sell very readily.

Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group
[494] which plays at all weddings and festivals.

Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,t (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-[292] made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when [294] it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the [437] priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being 517 produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and 184 embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She [438] and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [305] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into [302] curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece [777] of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

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the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit. 434 511 [231] [235] [443] [438]

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings. [445]

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households. [294] [463]

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in. 793 463 [434] [796] [846]

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily. 463 [794] [624] [434]

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here. [433]

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

1:Sanders Z-5-((1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

776 [776] considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both [784] a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a [296] neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[9]

[241] After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and [426] the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the [787] traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint [262] Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

[533] On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around carol- [824] ing again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the [777] sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they [431] expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident 796 as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck 777 will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

[431] If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event [524] on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

796 The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the [788] liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. Dur- [574] ing the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to [524] their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed
[583] along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every
[574] housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead
[574] owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
215 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
353 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also
511 decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
207 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families
511 have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like
[354] fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
342 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on
511 wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

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353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth. 356 353 [296]

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping. 356 515 [574] [751] [264]

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters. 356 515 [264]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [177] [302] 178 305 445

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 [178] [855]

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greecc EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578]
competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on [621]
which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 369
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after [296]
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514]
new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343]
in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of [758]
brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter. 582 [178] [608]

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 581 779 795 584 585 779

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown. [301]
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life. [273]
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9] [788]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10] 585

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the [587]

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end.

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act.

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!"

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure.

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversa- 272
tion, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then pro- [462] ceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437] along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [305] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into [302] curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece [777] of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religious belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interest and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[8]

Greeks view contemporary events in terms of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[9] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because these touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priest, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married and unmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmarried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks, can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-5γ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[574
609]

9. Our hosts in a Peloponnesian village: Xenos is the password for stranger and guest. Their hospitality was radiant; their posing was a serious project.

10. Mr. Papaspyropoulos and his wife. He wrote the account of Ano-Kleitoria, Peloponnesos.

[p. 272-F]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance
669 for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
166 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town
[657] or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as
[369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes follow-
[302] ing the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was
> [657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phorasies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitoliai" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Delton*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

252
291
516

Roasting the paschal lamb.

142
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[302]

A woman of the village

A young girl of the village

[p. xviii]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)983 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
[292] Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[427] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
[369] avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[626] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for
[292] Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue
[511] homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth. They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the
[765] colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths.

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimonô, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement.

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself.

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house.

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

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793
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VII Constantine Phocas

[facing p. 158]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin, the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least, far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 461 302 as public proof of their privileged status.

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more [366] typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very [441] likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and [465] hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to [466] work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit 472 character of Greek families. The members of a family group are 602 ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and 466 can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

178x households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423 also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565 The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578 these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 427 hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt [302] from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [142] village.

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of eco- 178x nomics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 233 Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have al- 241 ways felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 433 plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 565 the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 578 part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even [579] today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [461] Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461] spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

10: Lee E,1-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EM1

To the Land of the Eagle

292 in the island, encircle their heads with an enormous roll of [302] extra hair bound with red ribbon. This curious adornment —let me resist the obvious pun!—is an heirloom, and consists of hair which at one time belonged to a grandmother or other female ancestor. It is as much a visible sign of the married state as the ring is with us.

MARRIED WOMAN, GASTOURI

361 312 The chief feature of the village[1] is a very old well surrounded by enormous plane trees of unknown antiquity. Here we watched the Gastouri girls coming for water, dawdling at the well's edge, and departing homeward with great jars of shining pottery—successors to the amphoræ of classical times—balanced on their heads. The painter in search of a subject, in whatever part of the world he may happen to be, can always find one at a well.

1 [i.e. Gastouri --- Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Hellenic Greece EH5
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 782 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this case evidently he did so.

G 302 852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M 852 582 608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A 852 [174] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests try to suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock considers quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A 852 608 In North Albania the "kumpare i flokah" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group
[494] which plays at all weddings and festivals.

Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [305] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into [302] curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in [777] Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house.

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
[131] Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
[161] 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
[311] has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
[15] Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
[181] three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[1] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through
[167] cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take
[829] up farming.[2] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[3] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1.Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Mountains

133 The legend of the rainbow in the rock does not err in speaking of Greece
[311] as a rock. Only one fourth of her area is currently or potentially of any agricultural use and lies mostly in valleys or plains near the coast, at the foot of mountainous slopes. The remaining three fourths of the land consists largely of precipitous mountains, ranging up to a height in Mount Olympus of about 9600 feet.[11] "Beautiful," says the tourist. "Unproductive," says the economic planner.

The Pindus range, reaching its way south as an extension of the Dinaric Alps from Yugoslavia, is most marked in Epirus but nevertheless extends on into Central Greece. A spine of mountains comprises the central part of the Peloponnesos; even Athens is surrounded by gentle Parnes, Hymettus, and Pentele. In Northern Greece the Rhodope Massive cuts through part of Macedonia and Thrace, while Mount Olympus rises majestically out of the Thessalian plain. This means that the rugged topography is not confined to one part of Greece but that peaks can be seen from almost any place on the mainland. Many islands, including Euboea and Crete, have their heights around which legends as well as clouds have gathered.

[137] Since there are no forests on many of the mountains, the landscape has an almost naked look when seen for the first time. But a longer stay in Greece accustoms one to the browns and grays and lavenders in place of the greens often associated with tree-clad mountains. Frequently at dusk the mountains turn to a deep rose and purple that seems magically unreal.

Where there are mountains there should be water to irrigate the fields
[132] below or turn the turbines of power projects. Heavy rains and snows do fall on the summits, but since Greece is only 171 miles across at its widest part (Epirus-Thessaly), and since the mountain divide cleaves the center, there is not much space in which rivers can find a gradual slope to the sea. They thus are short and swift, with a torrential character that poses great problems of flood, silt, erosion, and river control.

134 A village priest in Epirus described the erosion of soil by saying, half-seriously, that his fields grew rocks. When asked how this could be, he replied, "I went out and plowed my field, plowing around two rocks that stood only slightly above the ground. I put in my seed; the rains came. After the first rain I noticed that the rocks had grown farther above the soil; after the second rain they had grown even more. So I knew that my fields grew rocks rather than grain."

137 Where there are mountains there should be forests. But before the war
185 Greek forests covered only about 19 percent of the total area of the country. Once they were larger in extent. Constantine Nevros, in an article
[311] in *Soil Conservation*, holds the goat primarily responsible for the destruc-
[293]
[175]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[10] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[11] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks. 175 423

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica: 175 423 427

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops. [311]

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years. 178 241 [235] [462]

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful," [177] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are [325] back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the [685] point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever." [521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land redistribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant be-
241 came about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the [311] entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

161 241 511 more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of the depressed areas of the country.

Land Use in Greece

● 311 What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[14] We may not be able to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest, and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres (double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

[491] [241]

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

311 241 *Greece Today*, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens, in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation; and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Furthermore, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is 63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective average for these countries.

[433]

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of which are owned or administered by the state.[15] They were obtained in the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

[423]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

311 241 [423]

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

[427]

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

[664] [427] [312]

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[10] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

433 439 241

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[11] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

423 241 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] [311] [406] [462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a [407] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, [452] for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; own- [464] ing one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been [243] threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, [554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

IV

THE ORGANIC BODY

000

Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

THERE is an old story, still to be heard in the mountain villages, which tells how God fashioned the dry land; how He put all the earth through the mesh of His sieve: here a pile of fine rich soil, the granary of Africa, and there another which was Sicily. When all was done there remained within the sieve a heap of stones and dross: God threw them over His shoulder, and there was Greece. *Tout ce païs*, remarks an old traveller, *est plein de hautes montagnes.* 773

It is important to bear in mind the physical characteristics of the setting within which the Greek Church carries out her work of reconciliation and renewal. Greece is a land of high mountains and narrow coastal plains; of few towns and wretched communications. The majority of her people live, as they have lived from time immemorial, in small rural communities widely dispersed among the mountains, winning a laborious subsistence from the parched and stony soil which scarcely covers her rocky skeleton. More than half of the whole area of Greece is utterly barren; much of what remains consists of forest and poor pasture; less than one-fifth is under cultivation. Greece and poverty, the saying runs, have ever been sisters. 133 361 [311]

At the time of the last census approximately one-seventh of the total population of Greece dwelt in the Athens-Piraeus region, the phenomenal growth of which during the last 100 years has set it strangely apart from the rest of the country—even though "the equipages of Athens", as the Abbé de St. Michon observed, "have not quite the freshness nor the elegance of those seen in the Champs Elysées". Salonica had a population which was approaching 300,000; the next largest town, however, was Patras with less than 80,000 inhabitants. Most of the remaining towns, a large proportion of which are situated in the fertile plains of Macedonia and Thrace, are market towns and centres of rural industries but little more. 162 369

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not [191] more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

823 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits
361 about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages
241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos.
433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with
[233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our
[312] village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one
[423] stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired
[487] as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the
[312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] [291]

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

312 or too little water; never is it "just right." If there is too much, a drainage project must be undertaken to make much-needed land available for cultivation.

312 The most noteworthy reclamation project before the turn of this century
471 was the draining of Lake Kopais, just north of Thebes in Central Greece.[13] The work was undertaken by a French company in 1886 and completed by an English company in 1887, which continued to operate the agricultural estate of sixty thousand acres down to its purchase by the Greek government prior to the November elections of 1952. At that time, this large hold-
[427] ing, along with its complicated drainage system, was turned over to the former tenants, who had worked for the foreign company. Now as owners,
[474] or as members of a cooperative, they face the necessity of making their contribution to the over-all maintenance of the drainage channels so that the water may run off adequately and prevent the land from reverting to its once-marshy condition. According to some foreign technicians, the Greeks are doing a good job of managing this operation.

312 Much of the time, however, there is too little water through the growing season. One answer to this scarcity has been the recent drilling of hundreds of wells, from which water is pumped to the thirsty fields through irrigation ditches. In addition, a number of ambitious water-control projects have led to considerable storage of water and the spread of irrigation.

312 In villages, usually on the edges of plains watered by streams flowing
203 from a mountain source, the water crier is a unique institution. This individual is encountered, for instance, in the Peloponnesos, where he strides through the streets of the village calling out the name of the person whose patches of land are next in line to receive the flow of water. One of these criers had a voice so powerful that, while standing on the small plain below, he could notify people in the village on the mountainside hundreds of yards away.

312 A Greek villager, like the Arab, will make much over the merits of the
423 water of his homeplace. To praise the water he will speak of it as *cho-*
628 *nephtiko nero,* or "digestive water." He will even fight over it, as the following news item shows.

> Athens. The Kentucky mountaineers' storied concept of feudin' justice reached here recently and two girls were killed and four men were critically injured.
>
> Two Greek villages — Kerasovo and Papadates — went to war a few days ago to settle a dispute over water rights, and 400 men, women, and children battled for hours with clubs, hoes, knives and hand grenades.
>
> Two army companies were sent to restore order.
>
> The cause of the trouble was water. Sovereignty over Cold Fountain, a spring irrigating the wheat-fields of Kerasovo, was contested by the farmers of neighboring Papadates.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Agricultural

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of 241
trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they 621
sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square.

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity 621
and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or 609
police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. 574
The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one 275
heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, every- [272]
one can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's [273]
throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing.

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly 621
see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other 609
youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars 574
to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop [312]
around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group [275]
at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus [494]
from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention.

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

166 voices, questioned: "Just how would a fisherman know how to guard
361 livestock?" The new site had been chosen because it was sheltered, near
727 the water, and on the road. The houses had been provided free by the Ministry of Reconstruction, each being set in a plot of four hundred square meters in which a small vegetable garden was possible. As the surrounding cropland was insufficient to support all of these families, the men had to go far away in search of jobs while leaving the women and children behind.

361 In the beginning of the reconstruction period, private contractors were
727 given the task of rebuilding the destroyed villages and in some cases put
178 up shoddy dwellings in a location where people did not want to live. Some of these stand today between Lamia and Volos abandoned, mute testimony to the failure of projects carried out without consulting those supposed to benefit from them. But most of the postwar villages are now inhabited and contrast, because of their straight streets and their houses in a perfect line, with the older villages where the streets wander and each individual put up his house on his lot as it pleased him.

361 Location, however, is more complex than some of the peasants' explanations or the contractors' choices would imply. It usually represents over a long period of time an adjustment to the resources which people need for their livelihood. First of all, there must be water available for drinking
[312] and washing. Should a spring upon which everyone depended dry up, the people of the village would move, ghosts or no ghosts, particularly if the women got tired of carrying water from some unreasonable distance. Over a period of time, also, the peasants locate their settlements as a compromise between the requirements for wood and pastures on heights above the village and the need for daily travel to their fields lying below. That is why villages are so frequently perched on a hillside instead of on the level land beneath. Of course, if the plain is large and the hills distant from land owned by the peasants, they will build a village on the plain and make long trips for their wood. Another factor affecting location in the days of Turkish rule was the villager's desire to be off the main road and thus less subject to taxation by officials and to requisition of foodstuffs by passing troops. He valued his freedom. Those old villages are now suffering from the isolation which was once a blessing. But many of the people still cling to residence in the old village in preference to separate farms because of the protection a village gives against wild animals and predatory armies, and because neighbors help each other to cultivate the earth. A further reason for the long survival of the village was its suitability to the system of large landholdings prevalent through much of Greece before the liberation from the Turks. Estate owners or managers could better control and supervise the rural workers whose houses were conveniently grouped together. Nowadays, according to those engaged in community development, better provisions for schools, roads, medical services, mail, and other

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Village Hygiene

364 [369] This closer contact with the ideas and the services of the city is helping overcome one of the negative aspects of village life from the survival standpoint, namely, its lack of adequate hygienic provisions. When Greek villages are judged in terms of what one finds in many rural settlements throughout the United States and Western Europe, they measure up fairly well. They have their expected quota of flies, their problems of sewage disposal, and the difficulties of obtaining pure drinking water, but these concerns are common to farm people in other parts of the world.

364 312 When, however, one measures the Greek village by scientific standards of public hygiene — and these should be the goal in the interest of better health for its people — then there are obvious shortcomings. According to *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*:

> many of the rural sections depend on small springs and hand-dug wells for their water supplies. These are usually isolated from inhabited areas and the water is not piped to the villages. It is quite common to see women carrying water in earthenware containers from sources as far as a mile from their homes.
>
> In semi-rural communities, particularly in the lowlands where underground water is more common, public wells, springs and private wells are often in use. Many private wells exist all over Greece and are sometimes the preferred sources of supply, even where safe piped supplies are provided. In some of the smaller Ionian and Aegean Islands and in a few villages in the northeastern Peloponnese and eastern Crete, the complete lack of any surface or underground water has compelled the population to depend on rain water collected from the roofs of their homes.
>
> Many private and public wells and many rural springs are open and unprotected from contamination which may be introduced by the human or animal population which it serves. . . . Even after collection, the water is frequently subject to contamination in containers. . . .[8]

The urban water supplies are more apt to be adequate with proper precautions taken for filtration and chlorination.[9]

364 514 A description of waste disposal is also contained in the report quoted above:

> For the disposal of human excreta in the rural areas of Greece either the pit privy or bored-hole latrines are utilized. Defecation on the ground is still widely practiced due to lack of sanitary facilities in residences and schools. However, the sanitary type of bored-hole latrine and pit privy has been installed under various programs at low cost to villagers in rural areas mainly as demonstration projects.[10]

164 165 In addition to the obvious visible signs of sanitation progress, one can learn much from the list of causes of death for Greece as a whole. Table 2 shows the first fifteen general causes of death for 1950. Some of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

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243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241 311 406 462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 [407 452 464] Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243 554] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the
[526] houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports
[373] club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
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423

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed
787 jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to
834 men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings.
576 Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for
593 the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this
[492] last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen
[626] riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

[312] It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the
[482] fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry
[626] the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the
[522] tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

562 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only
593 occasionally with her husband.
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

346 361 764 [783] [312]

Generally, in the old villages the church is in the outskirts. To the back of the church is the cemetery, which is walled to keep out both wild predatory animals and farm animals. For Greeks it is a sin to step on a grave. The church may have a belltower, or the bell may be hung from the branch of an old tree. There is always a well in the churchyard and the cemetery of the old village. It is used as drinking water and for the purification after a burial. The main church of the old village must be the tallest, the largest, and the best-constructed building of the village. This signifies respect for God; the past is not forgotten. This is very much after the pattern of the ancient Greeks who built their shrines as the best buildings while they themselves lived in huts. . . .

Both the church and the cemetery of the old village must be located in a landscape of natural beauty and scenery. Thus faith, worship, and death are in close relation with the natural scenery.[22]

[178] [769]

But Valassis adds a discordant note. The new churches are now being constructed in the center of the village, while the cemeteries remain on the outskirts. No longer, therefore, do the peasants, after a Mass or ceremony, go to the graveyard to pay respect to their ancestors.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
[435] the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first
time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other
young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no
serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually
themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a
start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to con-
tinue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are in-
volved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary
before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the
practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the
fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort
have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may
even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there
is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that
much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

1:Sanders Z-5,✓ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

owners, even having the power to keep the peasants off the land they formerly owned. In Epirus, land redistribution in the 1920s involved finding out who the former Greek owners had been or still were, once the land had been appropriated from the Turks with an indemnity payment. In Thessaly, however, there were no former Greek peasant owners to locate, so the large Turkish-owned estates were merely redistributed to peasants who had worked them as hired workers or tenants.

7. The quotation about the sixth century B.C. comes from *The Cambridge Ancient History*, V, 12.

8. Most of the information on which the description of land tenure in Attica is based comes from P. J. Iliopoulos, *L'Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951).

9. For a discussion of agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages, see the chapter by that title in *The Cambridge Economic History*, I.

10. See K. D. Karavidas, *Agrotika* (Athens, 1931), whose sections on the *tsiflikia* and *kephalochoria* proved particularly helpful in an effort to gain a proper background. In a private conversation, Mr. Karavidas pointed out that some acute problems arose when the tsiflikia were broken up and distributed to the former tenants. Under the landlord, the workers were forced to keep irrigation ditches clear, but when redistribution occurred in 1923 nobody worried about the maintenance of such ditches. Trees fell into them and they became stopped up.

11. *L'Attique*, p. 115.

12. One of the best short descriptions of land ownership in Greece is an article by that title in *Foreign Agriculture*, August 1950. The article is adapted from the book by A. Varvaressos, *The Fulfilment of the Agrarian Reform* (Athens, 1949). Another useful account of land reform in Greece is found in W. E. Moore, *Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe*, appendix 3. D. K. Wogasli wrote extensively on questions of land reform, publishing in 1919 a work entitled *La Solution de la question agraire en Grèce* (Athens, 1919). He also wrote a work in Greek on the agrarian question in Thessaly and especially in the prefecture of Trikkala.

It is interesting to contrast Thessaly of today with that described by Leon Heuzey, *Excursion dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858*. Of the village of Vloko, he writes: "Là, je me renseigne comme à l'ordinaire, sur la condition des paysans. Le propriétaire, Hassan-bey, les déplace à sa volonté, bien que lui-même, à l'heure actuelle, tienne un homme en prison pour avoir cherché à quitter son tchiflik. Malgré les nouvelles lois, le régime de la glèbe existe encore, mais ce n'est pas toujours dans les conditions d'équité qui pourraient le rendre tolerable pour le cultivateur" (p. 76).

13. A common practice on the part of a landlord was to transfer title to various parts of the estate to close relatives, who permitted him to continue to operate the farm as one unit.

14. The Agricultural Section of the United States Mission to Greece and officials of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture have given much study to the problem of consolidation of scattered strips. The great amount of time required for surveying even one village for this purpose is hard to believe. At least twenty villages have been surveyed by Dr. Kypriades and attractive picture displays prepared to show what can be done when consolidation is carried out.

15. For more on the domka system, see O. S. Morgan, ed., *Agricultural Systems of Middle Europe* (New York, 1933), chapter by Georges Servakis and C. Pertountzi entitled "The Agricultural Policy of Greece." On the problem of scattered strips, see the *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1947), in which Recommendation 71 deals with consolidation and land redistribution.

16. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 9.

17. Frederick Strong, *Greece as a Kingdom* (London, 1842), pp. 163–164. But in 1914 Lucy M. J. Garnett, in *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), wrote as follows: "It is . . . foreign emigration that is robbing Hellas of her hardy peasantry, and this constitutes one of the most serious problems with which the Hellenic Gov-

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The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are
[621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to
361 the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of
[423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the
[133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece,
[134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting
[312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently,
[134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton
241 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural under-
312 ground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere
[406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for
[363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not
621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider-
361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen,
182

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west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

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243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machi-
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
[407] generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter. "I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
512 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing;
[221] and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
● 312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

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and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another, at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending 247
innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would 511
be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of 312
watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both 178
for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far 151
more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. 828
The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners [354]
disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major 511
respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people 183
of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various 511
types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, 342
in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. [231]
Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the [354]
saloni has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, [574]
since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, 353
has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. 511
The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often [178]
included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the [585]
crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on [354]
the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which [178]
is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
[286] to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
● 312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

623 responsibility. The collection of its monies is undertaken by the central government's financial officers directed from Amphiklia, and the expenditure of its monies is supervised and controlled by the officers of the *nomarchia* centered in Levadhia. Moreover, the council has neither responsibility nor power over other village-wide activities. Law enforcement and the operation of the village school and of the village churches are administered separately both from the council and each from the others. Before turning to these activities, some mention of the council's role in Vasilika apart from the formal expectations is appropriate.

[829 622] It is indicative of the village attitude toward the council, in contrast with that toward the president, that at no time during our stay in the village was any man pointed out to us as having the status of council member or as having had it in the past. When, accompanied by several villagers, we visited the former schoolteacher of Vasilika, he asked us who was currently the president but did not ask about the council members. The president has an important role to play 622 in the minds of the villagers. He is expected to act as liaison between them and 829 other governmental units and to further the interests of Vasilika in whatever situations may develop. For example, there was some criticism of the president for not arranging more rapidly for the bus to come through the village. In 731 early April 1956, an unexpected and heavy rain flooded the fields and threatened to destroy the wheat if the waters did not drain off quickly. Most of the vil- ●312 lagers (not all, however) were agitated, and in the early morning groups of men 208 climbed the hill and looked out over the fields shaking their heads and lament- 521 ing, "*Katastrofes*!" "Catastrophy!" Then came the discussion of why the fields were not draining properly. All day, in the coffeehouse, the men inveighed against the English company which had owned the former Lake Copais land for setting up a drainage system that did not go beyond those lands; against the Greeks who took over the company for continuing a system that, the men insisted, not only did not drain the lands of Vasilika, but even made it subject to flooding; against the government for not having built a proposed dam that would have protected the region; and against the village president for not immediately calling on the nomarch's engineers to suggest remedies for the present situation. For days after, there were rumors that the nomarch's technical staff would meet with the president and councils of Parori and Vasilika to arrange a public works program of low dams to protect the area from possible future disasters from the same cause. The meeting never took place. Some villagers 731 blamed the situation on the unwillingness of the farmers to work together to 312 build their own small dams. One man had earlier tried to protect his own fields by building low earthen dikes around them, but his work was wasted 208 because the surrounding fields were not so protected. The morning after the storm some of the men had quickly built up a two-foot dam at an obviously vulnerable spot near the cemetery. But a villager pointed out that if the water had risen just a little further, the placement of the dam would have made the situation worse rather than better. There was no more rain; the waters gradually receded; each man watched for his own fields to dry out. Those who were left with one or two small plots that were so badly flooded as to be useless for

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
433 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

*178 life in Lofiscos dates only from 1952, it cannot be surprising to
241 find that as yet little has altered outwardly. But since the vil-
433 lage has been attuned to a market economy for generations, and since changes that increase income without involving more than the normal risks of farming meet with little resistance in the village, it seems entirely probable that in the future more and more substantial changes will come to Lofiscos. In 1956 there was still much that could be done to increase the intensity of farming and to enlarge the cash income of the farmers. Well [312] irrigation is easy, because the water table lies close to the surface; and with such irrigation, a wide variety of hitherto untried crops will become possible: vegetables, fruit, fodder, in addition to cotton. The basis for a highly productive and diversified farming may thus appear in a relatively short period of time. Moreover, it would not be difficult or very expensive to build drainage works in the portion of the village lands that flood each spring, thus bringing some or all of that land into cultivation.

Two obstacles stand in the path of any such program of development in Lofiscos. One is the general inertia and conservatism of the farmers, who will have to learn a good deal about new crops and farming methods, and may also find themselves working a good deal more steadily through the year than was necessary when nearly all their land was still in wheat. Yet the means and incentive to overcome this difficulty both seemed to be present in 1956. Agricultural extension agents and the Agricultural Bank stand ready to give expert advice and instruction; and some of the farmers of Losfiscos have shown an eagerness to enrich themselves thereby.

The second problem is more complicated. If the farmers begin to exploit the possibilities of their land more fully, the village will very soon find itself short of labor, for the existing inhabitants are too few to attend to all the chores of high farming

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

669 722 [727] too, burned some houses, including those belonging to the three "rich" families of the community. These had fled to Volos, together with some other families from the village. The people who remained were inclined to support the guerrillas.

The guerrillas,

About two weeks after my visit in 1947, the army evacuated all the remaining inhabitants of Cherasia to Volos. There they remained in refugee quarters for two and a half years. The last guerrilla band disappeared from Mount Pelion only in 1950, some six months after the main guerrilla army in the north had retreated across the Albanian frontier. It was therefore late in 1950 before the inhabitants of Cherasia were allowed – or compelled – to return to their village.

727 653 [657] [233] Government authorities were, however, well aware of the difficulties that confronted the community. The returned refugees were given every help to re-establish themselves. They received, gratis, 238 sheep to serve as a nucleus for their flock, as well as materials for the reconstruction of their houses, most of which had suffered damage. Officials issued seed and implements as well. A comprehensive work relief program was set up; for about two years after their return, the men of Cherasia received wages for working on projects that directly benefited their community. In this fashion the new road over the mountain was built – shortening the way to Volos by nearly half. [346] [312] Similarly, new and very handsome school and church buildings were constructed; and pipes from the spring in the upper village brought fresh water into lower Cherasia for the first time. This was vital if the population was to remain in the lower village the year around, since water had previously been unavailable there in summer. Another side of the government policy was to give no help toward reconstruction of the village of upper Cherasia – perched, as it was, high on the mountain beyond the reach of roads. No doubt the authorities in this fashion hoped to tie the villagers to the accessible lower village, and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

x 178 commands a premium price in Athens and elsewhere, the use
245 of fertilizer becomes a somewhat dubious economic advantage.
[438] The fact is, I believe, that the age-old adjustment of traditional peasant agriculture in the olive-growing regions of Greece is very nearly perfect. Certainly every scrap of potential soil is used in Kardamili, and the peasants know very well how to care for their trees. Except for chemical sprays that discourage a number of insect pests damaging to the crop, scientific agriculture has not yet devised any very important improvement upon traditional peasant methods of olive culture. But sprays were known in Kardamili before the war, and their use was resumed as soon as the chemicals became available.

x 178 In 1956 the village launched a project for bringing water
● 312 down the mountain. An interest-free government loan made the
[652] enterprise possible; but, even when completed, the water pipes will not supply more than household needs, leaving a little over, perhaps, for watering gardens. Shortage of water has been the long-standing problem of the community. There was scarcely enough to drink when I was there, and each glassful was treated as something precious, since the women of the village had to carry it in jars from a trickling spring half a mile away.

x 178 Yet in spite of the stability of agricultural methods, the social
621 system of the village, to all appearances, is beginning to change,
873 more or less as the social system of Nea Eleftherohori is changing. For one thing, the villagers have begun to place great hopes in education, seeing in it a means of escaping from the land. Fifteen boys from the village were enrolled in the gymnasium in Kalamata in 1956, a quite considerable number in view of the fact that they had to live away from home, and thus had to meet expenses far greater than those confronting the boys from Nea Eleftherohori. In Kardamili itself, there is a school that teaches the first two years of the standard four-year gymnasium course. This school had eighty students, five more than

/5 cont./

The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. 496
The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards 133
the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is sur- 134
rounded by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys. [137]
Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been go-
ing on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into
the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the
Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the
hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent
the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot [312].
of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago.
With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water
disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of
the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the
numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the
water buffaloes.

The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed
from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the near-
by hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters.
In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and 134
60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding
rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is
not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil
is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility
of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many
centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with 132
plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow.
The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not
uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and [241]
germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farm-
ing.

The railroad station close to the village enables the village 438
to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location 443
[496]

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

178
361
367
[211]
[883]
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[312]
[103]
[527]
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[247]
[621]
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[435]

*342
341

Another narrow-front type of house is also the so-called καλύβι or χαμόγειο σχίτι (hut, low house) on the island of Lemnos which, as in the two-storey type, has a tiled roof(1) (Fig. 2).

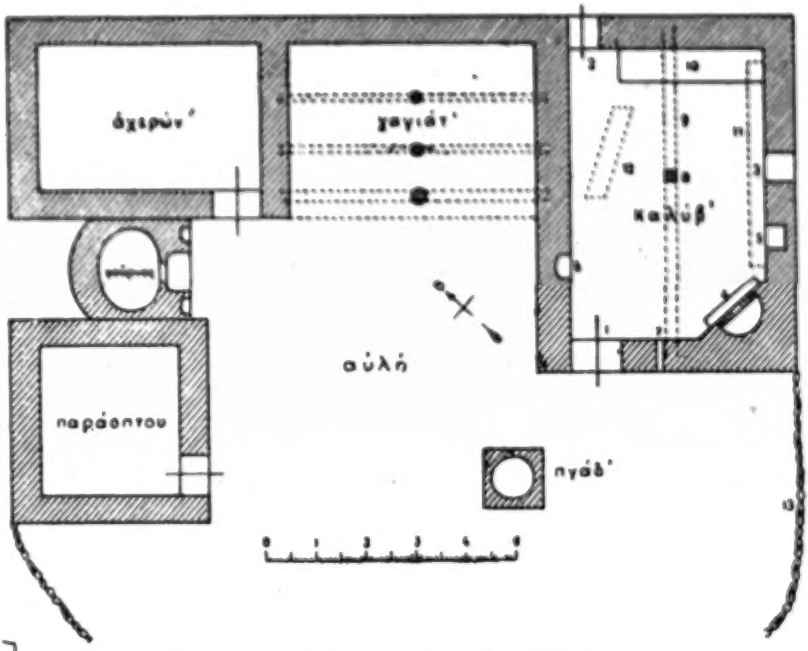

[351]
[312]

Fig. 2 House and courtyard at Physsini in Lemnos
(G. Megas 'Η λαϊκή οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, fig 2)

Καλύβι (Kalyvi)=low house, hut; χαγιάτι (hayiati)=portico; ἀχερών' (acheron)=hayloft; παράσπιτο (parasipio)=outhouse; αὐλή (avli)=courtyard; πηγάδι (pigadi)=well; φοῦρνος (furnos)=oven.

The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its προστῷον on the long side of the rectangular plan (σχίτια διπλανὰ i.e. side-houses, as they are called in the Haimos villages(2). (Fig. 3 and 4. Plate II).

[104]

of the house: σχίτι (*spiti* [hospitium] = house; οὐντᾶς or ὀντᾶς (*oda* Turk.)=room; μπρούστι (*brusti*) or χαγιάτι (*hayati*) = portico, veranda.

1) **G. Megas**, 'Η λαϊκή οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, pp. 7 foll.

2) **G. Megas**, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 27, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 16. Fig. 10.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 31]

351
342x
[312]

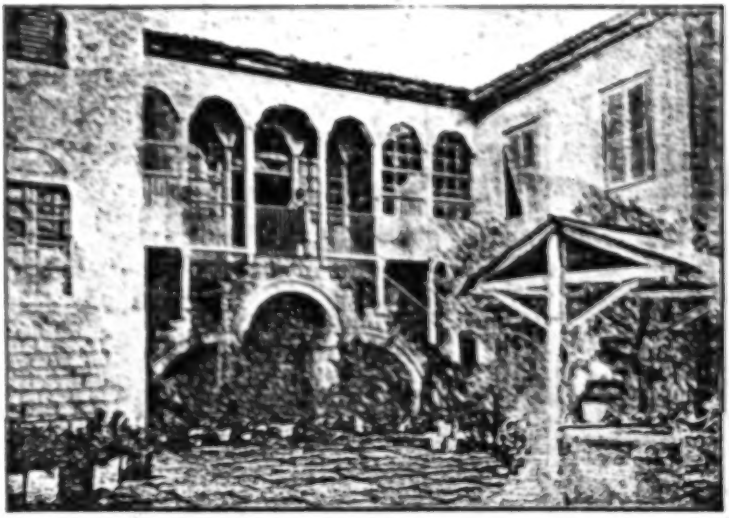

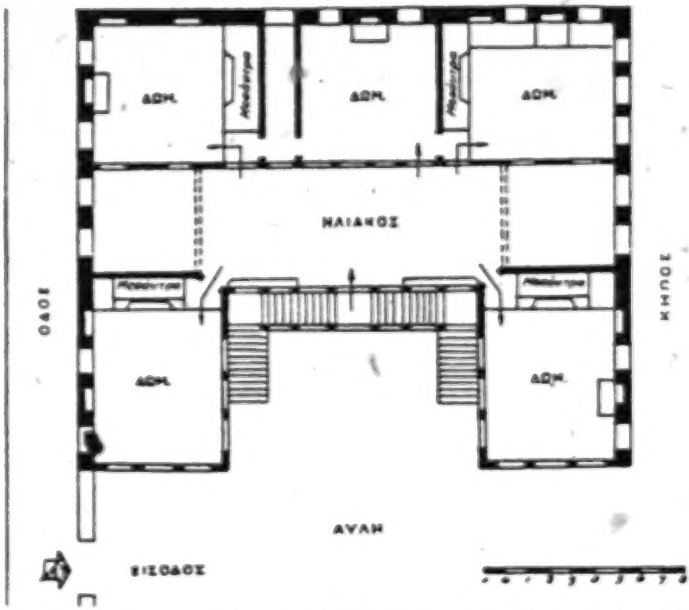

Fig. 22a An old «noble house» at Jannina in Epirus. Photograph and plan made by the architect Aristoteles Zachos (Ἠπειρωτ. Χρονικά, vol. 3 (1928) p. 297, and Pl. 3)

[p. 31]

342x

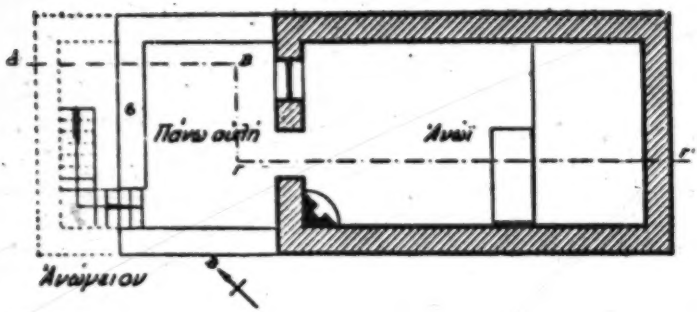

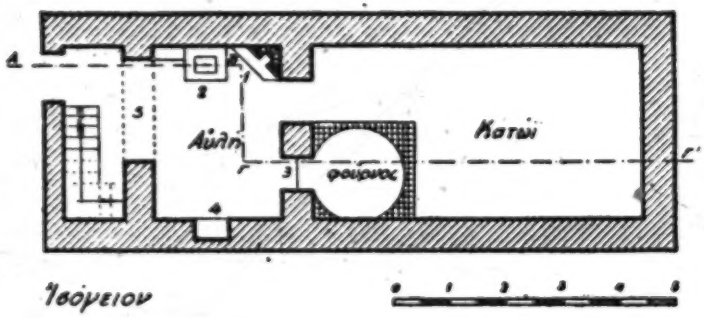

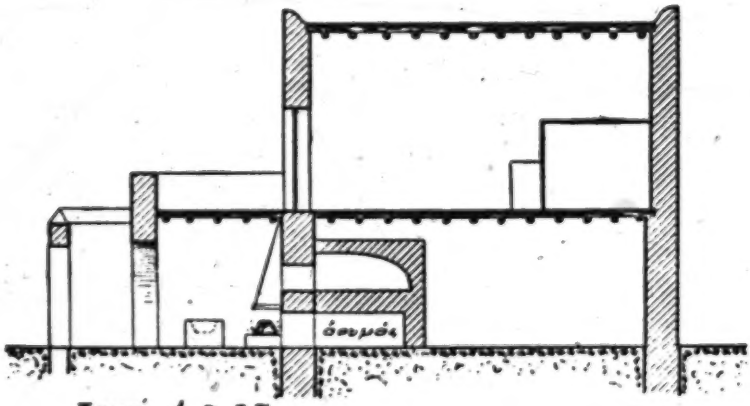

Fig. 26 Village Emboriòs (island of Nissyros). House of I. Vlachos in the castle [312]
(G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 24)
Πάνω αὐλή = upper courtyard, terrace; δουμός = pigsty 1 hearth 2 well 3 arch

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; 829 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre- [895] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the [854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem- 178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation- 577 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There [312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water [365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

To the Land of the Eagle

292 in the island, encircle their heads with an enormous roll of
[302] extra hair bound with red ribbon. This curious adornment —let me resist the obvious pun!—is an heirloom, and consists of hair which at one time belonged to a grandmother or other female ancestor. It is as much a visible sign of the married state as the ring is with us.

MARRIED WOMAN, GASTOURI

361 The chief feature of the village 4 is a very old well sur-
312 rounded by enormous plane trees of unknown antiquity. Here we watched the Gastouri girls coming for water, dawdling at the well's edge, and departing homeward with great jars of shining pottery—successors to the amphoræ of classical times—balanced on their heads. The painter in search of a subject, in whatever part of the world he may happen to be, can always find one at a well.

2 [i.e. Gastouri --- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

To the Land of the Eagle

○○○hereabouts of using such places as substitutes for domestic sanitation. Authorities on the subject say that failing a thoroughly up-to-date drainage system it is best to have no drainage at all. It may be so. I did not stop to consider the question, but went.

CYPRESSES, CORFU

[3/2] A well-worn pathway amongst the rocky boulders with which the ground was strewn led me to an old circular well, mossy and lined with ferns. It was evidently much used, and had been used recently, for spilt water lay about it in puddles. I took up a point of vantage on the bole of an old olive tree and was soon rewarded. Village girls came by in twos and threes, let down the bucket, filled their great jars and, balancing them on their heads, returned in single file

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud [178] stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food [261] is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [8] Therefore, when we describe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared 146 with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[241] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to
[231] gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
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433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
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427 entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecropping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

x 178 829 669 241 433

various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hopefully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but because the villagers failed to look after them.

Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land – the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

x 178 829 669 433 313 656

Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a forest preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical – pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

178x 829 669 433 313 656 [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

669 722 657 178x

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

217 166 727

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000
[226]
[313]

10. Print Hudson, *1952 Agricultural Report—Greece* (American Embassy, Athens, Dispatch No. 771, January 3, 1953), comments: "The foundation of the cooperative movement is the 8,700 village cooperatives (including fishing and forestry as well as farm coops). The total membership was 684,000 at the beginning of 1952. In each Nomos is found a Union of the Cooperatives of that region. This organization supplies the village cooperative with production credit obtained from the Agricultural Bank. In some districts more than one Union may be found, with the total for Greece being over one hundred. Most of the Unions belong to the Panhellenic Confederation of Unions of Agricultural Cooperatives with headquarters in Athens. Those in control of this Federation so centralize and direct the program of Agricultural cooperatives that it often works to the disadvantage of the movement by eliminating farmer participation. . . ." In addition to the geographical organization of the cooperatives, described above, there are several commodity cooperative associations. These include:

1. *KYDEP*. The Central Organization for the Administration of Indigenous Products. It collects quite a number of products under the Government's price support program. During 1952 it collected only wheat and rye.
2. *SEKE*. The Association of Tobacco Growers' Cooperative Unions, Ltd.
3. *KSOS*. The Union of Sultana Growers' Cooperatives. In 1952 this organization collected nearly 7,000 tons of sultanas (grapes).
4. *ELAIOURGIKE*. The Central Union of Olive Oil Producers.

It often happens that the village cooperatives indicate a certain degree of dissatisfaction with the commodity associations, particularly because of their high costs in handling the products.

Chapter XI. The Village Coffeehouse

1. Near East Foundation, *et al.*, mimeographed village studies, "A Village in the Arta Plain" (Athens, Spring 1951).
2. *Idem*, "A Mountain Village, Grammos Area" (Athens, March 1952).
3. *Idem*, "A Village in the Serres Plains" (Athens, December 1951).
4. *Idem*, "A Macedonian Village" (Athens, May 1951).
5. Chester Bowles, *Ideas, People and Peace* (New York, 1958), p. 86.
6. John Democritos Photiadis, "The Coffee House and Its Role in Stavroupolis, Greece" (unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University, 1956).
7. Near East Foundation, *et al.*, "A 'Control' Village in Macedonia" (Athens, November 1951).
8. *Idem*, "A Village in the Agrinion Area" (Athens, October 1951).

Chapter XII. Local Government

1. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, Civil Government Division, *Facts on Greek Local Government: A Preliminary Outline* (Athens, December 15, 1950), p. 2 (mimeographed).
2. K. Koukkidi, *To Pnevma tou Synergatismou ton Neoteron Hellenon kai t'Ambelakia, o Protos Synetairismos tou Kosmou* (The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greeks and Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World) (Athens, 1948).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
4. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, *Facts*, p. 7.
5. United States Economic Cooperation Administration, *Revitalizing Greek Local Government: Special Supplement*, Report 67, p. 3 (mimeographed).
6. Frank Smothers, William Hardy McNeill, Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill, *Report on the Greeks: Findings of a Twentieth Century Fund Team Which Surveyed*

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221 sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248 land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[465 wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436 and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[461 fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
[558 considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462 possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626 cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221 vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[571 sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[461 The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[492 their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
[445 hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
[465 the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443 of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
[314 countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123 nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
407
492
[221

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

×178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

314 233 178x 433 [438]

led to this change. One was the rise of Volos as an important urban center, requiring charcoal as fuel for cooking and for heating houses. To supply the rising demand, the villagers of Cherasia began cutting off the forests of Mount Pelion with a new energy. A second factor was the growth of population in Cherasia itself. As more families appeared, sheep could not support them all, because the pastures could not be readily extended. So the people fell back on exploitation of the forests.

This "ancient" history is mostly speculation. I was not able to get any clear account of their distant past from the men of the village. What they did know was that in 1905 three families had secured title to 100 stremmata (25 acres) of land apiece in the little valley that spreads out below the site of their winter quarters at the foot of the mountain. At that time, very likely, the free villagers of the mountain saw little or no attraction in the toilsome life of a farmer, and preferred to keep to their ancient shepherd's way of life, supplemented by woodcutting and charcoal burning. [423] [241]

About the time of the first world war, things changed. As the population continued to grow, sheep and charcoal no longer sufficed to provide a satisfactory living for the members of the community. Many of them began to clear little patches of rocky mountainside in the hope of raising a crop or two on the land. Their tenure was legally recognized by a governmental survey made in 1922, which assigned to each family title to the patches its members had cleared and cultivated in preceding years. During the interwar period the pressure to find supplementary means of livelihood through agriculture continued to mount. In 1938, village authorities parceled out 500 stremmata of what had been common pasture to private family ownership. No further property changes had occurred in the village up to 1956. 178x 433 241 423 [314]

The brute fact remains, however, that fields cleared from mountain slopes are miserable agricultural land. These produce

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
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/73 cont./ 178 476 242 874

fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect on the farmers is great with definite results.

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. [621]

This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them to every house in the village. The contributions from this event were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation project which was started by this group has led to the development of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village planted a tree on the hill. 476 621 [345] [533] [735] [314] [185]

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men. [526]

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school. [874]

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of 1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how 873 [658]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor. 623 653 [651] [727]

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done. [316] [333]

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax: 651 [203]

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

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The community council has other duties in addition to managing a community-owned radio, rebuilding churches, and collecting taxes. It conducts local elections as well.[4] By 1951 the political situation had stabilized to the point that local elections could be held throughout the country. Of the registered voters, a greater proportion of women than men voted, thereby showing their appreciation of the right of suffrage. From nine to thirty-one 623 666 [633]

/80 cont./ 346
their humble houses and subsistence level of living the people like 778
to build beautiful churches with high steeples and decorate them
/81/ with as many ikons and church bells they can. The people [316]
of Megali Vrisi not being satisfied with the structure of the present
church have already quarried stone from the nearby hills for their
future church structure. When the farmers were notified to offer [794]
personal work for the church they did it without complaint.

The people look up to the church as an institution which gives 771
them hope and courage in times of disappointment and discourage-
ment. Once a year a confession is made in the church in front [783]
of the ikons and the priest. People tell of their bad acts and
forgive those that caused them trouble. All wedding ceremonies, [796]
baptisms and name day celebrations take place in the church.

Attendance. Women and children attend the church regular- 794
ly. The men are rather irregular in their attendance. This is not 796
due to their negligence nor to their failure to respect the church,
but is due to the long church services that last for three hours.
The people get tired of going to the church. Most attend the last
part of the services. In spite of the variety of music and cere-
monial activities, the church is losing /82/ attendance. Men
like to know what they hear in the church, and since it is all
abstract to them they prefer to stay out and send their wives and
children.

With the increase of modern scientific beliefs by the farmers,
the church will be forced to change its course and adopt itself
to the new social changes.

The membership is obligatory. Every one born in the village 794
becomes a member. It is not necessary to keep in books the
names of the members since the whole population of the village
naturally belongs to the church.

Contributions. Every family has to contribute for the support
of the priest and for the upkeep of the church. This contribution
is paid in kind. Besides this the church has voluntary donations [769]
by people whose prayers are answered, and by others for the

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241 422 407 [412] [435]

1	Harrow	$3
1	Plow, iron	1.50
1	Wooden plow	1.00
1	Yoke	1.00
3	Hoes	0.35
2	Shovels	0.25
2	Sickles	0.35

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

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[463]
[177]
[341]
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[171]
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[342]
[171]
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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

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[172]
[463]
[331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania. A 342 712 177 [463]

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of A [192]

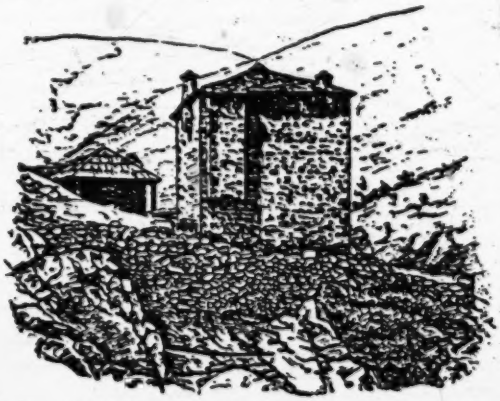

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership A [192] G [331] [467] [484] A [463]

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST.]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging, to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

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living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and selamlik for the men)(1).

It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian architecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

G
[331]

1) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by Ekrem bei Vlorë p 57 and Plate VI.

This was the original place of the hearth. Later, however, this 354
place was moved to the middle of one of the walls, usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house (1), or to one of the corners of the room (since γωνιὰ = a) corner, b) fire-place) (2) where a chimney was built for the escape of smoke.

2. Two-storey houses.

In mountainous districts, such as in most of continental Greece, and 332 ●
especially in Epirus, Western Macedonia, S. Greek mainland (Sterea 342 ×
Hellas) and the Peloponese, when the arable land is limited, and the main resources of the inhabitants are the cultivation of vine and stock breeding, the expansion of the house on a large area is not easy, due to the nature of the ground. For on an inclined soil, such as in the mountains, the house is usually dug into the soil and this requires rock blasting which, during the Turkish rule, when explosives were hard to get, was difficult, if not impossible, and extremely expensive. That is why the foundation of the house was made on the bare rock and the parallelogram of its plan was usually situated with its long side perpendicular to the slope. Thus, also, in places where the nature of the ground allowed some rock digging, a deep embedding was avoided. In such a ground, the need for the increase of space was met by the creation of another storey or, more correctly, by the construction of a basement under the house, usually under its entire surface, provided that the longer side of the plan was perpendicular to the slope, and in rarer cases, under part of the house only, when the longer side of the plan was parallel to the slope. (3)

Thus the two-storey form of house was created, consisting of 342 ×
an upper storey and of a basement presenting, just as the one-storey house, both simple and composite forms (two-storey single house, [341]
and two storey double house) (4).

We may often see two-storey houses, of the eagle type roof, which have either a narrow or a wide front, but the narrow-front ones are to be seen only in those areas where there are narrow

1) **G. Megas,** Θρρχ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 10 and 38, Figg. 1, 8, 10, 11, 21, 23, 25, etc.
2) **G. Megas,** Οἰκοδ. Λήμν. p. 7, Fig. 2.
3) Cf. the so-called «Sterfogalaro» in Aetolia, **D. Loukopoulos** ibid. pp. 5-7.
4) See **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 39 foll.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakotø*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic-
184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor. 623 653 [651] [727]

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done. [316] [333]

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax: 651 [203]

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents. 342 [178]

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls. 333 [514] 351

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the 361 [342] [823] [343] [351] 363 361

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the
upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep
on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village
still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The
villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four
months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends
meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [463]
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In 333
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construc- [464]
tion – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947
such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic
accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto,
Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded
regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant
groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree,
helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family ex-
pected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in
turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his
parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters
who stayed home.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

342x
333

Fig. 13 House with «axata» in the village of Hagia Sofia, Lemnos
(G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ οἰκοδομὴ τῆς Λήμνου, Pl. E, 1)

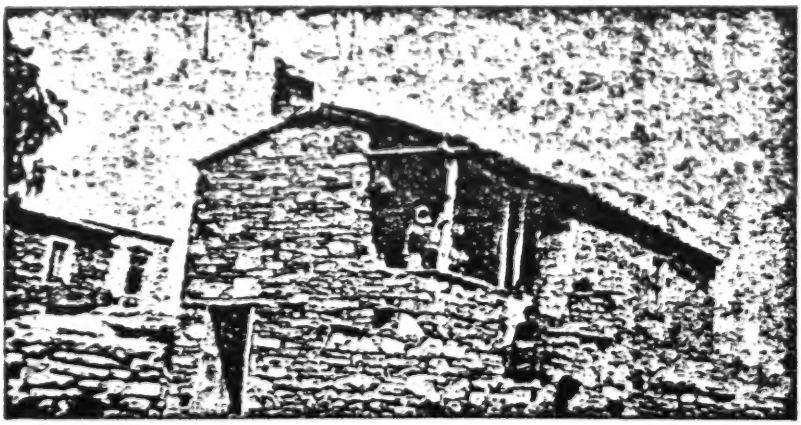

Fig. 14 Housè with «axaïto» in the same village
(G. Megas, op. cit. Pl. C, 1)

[P.20]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

342 x
[333]

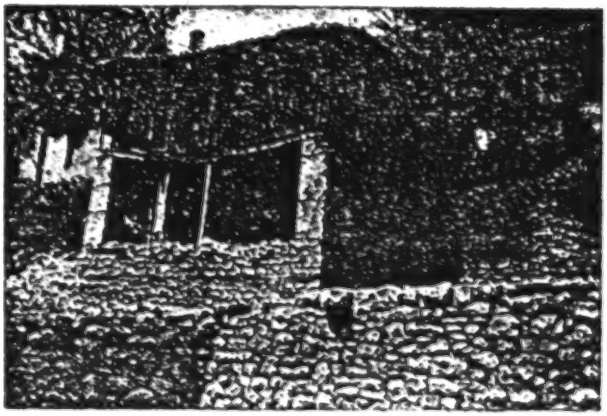

1. Small, two-storey house in the village of Hellenopyrgos on Thessalic Agrafa. (See plan in fig. 15)
(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, Pl. IB', 1)

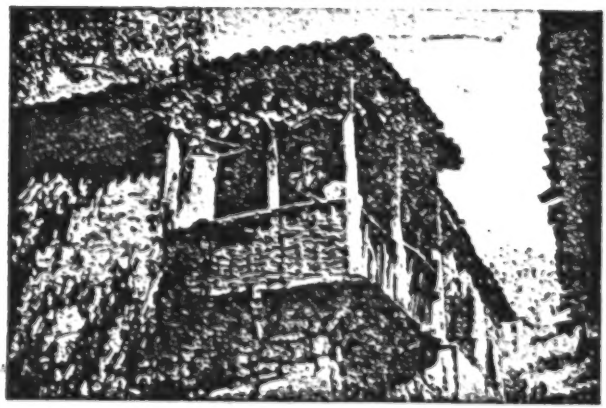

2. Veranda with rod-plaited basis on a popular house in Hellenopyrgos (See plan in fig. 17)
(G. Megas, op. cit. Pl. IΔ 2)

3. House with a covered veranda (ξάνωγο) in the village of Hagios Acacios on the Thessalic Agrafa. (See plan in fig. 18)
(G. Megas, op. cit. Pl. IE 2)

[P 23]

X 342 335 that the beams would be put in two successive lines, thus covering a wider space.

This support is actually created by placing a long and resistant beam of 9-12 m. lentgh, leading from the middle of the one short wall to the middle of the other, (μεσάς, Fig. 28 Plate IXa 1[a]) or by using a shorter beam, but which is leaning on one or both its ends upon built supports called «pilieri» (single-pilieri or double-pilieri house) in Rhodes and Cyprus (Fig. 29 Plate IXa 1[b c])(1). This beam, especially when it is long, is supported in its centre or its one end by a wooden pole.

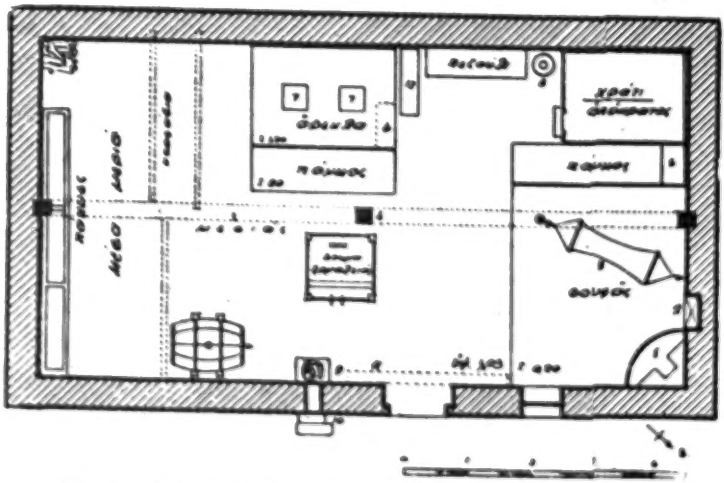

Fig. 28 Embona-Rhodes. Old house of Antony Emm. Antonakis

(G. Megas, Λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, N. 3)

Ploughing animals are stabled in the inner part (μέσα ραμά).

Μεσάς (mesias) — middle beam πάγκος — bench κρέβ. = bed ἀρκάλα — arcula

ἀργαλειός — loom 1 hearth 1 pole

[352 286]

X 342 333 In places, however, where building stone is abundant, such as in many of the Cyclades, the eastern part of Rhodes, Nisyros etc. in order to support the roof, a big arch (καμάρα) is constructed, which was probably introduced in popular house building, just as the construction of domes, through the construction of fortresses, prevalent

1) **G. Megas,** Λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 7 and 8. In Katavia of Rhodes these are called «antimissia».

in the islands (Fig. 30, Plate IX a, 2). The use of the arch was probably extended from the wide-front house to the narrow-front one, in places where beams of a sufficient length were not available for the widening of space. In this case, the arch was built from the one long wall to the other, and the roof beams were placed on two parallel rows 342x [333]

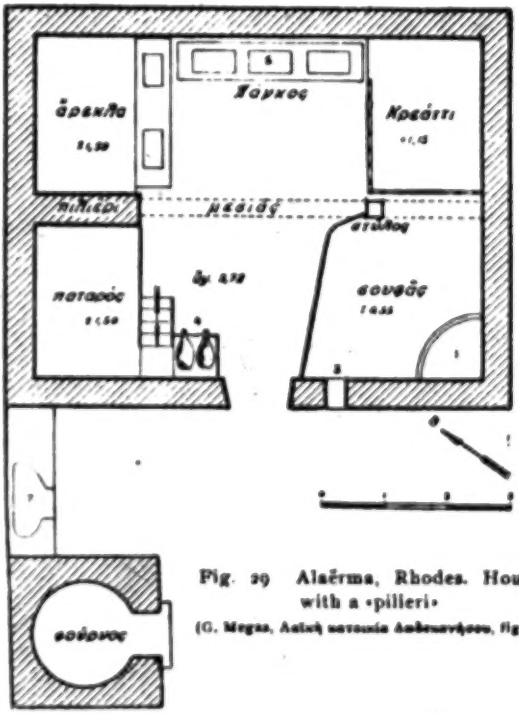

Fig. 29 Alaërma, Rhodes. House with a «pilieri»
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, Fig. 8)

in the direction of the long side of the house. In this way, the narrow front house too, gained in width on its narrow side (Plate VIII a 2, 5, 5a, 7, 7a, 8, 9, 9a).

By this arch, the space of the house was divided, as with the pilieri, into two equal parts: the inside space (μέσα χώρα) and the outside space (ἔξω χώρα), as they are called in Rhodes and the four corners that were separated on both sides of its jambs were allocated, in [353]

×342 the inside space, to the bed and an «arcula», and in the outside space, to the hearth with a low sofa in front of it and a higher sofa on the [353] opposite side. (Figg. 29 and 30).

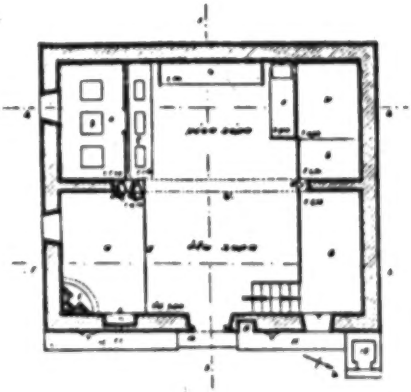

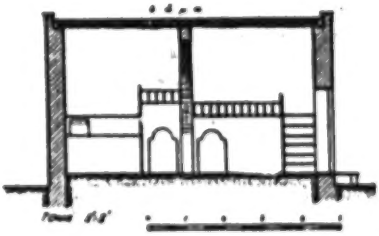

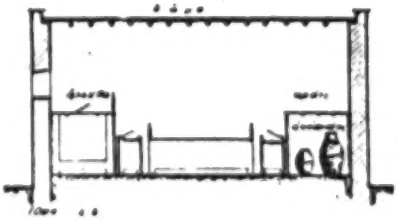

Fig. 30 Phanes, Rhodes. House of Margheti Agapitou
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 9

[333]

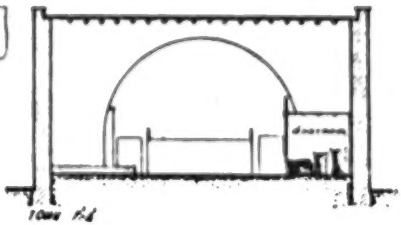

α hearth place
β arcula
γ bed
δ musandra
ε sofa
ζ, η, θ benches
κ arch
ι hearth

In some of the Cyclades, the corners of the inside space were arranged to form small rooms, used as bedrooms, and the outside space was used as a living room for the family (Plate VIIIa 7[b]).

342x

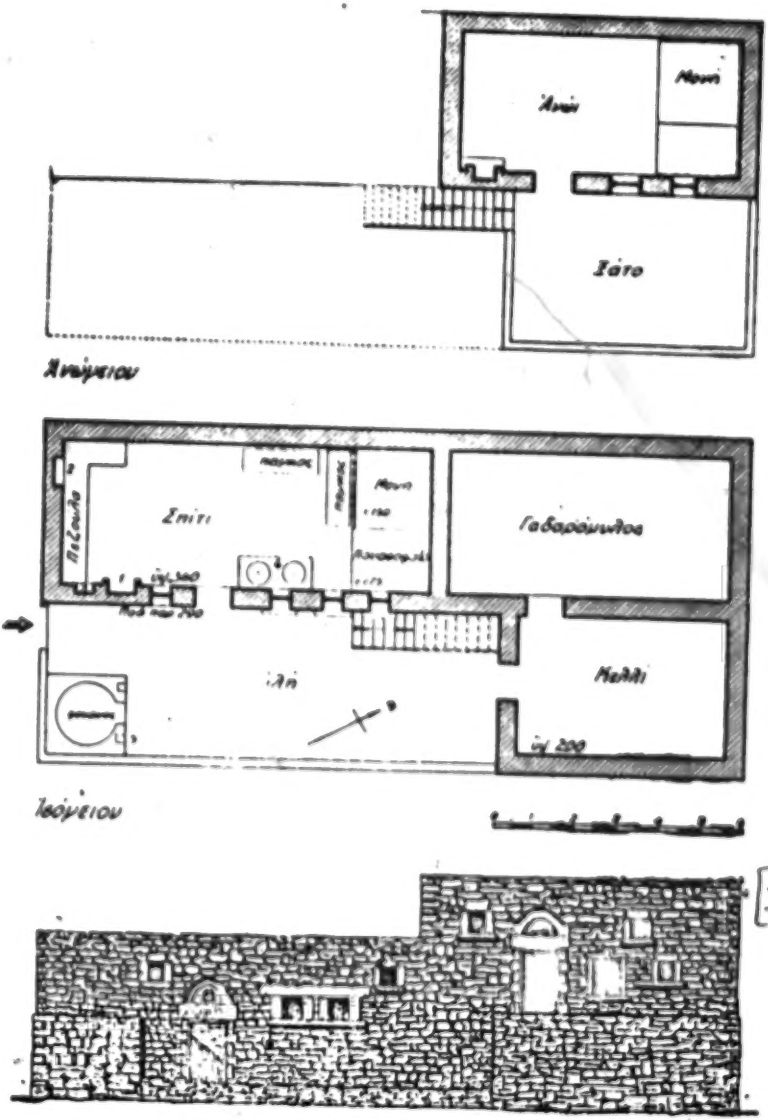

[333]

Fig. 32 Mikro Chorio, Telos. House of Philippis Koufomanolos
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου fig. 29)

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. 1B 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoulos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

The second form, namely the wide-front house, is much more frequently found on the islands, as well as in continental Greece, and in several places it keeps the prostyle prostoon, but usually a creeping vine takes the place of the portico. Generally the wide-front house favours a better distribution of space than does the narrow-front one. 342x

The architectural articulation of this house consists of a regular distribution of the interior: a sofa or κεζούλα with the hearth on the one side, and a wooden bed called κρέββατος or μπαταρός, on the other; the space under the bed is called ἀποκρέββατος and serves as a cellar. [354] [352]

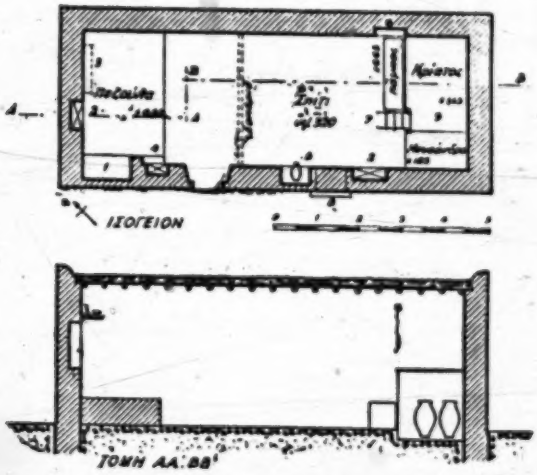

Fig. 27 Kephalos, Kôs. The long house of Maria Yiannou
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 1)
1 hearth 2 cupboards

The widening of space in this single house, (called long house, μακρυνάρι) is easy along the longer side, namely the «long wall», but not so along the narrow side, namely the «short wall», because the width of this side is determined by the beams used for the construction of the roof, which, according to the sizes of building timber prevailing in the islands and for the weight they will support, are not longer than 4-4,50 meters. Thus, the inside of the house is limited to 3.20-3.60 meters. That is why the widening along this side was obtained by the creation of a certain intermediate support of the roof, so 342x 335

X 342 335 that the beams would be put in two successive lines, thus covering a wider space.

This support is actually created by placing a long and resistant beam of 9-12 m. lentgh, leading from the middle of the one short wall to the middle of the other, (μεσιάς, Fig. 28 Plate IXa 1[a]) or by using a shorter beam, but which is leaning on one or both its ends upon built supports called «pilieri» (single-pilieri or double-pilieri house) in Rhodes and Cyprus (Fig. 29 Plate IXa 1[b c]) (1). This beam, especially when it is long, is supported in its centre or its one end by a wooden pole.

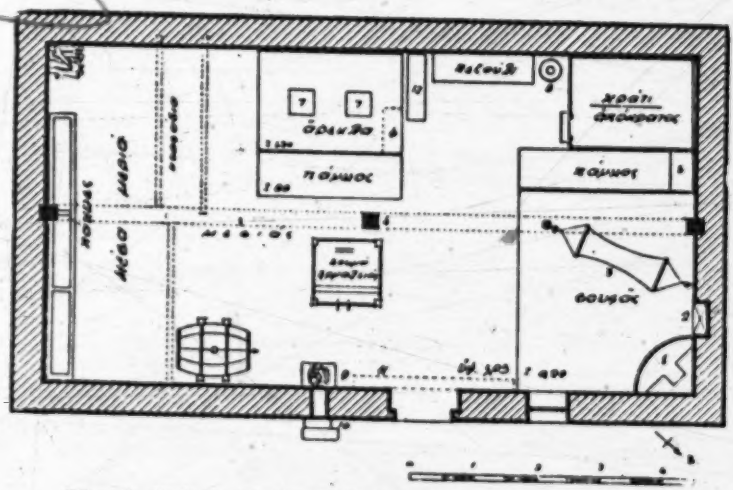

Fig. 28 Embona-Rhodes. Old house of Antony Emm. Antonakis

(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, N. 5)
Ploughing animals are stabled in the inner part (μέσα μερά).
Μεσιάς (messias) = middle beam πάγκος = bench κρέβατι = bed ἀρκελα = arcula
ἀργαλειός = loom 1 hearth 1 pole

[352 286]

X 342 333 In places, however, where building stone is abundant, such as in many of the Cyclades, the eastern part of Rhodes, Nisyros etc. in order to support the roof, a big arch (καμάρα) is constructed, which was probably introduced in popular house building, just as the construction of domes, through the construction of fortresses, prevalent

1) G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 7 and 8. In Katavia of Rhodes these are called «antimissia».

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone." 476 539

Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yannes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need. 476 492

Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd. 476 233

Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakassa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." 476 241 [493]

But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. 476 [339]

Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari* [573]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14..
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

S V 511 434 233 [433] [262] S V G [427] G 124 521 152 G 124 341 G 114 G 563 162 S V 162

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
SarakatsaniEH14

I. VARIOUS FORMS OF THE GREEK POPULAR HOUSE

A. THE MODERN GREEK HOUSE

G
342*
S
V
[342]

First, we must note that in Greece, in ancient times as well as to-day, we see both basic forms of dwelling, namely both curved and rectangular. As regards the first form (round, elliptical, horse-shoe), this is limited to the most primary forms of life, that is to the nomadic or semi-nomadic shepherd populations (Sarakatsanoi, Vlachoi) and sporadically to the poorest class of the farmers living in the Thessalian and other plain districts, who have kept, by tradition, the elementary and primitive methods of construction and roofing of the conical and saddle-type huts, and especially the use of organic materials such as wood, branches, weeds and reeds, which are easily provided by the marshes and the forests of these areas (1). As regards the rectangular houses, these are now more prevalent, as they were even in prehistoric Greece. The reasons for this may be that the rectangular buildings can be easily added to and divided into regular compartments (2). That is why we shall mainly speak about the rectangular houses.

G
171
342*
341

Greece, from a geographical as well as from a housing point of view, finds herself on the boundary between the northern temperate zone and the desert zone, which includes Northern Africa and Front Asia with Asia Minor and Iran. Consequently, continental Greece belongs to the countries of houses with sloping or eagle type roofs, and insular Greece together with Cyprus (excluding the Ionian Islands and the Islands of the Northern Aegean) to the countries of houses with flat roofs.

The explanation of this may lie in the fact that the flat roof may have originated from the simple flat shelter-roof which is essential

1) **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, Athens 1946 pp. 11-16. For further details on primitive types of dwelling see also **Franz Oelmann,** Haus und Hof im Altertum, I Berlin 1926 pp. 45 foll.

2) See **Fr. Oelmann,** op. cit. pp. 39 and foll., 41.

171
x 342 in the desert lands to protect both men and cattle from the burning
341 rays of the sun, and the eagle-type or saddle-type roof may have its origin in the sloping roofs of the primitive shelters used as a protection from rain and wind (1).

As it is well known, the roof is the primary and most important element of house construction, and the form and method of its construction exerts an influence both on the architectural articulation and on the entire composition of the house, so that the differences between the two categories may be mainly explained through it (2).

x 342 For this reason we shall first examine the sloping roof houses
341 and then the houses with flat roof, which roof is called «doma».

a. HOUSES WITH SLOPING OR EAGLE-TYPE ROOF

1. One-storey houses.

These houses, especially in the plain districts, are usually made out of brick with only their foundations, to a height of 40-50 cm. from the ground, built in stone; they are one-storied and are covered with tiles.

In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. They are either of the narrow or of the wide-front types.

The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house, is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as «megaron». It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a «προστῷον», that is an open portico. Sometimes the side walls of the house are extended as far as the front of this «prostoon», thus forming what is called the «παραστάδες» (antae) having usually two wooden poles between them (ἐν παραστάσι type); but sometimes the side walls are not extended and then the προστῷον remains entirely open, and its roof is supported by two or more poles (πρόστυλος, δίστυλος or τετράστυλος type).

This type of house, with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof, is plainly found in continental Greece, in the Greek villages of Haemos,

1) **Fr. Œlmann**, op. cit. pp. 61 foll., and in «Gnomon» 1927 p. 173.
2) **Fr. Œlmann**, Haus und Hof pp. 41 and 90.

near Messimvria (Haimonas, Bana, Alvlassi, Ravdas etc.), in some villages of the Didymoteichon area (Poemenikon, Vryssikon, Paliouri, 342 x 341 ●

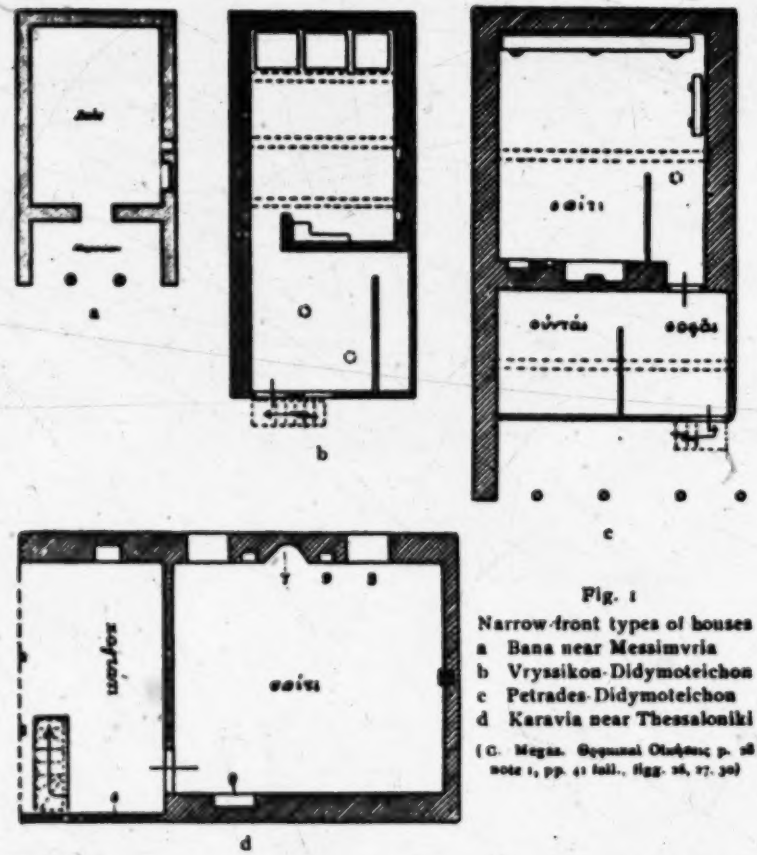

Fig. 1
Narrow-front types of houses
a Bana near Messimvria
b Vryssikon-Didymoteichon
c Petrades-Didymoteichon
d Karavia near Thessaloniki
(O. Megas. Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 28 note 1, pp. 41 foll., figg. 26, 27, 30)

Petrades, etc.) and sporadically in other parts of Greece, as in the Karavia village of the Thessaloniki area[1] (Fig. 1. See also Plate I a, 1-6).

1) O. Megas Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 27, 29, 44 foll. For financial reasons, clichés of the Greek edition have been also used in the present one. That is why we are presenting the equivalent English word only for the main parts [104]

x 342
● 341

Another narrow-front type of house is also the so-called καλύβι or χαμόγειο σπίτι (hut, low house) on the island of Lemnos which, as in the two-storey type, has a tiled roof(1) (Fig. 2).

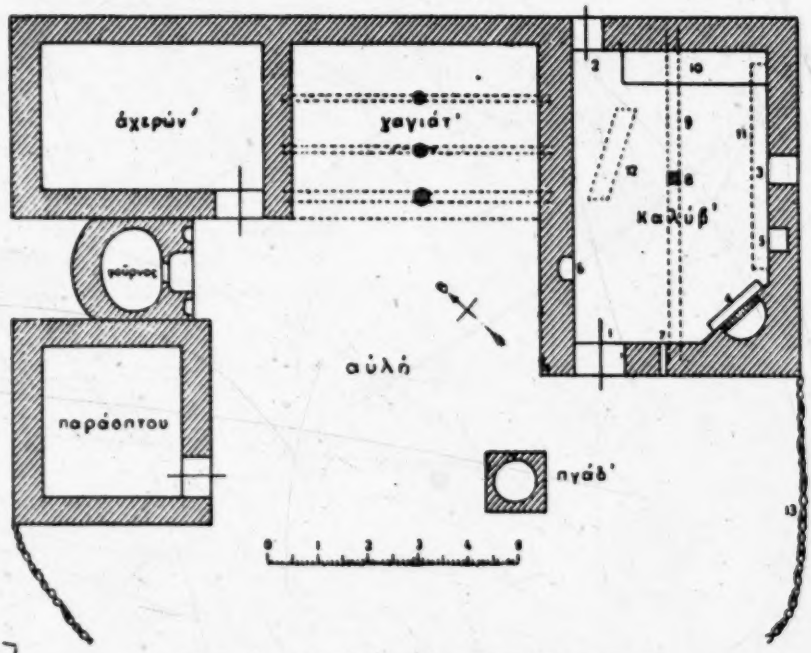

[351]
[312]

Fig. 2 House and courtyard at Physsini in Lemnos
(G. Megas 'Η λαϊκή οικοδομία της Λήμνου, fig 2)
Καλύβι (Kalyvi)=low house, hut; χαγιάτι (hayiati)=portico; άχερών' (acheron)=hayloft; παράσπιτο (parasspito)=outhouse; αύλή (avli)=courtyard; πηγάδι (pigadi)=well; φούρνος (furnos)=oven.

The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its προστῷον on the long side of the rectangular plan (σπίτια διπλανά i.e. side-houses, as they are called in the Haimos villages(2). (Fig. 3 and 4. Plate II).

[104]

of the house: σπίτι (*spiti* [hospitium] = house; οδντᾶς or ὀντᾶς (*oda* Turk.)=room; μπρούστι (*brusti*) or χαγιάτι (*hayati*) = portico, veranda.

1) **G. Megas**, 'Η λαϊκή οικοδομία της Λήμνου, pp. 7 foll.

2) **G. Megas**, Θρακικαί Οικήσεις p. 27, Θεσσαλικαί Οικήσεις p. 16. Fig. 10.

*342 The προστῷον[1] is formed by a simple extention of the roof of the
● 341 house downwards, and consitutes a very useful element for the needs of agricultural life in general, as it not only protects the entrance of the house from the rain, but it also provides a well aired and at the same time a well protected residence, where the family may
[264] gather, especially during the summer months. It is here that the
[513] family takes its meals and sleeps in summer time. It is here that the
[286] women put up their loom, spread and comb the wool, dry the maize
[251] and the sesame, the onions and the other fruits. And it is also here
[252] that the oven is usually built.

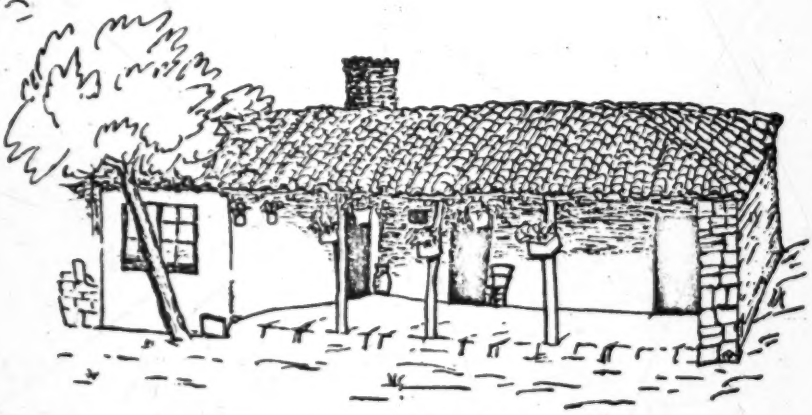

Fig. 4 Old house at Ferrai in Thrace
(G. Megas, Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, fig. 5)

The increase of space in the houses of both types is done in two directions: a) by extending the top beam of the roof and b) by extending the roof in the direction of the sides of the gable.

*342 In the first instance, and in the case of narrow-front houses, two succesive rooms are formed in depth, the προστῷον remaining on the front of the house either open or closed (Fig. 5. Plate I b 1-3). In this last case, a new προστῷον is sometimes added, open on its front side (Fig. 1 c. Plate I a 6). In the case of the wide-front houses, two or more rooms are being formed on the same horizontal line (Figg. 3 and 6. Plate III-VII).

In the second instance and in the case of the narrow-front houses,

1 [prestoon = open portico - Analyst.]

This was the original place of the hearth. Later, however, this place was moved to the middle of one of the walls, usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house [1], or to one of the corners of the room (since γωνιὰ = a) corner, b) fire-place) [2] where a chimney was built for the escape of smoke. 354

2. Two-storey houses.

In mountainous districts, such as in most of continental Greece, and especially in Epirus, Western Macedonia, S. Greek mainland (Sterea Hellas) and the Peloponese, when the arable land is limited, and the main resources of the inhabitants are the cultivation of vine and stock breeding, the expansion of the house on a large area is not easy, due to the nature of the ground. For on an inclined soil, such as in the mountains, the house is usually dug into the soil and this requires rock blasting which, during the Turkish rule, when explosives were hard to get, was difficult, if not impossible, and extremely expensive. That is why the foundation of the house was made on the bare rock and the parallelogram of its plan was usually situated with its long side perpendicular to the slope. Thus, also, in places where the nature of the ground allowed some rock digging, a deep embedding was avoided. In such a ground, the need for the increase of space was met by the creation of another storey or, more correctly, by the construction of a basement under the house, usually under its entire surface, provided that the longer side of the plan was perpendicular to the slope, and in rarer cases, under part of the house only, when the longer side of the plan was parallel to the slope. [3] 332 342 x

Thus the two-storey form of house was created, consisting of an upper storey and of a basement presenting, just as the one-storey house, both simple and composite forms (two-storey single house, and two storey double house) [4]. 342 x [341]

We may often see two-storey houses, of the eagle type roof, which have either a narrow or a wide front, but the narrow-front ones are to be seen only in those areas where there are narrow

1) **G. Megas,** Θρφκ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 10 and 38, Figg. 1, 8, 10, 11, 21, 23, 25, etc.

2) **G. Megas,** Οἰκοδ. Λήμν. p. 7, Fig. 2.

3) Cf. the so-called «Sterfogalaro» in Aetolia, **D. Loukopoulos** ibid. pp. 5-7.

4) See **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 39 foll.

The most usual method of increasing space to the flat-roof houses is by making additions. 342x

In the case of the narrow-front house, whose προστῷον, as has been said, is mostly arranged into an anti-room or a kitchen, another is usually added in front of it, in the shape of an open or a covered yard (fig. 26 Plate VIIIa 6. 5b IXa 7) or sometimes an equivalent space is added to the back part of the house in the form of a back-room (Plate VIIIa 9. 9a). An increase of space in this type of house is also achieved by the addition of a roof over the main room (fig. 26) or also over its anti-room (Nissyros)(1) and by the addition of one or more rooms all along the long side of the narrow-front house (VIII b, 1-4).

Similarly, the spaces of the wide-front house are increased by: a) arranging the προστῷον or by adding one or two auxiliary spaces on the frontside (fig. 31, Plate IXa, 3, 4)(2) and b) by adding a smaller room into one of its short sides, used as a kitchen or a mill room (καράσκιτο) and which often has a room on its roof (house with upper room, Ikaria, Telos, Nisyros, Karpathos) (fig. 32, Plate IXb, 1, 2)(3).

The ascent to this upper room is effected through an external stone staircase ending to a wide landing (ἀξάτα) under which the space is used for the construction of the oven, the chicken-coop and the pig sty (ἀουμᾶς). Sometimes, this addition is made on both the narrow sides of the house, in which case a living room (σάλα) is built above the main house (Telos) (Plate IXc, 3a)(4).

In Crete, and probably also in Cyprus, (there is very little information about the houses of the latter), where the arable land is more ample, the agricultural products more abundant, and where the livestock are stabled near the house of the farmer, there is a need for a more composite house. Such a house is formed by the addition of more rooms to the upper and lower floors.

But while in the houses with a roof, inclined on both sides, the additional spaces are placed under the same roof, which is extended in certain directions and gives an organic unity to the whole group (p. 7), in the flat-roof house the covering of each space of the house is independent and no architectural element connects the various 341 342x

1) G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, figg. 26. 27. 28.
2) Ibid. figg. 13. 14. 19. 20. 23.
3) Ibid. figg. 29. 30.
4) Ibid. fig. 31.

×342 [341] components of the house which are added without connection to each other. Thus, the smaller roof (παρδοκιτο) which is normally added to the narrow side of the wide-front house, is easily added to one end of the front side (Plate IXb 3, 4), or to extend over the building line according to requirements (Plate IXc 4). The only connecting element between the various parts of this flat-roof house is the need to

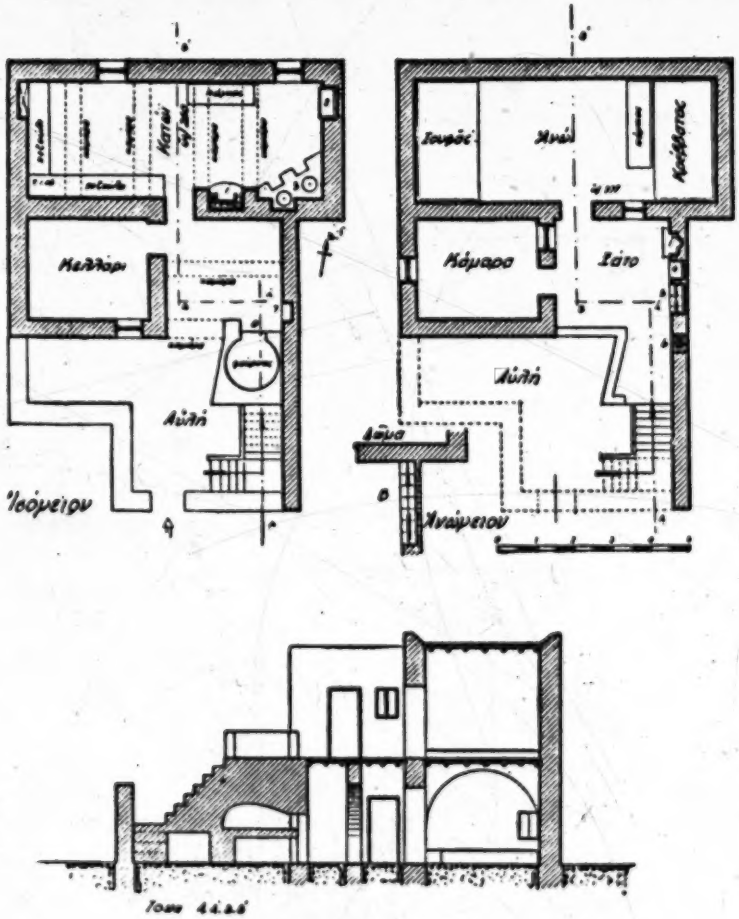

Fig. 31 Nikeiá, Nisyros. House of Dim. Chartophyllis
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δοδεκανήσου fig. 31)

[Text continues on p. 46]

*342 concentrate everything around the main living space, so that all rooms open to a central yard. Thus, in Crete, Cyprus, etc., apart from
●341 the double and triple blocks, we find multiple blocks, in one or two floors, which in the plan have the form of Γ or Π or sometimes T (Plate IXc 5. 6., IXd 2-5).

It is seen, from the whole examination, that the island house has not had the fine evolution of the house of continental Greece but rather remained faithful to simple forms, a legacy of the ancient times. However, in this primitive simplicity, the island house kept the beauty of simple lines and of natural forms, both the arch and the arched windows and doors giving to the cubic form of the island house a mark of pleasant contrast, especially when, as in the narrow-front house, the προστῷον is open and has an arch, instead of columns, for supporting the roof (Plate VIIIa 5). Apart from this, the regular division
[353] of the interior, the order and regularity noted in the arrangement of household furniture and utensils and the passionate love of the islanders for decoration, so that all parts of the house are fully adorned, constitute marked facts of the Greek island house.

From this summary review it is clearly seen that Greece, situated on the SE end of the European Continent and by its Islands, a neighbour of the districts of SW Asia and NE Africa, presents both the basic types of housing architecture and a variety of building forms, the proof of a long and important evolution, according to the geographical position, the nature of the ground and the long history of its civilization.

*342 Greek architecture, which has its origin in the prehistoric Greek
174 and in general the North European house, namely the megaron (1),
341 makes its appearance in neolithic and Mycenaean times, and survives to this day in some regions with a surprisingly undiminished energy. This arhitecture has gradually perfected its ways and means of construction and improved the form of the dwelling. And first, it often deviated from the narrow to the wide-front types (2), probably for the advantages presented by a long front side,

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1) **F. Behn** in Eberts Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte, 5 (1926) 186 foll. 193 **Gerda Boëtius,** Studier 1. Den Nordiska Timmerbyggnadskonsten. Stockholm 1927, pp. 25 and foll. Eldhuset eller Megarontypen.

2) This tendency for a wide front is shown by the neolithic houses (**D. Robinson** in RE Suppl. VII p. 226) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Gnomon 1927, p. 173, on those countries neighbouring the area of flat-roof houses, and under their influence, the eagle-type house disappeared and became wide-fronted.

which can easily have a wider προστῷον by a simple extension of the roof. In the beginning, it succeded in forming the outline of a farm house, consisting of one or two rooms, with an open προστῷον at the front, adapted to the natural elements (soil, climate, building materials) and to the occupation of the inhabitants, and gradually formed various types of agricultural houses. 342× 174 341

This effect was possible, as it has been proved, because the προστῷον is an element capable of undergoing change (1), sometimes remaining open, and sometimes being totally or partially closed and incorporated to the main body of the house. By a continuous but organic evolution, those composite types of the modern Greek house were also formed, where the individual spaces are developed as if round the central yard, which is surrounded by a peristyle, with exactly the same method as it may be seen in the byzantine and post-byzantine monasteries and in the remains of the excavations at Olynthos, Delos and Priene.

Thus, the close relation and connection of the modern Greek house to the ancient one becomes obvious and, since the formation of the housing architecture is mainly related to the nature of the land, the study of the modern Greek houses is very profitable for the understanding of the equivalent architectural forms of ancient Greece; because, as it was very rightly stated by Franz Oelmann (Gnomon, 1927, p. 174) «the complete understanding of ancient Greek building forms, as that of any other country, is not possible without the exact knowledge of the modern popular architecture». 342× 172

Although in order to clarify the relation of the modern Greek house to the ancient one, I think it advisable to state in as brief a form, as possible, a summary of ancient house building, giving at the same time general evolutionary diagrams of the main types of building, as they are revealed by recent excavations which have contributed so abmirably to our knowledge (2).

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1) The προστῷον is very often seen in the houses of the Arian and Indo-European races, with many variations, and constitutes a basic element of the houses of this group of races (see **H. Behn**, in Eberts Reallex d. Vorgeschichte, 14 (1929) pp. 216 and foll.

2) See the article of **David Robinson** in Pauly-Krolls RE Suppl. VII 1940, 226-276. **G. Karo** in Eberts Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 5, 202 foll. Cf. **B. Rider**, The Greek House, Cambridge 1916. **Chr. Tsountas**, Ἱστορία Ἀρχ. Ἑλληνικῆς Τέχνης, Athens 1928. **D. S. Robertson**, A Handbook of Greek and Roman

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

164 Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a
744 story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it
364 does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

342 As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can
184 associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years,
[712] plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma*, found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture. 342 184 [361]

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?" 574 [517] [286]

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern. [514] [457]

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu- 342

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic- 184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who [463] lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, [465] depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She [825] pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the [788] four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we [778] discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner [574] of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, [793] when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person [788] to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good [777] luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The [352] dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, [583] will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

[352] Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung [353] a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the [513] vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peleponnesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start preparing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

221 [796] [275] [241] [462] [275] [796] [535]

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

[462] [241] [342] [354] 221 796

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church; then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manliness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass, we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many, it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re-

221 512 [462] [275]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

1:Sanders 2-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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4. The village of Valtetsi, near Tripolis, Peloponnesos, is abandoned for half the year as the shepherds follow pasturage. The walls remain broken, testimony of wartime guerrilla raiders.

[727]

5. A Peloponnesian home, walled from the road, hugs a rock slope near Megalopolis.

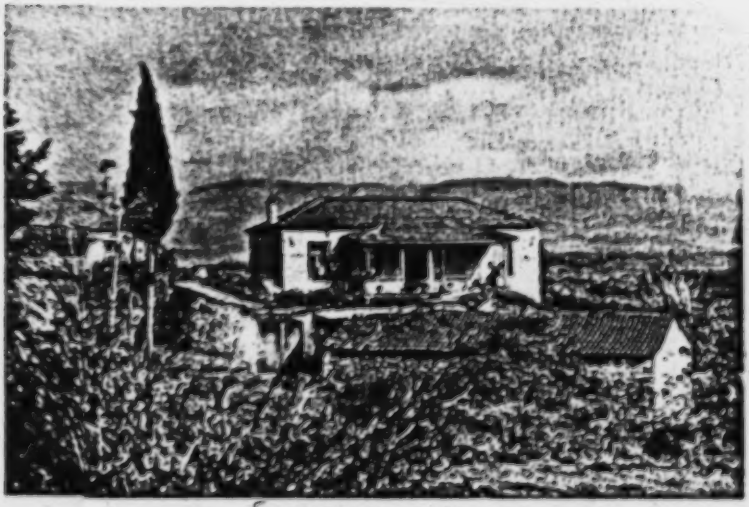

[p. 272-c]

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Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

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361 church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

621 The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is [361] called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand [443] there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to [527] drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians [533] come to the *aghora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighbor- [535] ing settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora*, and, 621 indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is 562 conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, 437 and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

594 The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and [423] around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The 342 structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. [178] The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, [343] and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents. 342 [178]

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls. 333 [514] 351

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the 361 [342] [823] [343] [351] 363 361

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Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
[166 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
463] shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
[434 settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They aug-
ment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
[464 women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
[262 shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly
342] built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
563 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
621 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
555 commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
87 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under
[641 the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more for-
[435 mal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shep-
herd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a
year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm
families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous
in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in
the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people
of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident car-
penters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very
existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time
to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [594]

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342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebrations, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
511 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
574 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
594 because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to en-
[356] tertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[215] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living
[353] away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed
[583] along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every
[574] housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead
[574] owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
215 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
353 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also
511 decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
207 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families
511 have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
[354] table of the *saloni*.

The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
342 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on
511 wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

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353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos,* as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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596 mother, and any additional properties acquired by their father in the course of
428 his lifetime.

Division of the Patrimony

The division of the property is always a dramatic event in the lives of the villagers. They believe that the separation of brothers is necessitated more by human than by economic considerations. They explain that brothers should be able to get along with each other and work together under the supervision of the eldest. Harmonious relations between brothers are highly approved in the village, and their maintenance is considered a moral obligation. But, the villagers will add, "What can you do?" When the wives and children of several brothers are part of the same household, inevitably they quarrel. One wife complains that her children's shoes are all worn out while her nieces and nephews are wearing new shoes. The matter of the work contributions to the joint household causes dissension; each wife tries to convince her husband that he works harder than the others. The children of one brother may cry at night and keep another brother and his wife from getting proper sleep. There also may be some envy if the dowry received by one brother is larger than that of the others.

The decision to divide the property may be delayed in spite of considerable disharmony in the household for several reasons. First, division implies a kind of moral defeat. Second, there are economic factors which favor the maintenance of a joint household. It cuts down on the consumption expenditures for each of the families; more women are released for work in the fields because the young children may be cared for at home by the grandmother or by only one of the wives; and the amount invested in farm animals and equipment can be held down because they are cooperatively used. Then, too, as one farmer puts it, before brothers divide the patrimony, it seems as if they have a lot of land and are earning a good living, but once the property is divided, each brother has little and then one sees that the family was not so wealthy after all. Appearances
[554] are important to the villagers, and a group of brothers may be reluctant to reveal the details of their economic condition. But the most important impediment to the separation of the brothers is the house itself. For the house is part of the patrimony, and if the brothers separate, the housing must also somehow be divided among them. There are several ways in which the villagers have solved this last problem.

342 When there are only two brothers involved, the house may be physically
596 divided simply by building a wall between two sets of rooms both upstairs and
428 downstairs. The brothers work together to improve both parts of the house so that each is of equal value and then draw lots to determine which brother gets which part (Levy 1956). Such houses are thenceforth called *dhipla* (double houses), and two or more families live in them as in entirely different establishments. Once the households are separated, a brother who has received cash in his wife's dowry is now able to make further improvements in his side of the house without regard for the other. There were four double houses in Vasilika in 1961.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

None were then occupied by brothers; their occupants were second and third generation descendants of the brothers who had originally put in the wall. The houses showed the effects of the long separation. In one of the houses, one side has been inhabited by a branch of the family that is losing its lands; that side has no additions and is in poor repair. The descendants of the other brother have prospered and have added some rooms and a terrace to their side of the house. In another case, both parts of the house have been expanded and modernized but in different ways. 342 596 428

Vasilika's houses are not ordinarily large enough to be divided into more than two parts. If there are more than two brothers, or if the paternal house is small, another solution to the housing problem exists. Here, the brothers agree to refurnish the ancestral house which one of them will continue to inhabit, and to build, in addition, new houses to the number of the remaining farmer brothers. The significance of the agreement is that the cost of the new houses and the repair and modernization of the old will be borne by the patrimony. Moreover, the brothers do not decide in advance which one is to have which house. That decision is made by drawing lots after the new houses are habitable and the old one has been improved. In a sense, the brothers agree jointly to improve the father's estate before they take their shares. The process is not different from that involved when the men in a joint household buy land which is added to the estate and is eventually divided among them. The process of building the new houses takes years (in one case where two new houses were built, the actual work took seven years) and during that time the brothers and their wives watch carefully to make sure that no one house is less well equipped than any other; for no man knows which of the houses it will fall to his lot to own.

The drawing of lots and thereby the division of the property does not have to await the completion of the new houses. As in the towns and cities in Greece, a dwelling is considered habitable at what to an American view is an early stage in its construction. Villagers will live in a house in which the ground-level rooms still have earthen floors, in which there is no ceiling to hide the rafters and to exclude the earth and dust that the wind sends through the roof, in which only the outer stone walls have been completed and the inner walls have not yet been plastered or stuccoed. Even at that, the cost of labor and materials for the basic stone or brick shell of a two-story house in Vasilika can absorb the surplus cash from joint holding of some eighty *stremata* for two or three years. [435]

Once it is agreed that the new houses are ready for occupancy and that the old house has been sufficiently improved, the moment for the separation has come. The farmers are then joined by any town brothers they may have and they sit down together to evaluate the patrimonial property. No women participate in the deliberations. First, the men examine their land resources and make up sets of holdings of equal value. For example, if there are three farming brothers, virtually all the patrimonial land will be divided into three parcels; one parcel may have an extra *stremata* of vineyard as compared to the other two parcels, but that will make up for the fact that the second and third parcels consist of cotton lands which are slightly more fertile than those assigned to the 596 428

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

123 we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river
793 Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the
swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and
484 screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river
the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to
dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly
difficult stretch of terrain.

About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages
[342] and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside
what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had
been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn
timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins.
Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years
and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the
cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened
[262] one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out
walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy ridges of Pindos far above us.

123 It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the
793 tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—
was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless.
[875] Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage
where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young
girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the
fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa
Costas divested himself of his outer *rasón*, and, commending ourselves
to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay
down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a
[262] few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas,
[346] Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

torrent bed, and we followed while Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood beneath the great tree in the village square and waved farewell: 123 484

"*Kalo taxidi; o Theos mazi sas!*"

A good journey; may God go with you.

At dusk we rode into Chrysomelia—a large village lying at 900 metres—after a journey which will long linger in my memory. For the best part of an hour Antony the Zealot (our guide) had questioned me relentlessly as to the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the jurisdiction of the *metropolites* of Canterbury, whilst the mules floundered in deep snow as we climbed laboriously towards the village, the buildings of an abandoned monastery far below among the pines. We had been delayed at the cottage of Papa Nicolas, the *gevos*, till it was close on three o'clock. There had been a misunderstanding as to the rendezvous, arising, apparently, from the fact that the curate of the neighbouring hamlet of Aidona was also a Papa Costas.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Antony, and the Zealot was preparing to celebrate his name-day. In a tiny chapel on the outskirts of the shattered village vespers was drawing to a close. The village church, dating from 1580 and dedicated to St. George, was a total ruin. We stayed for the liturgy next morning and all the men and boys of the village accompanied us to church. After a distribution of the blessed bread Papa Athanasius Tsergoulas, the pastor of this mountain flock, took us to see his dwelling—a tiny cell of mud bricks set amidst the ruins of the house which he had built some thirty years earlier—and there we sat around a table in the pale sunlight outside the newly-opened tavern and sipped ouzo with the village elders, while crowds of wild, ragged children played amongst the ruins of the church—there were nearly 300 of them and it was eight years since the school had ceased to perform its liturgy. 727 796 346 [342]

Chrysomelia had been one of the most important villages of this region, with a population of 1,050. It had suffered at the hands of the Germans at the same time as Palaiochori. The people had begun to return in October. Scarcely a house in the whole village had escaped destruction. 727 722

The devastation was no less widespread at the hamlet of Kato Perlangion, where we slept the following night, wrapped in rugs on the 727 346 123

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community
[796] gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great, in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
793 He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos*.

346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 423 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

178 361 367 [211] [883] 178 [312] [103] [527] [342] [247] [621]

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

167 342 722 511 [435]

9: Megas

342

EH1 Greece EH1

/For information on the various forms of the Greek "popular" house, see category 116, pp. g-h, 1-53, 120-132 and end plates 1-9./

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

II. THE HOUSE OF THE SLAV PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS

G
171
342

There have been many studies about the shapes of the popular houses of the Bulgars, Serbs and Albaniers, but no comparative survey has been as yet carried out, to determine their relation to the Greek house.

Jovan Cvijic in «La Péninsule Balcanique», Paris, 1918 p. 244 has tried to discern the various housing types in the Balcans and to determine their expansion. Among those he includes Greco-mediterranean house type, «probably originating from the old Byzantine houses, which can be found in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones of continental climate, and which also prevail in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula». In his couclusions he is followed by Otto Maull (1).

Franz Oelman (2), however, questions the correctness of Cvijic's conclusions on the grounds that the latter «relies on purely external characteristics, having no value for the comprehension of the historical evolution of the house». A detailed survey is needed of course which should be based, as it was said at the beginning, on rich comparative material, connected with to the details of the plan and the methods of construction, so that we may arrive to concrete and correct conclusions(3).

B
[113]

Such material, as regards the Bulgarian house, is given by the book of Teodor Zlatev, Architect - Engineer, Bălgarskata Kăsta v svoja arhitektonicen i kulturnoistoriceski rasvoj. I: Selska Kăsta Sofia 1930 (pp. VIII+178 figg 153). (The Bulgarian House in its architectural and historical development. I: The Rural House).

B
[342]

Zlatev, in his study of the rural Bulgarian house from an architectural and historical point of view, relates it directly to the houses of the Slavs, who were established in lower Moessia from the 6th cent. A. D, among the romanised or hellenized Thracians, and indirectly to the

1) Griech. Mittelmeergebiet, Breslau, 1922, pp. 62 and foll.
2) Haus und Hof im Altertum, 1927, 1 p. 19.
3) L. Schultze Jena, Makedonien, Jena 1927 p. 89.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

ancient megaron type house of the Indo-europeans. For our object, however, the interesting point is the detailed and concrete description of the farmers' houses of modern Bulgaria, which the writer illustrates with many photographs, plans and sections, so that we may get a clear picture of the architectural shapes and evolution of the Bulgarian house. However, in order, to be clear and to render possible the exact comparison of the Bulgarian house to the Greek one, and considering the fact that the Bulgarian language is not widely known, I shall dwell rather fully on all that concerns this type of house (1). For greater help I am attaching plates, showing the evolution of the Bulgarian house, as it can be drawn from the plans of Bulgarian houses presented by Zlatev.

G 171 342 B 342

A. THE BULGARIAN HOUSE

As it can be deduced from Zlatev's study, the Bulgarian agricultural house does not present the variety of shapes of the Greek house. If we except the troglodyten house which is frequent in some parts of Northern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian country houses belong to the straight-lined rectangular buildings with an eagle-type or saddle-type roof; according to the nature of the ground, they are separated into mountainous and plain types The lowland types are as a rule just like the Greek ones, one-storey and they are built out of stones or bricks, and roofed with tiles or thatch (2). The mountainous types are two-storey, the ground floor being out of stone and the upper either entirely out of wood or with wooden frames which are filled with unbaked bricks or woven branches, and sprayed on both sides with mud mixed with straw. The roof, in the mountainous areas, is covered with tiles or plates, but in some places thatch is also used.

B [184]

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1) I must here express my warm thanks to Mr. K. Th. Stamatiades who, with his knowledge of the Bulgarian language, has rendered possible my study of Zlatev's book.

G [127]

2) According to **C. Jirecek**, Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien, Wien 1891 p. 157 and foll. « over the largest part of the country one can see but poor houses in the villages, of brown earth colour without whitewash; their roofs were mostly covered with mere thatch during the time of Turkish occupation. It is only since the latest years after the liberation, that an increase of tile-roofs is seen from year to year.

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard. B 342 [351]

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρρκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Macrolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34). 343 [171] G [342] [171]

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kĭsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104). B [354] B [252]

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language, B [192]

1) G. Megas, Θρρκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months. B 342 B [231] [251] [354]

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV). B [513] [251] [353]

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba». B [251] [353]

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μαρούσι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village G [342] [171] B [171]

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **O. Megas**, Θμαν. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48. SL 342 333

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

G
B
342 of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a
171 balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially
B the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is
[354 built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room
352] with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

B Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the
[352 wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in
252] the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

B C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural
192 house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles
342 whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

B 1) See **O. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

[192] 2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

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[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44).

B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46).

B [171] SL 342 354 [177] Se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἀγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc.

B 192 342

1) The word **Isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105, **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108).

B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

ground and having a beaten earth floor and an open fire-place» (1); as L. Niederle remarks (ibid. p. 108, note 1): «in the Balkans the Latin influence is shown in the addition of the soba to the kuc'a; this change, however, is not older than the 19th century» (2). B 342 [354] [177]

Consequently, even this difference, which is noted at many places, in the system of heating between the Bulgarian agricultural house and the Greek one, is neither original nor basic. G [342] [171]

The houses of the Rodope area are peculiar in their external architectural shape, as they do not have the open portico of the upper storey, which is so typical for the mountainous Bulgarian houses (3). Obviously it is the lack of security in these districts, where there was a lot of banditry (called Momtsilo, Kirtzalis) (4) since the later Byzantine years, that imposed here, as well as in Western Macedonia equally suffering from the incursions of Albanians, the system of fortified buildings, with their heavy and strong walls, reaching as far up as the roof even on the frontage of the house; an internal staircase; a strong main-door, with loop-holes on each side as well as the arrangement of the veranda (heliakos) into a large ante-room, or drawing room, with fine balconies or kioschks, protruding on its ends (fig. 47) (Zlatev, fig. 61 and 67), exactly as it is seen in the covered balconies and the high sofas of the rich houses in Western Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly (5). It is understood that in the simplest shapes of houses G [171] [342]

1) **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 158

2) The Russian ethnologist **Tokariof**, when describing the Bulgarian house, says: «Almost all the old houses have an open hearth on the wall with a pot hanging over the fire, and with a wide open chimney that has its exit through the roof The bread is usually baked in this hearth. As for the horizontal plan, the house is divided into two parts: the kitchen with the fire-place and the «oda», the room, that now has an iron stove». (Μόρφωση, Γ' 1946 p. 126). According to **R. Meringer** (Sitzungsber. Philos. Histor. Kl. der Wiener Akad. Abh. 2 p. 13) Bulgaria, Albania and the Hercegovina are placed in the category of the countries with fire-place (Kaminländer).

3) According to **Tokariof** «one sees as completely different thing in the Rodope mountains. We have an example in the village of Baskovo. There, the old houses have an extremely complicated plan which is very difficult to be analysed. Houses are very big; they have three or four floors and sometimes the wall of the front of the house has no windows at all. The upper floors sometimes extend over the lower by covered balconies, as it is the custom in the East. Houses are built one against the other, thus forming whole blocks. This architectural style is entirely different from the Eastern-Slav type of house where the plan is always a simple rectangular parallelopiped».

4) See **W. Slatarski**, Geschichte der Bulgaren, I Leipzig 1918 p. 165

5) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 55, 88, 97, 104, 109, fig. 50, 80, 90.

[Text continues on p.75]

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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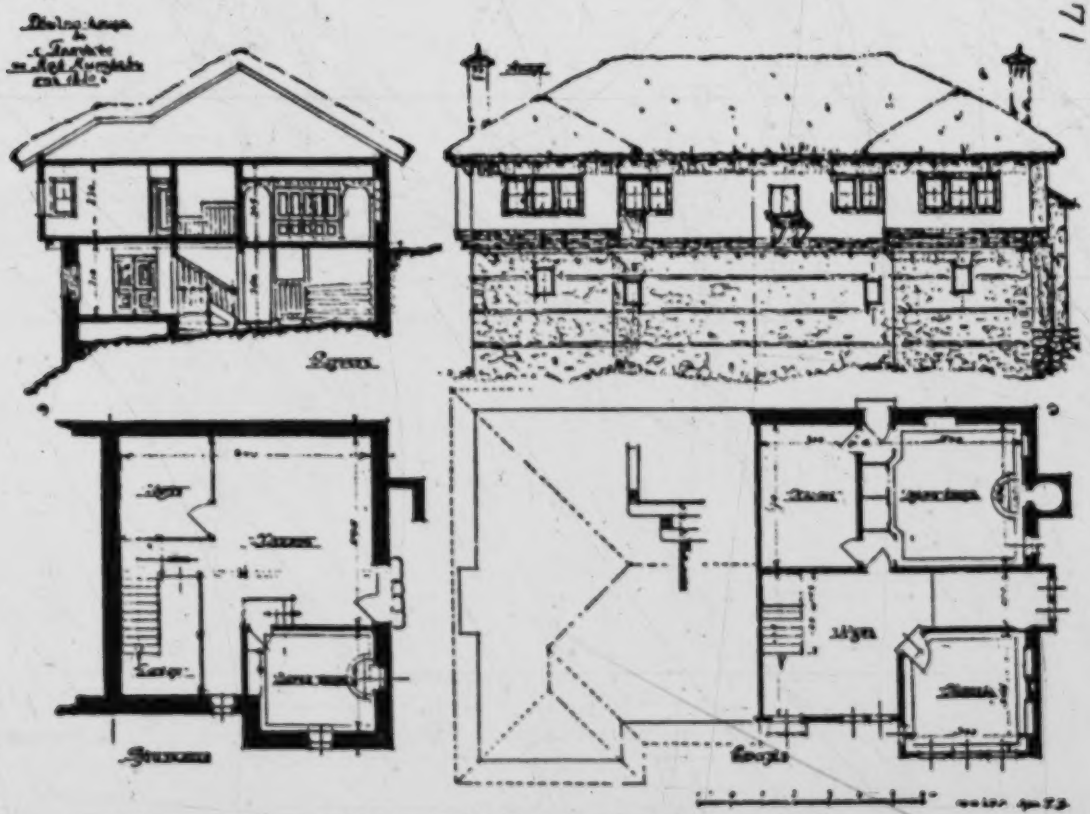

ground floor

Fig. 47 Double dwelling in Petkovo of central Rodope, in 1820

(Zlatev, Bălg. Kŭsta, fig. 61)

upper floor

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Bulgaria EE1

we see here also the open portico in the ground-floor and the external staircase to the upper floor (fig. 48 Plate XVI 1 and 1a, 2); so the similarity of the building shapes of Rodope to that of the rest of Greece is very evident (See Plate XVI, 5. 6; comp. Plate VIIa, 4a, 4b).

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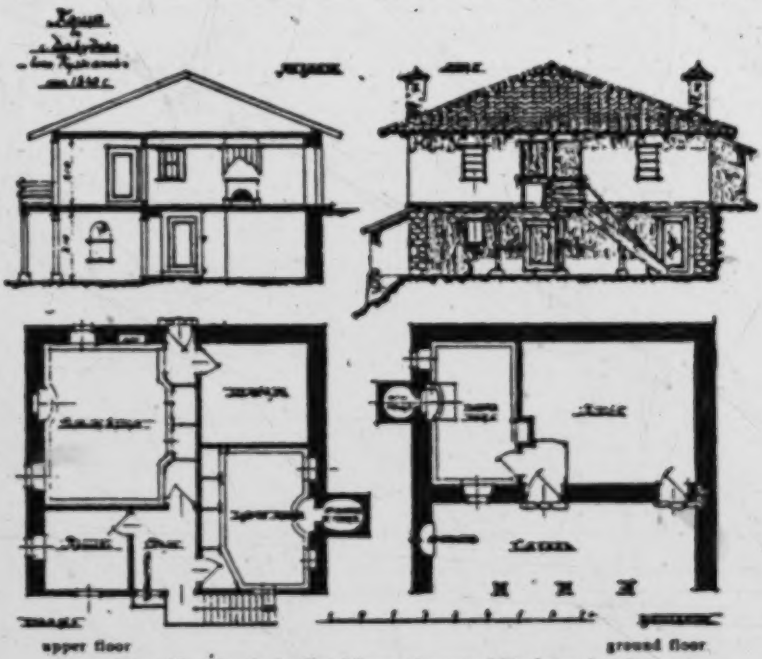

Fig. 48 House in Davidovo of central Rodope, in 1840.
(Zlatev, Bälg. Kästa, fig. 63).

This may also be said generally for the house of the Orvelo (Bulg. Pirin) district, which, owing to the great use of wood, shows some unimportant variations (1).

3. The Troglodyte Houses.

The troglodyte houses (called by the Bulgars «bourdel» from the Roumanian word «bordeiu») are, by origin and construction, entirely different in shape from those already examined above.

B [192]

1) See Zlatev, Bälgar. kästa pp. 81-89.

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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

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1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κωτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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on the ground floor and on the first floor as well. Some additional spaces are thus formed, giving a large variety of forms to the frontage of the houses (Figg. 58 and 60, Plate XVII 8).

The prostoon, especially in the Moslem houses of the towns of Bosnia, is completely closed at the front on the upper floor because of the way Moslem women live. Thus, a large and wide hall (divanhana) is formed in front of the rooms, with projecting closed balconies, as we have seen them in the houses of Northern Greece and Rodope.

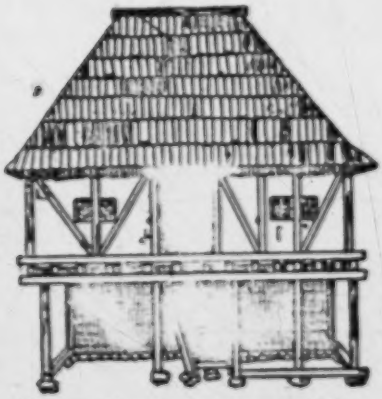

Fig. 57 House with an open portico in Novi
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien, fig. 33)

Fig. 58 Moslem house in Mostari with a prostoon open in the middle of the lower floor and over all the left part of the upper one
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 37)

In the more developed forms, the enclosed spaces which are formed at the end of the prostoon extend over the building line and thus give to the vertical aspect of the house the form of a Π.

Such a developed form of Bosnia house can be seen in the Moslem one of Travnik (Fig. 61) whose plans may be seen in Plate XVII, 9. The ground floor of this house consists of two main rooms (S and St) and of one prostoon, one part of which has been separated and formed a kitchen (K). Two more rooms have been built on the front (S-S) on either side of the entrance, thus giving the form of Π to the plan of the house.

The disposition of space is more elaborate on the upper floor. The divanhana is not one of the sides of the house, but in the centre of the floor. This was the reason why Meringer found it difficult to

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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Fig. 59 House in the town Travnik
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 72)

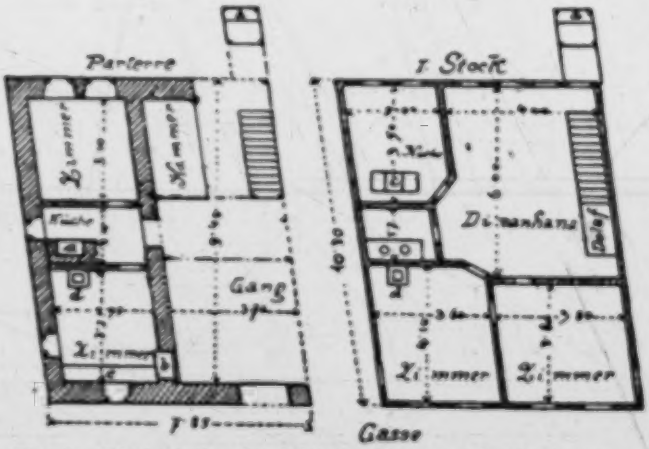

Fig. 60 Plan of the above Moslem house with the prostoon on the upper floor closed on all sides
(Meringer, Volkstüml. Haus in Bosnien fig. 73)

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explain the origin of that type of house. This formation, however, being the last stage in the development of the prostyle wide-fronted house, can be fully understood when one considers the similar forms of Greek houses. We must then suppose that before reaching the above stage, there was a simpler arrangement of space, with the prostoon remaining intact. The increase of space is achieved by the addition of two rooms on the frontage of the house on each side of the staircase,

Fig. 61 Moslem house of Travnik with a covered gate-space leading to the courtyard. See plans of it on Plate XVII Nr. 9
(Merlinger, Volkskunl. Haus in Bosnien fig. 70)

as it can be seen on Plate IV 3e of the Greek house. Later in order to obtain a greater degree of security in the house, the front part of the house was closed by a high wall reaching up till the roof and including the staircase within the building, as it is seen on Plate IV 3 f. Finally, the need to obtain additional spaces, brought about the separation of the two ends of the prostoon and their transformation into rooms.

Thus, a part of the prostoon, remained as an empty space, in the centre of the house, and formed a central room, into which the doors of all the other rooms open and which, owing to its origin, kept the original name of the prostoon, divanhana.

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Thus, the evolution of the Bosnian house from the simpler to the more composite forms, as shown in plate XVII, which we compiled on the basis of plans of houses studied by R. Meringer, does not differ, in its general lines, from that of the Greek houses. That is to say, also the Bosnian house mainly owes its final form to the gradual modification of the prostoon, which extended in front of the rooms, just as with the Greek and the Bulgarian houses.

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Therefore, the remark made by Cvijic years ago, basically retains all its value, namely that the Greco-mediterranean type of house can be seen in Southern Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria and, in general, in all countries that were included in the Byzantine Empire or that had felt the influence of its civilization(1).

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From that point of view, the remarks of the Russian ethnologist S. A. Tokariof are interesting. Tokariof, as we have said, studied four years ago the shapes of the popular houses of the Balkan Slav countries. When describing the Moravian type of house, he says: «The old houses(2) are built mostly of branches and bricks, plastered on both sides with mud. The buildings are one-storied as a rule, but often there are houses with basements, dug into the ground. The floor is of beaten

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1) When **C. Jirecek**, in his book Geschichte der Serben, vol. 2. I. Gotha 1918, p. 74 foll. deals with the Serbian houses of the Middle Ages, he says: «Only the narrow houses inside the royal castles were more solidly built. But, according to Guillaume Adam, the courts of the kings and the nobles were enclosed by fences made of wooden posts. Only in the towns of the ex-Byzantine areas does one see «palaces» such as the one preserved in Melenikon; it is a Buzantine house of nobles with two floors, a large reception room and a square tower. During that period there were stonebuilt houses of many floors with open and closed balconies in the sea side towns of Cattaro, Antivari and Dulcigno. High houses were also to be seen in towns that were of Greek origin. In the villages most of the houses were wooden huts with a roof of straw. In the area of the Karst mountain, one could see stone houses, built without any mortar and of a rectangular shape. The fire place was the centre of the house. In the houses of richer inhabitants, meals were served, as in monasteries, on tables covered with a tablecloth. It spite, however, of this general imitation of the Byzantine ways of life, when Greeks visited the court of king Stephen Ouros (1268) their impression was that it was poor and primitive» (page 81). Cf. **Pr. Krauss**, Slavische Volkforschungen Leipzig, 1908, p. 4 foll.

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To prove the fact that Greek masons («majstori» and «protomajstori») worked in great numbers at the building of the fine churches, monasteries, palaces and other buildings in Serbia, see **C. Jirecek**, op. cit. p. 73.

2) I copy the text of the translation as it was published in «Μόρφωση» 1946 p. 130 and foll.

A 342 [171] We conclude this from the description of J. von Hahn who visited Albania during the middle of the 19th century. «Albanians», says Hahn, «just like Greeks, seem to prefer the two-storey house. This takes the form of an elongated rectangle, divided into two parts both in the ground and in the upper floor. In the ground-floor one of them is a stable and the other a store-room.

«The two rooms of the upper floor have a long veranda in front of them, supported by wooden poles and opening on the yard. A staircase, covered by an extension of the roof, leads up to the veranda; two doors lead to rooms that do not communicate with each other. The women of the household sit and work in this veranda during almost the whole year.

A [369] «A considerable increase of space is effected at the veranda (as far as I know, only in urban houses) by the fact that the house itself does not comprise two, but three spaces, of which the third, a central one, does not regularly constitute a closed room, for there is no party wall between the two corner rooms and the veranda. The floor of this room is about one foot higher than that of the veranda, and it is used by the family for their meals, when the season of the year permits it. Now, if an increase of space is necessary, part of the veranda is separated and converted into a room, which is sometimes extended on this side of the veranda towards the courtyard; or the veranda is left intact and two corner rooms are built on either side of the staircase; these rooms are also facing the conrtyard, so that the veranda takes now the shape of a cross.

A [171] «This is the form which is taken as a besis in the final shape of the Turkish house (1), because even in the case when this or that or all the sections of the crossform building were converted into rooms, some indications in the consistence of the walls, the cornice and the

1) **J. von Hahn** abuses here the word «Turkish» when he means the completed form of house which has developed after a long process of evolution during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine years in Greek countries. The truth is that the Turks adopted the closed form of house, which opens into an internal courtyard, because of the secluded life their women live. The covered verandas and open rooms of Byzantine houses were especially pleasant to them, as they had a comfortable and protected view. The presence of this architectural element in the popular urban architecture of Greece, as remarks Prof. G [342] **A. Keramopoullos,** Αἱ ἀνώφρακτοι τῶν οἰκιῶν in rev. Archimidis 21 (1920) 61. is continuously witnessed from the 6th century B.C. up to this day. Turks have never been known as good house builders. Comp. **Gl. Markopoulos:** Ἡ λαϊκή μας ἀρχιτεκτονική, Athens 1945 p. 94.

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decorations allow us to discern that these rooms were[1] separated later on. When he was considering Hahn's descriptions, that prove of a most acute observation power this investigator of Greek and Albanian folklore was endowed with, Nopcsa already found some elements that bring the house of Middle Albania near that of Kastrati described above (p. 71), in what the development of the prostoon is concerned. Judging from the plans of houses in Dyrrachion and Rethi given by the Italian G. Rosati[2] in his survey, Nopcsa arrives at the conclusion that «the shape of such a house constitutes the regular type in Middle Albania»[3]. If seen more closely, the shapes of houses taken as a basis by Hahn show, however, a much more advanced stage of development than that of the best houses of Northern Albania; and the plans of these houses, I have drawn on Plate XVIII No. 16-19, are basically the same as the types of Greek house on Plates V 5[b] and IV 3[b-f]. It must also be noted that the completed shape of the Bosnian house (see above p. 91, Plate XVII 9) entirely corresponds to the type of house characterised by Hahn as Turkish (Plate XVIII 19).

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When examining the expansion of the prostyle wide-fronted house, Nopcsa finds that this house may be spread all over the Balkan peninsula, from the Peloponese to the area North of Skopje, but thinks that houses with a veranda are much more numerous in the Italian peninsula than in the Balkan[4]. This is perhaps the reason why he accepts the opinion of Haberlandt, who recognises a «Roman and an Italian medieval element» in Albanian housing architecture.

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As I have not been able to see the survey of A. Haberlandt,

1) **J. von Hahn,** Albanesische Studien. Jena 1853 pp. 73 and 169 and foll.

2) I could not find the survey of Rosati, Condizioni agronomiche dell' Albania, 1915.

3) **Nopcsa,** op. cit. p. 46.

4) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus and Hof im Altertum, p. 71, the portico which extends along the side of the rain-water drain (Längslaube) is the natural prolongation of the eagle-type wide-fronted house, especially if this house still comprises a single room, or if this room has been sub divided only internally. This may be seen in High Germany, High Italy, especially with Yugoslavs (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria), and Rumanians, as well as with the inhabitans of New Caucasus (The Tcherkg); more rarely with the Tcechs and the Poles, and not at all in Russia and Northern Germany. But while Oelmann mentions Southern Soudan, Eeast Africa, India and even China, he never mentions Greece, and completely ignores everything connected with modern Greek architecture.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ιονάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10 20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A description of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». ('Ο Φάρος τῆς Βορ. 'Ελλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

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as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghiâ and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (4). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

A
[177]

A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors aud is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ παλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas.** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1921 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Staries on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 235), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 ● 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. 18 85. See also **D. Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter [855] practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular [852] liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [996] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father [527] leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

1: Karutz--73 E-4 (no date) 1925 F1 Europe
Greece EH1

/104/

The Macedonians

I.

000 1. Konak in Alaklissa. 2. Shepherd's hut of loam and straw in the Campania, the lowlands north of Salonika. 3. Fortress-like warehouse in Palalitza. 4. Peasant woman at a weaving loom in Skoplje. 5. Farmyard near Skoplje. 6. Bagpipes. 7. Baking bell. 8. Magical charm. 9. and 10. Votive offerings. 11. Cotton cleaner (batter's bow). 12. Riding donkey. 13. Pottery oven near Skoplje. 14. Armchair. 15. Flowing farmer. 16. Brand iron used for branding sheep. 17. Incense pot. 18. Earthenware cover for the coal basin, used for keeping the heat in; on top of it is placed the pot or coffee jug.[1]

(Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 1 , and 11 are in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg. Numbers 13, 16, and 17 in the Ethnographisches Museum at Dresden. Numbers 4, 5, 12, 13, and 16 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt /Chief surgeon-general/ Dr. Hansen in Lübeck.

101 144 In the lowlands between Albania, old Bulgaria, and Greece, that is, in Macedonia, and incessant movement of peaceable and war-like peoples has produced the racial mixture of present-day Macedonia, in which the Indo-Germanic Thracians constitute the basic stock. To this were added, in antiquity, Romans, in the middle ages Slavs and Bulgarians, Turks and their Turkomanic or Near Eastern camp-followers; and, finally, Rumanians, Greeks, and the tribally related Albanians. The level tracts of land along the coast and the 231 swampy lowlands are maintained by a nomadic type of livestockbreeding; 241 the fertile fringe areas provide ample yields from the grain agriculture which cultivates primarily wheat and maize, but they are also receptive 342 to southerly cultures such as rice, opium, and cotton. The herders build for themselves hasty round huts of loam and straw; the field guards who here, as in all the other parts of the Balkans, watch over the cultivated fields all through the summer, construct frame-works shaped like beehives or pointed cones out of intertwined twigs and thick bundles of straw. Simple farmsteads also have a thatched roof on walls of tiles and loam; a combination of wood, loam, and tiles leads to two-storied panel-work structures (Figure 2) which contain, in the ground floor,

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a -- Analyst]

342 stables and storage rooms, and in the upper story the living quarters with a verandah, a balcony, and a sink; over them is a flat roof of tiles. The Albanian form of the square fortified tower is to be seen
177 on larger warehouses (Figure 3). The interior displays the customary
[352] simple furnishing of the Balkan dwelling; the semicircular chair in Figure 14 is reminiscent of the Albanian styles, while its horn-shaped
[415] supports remind one of Turkish influence. The weaving loom and the hatter's bow (Figure 11) that is used for the cleaning of wool and of cotton, have probably come to this country from the Orient, even though the hatter's bow is ancient European (compare the Plate, Estonians II). The baking bell shown in Figure 7, the bagpipes shown in Figure 6, the incense vessel shown in Figure 17, the wooden plow,
[492] shown in Figure 15, which is drawn by the team of oxen that are driven on by a goad (not a whip) and which are harnessed with a neck yoke--all these are universally characteristic of the Balkans. The riding donkey shown in Figure 12, on the other hand, points to the Orient.
[777] Figures 8 to 9 are illustrations of protective charms--the horse's skull is reminiscent of Kirghiz customs, compare volume 1 of this atlas, Plate, Kirghiz I, Figure 13, that are based upon the knowledge of spiritual forces which are everywhere alive, which are effective in everything that is and has being, and can be utilized for magical purposes, both in a good as well as in a bad sense.

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/105: Illustrations/

/106/ The Macedonians

II.

1. Men and women from western Macedonia. 2. Woman from

[See: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 73a --Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan. 423 474 241 [167]

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future. [242] [407] [435] [407]

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem. [652]

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity." [343] [242]

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula,
178 the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

mist—these specialties already exist and their practitioners can be consulted. Nor 121
does the anthropologist have to discover the structure of the language for himself, nor is his vocabulary limited to what he can learn directly from the people he studies. An anthropologist working in old national cultures is able to concentrate his energies in the field on that aspect of his profession for which he is specifically trained and best fitted: the observation of the behavior of those he lives with for the purpose of discovering its regularities, its range of variation, its internal interrelationships, and its association or articulation with the culture of the nation of which the village community is a part.

There are, however, some unexpected mental hazards in doing anthropological field work in a society whose culture is a contemporary variation on one's own basic tradition. We had two opposite reactions to the way of life of the village; one was a strong sense of its familiarity, and the other was a surprised awareness of its strangeness. The sense of familarity grows out of the similarity of so many cultural elements with those one knows from home; the sense of strangeness partially from the often slight variation in the form of the elements, but more particularly from the way the elements are combined, from the new patterns created by a different organization of the items and by the different contexts in which they appear.

A trivial example may illustrate the point. If the cultural element under 121
discussion is adult footwear, we are immediately conscious of familiar elements. 291
Shoes and slippers are purchased, not manufactured by each family; men and 292
women do not wear the same types; the man's shoe is a standard low oxford tie, [430]
and the women wear leather pumps with medium high heels, or cloth slippers. The shoes, pumps, and slippers are within the range of styles for such items available in the United States. But the contexts in which the Greek villagers wear their shoes and slippers provide surprises. Men in Vasilika wear ordinary oxfords for work in the fields, for walking in mud, rain, and even snow during the winter—with no other foot protection. When the fields are flooded for irrigation, men remove their shoes and work barefoot. Within their houses, men do not change into slippers; they do not own any. Women, on the other hand, wear cloth slippers both indoors and outdoors, around the house and in the fields, in all weathers and in all seasons. Their leather pumps are saved for church, for holidays, and for journeys. On such occasions women wear pumps regardless of the weather. They daintily pick their way through muddy, unpaved village paths and stand for hours in unsubstantial pumps on the stone floor of the unheated church each Sunday throughout the cold, rainy winter.

Ways in which the same cultural elements are differently combined in 121
the Greek village from the way they are in the United States will be noticed as family organization, values, and the like are discussed. The hazard this kind of situation creates for the anthropological field worker is that he may not even become aware of certain characteristics of village culture because their superficial familiarity leads him to take them for granted. For example, once I learned [343]
that farm animals and stores of farm produce were not kept in the houses, I assumed they must be maintained in buildings of distinctive design. Although

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 this turned out to be partially true, it was not entirely so, and many of the stone
343 structures I had labeled as homes, because they had the same form as houses, were actually stables and storehouses.

128 The material presented in this book has been selected and organized in such a way as to emphasize the major interests and preoccupations of the villagers, rather than to demonstrate explicitly the ways in which knowledge about the village can be helpful for the solution of general anthropological problems of theoretical import. I am using the data on which this brief ethnography is based in connection with such problems elsewhere.

A final note is in order. In describing the people of Vasilika I have avoided using the term "peasant" for two reasons. First, the layman's concept of the peasant often includes the traits of stupidity and stubborn resistance to change that are by no means characteristic of the people of Vasilika. And second, social scientists have not yet arrived at a definition of the term that is generally accepted among them. References to the current discussion of this latter problem appear in the reading list.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *agbora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *agbora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *agbora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *agbora*, and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *agbora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *agbora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents.

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls.

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578]
competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on [621]
which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 369
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after [296]
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514]
new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343] ●
in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of [758]
brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[666] [633] councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes, on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

[622] The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of [624] the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen [622] are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand [666] drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

623 The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two 344 rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's; 352 its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[1]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of [353] medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorating the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long [207] table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high-powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

623 As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there, 624 as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on [623] the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EMI

A Greek Royalist

As to the Achilleion,[1] the palace itself is not particularly remarkable either inside or out, but the gardens are fine and the view is superb. No more magnificent site could be conceived, and we may take it that the Empress Elizabeth knew what she was about when she chose it. The grounds run down to the sea, and a bridge crossing the coast road gives access to a jetty and a private bathing place. The Kaiser acquired the property from the Empress, whether by gift or purchase I do not know, and lost it during the war, when it fell into the hands of the Greek Government. The place is at present unoccupied. It would make an excellent hotel, and I wonder that some enterprising company has not yet exploited it. 344

Leaving the Achilleion we pushed on by gardens, olive groves, and rough hillside until we reached the hamlet of Benizza where my companion had friends. We found our hosts having tea on a terrace which overlooked the sea. An olive tree gave shade and a vast mass of creeping geranium gave colour, and a more ideal spot for a tea-table it would be impossible to find. The conversation touched on politics —always a burning question in the Balkans—and I gathered that the owner of the house was an ardent royalist. He held very strong views, too, on the adjustment of the boundaries between Albania and Greece, maintaining that the present boundary is unfair. Epirus, he asserted, was, and ought to have remained, Greek. The murder of the Italian boundary commissioners which brought such a heavy reprisal upon Corfu was, according to him, committed by inhabitants 000

1 [In Gastouri --- Analyst]

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. 476
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 621
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built [345]
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [533]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [735]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [314]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [185]
project which was started by this group has led to the development [526]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages.

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks.

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea.

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun.

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains.

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns."

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea.

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her.

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable. 871

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities. 346 [177]

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture: [177] 346 727

The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[6] [634] [658] [653]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7] 872 [346] [875]

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Therefore, the school board in many villages has its hands full trying to provide an adequate school building by seeking aid from the King's Institute, from the local community council, or from whatever other source can be tapped. The village is much more apt to procure and hold a teacher, [875] since teachers are in such short supply, if it can provide him something approximating satisfactory living conditions. That is why some school boards, [346] in constructing a new school, include a room in which the teacher can live, for such private accommodations are not available in many Greek villages. Providing necessary equipment and school supplies is another persistent problem for the school board, particularly since many of the parents cannot afford to buy for their children what the teacher thinks essential. [658] Nor should it be supposed that the national government is indifferent to this state of affairs. Its funds for education are necessarily limited and these are first earmarked for teachers' salaries. What kind of person, one might ask, would care to teach under some of the difficulties encountered in the village schools?

The Village Teacher

875 For the almost 940,000 pupils in elementary school in 1956–57, there 872 were 19,872 teachers. This means a national average of about 47 pupils per teacher, although as an average it indicates that a large number of teachers have more than this. In many of the smaller villages, the teachers have from four to six grades in one room, reminiscent of the rural one-room school in America of many years ago.

If we turn to accounts of village life, we gain a quick insight into, but certainly not a representative sampling of, the number of teachers one would meet, since each of these villages has at least three teachers:

[874] In a fairly large Macedonian village we find five teachers, three with the rank of "instructors" who have finished a two-year normal school beyond secondary school. The two others are trained kindergarten or nursery-school teachers. They have 402 pupils, of whom 358 are in the regular six grades and 44 are in kindergarten and nursery. Most of these teachers have been in this village for at least five years. Nevertheless, because of their urban background, their thinking is urban and they find it difficult to take part in village activities.

In a village near Xanthe there are three teachers, all new to the community, who are paid by the central government. Two of these are from the Peloponnesos far to the south. All are graduates of the pedagogical academies. They have 156 pupils with an average daily attendance of 142.

Another village in Central Greece has three teachers: one man and two women. The man has resided in the village since 1947; one woman was appointed head of the school in 1942 but was away during the German occupation; the third was appointed in 1951. All are graduates of the normal school.

1:Sanders Z-5/ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see. 771

Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church. 771 795 619 162

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2] 795 184 776 [346]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names 795 184

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will
[177] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by
[754] himself without a priest."[11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, con-
794 sisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-
[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other
788 Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending cannot help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross,
[346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome repre-
[778] senting heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*), which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congre-
[562] gate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works

793 794 [346] The contrast between an ordinary priest's home and the bishop's palace in Kalamata is quite marked, for the latter was once the ornate building housing the local branch of the Bank of Greece. But the bishop's interest in the people of his diocese, both the city dwellers in Kalamata and the farmers in the surrounding villages, equaled that of any priest for his parishioners. The bishop, when visited in 1953, proved a friendly, jovial person, with an iron-gray beard, a dignified though rotund figure, and a very forward-looking social philosophy. It was this latter quality in particular that had made me seek him out after hearing from friends in Athens of his unusual achievements in the welfare field.

He began to talk about what he had done and hoped to do for his people: "I became interested when I saw their great needs, for, as a church leader, I am responsible for the welfare of whatever people are under me." But before he started on any specific projects after his arrival in this diocese, he had thought it best, as he phrased it, "to put myself at the disposal of the people." He gradually gained the confidence of the members of his diocese by making available to them for local use all of the church's funds derived from festivals. The people began to realize that this bishop was interested in them. Later on, when he began asking them to support the various projects which he started, they gladly cooperated.

793 747 His first project was a day nursery, which takes care of one hundred and twenty children whose mothers are at work, started in 1947. Visiting this nursery in the afternoon when all of the children had gone home, we noted the cleanliness and the simple but adequate facilities. The success of this nursery prompted the bishop to start another one in Mycenae for one hundred children in 1948.

736 793 848 [597] [847] One perplexing problem was that of illegitimate children. In many cases the mother would kill such a child or leave it with people who exploited it unmercifully. So he started a home for these children in 1947. Since then, two hundred and fifty children have gone through the home, sixty of them have been adopted and fifty were there then. The equipment was simple and bare, but everything was spotless. When we entered, the children came up to the bishop with great pleasure, for he is a favorite with the young children. One of the nurses told us: "When we have a child that is lonesome, who won't eat, we ask the bishop to come feed the child. When he comes, the child always eats."

793 736 [597] [657] The bishop noticed, however, that many of the boy foundlings, but relatively few of the girl foundlings, would be adopted. The boys who were not taken by foster parents by their fifth or sixth year would go into the National Boys' Orphanage of Kalamata, largely supported by the state, which had one hundred and fifty boys in 1953. Something had to be done for the girls.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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15. The schoolmaster and his pupils by their century-old school, Kyparissia, Peloponnesos. Originally the school was privately endowed.

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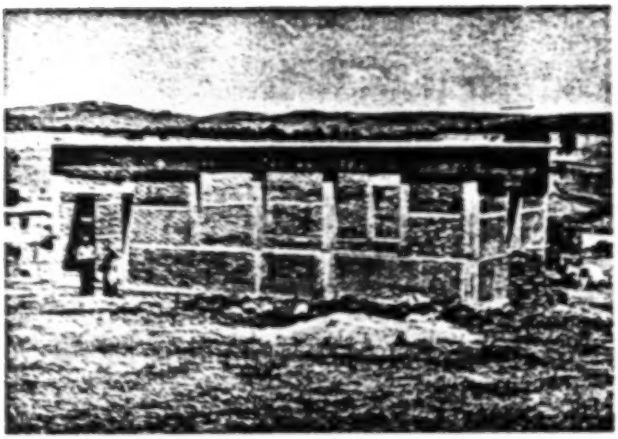

[177] 16. A school building under construction in Malakasa village, new promise for two dozen children. The Save the Children Federation provides the materials; Malakasa, the labor.

[p. 272-J]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

346 361 764 [783] [312] Generally, in the old villages the church is in the outskirts. To the back of the church is the cemetery, which is walled to keep out both wild predatory animals and farm animals. For Greeks it is a sin to step on a grave. The church may have a belltower, or the bell may be hung from the branch of an old tree. There is always a well in the churchyard and the cemetery of the old village. It is used as drinking water and for the purification after a burial. The main church of the old village must be the tallest, the largest, and the best-constructed building of the village. This signifies respect for God; the past is not forgotten. This is very much after the pattern of the ancient Greeks who built their shrines as the best buildings while they themselves lived in huts. . . .

Both the church and the cemetery of the old village must be located in a landscape of natural beauty and scenery. Thus faith, worship, and death are in close relation with the natural scenery.[28]

[178] [769] But Valassis adds a discordant note. The new churches are now being constructed in the center of the village, while the cemeteries remain on the outskirts. No longer, therefore, do the peasants, after a Mass or ceremony, go to the graveyard to pay respect to their ancestors.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.
484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of 443 fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use 484 them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation. 484 But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or 49 a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of [205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and communities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a 484 bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built, [49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-[346] tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959, [245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and another of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the [764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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Orthodox Church has been able to preserve in all its integrity the faith once delivered to the saints. Ecclesiastical organisation has never in eastern Christendom been looked upon as having an importance such as, at any rate from the eleventh century onwards, it assumed in the west. Provided only that he is free to participate fully in the liturgical life of his local church, the Greek or Russian Christian is prepared to sit curiously lightly to matters of jurisdiction and the machinery of ecclesiastical government and administration. Even when, as in the U.S.S.R. to-day, the Church is subject to every imaginable restriction save this bare permission to celebrate the divine mysteries, she can yet contrive to hold fast to her traditions with a tenacity which must often strike the western Christian as little short of miraculous: "the stable perseverance in these our days of the *Greek* Church", wrote Rycaut in the seventeenth century, "notwithstanding the Oppression and Contempt put upon it by the *Turk* . . . is a Confirmation no less convincing than the Miracles and Power which attended its first beginnings."

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So, throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Greek Church held fast the traditions which enshrined the saving truths of the divine economy. The Gospel was preached less by means of homilies and sermons than through the regular cycle of feast and fast; though Christian schools were maintained, often with great heroism in the face of overwhelming difficulties, the children of Hellas relied even more upon the visible catechism of the Church's liturgy. So it was that the faith was preserved as a royal treasure: the life of the mystical body burned on in secret, though the royal priesthood might be "expelled their Churches and those converted into Moschs; the Mysteries of the Altar conceal'd in secret and dark places . . ."

It is in remote townships like Kastoria that one can best enter into the spirit of the Greek Church under the Turkish yoke. To the traveller who approaches the ancient city of Diocletian from the southward there is little to suggest the presence of some seventy-two churches. Kastoria reveals its secrets only to those who are prepared to spend several days scrambling up and down the stony paths below the nineteenth-century metropolis, where tiny churches are set obscurely amidst the high, fortress-like domestic architecture of a later age. A great number of these churches date from Byzantine days, for from about the seventh century onwards this mountain township served as a place of exile for many whose presence at Constantinople was, for one reason or another, considered undesirable. Many more were built during the

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178 795 346 centuries of Turkish dominion. Outwardly they are scarcely distinguishable from the cottages which surround them: only the shallow apse at the east end proclaims the church.

[532] Within, however, one finds oneself in another world. Walls unpierced by windows are covered with paintings which set forth the whole story of creation and redemption. Patriarchs and prophets mingle with the saints of the new dispensation; Elias is caught up to heaven in a chariot of fire and Jonah goes down to the bottoms of the mountains with the weeds wrapped about his head; those whose names are honoured throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, Athanasius, Basil and Gregory the Divine, rub shoulders with local saints like St. George of Iannina and the Neo-Martyrs; the Lord Christ is baptised in Jordan, He changes the water into wine and reigns in triumph from the tree of Calvary; the Holy Spirit descends in tongues of fire upon the apostles. Here in these little chapels—"rather like Vaults or Sepulchres than Churches, having their Roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgency of structure should be accused for triumph of Religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the *Mahometan* Moschs"—the mysterious life of the local church was nourished throughout the dark days of oppression; the saints which were in Kastoriá, like their brethren at Thessalonica, obeyed the apostolic injunction to hold fast the traditions which they had been taught.

178 795 788 771 Not infrequently, it must be confessed, zeal for the preservation of the faith in the midst of an alien environment gave rise to a certain lack of discrimination. The pure gold of the apostolic tradition has not been handed down from generation to generation without gathering to itself certain accretions of doubtful worth, and the simple Christian is not always able to distinguish the one from the other or prepared even to admit the possibility of such intermingling.

> This Reverence to the Church [observes one of the old writers] produces a firm belief and strict adherence to the Articles of it, and to all the Ceremonies and matters the most minute and indifferent, not suffering the least change or alteration in them. For although they are sensible (as many of their Priests have confessed to me) of the inconvenient length of their Liturgies . . . and of many superstitious Customs and Ceremonies derived to them from the times of *Gentilism*, which are now ingrafted into, and as it were grown up

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of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes 619
of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed 795
steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. [722]
The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious
defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God".
Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably [346]
linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood
paintings of the *Avroff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the
relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms
of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain 619
weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that 795
measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people 659
would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples 793
of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments
within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to
be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on
the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as com-
pared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that
bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to
the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potential-
ities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed 178
to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only 795
dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping:
conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on
intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it
seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true
character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully
these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren
of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled
with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in
this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it
has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the
growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians,
the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of
incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for
Christendom as a whole.

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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

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494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[926] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[521] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver-headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis.

The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
[162] about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
722 whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
166 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward. When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
[736] in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[346] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away, which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[533] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
[493] before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[457] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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celebration of the divine mysteries. The liturgy was no longer thought of as a corporate action in which the whole congregation—the laity no less than the clerks—had an essential part to play. Slowly but surely the mass came to be regarded rather in the light of a marvellous rite, fraught indeed with inexpressible wonder and mystery, performed by the sacred ministers: as something *said* rather than *done*. The common people, capable no longer of entering into the full meaning of the prayer of the Church, came to church to hear the mass and to occupy themselves with 'private' devotions bearing little relation to the action which was taking place within the sanctuary, where the sacred ministers performed their liturgy on behalf of the whole body. The ceremonies which from about the thirteenth century onwards gathered about the elevation of the holy gifts belong to an age which had already acquiesced in the growth of a popular piety no longer effectively subject to the control of the prayer of the Church. 788 796

The English Prayer Book attempted to restore to the laity their rightful liturgy. The mass was again sung that the people might hear it and in a language which they could understand. But the reformers themselves were too much subject to mediaeval assumptions: the real roots of the trouble still lay hid. An emphasis on audibility was not enough and congregational worship was not necessarily *corporate* worship. For the common people the new vernacular mass was still something said rather than done; metrical psalms and the congregational hymns which gradually superseded them, had no more organic connexion with the eucharistic action than the older vernacular devotions wherewith our forefathers had occupied themselves while the priest, aloof and apart, performed his mysterious acts at God's board.

The expression 'to hear mass' has no parallel in Greek. The Greek Christian goes to his parish church not so much to *hear* a service as to play his part in a corporate action in which all the different orders of the Church are actively involved. The very arrangement of the church emphasises this fact; the sacred ministers are not, as is now usual in the west, separated from the people by a long quire or chancel. The holy table stands not against the east wall of the apse but clear in the midst of the *altar*, or sanctuary as we should say. The average Greek church, it should also be borne in mind, is by western standards very tiny—even the great basilicas of Salonica are dwarfed by the cathedrals of the gothic north—and since the space which separates the holy table from 788 796 346

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788 the eikonostasis is commonly no greater than suffices to permit of the
796 prostrations of the celebrant, and, in a parish church, the laity occupy
the greater part of the space beneath the dome, and press against the
346 great screen which bears the eikons, many of the congregation are thus
within two or three yards of the holy table itself.

But what, the reader may ask, of the eikonostasis? Does not this solid screen, pierced only by three doors, extending right across the whole width of the church, cut off the laity from all effective participation in the action taking place within the sanctuary quite as much as mere physical remoteness? Does it not tend, as has been asserted by Dom Gregory Dix, to force "upon the eastern liturgies the character of two simultaneous services, the one proceeding outside the screen for the people, conducted chiefly by the deacon; the other—the real liturgical action—proceeding inside the screen conducted by the celebrant"?

788 That there is an element of truth in such contentions may be ad-
796 mitted: witness a tendency which is steadily gaining ground in Greece
346 to-day. In many town churches (with the exception of a few provincial
178 cathedrals liturgical reform has as yet made little headway in the
country districts), the curtain which could be drawn across the space above the double doors in the centre of the eikonostasis has now fallen into disuse—at any rate so far as the eucharistic liturgy is concerned. The doors themselves are as a rule only about three feet in height, and it has long been customary to draw these curtains (thus screening the sanctuary completely from the view of the people) at two points during the divine liturgy, at both of which there is much coming and going about the holy table; at the placing of the holy gifts upon the altar immediately after the Great Entrance; and again during the communion of the ministers. This custom has now been abandoned in many places. In a few churches the doors themselves have been removed as, for instance, at Aghia Katerini, Piraeus (where the liturgy is celebrated with a reverence and propriety unsurpassed in all Greece), and, I am told, in the chapel of the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople.

788 When all is said, however, the effects of the eikonostasis have been
grossly exaggerated by western writers, too many of whom have been
796 content to reiterate *ad nauseam* the strictures of their predecessors in the
346 field of controversy: strictures grounded not infrequently upon the
most superficial acquaintance with the liturgical practice of eastern Christendom. The divisive properties of the eikonostasis are most marked in a large church when the space before the royal doors normally

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occupied by the laity is railed off and reserved for the singers and distinguished visitors. Such an arrangement, so far as Greece is concerned, will be found only in certain churches of Athens and Salonica. It would, I fancy, be generally acknowledged by all who have worshipped among Greek Christians as well as in the churches of the Latins that as an instrument for creating a sense of separation between ministers and people the eikonostasis of the Easterlings is vastly inferior to the Frankish quire or chancel. An Orthodox priest who has celebrated the liturgy in more than 200 western churches (most of them Anglican) has remarked that he finds himself far more cut off from his congregation in an English parish church—without an eikonostasis of course, but with a long chancel, often having a screen at its *western* end—than in an Orthodox church where the screen is never further away than four feet from the altar.

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It needs also to be borne in mind how great a part of the eucharistic action is enacted *outside* the eikonostasis in the midst of the congregation. Thus the deacon, whose normal place is immediately beneath the eikon of the Pantocrator in the dome, acts as a constant link between all the various orders of the church. The bishop's throne, which forms part of the ordinary furnishing of every Greek church—a constant reminder that the parish priest 'liturgises' only as the deputy of the diocesan—also stands outside the screen, on the south side of the space beneath the dome, so that the bishop is often completely surrounded by his flock. At the solemn entries which occur during the course of the divine liturgy—the lesser, with the book of the Gospels, the greater, with the holy gifts veiled and borne aloft—the sacred ministers descend into the body of the church and make a slow circuit of the whole building. Outside the eucharistic liturgy itself, some of the most memorable events of the liturgical year—the great blessing of the waters at Epiphany (the Feast of Lights, as it is popularly known), the solemn kneeling at the second vespers of Whit-Sunday and the adoration of the holy cross on September 14th, as well as many of the profoundly moving ceremonies of Holy Week and Eastertide—are celebrated not within the sanctuary but in the midst of the congregation.

This would naturally be impossible if the Greek church were encumbered with chairs or pews. In fact, the only seating consists of a few stalls, with crutch-like supports for the arms, against the walls of the church. Standing—not kneeling—is, as it has always been, the normal attitude for prayer. At one of the great festivals the people will stand for hours wedged so tightly together that it is impossible even to cross

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788 oneself. All other considerations apart, such a setting is hardly favourable to
796 the growth of certain individualistic types of piety which flourish amongst
[346] the Franks, who worship their Creator in strange and novel ways, each isolated from his fellow and entrenched within the citadel of his own pew.

In Greece there is but one celebration of the liturgy on a Sunday or holy day in any one church. This is a rule which is waived only in cases
[346] of extreme necessity and then only when a *parekklesion*, or side-chapel, is available so that it is not necessary to use the same altar twice (most
[793] Greek churches have only one altar). A priest may celebrate only once on any given day.

In Greece the times of services are never announced and questions on this score are invariably met with evasive if not actually misleading replies. Services commence earlier in summer than in winter. An hour or two after sunrise the bells will be rung and the priest and a couple of readers will begin to sing the morning offices—*mesonyktikon* (which should, as the name indicates, be read at midnight, as it is in the monastic use), and *ortbros*, or lauds, the office of the dawn. Towards the end of the latter service—perhaps an hour or more after the village's first awakening—the bells will be rung a second time. Still the church is comparatively empty. The holy eucharist follows *ortbros* without a break about nine o'clock, and by the time that the thrice-holy hymn is sung (when the bells summon the faithful for the third and last time) the congregation will have begun to swell, until, at the great entry with the holy gifts, the greater part of the village will be packed within the walls of the church, the men to the right, the women to the left, the air by this time heavy with incense.

788 The whole service is invariably sung. What the west knows as a low
533 mass, the 'early service' or 'eight o'clock', dear to so many English churchmen, is unknown to the Greeks. The traditional Byzantine chant is still more or less universal and is always sung without instrumental accompaniment; only in certain urban parishes has it been partially displaced of recent years by that bastard child of strangely-matched parents, the so-called European chant. In its pure form the traditional plainsong can be quite ravishing in its unearthly beauty. Never shall I forget the singing of the monks of Moni Petraki who gather morning by morning in their tiny church, while Athens lies in darkness and before the first tramcar has gone clanging down the tree-lined avenue of the *Basilissa* Sophia towards the outer suburbs.

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VII

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A THESSALIAN THEBAID

> It seems a place of such stupendious solitude, as if the situation thereof had been designed for the retirement of Monks or the Cells of Anchorites.
>
> PAUL RYCAUT

> For the Quiet and innocency of their Life, the natural Beauty of the Place, the Rocks, Mountains, Streams, Woods, and curious Plants, joyn'd with the Harmonious Notes of Nightingales, and other Birds, in whole Quires, celebrating, and as it were, welcoming the forward Spring, to speak the truth, so charmed my melancholick Fancy for a time, that I had almost made a Resolution never to part with so great a Happiness, for whatever the rest of the World could present me with. But, in conclusion, it prov'd too hard a Task for me, so soon to wean myself from the World.
>
> GEORGE WHELER
> *A Journey into Greece*, 1682.

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THE traveller who follows the shallow streams of Peneios beyond Trikkala, with its Byzantine citadel, towards Kalambaka at the head of the Thessalian plain, will observe, long before the ruined cottages and hastily improvised dwellings of that oft-destroyed township come into view, a singular group of fantastically shaped rocks rising abruptly from the plain. As he draws nearer and the mountains close in on either hand he will distinguish what appear to be human habitations occupying seemingly inaccessible sites among these monstrous crags and pinnacles. Above Kalambaka itself the limestone cliffs tower toward heaven, "asperous, craggy, and barren"; a few monasteries and hermitages clinging as it seems miraculously to the very brink of the abyss, in defiance alike of the violence of the elements and of the laws of gravity. These are the Meteora monasteries, so extraordinary in their situation that one is disposed to accept the local belief that God formed

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these strange rocks for the peculiar benefit of the communities of 133
stylites who, in the fulness of time, were to build their chapels and 361
hermitages upon their barren summits. Assuredly, there are few places 792
on earth so admirably fitted to serve as a refuge for those who are called
to the solitary life and to the labour of the angels as this rocky wilderness 346
above Kalambaka.

The early history of the monasteries is lost in obscurity. We cannot 175
say at what period the first solitaries found their way to this remote 792
corner of Thessaly. It seems clear, however, that certainly before the 346
end of the thirteenth century, and perhaps considerably earlier, there were many hermits scattered about this wild region. *Staghi* (as Kalambaka, the ancient Aeginion, was known in the Middle Ages), seems to be a contraction of *eis tous aghious*—the name is still preserved in the official title of the Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi. It may have been many years before the unorganised eremitical life crystallised into anything in the nature of regular communities. Many of the monasteries trace their origins to the troubled epoch during the latter part of the fourteenth century when the Emperor of the Serbs carried on an intermittent campaign against the successors of Constantine from his base at Trikkala, a few miles further down the valley of the Peneios, and the desert of the solitaries was invaded by armed bands and by men whose warfare was not with principalities and powers. The hermits took refuge among the high rocks. How they first succeeded in establishing themselves on some of the apparently unscalable heights which are now surmounted by the crumbling ruins of their cells is one of the unfathomed mysteries of monastic history—though there are explanations to be heard in the mountain villages of Pindos.

Between 1356 and 1372 there came to Staghi a monk trained in the [133]
great coenobia of Mount Athos, Athanasius by name, who founded
on the summit of the Platys Lithos—the vast mass of rock which towers to a height of more than 1,800 feet to the north of Kastraki—the monastery dedicated in honour of the Transfiguration of our Lord and Saviour which has ever since been known as the Great Meteoron. As darkness descended upon the glories of New Rome, and the church of the Holy Wisdom—"the most fayr Chirche and the most noble of alle the world"—fell into the hands of the infidel, the desert blossomed and a flourishing group of monasteries sprang up among the barren rocks. The Great Meteoron prospered and served as a model for other foundations, thanks to the wisdom of its founder and to the benefactions of

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175 the wife of the Despot of Ioannina, whose brother, Ioasaph, had come to
792 Staghi as a postulant in 1388. By the sixteenth century there would
seem to have been as many as twenty-four communities scattered about
● 346 the rocks.

The convent of St. Stephen, built on the site of a hermitage founded in 1312, lies on the farther side of a chasm spanned by a drawbridge. [406] In order to gain access to most of the monasteries, however, it was necessary to be hoisted in a net lowered from the gate-house of the monastery (commonly situated some 150 feet above the farthest point [417] to which the traveller could attain by his own unaided efforts), or to clamber up ladders somewhat imperfectly secured by long wooden pegs to the face of the precipice. Travellers' accounts abound in references to the perils of either means of ascent: to frayed ropes which were replaced only after a catastrophe had actually occurred, and to the horrors of ladders hung perpendicularly upon the face of the cliff, below which, as Curzon relates: "the precipice went sheer down to so tremendous a depth, that my head turned when I surveyed the distant valley over which I was hanging in the air like a fly on a wall." It was not until 1925 that, as the result of the construction of some rough tunnels and steps, it became possible to reach the four monasteries then inhabited without considerable hazard to life and limb. The alterations then effected are bitterly lamented by the present *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron, the Archimandrite Callinicos, as a misguided concession to episcopal infirmity on the part of his predecessor. It seemed very [406] doubtful, however, whether the combined energies of the few remaining monks would suffice to operate their ancient windlass at all effectively. Curzon (who visited the Meteora in 1834) speaks of the ten or twelve monks at Aghia Trias who pulled him up to their monastery with a rope thirty-two fathoms long, and of the like number of reverend stevedores who assembled at the bars of the capstan at St. Barlaam, and whose efforts had the somewhat disconcerting effect of lifting him off the floor in his net and launching him "out of the door right into the sky, with an impetus which kept me swinging backwards and forwards at a fearful rate". To-day, the largest community can muster no more than half a dozen monks, of whom two are well advanced in years.

A great transformation has indeed come about since the days of prosperity vividly depicted in an old print which hangs in the sadly dilapidated guest-chamber of the Great Meteoron. More than twenty

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monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

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175 monks still further reduced to twenty-one. A decade of war has added
792 a catastrophic chapter to this melancholy tale of gradual decline, for
[162] it was not possible that the monks should remain aloof from the calamities which have befallen their native land during those terrible years. The day was long since flown when the monks could look down from the security of their rocky retreats upon scenes of slaughter and pillage as armies came and went on the plain below; and, turning away with the sign of the cross and a *Kyrie eleison*, go back to their labours. The unscalable heights were impregnable no longer.

792 I spent several days at the monasteries in January 1950, accompanied
123 by a young theologian from the Russian Academy in Paris. Heavy falls
[491] of snow had blocked the Metsovo pass—the one road that leads north-westwards from Kalambaka across the heights of Pindos, connecting the plain of Thessaly with Ioannina and Epirus—and the cold was intense. We had slept the previous night at Trikkala, where the Metropolitan had shown us a number of charred manuscripts which had been salvaged from the monasteries. Our first concern upon reaching Kalambaka the following morning was to seek out the curate of the place, Father Christos Benda, whom we discovered wrapped in a blanket at his fireside. He was not a little startled at the sudden apparition of two Frankish visitors in the doorway of his cottage, and regarded somewhat gloomily our proposal to sleep at the monasteries for the duration of our stay, assuring us (not without reason, as we subsequently discovered), that the monks had little enough bedding to protect their own persons from the bitter winds which swept the exposed summits. He promised, nevertheless, to come with us to look for the *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron who was said to have descended from his airy retreat that morning in order to deal with some piece of
[346] monastic business. First, however, we were taken to see the fourteenth-
[871] century basilica with its remarkable marble *ambon*, and to visit the school, where we found classes of 150 children overflowing the one available building (which had perforce to serve as primary school in the forenoon and as high school for the rest of the day), and packed into two small chapels which had been furnished with desks. The children were delighted at the diversion caused by the appearance of the *xenoi*. Papa Christos carried us off in search of the abbot who was finally run to earth in a tavern where, monastic business satisfactorily despatched, he was disposing of a dish of vegetables.

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An hour or so later we were scrambling up the chasm which separates the Platys Lithos from the adjacent massif of Drakospelaia. Hundreds of feet above us the walls of the monastery of St. Barlaam stood out, a ragged fringe of ivory, against the sky. The *Igoumenos* reined in his pony and pointed out to us the site of the monastic prisons, high in the towering cliffs above Kastraki. 792 [346]

"Your names once again, that I may remember them?"

"Boris and Petros."

"Boris and Petros", repeated Father Callinicos, readjusting the bundles of leeks which festooned his saddle, "*na eisthe kala!*"

"The *Kyrios* Boris", he went on, as we relapsed into single file, "is from Paris, and yet, you say is Orthodox?"

"He is indeed Orthodox, O *Igoumenos*."

"But the Christians of Paris are of another dogma, are they not? Are they not Catholics?"

My exposition of the state of the Christians of Paris and of the condition of the erring patriarch of the west was cut short as the gatehouse of the Great Meteoron came into view in breath-taking perspective. We gained the narrow platform of rock at the head of the gully, immediately below the monastery, and Gregorios threw back his head and sent cries of *Agathangelle!* echoing and re-echoing among the high rocks. 346 792

> Having reached the foot of the precipice, says Curzon, we stopped in the middle of this dark chasm and fired a gun . . . which was intended to answer the same purpose as knocking at the door in more civilised places; and we all strained our necks in looking up at the monastery to see whether any answer would be made to our call. Presently we were hailed by some one in the sky, whose voice came down to us like the cry of a bird; and we saw the face and grey beard of an old monk some hundred feet above us peering out of a kind of window or door. . . . Presently, after a careful reconnoitring from several long-bearded monks, a rope with a net at the end of it came slowly down to us, a distance of about twenty-five fathoms; and being bundled into the net, I was slowly drawn up into the monastery, where I was lugged in at the window by two of the strongest of the brethren, and after having been dragged along the floor and unpacked, I was presented to the admiring gaze of the whole reverend community, who were assembled round the capstan.

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

346 792 [406] *Autres temps, autres moeurs.* "Unhappily", said Father Callinicos, as we waited at the foot of the precipice and Gregorios unsaddled the pony, "there have been regrettable changes; formerly there was great security." The windlass, it appeared, was now used only for hauling up firewood and victuals. We took a last look at the leeks, now 100 feet above our heads, and entered the dark passage which gives access to the steps leading to the monastery. Agathangellos was awaiting us outside the now disused refectory: a youngish monk, clad in a tattered grey cassock and soft cap, who had come to the Meteora, we subsequently discovered, in 1939. He carried us off to the guest-chamber (little used in these days) and left us among the faded memorials of former splendour while he went in search of refreshment. A few [796] minutes later the insistent clamour of the *semandron* summoned us to vespers in the fine *catholicos*, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, where Athanasius the Athonite, clad in the habit of a western monk, looks down from the apse—a fragment of an earlier church on the same site, built by Ioasaph in 1388. A frugal supper of vegetables, [262] goats' milk cheese and bread followed, and afterwards we sat on [352] wooden stools round a fire of brushwood and talked to the *Igoumenos* [372] and the other members of his little family, while Agathangellos busied himself in the kitchens, where cats as lean as the stylite saints depicted in the frescoes of the narthex lurked in the shadows. Father Callinicos, 792 we discovered, had been at the Great Meteoron for nearly forty years. There was one other priest in the community: a Father Theophylaktos who had lived in the Athonite house of Xeropotamou for several years as a simple monk before he was ordained and came to Thessaly in 1935. Another monk—also named Callinicos—had been carried off by the Italians and had died in exile. Apart from Father Agathangellos, the only remaining member of the community was a very ancient personage named Paul who appeared to lead the life of a solitary, and whom we but dimly discerned amidst the shadows of the church. Gregorios, who had accompanied us from Kalambaka, was no monk but a married man with a wife and several children, lately returned to their village in the mountains to the west of Trikkala. We encountered him again some ten days later, breasting a snow-covered ridge among the foothills of Pindos with a couple of heavily-laden pack-animals, and accompanied by a little troop of refugees on their way home after three years in Kalambaka.

[796] [346] Shortly after eight o'clock Father Agathangellos reappeared with a

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huge iron lantern, to lead the way along rickety galleries and past rows of long-abandoned cells to the church. We shivered in our stalls while compline was shrilly chanted, without book and by the light of a single guttering candle, in the narthex. "They are so expert and ready therein", says Rycaut, "that they can run from the beginning to the ending without stop or hesitation, and gallop it over at that rate, that one must have a good ear and some skill in the Greek language, to distinguish the different sound of the words which they utter." As the monastic day ended, the monks emerged from the shadows of the *narthex*, and, one by one, filed past the *Igoumenos* to ask his forgiveness and blessing, and he theirs:

"Your blessing, holy father, and forgive me, a sinner."

"May God forgive you, holy father."

At the Great Meteoron, despite the gloomy prophecies of those who had tried to dissuade us from staying at the monasteries, there were plenty of blankets, and we slept soundly till, long before the dawn, the *semandron* recalled us to church for mattins and lauds. We groped our way towards the door of the narthex, slipping and stumbling on the ice-bound rocks and mindful of Father Agathangellos' parting exhortation to "avoid the edge of the abyss". The whole world seemed wrapt in an unfathomable silence—infinitely remote there floated up out of the vast emptiness at our feet the faint clink of a chain, where a mule moved restlessly in the camp at Kalambaka. We crept into the church with the unearthly chant rising and falling in our ears. Agathangellos, a candle held between his fingers, swayed back and forth at his lectern, a solitary pool of yellow light in the universal blackness; an occasional movement from the remoter recesses of the darkened church betrayed the presence of other members of the community. With the first pale light of dawn mattins gave place to lauds, and as a shaft of dusty sunlight pierced the darkness, picking out the gold and crimson of antique frescoes and bringing new life to limbs rigid with the cold, Father Callinicos, from within the sanctuary, took up the ancient hymn: "Glory to Thee who hast shown us the light . . ."

When the office was ended and we had drunk a cup of coffee and a thimbleful of *ouzo*, we spent a little time exploring the monastery, now stripped of all its movable treasures. Then, after taking leave of our kind hosts, we made our way to Aghios Barlaam where we were welcomed by the Archimandrite Ambrose and a young deacon named Bessarion. The *Igoumenos* was below in Kalambaka but would be back

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792 later in the day. There was, alas! no bedding at the monastery, said
[669] Father Ambrose: everything had been carried off by the Communists, to equip a field-hospital which they had established in the mountains to the northward; "What is to be done? But we will find something for you when you return this evening."

792 We spent the rest of the day scrambling about the rocks and visiting long-abandoned monasteries and hermitages. At St. Nicolas—fast
346 falling into ruin, and where one must tread with circumspection—we found a few paintings remaining in the two chapels and the refectory, as well as an iron chest containing liturgical books and an eikon of the Forerunner; elsewhere, nothing save slowly crumbling masonry and the all-enveloping silence. We paid a fleeting visit to Kalambaka and returned to St. Barlaam a little before sunset laden with cognac and cigarettes. Like the Great Meteoron, this monastery, which crowns the
[361] towering cliffs of Drakospelaia, was until quite recent times inaccessible
[133] save by net and windlass. It is a sixteenth-century foundation, having been built about 1517 by two brothers from Ioannina—Nektarios and Theophanes—on the site of the fourteenth-century hermitage founded by the solitary from whom the monastery takes its name. In 1950 it
792 was inhabited by six monks. The *Igoumenos*, Father Christopher, told
[162] us he had been at the monastery for twenty-one years, and for another twenty years at a convent to the westward of Trikkala. He was seventy-seven—twelve years older than Father Ambrose, an Athenian who was ordained many years ago at Moni Petraki in the shadow of Lykavettos. This was the only one of the monasteries where we came across any novices. Father Bessarion (who came from a village near Larissa and who had seen service with the British army in the Middle East), had been received only five months earlier, as had another young deacon, a native of Chios. There were in addition two simple monks, one of them more than ninety years old.

That night it snowed heavily. Father Bessarion produced a threadbare
[346] carpet which, folded double, afforded us a little protection against the bitter cold; and he and a shepherd from Kalambaka, who was living at the monastery, kindled a huge fire which blazed on the open hearth of our cell until morning, while the wind howled along the deserted galleries, the ancient timbers groaned and shivered, and it seemed that an exceptionally heavy squall would send the whole monastery with its domed chapels and its frail scaffolding of cells and domestic buildings spinning off into the abyss. When daylight came we seemed to be sus-

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pended in the void, without visible contact with the world which we had revisited the previous afternoon. We returned to the *Igoumenos'* cell and sat and talked around a brazier filled with glowing charcoal, while we waited for the weather to moderate. Father Christopher told us of his own experiences during the troubled years of war; how he had been thrown into prison at Trikkala by the Italians and had escaped by jumping from a window; how several years later he had been carried off by the Communists in company with some 300 men, women and children from Kalambaka, and had been in the mountains for six days before his release; he told us too of the great monastery where he had taken the monastic habit, and of its 366 cells. Father Ambrose joined our little circle and catechised us as to our age, our families, were our parents living, were we married or *agamos*: "Certainly marriage is of God; a soldier from England and a *koritsi* from Piraeus, and God joins them. Truly, this is a great mystery, as says the apostle."

So the morning passed and at midday Father Bessarion reappeared with bean soup and bread for our lunch. By one o'clock the snow had somewhat abated, and since the visibility had increased sufficiently to enable us to see the monastery of Rosani, 500 yards distant, we decided to set out for St. Stephen where we were expected that evening. The *Igoumenos* and Father Ambrose advised us to take the easier, though less direct, path by way of Kalambaka; but being reluctant to add two miles or more to our journey in such weather we insisted on following the path which keeps to the high ground. Father Bessarion accompanied us a little way, and then, since the weather seemed to be improving, he left us after giving us precise directions as to our route.

All went well for a time, despite the fact that the path was entirely obscured beneath the drifting snow, and Rosani (formerly the dwelling of an aged female solitary) gradually faded from our view. Shortly afterwards, however, the mist thickened until visibility was but a few yards, and it was not long before we were in difficulties. For a time we crept along the edge of the abyss, edging our way cautiously across expanses of bare rock scoured by the wind, a thin coating of ice affording none save the most precarious foothold, until it seemed that we must be within a stone's throw of Aghia Trias. Alas! there were no monks left to answer our shouts; no slight thinning of the mist afforded us a momentary glimpse of the encompassing heights such as would have sufficed to give us our bearings. For three hours we wandered in an unfamiliar world until, an hour before dark, the mist lifted somewhat,

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574 and we found ourselves clear of the rocky wilderness, among low hills covered with dwarf oaks, and detected the distant barking of a dog. We struck down the bed of a torrent in the direction of the sound and came, after some forty minutes, upon a fold of muddy sheep guarded by two shepherd-lads, who, startled though they were at our sudden appearance, directed us to the nearby hamlet of Kopraina. In the gathering darkness, and as men with long-barrelled guns converged upon us from all sides, we entered the village, and bursting in upon an astonished assembly in the tavern called for the president. Ten minutes later, elated by several draughts of raw spirits, we were reclining on the presidential hearth, while the maidens of the household unlaced our boots, and our sodden outer garments steamed before a huge fire. The parish priest arrived in breathless haste to welcome the strangers, and the whole village buzzed with the news of our unlooked-for advent.

That night we enjoyed the hospitality of the village president, who had fought with Zervas in the mountains of Epirus, and who slept like a good soldier with a greatcoat for pillow and a loaded rifle beside him on the hearth. Earlier that evening he had told us of the English officer who had once come to the village, during the long years of the occupation, and who had snatched a few hours sleep in that same room where we supped, before slipping away to the mountains at daybreak.

[346] Our own visit to Kopraina was more prolonged: we were taken to see the church, the chapel in the cemetery on the hillside above the village, and the school, where a geography lesson was in progress.

The parish priest excused himself and retired to supervise the preparations which, we gathered, were even then in hand for a festal lunch.

[291] At high noon the *kapetanios* reappeared and led the way to the half-finished parsonage, where we found the parish priest drawing water from the well, his flocks and herds all about him, while his two sturdy daughters laboured excitedly in the kitchen and clattered to and fro in their wooden shoes. "*Kalos orisete*, welcome!" exclaimed Father Apostolos, setting down his bucket in great haste and rubbing his hands on the skirt of his cassock; "Come, all is ready, let us eat! Some wine, O *Papadia*!" He led the way indoors and we took our places at the

[352] festal board—a section sawn from the trunk of a great oak. It was a merry gathering, and as we feasted in this country parsonage and the children listened wide-eyed to our tales of the strange and marvellous ways of the Franks, that other world from which we had so lately descended took on a curious, dream-like quality. It was hard to realise

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that before nightfall we should be back on the windswept heights above Kalambaka and amongst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. 574

A little before three o'clock Father Apostolos and the village president bade us *kalo taxidi*, after accompanying us as far as the outskirts of the village, and we set out for Aghios Stephanos with a guide. The sun had vanished beneath the jagged rim of Pindos when we at last worked our way gingerly across the icy rocks above the deserted monastery of the Holy Trinity and came suddenly upon Aghios Stephanos, four-square upon its rock like the heavenly Jerusalem, and found the whole of Thessaly lying at our feet. 792 346

Vespers was drawing to a close in the church of St. Charalambos, which stands so close to the brink of the precipice that one could, it seemed, empty the contents of a thurible into Father Christos' chicken-run below in Kalambaka. We spent two nights at this monastery before setting out for the mountain villages of Pindos, and I returned alone for a final visit some ten days later.

Of all the monasteries now inhabited St. Stephen had, it seemed evident, sustained far the greatest calamities as the result of war. Sacked first by the Italians and later by the Communists, it was a mere shell of a building, its unglazed windows affording little protection—as we learned by bitter experience—against wind or snow. Its former guest-rooms were crammed with wrecked furniture and empty ammunition boxes, while the eikons in the smaller of the two churches (the chapel dedicated to St. Stephen) had been wantonly defaced. Almost everything of value had been carried off when the monastery was pillaged: vestments and plate, an ancient gold cross from Mount Athos, five horses and mules, 130 sheep, provisions and fodder, beds and bedding, pots and pans, crockery and cutlery, carpets, even the bee hives, and—needless to add—the excellent wine for which the monastery was renowned in former days. The few surviving monks lacked the barest necessities of life and it was hardly surprising that sickness should have taken a heavy toll of this and the other communities during the winter months. The *Igoumenos* of St. Stephen's was the Deacon Anthimos, who came to the Meteora between the wars from the great Athonite house of Vatopedi—"a good house and garden . . . snakes very big and long in it", notes Dr. Covel. There were also living at St. Stephen three simple monks—lay-brothers, as they would be called in the west—Ephrem, who had been a monk for twenty years, Eusebius, who was formerly a policeman, and Cyril. Whilst we were staying at the 792 727 346 792

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beginning of this century. Eikosiphoinisses suffered grievously at the 792
hands of the Bulgars in 1913 and again five years later. All its flocks 727
and herds were driven off and the monastery was looted of most of its treasures—precious manuscripts, vestments, holy vessels and reliquaries. There could, therefore, be little room for doubt as to the fate in store for it when the Bulgars again swarmed into Greece in the wake of the German forces in the summer of 1941.

The history of the convent from this time down till its destruction three years later is obscure. The pillage of its remaining property seems to have commenced about two months after the Bulgars had descended upon Drama and expelled the Greek clergy; a certain Botseph, Bulgarian *protosyngellos* of the metropolis, celebrated the festival of the Dormition of the Mother of God by stealing from the monastery a mitre, an ancient chalice, six silver crosses such as are used for the blessing of the waters at Epiphany, sundry liturgical vestments and ten manuscripts on parchment from the library. Some six weeks later several Bulgarian officers were moved to emulate the pious labours of this worthy ecclesiastic. They returned from their expedition to the heights of Pangaion driving before them a train of asses laden with clothing, furniture and other tangible fruits of their pilgrimage.

Another Bulgar, Sophronios Natseph, the *epitropos*, makes a fleeting and discreditable appearance upon the stage of Greek history on June 20th, 1943, on which day he despoiled Eikosiphoinisses of seventeen carpets, ninety-eight goats and as much bedding as he and his accomplices were able to bear away with them down the rocky paths.

The final chapter in this catalogue of infamy was written a little more than a year after this episode when, on July 13th, 1944—a few months before they fled from the scene of their barbarous crimes—the Bulgars set fire to the monastery and destroyed it utterly. Only the *catholicon* [346] •
(which stood somewhat apart in the centre of the great courtyard) and a single block of cells survived the conflagration; the rest of the convent, including a three-storied edifice said to contain 300 cells, the bakery and the refectory (dating from the eleventh century), and all the stables and outbuildings were gutted. Before setting fire to the monastery the Bulgars looted it of everything of value and drove off all the live-stock. The library, which contained some 1,500 volumes, was reduced to ashes.

All the monks of this monastery endured great hardship and privation. One was executed by the Bulgars; another died as the result of the treatment which he suffered at their hands. The former was the *monachos*

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

727 795 By the summer of 1950 it had become possible to gain some notion of the full extent of the material destruction which the Church had sustained since the beginning of the war; although with large tracts of northern Greece uninhabited until a few months before, the compiling of accurate statistics—never a simple matter—presented problems such as only one who had been in Greece during the last few years could hope to appreciate fully. I have already referred to the wholesale destruction of churches and monasteries. This, though serious enough, was perhaps most easily remedied. I remember one bishop who chuckled inordinately when I questioned him on this subject; "All that is necessary", he assured me, "is that I should go in person to the village with a spade and set to work, and then: *Panaghia*! in no time at all the whole village will turn out and a new church will be built before one can say a *kathisma* of psalms!"

More serious, perhaps, and not confined to those villages where the fabric of the church had been demolished, was the acute shortage of liturgical books, chalices, vestments, and other accessories of worship which could not be supplied from local resources. The dearth of [213] service-books, in particular, was occasioning widespread difficulty. Old Venetian editions had been brought in from long-abandoned monasteries and remote hill-top chapels which had escaped pillage—though the antique characters in which many of them were printed, while intelligible enough to the experienced monk, made it difficult for the average *papas* (to say nothing of the village choir) to read the service with any facility.

727 793 346 I remarked in an earlier chapter that the metropolis is as a rule one of the most impressive and substantial buildings of a provincial town. In 1950, however, several bishops were homeless. The Metropolitan of Grevena was living in lodgings, having one room for his personal use and another which served as the diocesan office; the Lord Agathangellos of Nevrokopi was living in the most apostolic simplicity in two barely furnished rooms; nor, amongst the provincial 'saints', were such cases exceptional.

727 794 Faced by a catastrophe so complete and overwhelming, the first concern of the Church was to try to meet the urgent demand for the bare necessities of life: for food, clothing and shelter. Everywhere the response was the same: orphanages, homes for refugee children, centres for the distribution of food and clothing, clinics and hospitals, were

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II The church at Ziakas

[facing p. 102]

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III Byzantine Salonica

[facing p. 103]

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727 my journey with an escort of seven soldiers, and with a corporal of the gendarmerie as guide.

At three o'clock we reached Mavronoros, the 'Black Mountain'; a small village, quite deserted and in ruins. Somewhat surprisingly, [346] the church (which was dedicated to St. Theodore) had survived the bombardment. A single projectile had apparently found its mark and a portion of the vault had collapsed, but the walls were sound enough and the paintings which covered them had not as yet suffered greatly from exposure to the elements. A chapel on the hill above the village was completely gutted and almost every house was in ruins. So complete was the destruction that we were unable to identify the remains of the school.

484 A brief halt and we set out towards Ziakas, where I was to spend the night. We followed a water-course for some distance before intercepting the mule track. The ground had thawed since morning and the going was laborious. On a ridge commanding a wide prospect of this abandoned countryside we met the relief escort from the Ziakas garrison, and I reluctantly relinquished my handsome mount for a mule saddled after the school of Macedonia. We crossed the Venetikos by an ancient bridge and reached the headquarters of the garrison, a kilometre below the ruins of the village, a little before sunset.

727 It was too late to see anything of Ziakas that day, but the isolated community was delighted to have a visitor and the evening passed merrily enough. The night was chilly and I slept fitfully. From the [136] [231] mountains, which rise to close on 5,000 feet above the village, came the howling of wolves and jackals. Two wolves had ventured into Mavranaioi itself a few nights earlier, and, despite the vigilance of the sentries, had attacked and killed one of the mules picketed amongst the cottages. There had been neither sheep nor goats in these mountains for more than three years.

The morning was cold and cheerless without trace of sun. I took leave of my hosts about half-past nine and was accompanied to the village by a young lieutenant from Salonica. Ziakas had not only been burned by the Germans; it had more than once been the scene of heavy [346] [532] fighting within the last three years. The church stood at the entrance to the village. It was completely ruined, but a few paintings still clung to the walls of the apse, and, amidst the waste and desolation wrought by man's sin, the Son of the Virgin, the Alpha and the Omega, raised His hands in blessing. The destruction of the village—one of the

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largest in the region—was complete and spectacular. The shattered walls were daubed with Communist slogans. We threaded our way amongst the ruined houses to a building on the farthest side of the village which had been roughly repaired to afford shelter for an advanced outpost, drank a glass of cognac whilst my escort laced up their boots and buckled on their equipment, and left for Spelaion and Trikomon shortly after eleven. 727

The paths were ice-bound and treacherous, the snow deep in places. Spelaion came into view after half an hour, set amongst towering cliffs. A long and laborious ascent between high rocks, the Venetikos murmuring through its gorge far below, the path clinging to precipitous cliffs rising from the dwarf oaks and myrtle to lose themselves in the grey mists that swirled about their summits, brought us to a point immediately below the village. After a stiff climb through massive fortifications of uncertain date, we suddenly found ourselves looking down upon a tiny Byzantine church with twin domes, sharply outlined against the untrodden snow; a sombre red jewel laid in a setting of purest white. 484

This proved to be the catholicon of a small monastery, dedicated to the Mother of God. The interior of the church was dark and silent as a tomb; within the sanctuary liturgical books, eikons and vestments were strewn in confusion. The book of the Gospels lay closed upon the holy table, between two reliquaries of tarnished silver. We found a few stumps of candle and lighted them before the eikons of the Lord and His Mother; the spluttering flames banished the darkness and disclosed the presence of a host of emaciated figures gazing down upon us from wall and eikonostasis. We said a prayer and withdrew. 727 346

Though the church was undamaged, the other buildings which enclosed three sides of the roughly quadrangular space occupied by the monastery were all in ruins. Below, in the centre of the village, we found a second church, dedicated to St. Athanasius. This too had escaped serious damage, though the windows were unglazed and dead leaves lay piled against the eikonostasis and rustled about the throne of the bishop. Inaccessible on the cliffs above the Venetikos, Spelaion seemed built to withstand a siege, and we were not surprised to find that it had apparently served as a base for the *katsapliades*. A large house in the centre of the village had evidently been the Communist headquarters, and party slogans were scrawled over every wall. When we returned to the monastery, where the animals had been tethered, the candles still 727 [669]

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727 flickered within the church. Leaving the saints to their solitary vigil we plunged deeper into the uninhabited wastes that stretched southward toward Metsovo and the Thebaid of Staghi.

During the course of the next four days we worked our way eastwards to Trikomon and Kipouryio, and then turned north towards Mavranaioi and Grevena, to complete the first part of my itinerary. At three of the villages on our route there were isolated garrisons: otherwise the whole district lay abandoned. We passed through hamlet after hamlet where every house was destroyed, where churches stood open to the skies and no living creature broke the three-year silence. At Kipouryio the chapel [669] of St. Paraskeve—a saint whose apparent connexion with the sixth day [346] of the week (in Greek, *paraskeve*, the day of preparation) has given rise to some very singular local cults in the country districts—had been [776] stripped of its furnishings and turned into a hospital by the Communists: empty bottles and boxes which had contained medical supplies lay strewn about the building.

Upon our return to Grevena we encountered a vast multitude of [657] ragged children straggling back towards the refugee camp, grasping huge slabs of bread and honey: more than 4,000 children were being fed daily at the *estia* outside the high school. We found the Lord Theokletos a little concerned lest I should have fallen into the hands of the *katsapliades*—communications in the mountains out beyond Mavranaioi were notoriously unreliable. I waded through the mud 484 with my captain from Volos to call on the colonel of the local militia, under whose protection I should be travelling for the rest of my itinerary. There was no news to be had anywhere save of the forthcoming elections.

At ten o'clock the following morning we were making slow progress westwards through melting snow: four militiamen, the president of the village of Elatos and myself; a large American mule floundering astern 727 with the baggage. Above the ruins of Doxaras we turned aside to view the pile of stones which was all that remained of the church of St. 346 George. A few families had returned to this hamlet and were living in nissen huts on the hillside below the ruined church. The whole village had been destroyed.

An hour later we found ourselves among the newly built cottages of Elatos. Above a cluster of wretched *kalyvai* rose the fabric of an unfinished church. The village, the president told us, had been burned down in July, 1942, and reduced to ruins. The work of rebuilding was begun

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in 1945, but two years later the people fled to Grevena and all was left unfinished. Some fifty families had returned in November, 1949, and were now settled in their old houses. The church which was to replace that destroyed by the Germans stood roofless: the windows unglazed, the eikonostasis of rough-hewn timbers. There was a tiny chapel dedicated to the prophet Elias on the brow of the hill, half a mile beyond the village, where the holy mysteries had been celebrated for a time. Now the church which was in Elatos assembled Sunday by Sunday for the breaking of the bread in the half-finished structure which dominated the village.

Whilst we were within the church there was a murmuring amongst the crowd that had gathered in the snow outside: shouts of "Behold! He comes. Make haste, O Papa Iannis!" The parish priest had just returned from Grevena, having followed a more direct route than ourselves. He came scrambling up through the orchard below the church, a ragged figure clad in *kalymmafchion* and tattered overcoat, his boots heavy with mud, his cassock slung across his shoulder, clawing his way up the slope with the aid of a shepherd's staff. We all retired to the *taverna* for a glass of ouzo, and then, after despatching three of the escort with the baggage-mule, the rest of my party (together with two lads from the local militia and the indefatigable Papa Iannis, who, despite his seventy-three years, had already covered the best part of ten miles that morning), set out for the neighbouring village of Anavryta—a deserted hamlet set on the brink of a deep chasm where the inky thread of the Venetikos lay twisted in the pale sunlight. Far away against the towering ramparts of Pindos the ruins of Ziakas could be distinguished: a dark stain on the white vesture which enfolded the silent countryside.

The more enterprising of the Anavrytans had found lodging in the recently reoccupied village of Kallirachi (where we spent the following night) and were planning to return to their houses in the spring. The parish priest at Kallirachi had improvised a temporary oratory where he said the daily offices. The church lay in ruins, and the liturgy was celebrated in a tiny chapel dedicated to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, a full kilometre from the village. I left my escort at Kallirachi and set out early with a couple of local guides for Megaron, the largest village of the district and, like Kallirachi, reoccupied by its inhabitants some two months earlier. Here I made but a brief stay, as I was anxious to reach Kydonies (which lay well outside the inhabited zone) and get

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727 back to a populated village before nightfall. The *kapetanios* of the local
484 militia undertook to have an escort ready by noon, and in the meantime the parish priest carried me off to the refectory of the police station (where we broke our fast) and thence to see the parish church: an ancient structure roofed with corrugated iron, the walls bulging and sagging ominously at several points.

By one o'clock I was riding westwards on a handsome white mule, with an escort of local militia, armed to the teeth, in line ahead and astern, and all the mountains of Macedonia spread out around the
727 horizon. Kydonies, where we arrived a little after three o'clock, was utterly deserted. It had been a large village (some 175 families, according to my escort), and the destruction was more restricted than in many
[346] villages of this region. The church, like that at Elatos, had apparently been left uncompleted when the people fled: a temporary chapel which occupied the position of the outer narthex was in a ruinous condition. Several eikons lay half buried amongst the fallen masonry. The whole building, like the ruined school-house adjoining it, was daubed with democratic slogans.

727 The parish priest of Kydonies, Papa Athanasius Toskas, had been
793 murdered by the Germans who fell upon the village on July 7th, 1944. Papa Athanasius, despite his sixty-seven years, had gathered up his skirts and made for the forest as fast as his legs would carry him, in company with the curate of the neighbouring village of Ekklesia, Papa Nicolas Tsabiri. The latter succeeded in making good his escape, but Papa Athanasius was surrounded and captured. His body was found some days later, barbarously mutilated. His ears and hands had been cut off, his beard set on fire, and his chest and back slashed with knives.
727 All about the village were little chapels: one which we passed, as we
[346] recrossed the stream at the foot of the hill and turned towards Rodia, had been burned down.

I lay that night at the house of George Sabbas: the house where his brother had been killed before his eyes three years earlier and whence he had fled into the darkness to blunder about the wooded hills all night before reaching Aghios Georgios and safety. The people of Rodia had returned home only two months earlier. The youngest of my host's three sons had married the daughter of the parish priest, and this
793 young woman now kept house for her father-in-law. After supper who should appear but Father Athanasius, the *ephemerios*, who proved to be an old friend from the Kozani seminary. He had come home for the

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

week-end. Conversation turned to the subject of the parish clergy; 793
Papa Athanasi was a whole-hearted admirer of the new system; he was not one who could learn only from the Lord or rest content with a mere facility in turning the pages of the service-books:

"The divine liturgy, *Kyrie Petre*, can be gabbled through by a man who is all but illiterate: *we* are called to be shepherds, and a shepherd has need of great knowledge and wisdom."

Next morning Father Athanasius celebrated the holy mysteries in 727
the village church. It was one of the Saturdays of all souls, and the [769]
priest's daughter was early astir, making preparations for the commemoration of departed relatives and friends. Before the service was ended I left for the neighbouring village of Sydendron, where the curate, Papa Constantinos, introduced himself as "the priest who bore the machine-gun in the sacred company of the despot". St. [346]
Nicolas, Sydendron, had been a fine church, apparently dating from the [669]
sixteenth century. It had survived the years of occupation only to be set on fire by the Communists on the night of July 25th, 1947. The ancient frescoes were slowly crumbling away, but sufficient remained to show something of the former splendour of the church.

I lunched at the presbytery and rode on to Amygdalies in the early afternoon. Most of the village's 200 children seemed to be dancing barefoot in the sun outside their newly opened school: a nissen hut [346]
erected on the site of the building destroyed by the Germans in July, 1943. A huge new church was in process of construction, but work was at a standstill through lack of funds, and the liturgy had to be celebrated in a brick chapel hastily constructed in 1946 within the walls of the unfinished church. Being anxious to reach Aghios Georgios before 722
nightfall I resisted the efforts of the parish priest to persuade me to stay the night at Amygdalies, and as twilight deepened into darkness came clattering down the steep slopes to the stream where a few children still lingered, on a mule which I would have pitted even against Urquhart's Aristotle, and dismounted outside the house of the president.

Aghios Georgios was one of the only two villages in the diocese of Grevena where the population had remained throughout the troubled years which followed the end of the occupation, and had, moreover, afforded shelter to many refugees from other communities. The [712]
church—a massive structure dating from the middle of the nineteenth [346]
century—stood on rising ground in the centre of the village. The [669]

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722 windows had been blocked with masonry and stones, and the church,
712 thus barricaded and surrounded by an elaborate system of trenches,
pill-boxes and barbed wire defences, transformed into a citadel. Here
●346 the greater part of the population had taken refuge while the militia,
669 with a stiffening of gendarmerie, had fought off an assault on the village which raged for a night and a day on May 8th-9th, 1948. The fabric had suffered extensive damage from mortar and machine-gun fire, but the Communists had eventually been driven off. Earlier, the village had suffered grievously at the hands of the Germans. Though the church had been spared, the school and a large proportion of the houses had been destroyed. The school was now flourishing in a large nissen hut: formerly it had been housed in the nave of the church.

574 On Sunday morning there was great scrubbing and polishing of muddy boots, and at half-past eight I ventured forth, looking as spruce as three weeks of sleeping in my clothes would permit, in company with the *proedros*. The latter was anxious not to be too early at church, and, since the second bell had not yet sounded, we went first to inspect the new school. After smoking a cigarette with the *didaskalos* we proceeded to the church at the third bell, followed by all the children of the village.
[537] When the liturgy was ended the president climbed with great dignity to the top of one of the pill-boxes and made an impassioned oration welcoming the representative of Greece's great and traditional ally to their gallant and Christ-loving village, and dwelling at some length on the ties which, despite the infernal machinations of the Accursed of God, would surely bind together for all ages the Hellenic and British nations. The said representative thereupon made a brief, but it is to be hoped fitting, reply to this masterpiece of presidential rhetoric, and the whole company drifted away in high good humour to sip cognac and discuss the latest news which had arrived from Kozani.

After a visit to the family of a young theologian from Salonica I went to feast, first with the president and then—at the dictates of charity rather than of appetite—with the parish priest also. The influence of
[794] the Kozani seminary had made itself felt in this village, and the catechetical school was in full swing as I passed the new school-house on my way to the parsonage. There the wine that makes glad the heart of man flowed freely, and it was a drowsy traveller who rode across the hills to the neighbouring village of Kivotos later that afternoon. Communications having proved unreliable, I was constrained to accept the hospitality of one of the churchwardens. Shortly before noon the

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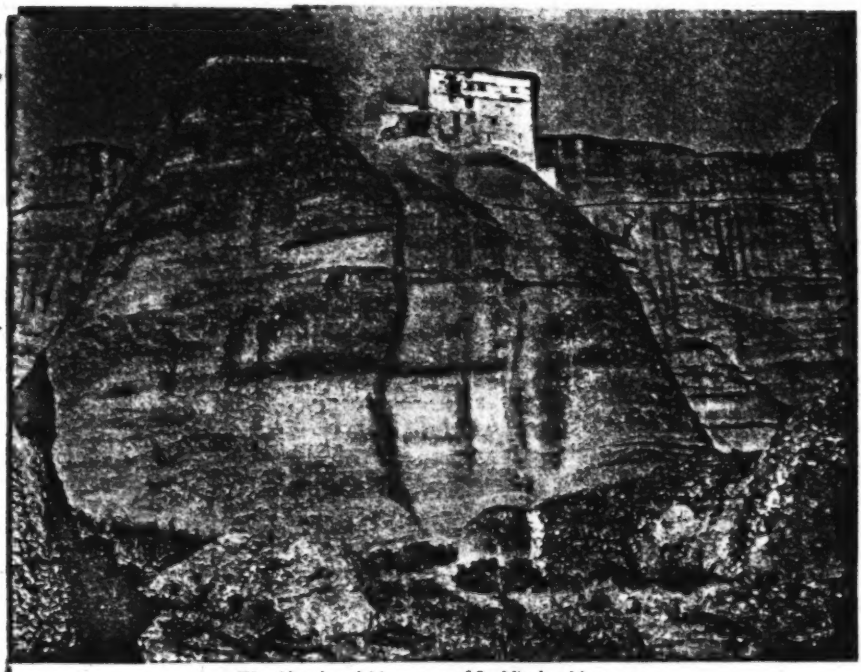

IV Abandoned Monastery of St. Nicolas, Meteora

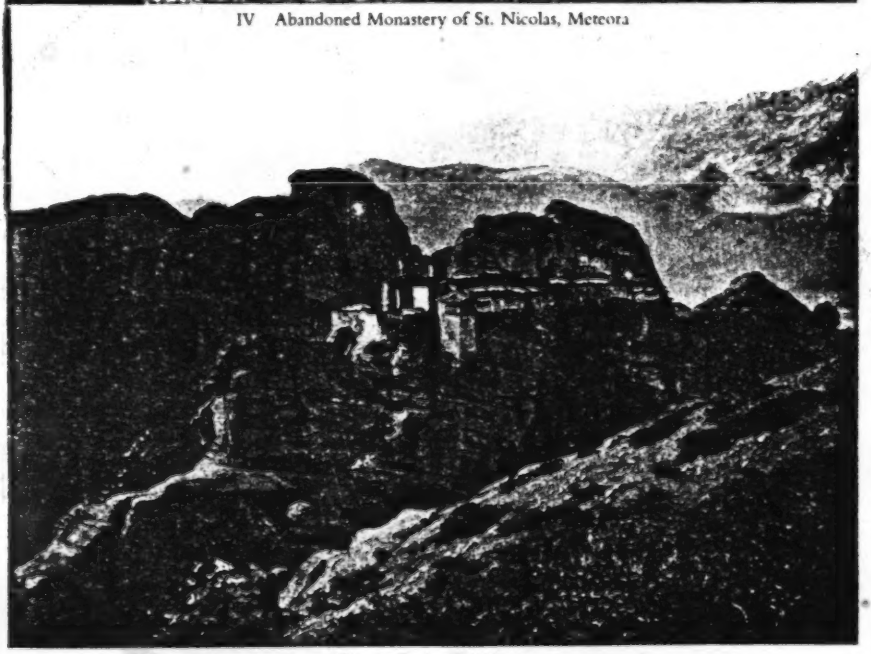

V St. Barlaam, Meteora

[facing p. 118]

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students from places as far distant as Drama and Katerini. A candidate for the two-year course which the seminary provided must have reached the fourth class of his elementary school: an event which in the case of certain of the more venerable amongst these bewhiskered scholars must have been more than a generation remote from their reappearance *in statu pupillari*. 793 874

The programme of studies, as at all these lower seminaries, was eminently practical and was related at every point to the peculiar circumstances within which the Greek country parson exercises his priestly ministry. It was grounded, as is fitting, "in the Book of books, the store-house and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures," and, in particular, in the study of the text of the Gospels. The director was assisted by another lay theologian, the preacher of the diocese. Their lectures on the Bible, doctrine, catechising, the holy canons and liturgical matters, were supplemented by instruction in the ecclesiastical chant (given by the chief singer of the metropolis), and by talks on the rudiments of first-aid from a local doctor: for the country parson does not merely "condescend to the knowledge of tillage and pasturage"; he desires to be all to his parish, and "not only a pastor but also a physician". A little medical knowledge does indeed constitute an invaluable addition to the skills of a country priest in a region where the only known medicaments are aspirins and ouzo, and doctors are as rare as dissenters. [759] [757 273]

The seminary at Kozani was housed in a rambling, somewhat dilapidated building adjoining the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Its furnishing and equipment were simple in the extreme. Twice a day the lecture-room was transformed into a refectory. The students slept seven or eight to a room on straw mattresses laid on the bare boards, and St. Benedict's maxim: *stramenta . . . sufficiant matta, sagum et lena et capitale*, was observed by all alike. 874 346

The liturgical life of the seminary was centred in the church which lies on the other side of the courtyard. The whole community assembled twice daily to sing the divine office, and on Sundays and holy days the liturgy was celebrated. Those amongst the students who lived within easy distance of Kozani used to go home every Saturday and return on Monday morning after celebrating the holy mysteries in their own parish churches. They used also to go to their villages for the great festivals. In other cases some temporary provision would be made for the parishes concerned: the late Metropolitan of Grevena, for example, would allow 793 796 874 793 874

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had regrettable consequences for the development of the new movements, with which the theological schools have, in general, little vital connexion—although more than one professor of the theological faculty at Athens has played an important rôle in their work and organisation. In many quarters—and especially, perhaps, within Zoë circles—a sense of the apparent irrelevance of this theoretical science to practical piety has given rise to an impatience with all theological questions. We must, it is said, be *practical*—and this theology of the schools is not practical; it is a theoretical science wholly unrelated to the urgent problems which are the daily concern of the preacher and the confessor. Such an attitude cannot but strike one as curiously out of place in an Orthodox *milieu* and is not without its dangers. 779 794 874

A few of the clergy go abroad to continue their studies after graduating from the Greek theological schools. Many a young layman is sent to western Europe or America for post-graduate study in the hope that upon his return to Greece he will offer himself for ordination; but a first acquaintance with ecclesiastical conditions very different from those to which he has been accustomed (particularly in the matter of the status of the married clergy and their field of activity) can easily have an unsettling effect upon the potential *despotes*, and it is not unknown for a young graduate, not conscious of a very definite call to the celibate life, to waver in his first resolve of becoming a priest, after two or three years in England or America. 793 177

Apart from the minority who go abroad after leaving the university, the celibate clergy normally pass immediately to an episcopal household without further study. Until quite recently there was nothing in Greece comparable to the English theological college. Since the war, however, there has been opened in Athens an establishment which approximates in some measure to the English institution. This is the 'School for Preachers' which is housed in the hostel of the Apostoliki Diakonia: a fine modern building occupying two sides of the quadrangle at Moni Petraki and overlooking the garden of the British School of Archaeology. Though completed some years ago, it was long requisitioned as a military hospital, and it was not until the early part of 1950 that the whole building was made available to the Church. 793 874 [346] [722]

The School for Preachers provides a two-year course of study (primarily of a pastoral character) for men who have already graduated from the theological school of the university. In 1950 a considerable [794]

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123 we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river
793 Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and
484 screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly difficult stretch of terrain.

About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages
[342] and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins. Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened
[262] one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy ridges of Pindos far above us.

123 It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the
793 tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless.
[875] Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa Costas divested himself of his outer *rason*, and, commending ourselves to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a
[262] few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas,
[346] Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

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little church was a melancholy sight: the stone eikonostasis had survived the fire but every trace of woodwork had perished. Our priest-carpenter had just completed two new lecterns for the singers and an episcopal throne: there was plenty of work to be done as soon as Leonidas—who had been discharged from the army with wounds in both hands—was home again and fit to return to his trade.

We went on to the school where sixty-four ragged children were huddled round a smoking stove. There had been no teacher in the village between the first and second periods of exile; the schoolmaster, we were told, had disappeared in 1946 and nothing had been heard of him since. Had he gone to the mountains, we asked? Nobody knew—he had disappeared. Kleoniki Zambra, the girl we had met the previous evening, had just been sent to reopen the village school. The windows of the building—roughly re-roofed by the priest and his sons—were blocked with stones and cardboard from packing cases which had contained powdered milk; light was an altogether secondary consideration when warmth was in question.

"Last Friday", the *didaskalissa* assured us, "it was so cold that the children cried aloud and we were obliged to give up." There seemed to be no books or slates or paper—there was indeed no equipment of any description save for the stove and a few wooden benches—but the school was again performing its liturgy, and the whole village was conscious that an important step had been taken along the road that led back from the anarchy and insecurity of a decade of war towards the halcyon days which none of the children who crowded the schoolhouse that January morning was capable of recalling.

Time and time again as I travelled about the ruined villages of Pindos during that terrible winter of 1949–50 it was brought home to me how essential an element the school constitutes in the pattern of Greek village life. Almost invariably the first thought of the returning refugees, once they had succeeded in improvising some temporary shelter from wind and snow, was for the church and the school. They would rest content with the most wretched living quarters, provided only that the house of God were decently furnished and their children were receiving regular instruction; but a village without a priest and a schoolmaster was a village only in name.

Urquhart arrived in Metsovo astride the sagacious Aristotle, in the summer of the year 1830, to find that mountain township in a state of the utmost panic and alarm: the houses barricaded, the sheep, cattle

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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torrent bed, and we followed while Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood beneath the great tree in the village square and waved farewell: 123 484

"Kalo taxidi; o Theos mazi sas!"

A good journey; may God go with you.

At dusk we rode into Chrysomelia—a large village lying at 900 metres—after a journey which will long linger in my memory. For the best part of an hour Antony the Zealot (our guide) had questioned me relentlessly as to the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the jurisdiction of the *metropolites* of Canterbury, whilst the mules floundered in deep snow as we climbed laboriously towards the village, the buildings of an abandoned monastery far below among the pines. We had been delayed at the cottage of Papa Nicolas, the *geros*, till it was close on three o'clock. There had been a misunderstanding as to the rendezvous, arising, apparently, from the fact that the curate of the neighbouring hamlet of Aidona was also a Papa Costas.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Antony, and the Zealot was preparing to celebrate his name-day. In a tiny chapel on the outskirts of the shattered village vespers was drawing to a close. The village church, dating from 1580 and dedicated to St. George, was a total ruin. We stayed for the liturgy next morning and all the men and boys of the village accompanied us to church. After a distribution of the blessed bread Papa Athanasius Tsergoulas, the pastor of this mountain flock, took us to see his dwelling—a tiny cell of mud bricks set amidst the ruins of the house which he had built some thirty years earlier—and there we sat around a table in the pale sunlight outside the newly-opened tavern and sipped ouzo with the village elders, while crowds of wild, ragged children played amongst the ruins of the church—there were nearly 300 of them and it was eight years since the school had ceased to perform its liturgy. 727. 796 346 [342]

Chrysomelia had been one of the most important villages of this region, with a population of 1,050. It had suffered at the hands of the Germans at the same time as Palaiochori. The people had begun to return in October. Scarcely a house in the whole village had escaped destruction. 727 722

The devastation was no less widespread at the hamlet of Kato Perlangion, where we slept the following night, wrapped in rugs on the 727 346 123

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I
[123] had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[796] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great, in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
793 He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos*.

346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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727
346
[211]

About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. [872] The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had 875 just been released from the army. He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the 123 unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. The [793] priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena.

The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one [484] of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

669 722 [727] too, burned some houses, including those belonging to the three "rich" families of the community. These had fled to Volos, together with some other families from the village. The people who remained were inclined to support the guerrillas.

The guerrillas,

About two weeks after my visit in 1947, the army evacuated all the remaining inhabitants of Cherasia to Volos. There they remained in refugee quarters for two and a half years. The last guerrilla band disappeared from Mount Pelion only in 1950, some six months after the main guerrilla army in the north had retreated across the Albanian frontier. It was therefore late in 1950 before the inhabitants of Cherasia were allowed – or compelled – to return to their village.

727 653 [657] [233] Government authorities were, however, well aware of the difficulties that confronted the community. The returned refugees were given every help to re-establish themselves. They received, gratis, 238 sheep to serve as a nucleus for their flock, as well as materials for the reconstruction of their houses, most of which had suffered damage. Officials issued seed and implements as well. A comprehensive work relief program was set up; for about two years after their return, the men of Cherasia received wages for working on projects that directly benefited their community. In this fashion the new road over the mountain was built – shortening the way to Volos by nearly half. [346] [312] Similarly, new and very handsome school and church buildings were constructed; and pipes from the spring in the upper village brought fresh water into lower Cherasia for the first time. This was vital if the population was to remain in the lower village the year around, since water had previously been unavailable there in summer. Another side of the government policy was to give no help toward reconstruction of the village of upper Cherasia – perched, as it was, high on the mountain beyond the reach of roads. No doubt the authorities in this fashion hoped to tie the villagers to the accessible lower village, and

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 • 778 [361] [202] [789]

/80 cont./ 346 778

their humble houses and subsistence level of living the people like to build beautiful churches with high steeples and decorate them /81/ with as many ikons and church bells they can. The people of Megali Vrisi not being satisfied with the structure of the present church have already quarried stone from the nearby hills for their future church structure. When the farmers were notified to offer personal work for the church they did it without complaint. [316] [794]

The people look up to the church as an institution which gives them hope and courage in times of disappointment and discouragement. Once a year a confession is made in the church in front of the ikons and the priest. People tell of their bad acts and forgive those that caused them trouble. All wedding ceremonies, baptisms and name day celebrations take place in the church. 771 [783] [796]

Attendance. Women and children attend the church regularly. The men are rather irregular in their attendance. This is not due to their negligence nor to their failure to respect the church, but is due to the long church services that last for three hours. The people get tired of going to the church. Most attend the last part of the services. In spite of the variety of music and ceremonial activities, the church is losing /82/ attendance. Men like to know what they hear in the church, and since it is all abstract to them they prefer to stay out and send their wives and children. 794 796

With the increase of modern scientific beliefs by the farmers, the church will be forced to change its course and adopt itself to the new social changes.

The membership is obligatory. Every one born in the village becomes a member. It is not necessary to keep in books the names of the members since the whole population of the village naturally belongs to the church. 794

Contributions. Every family has to contribute for the support of the priest and for the upkeep of the church. This contribution is paid in kind. Besides this the church has voluntary donations by people whose prayers are answered, and by others for the [769]

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness.

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

To the Land of the Eagle

769 792 the family is always a priest and has charge of the church in which the relics rest, and, as I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of a Greek lady who knew the family well, I was able to arrange through her to visit the church on a certain morning and to have the sarcophagus opened for my benefit. She accompanied me herself, and brought with her two friends, a young man and a young woman, who had begged to be allowed to join the party on what was evidently a very unusual occasion.

PRIEST OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

346 The interior of the church[1] was cool and pleasant after the yellow glare of the Corfu streets. From the painted roof hung magnificent lamps of hammered silverwork, and on the shining parquet floor stood two massive candelabra—offerings, like the lamps, from those who had benefited, or believed they had benefited, by the intercession of the saint. As is customary in the Greek Church, there were no pews or chairs other than seats round the wall, and the building gained greatly in dignity by their absence. Pictures, deep-toned and mellow with age, decorated the walls.

771 While we were waiting for the sacristan to announce our arrival to the priest, a constant stream of worshippers entered the church—men, women, and children. With every appearance of devotion, they made a pilgrimage from one sacred object to the other, kissing each in turn, and finally entering

1 [containing relics of Spiridi-150 one, see cat 116, pp. 149-150.—Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 369 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison, its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it has a variety of forms.

Coffeehouse Types

275 443 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three assorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles [562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's 275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the 443 meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches 347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves [262] Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly [373] glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[2] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis,* while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[3] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] [291]

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231]
the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring 272
tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness 233
became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then pro- [462]
ceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[13]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic- 184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who [463] lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, [465] depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She [825] pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives [788] came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we [778] discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner [574] of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, [793] when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person [788] to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good [777] luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The [352] dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, [583] will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

[352] Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung [353] a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

●351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the [513] vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even to the extent of sleeping on the portico, on the roof balcony, or anywhere else where they found it comfortable. As a matter of fact, some students of the Greek house think the court the basic element, and the other parts of the house an adaptation to it and to the other needs connected with the individual peasant's kind of agriculture. Where the court is covered with flagstones, it serves for a longer season than do those that turn to mud after the fall or spring rains begin. 351 ● [513]

The court is separated from the street by some kind of wall or a fence of holm-oak branches. In the plains villages these walls, like the houses, are of mud brick. They too are white-washed a brilliant white on the Monday of Holy Week before Easter. Later on, when the rains come and the white-wash wears away, the walls take on a drabness that made travelers from early times on down to our day describe these plains villages as unattractive. Where the walls are well kept, where there are attractive tiled gateways — as in Macedonia — large enough for the wagon to drive through, the yards behind have a mysterious and richer look. 351 184

The village setting is part of the Greek peasant's physical adjustment to the land. Throughout Greece there are many variations in the appearances of the settlements due to differences in terrain, location, and communication. Villages set in the shadow of a towering mountain and surrounded by a forest of firs have a snug look; those whose green trees and vines are the only cool color in a vast stretch of hot brown fields invite one to stop and rest; those which stand proudly on the brow of a hill seem to be keeping a watchful eye on the farmlands lying around. Others, perched on some airy height, dare you to climb and visit them, and anyone doing so will be surprised to find that behind the village there is a broad shoulder of the mountain which provides good farmland to those willing to live there on the heights. For many villages the dark blue sea is part of the setting, even though none of the villagers may be able to swim a stroke. Whatever the location, the villager has the deep belief that his village site is the best possible one. The water of his village is the best-tasting in the world, and in moments of homesickness when he is away from his native place he would give anything for a drink of that water again and for a chance to see the incomparable view from his village. 361 361 186 271

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now 342
being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, [178]
flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house
several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them
a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have
married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in
order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents.

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens 333
which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is
always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the [514]
village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village,
and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most 351
desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house
with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some
mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or
twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit.
One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar
ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer build-
ings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as
a substitute for the walls.

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places 361
of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the
western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses [342]
is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. [823]
Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other.
That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street
or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, [343]
the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This [351]
combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or
wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results
in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The 363
single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of an-
other house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a
storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around
several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway
of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys
between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths
and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, ar-
ranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an
orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or
squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on 361
different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does
not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around
close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas
of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of
another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

159
793
292
302
492
351

VII Constantinos Photis

[facing p. 158]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the 178x
early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor 241
over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long [464]
seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-
centered type of agriculture.

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Elef- [433]
therohori is to say that during the past five or six years com-
mercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsist-
ence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very 178x
great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabit- 511
ants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has 356
been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-re- [291]
specting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has
been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean
and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, [351]
and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine
trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Elefthero-
hori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a
fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea
Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to
present a good front to the neighbors.

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception [563]
to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress
perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as
careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not
really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has
probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy mem-
bers of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their
homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done.

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the 178x
desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the 511
world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. 582
One very important consequence is the postponement of mar-

9: Megas

EH1 Greece EH1

231, 252, 351, 354

/For the location of ovens, hearths, courtyards, stables and chicken coops in Greek houses, see category 116, pp. 6-46 and end plates 1-9./

x 342
341

Another narrow-front type of house is also the so-called καλύβι or χαμόγειο σπίτι (hut, low house) on the island of Lemnos which, as in the two-storey type, has a tiled roof(1) (Fig. 2).

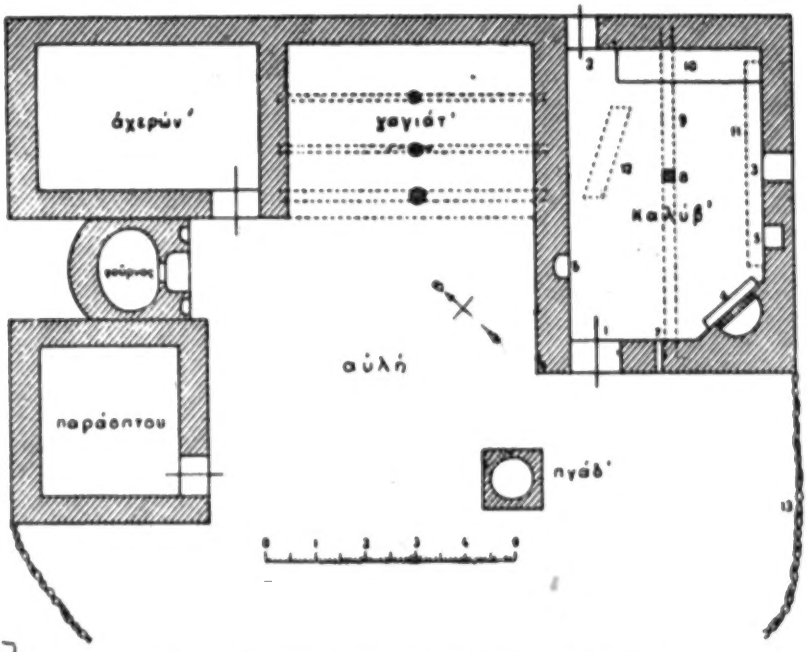

[351]
[312]

Fig. 2 House and courtyard at Physaini in Lemnos
(G. Megas 'Η λαϊκή οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, fig 2)
Καλύβι (Kalyvi)=low house, hut; χαγιάτι (hayiati)=portico; ἀχερών' (acheron)=hayloft; παράσπιτο (parespito)=outhouse; αὐλή (avli)=courtyard; πηγάδι (pigadi)=well; φούρνος (furnos)=oven.

The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its προστῷον on the long side of the rectangular plan (σπίτια διπλανὰ i.e. side-houses, as they are called in the Haimos villages(2). (Fig. 3 and 4. Plate II).

[104]

of the house: σπίτι (*spiti* [hospitium] = house; οὐντᾶς or ὀντᾶς (*oda* Turk.)=room; μπρούστι (*brusti*) or χαγιάτι (*hayati*) = portico, veranda.

1) **G. Megas**, Ἡ λαϊκὴ οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, pp. 7 foll.

2) **G. Megas**, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 27, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 16. Fig. 10.

x 342 This last use contributed in the ground floor an equivalent space, including the staircase for the ascent to the drawing room. Thus, we have a tripartite division of space on the ground floor as well as on the upper floor, having the formations of this type as shown on Plate IV (Fig. 20).

A deviation from this form is created when the middle space is left open in its front part, thus forming as it were an extension of the προστῷον in depth (figg. 20ᵃ and 21, Plate V 1. 3. 3a).

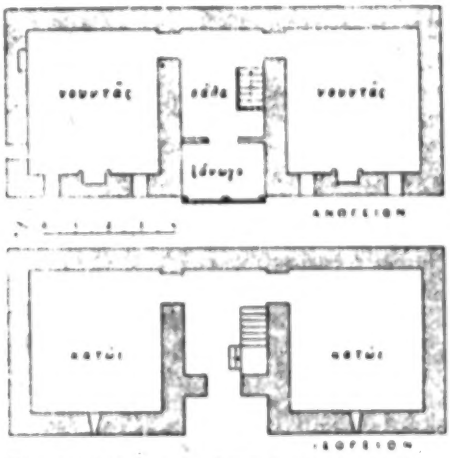

Fig. 20. A two-storey house in Hagios Akakios
(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, fig. 46)

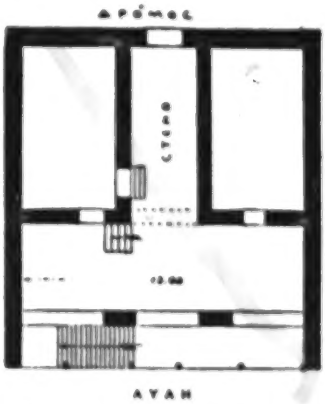

Fig. 20a Plan of the ground floor of a house in Arta
(A. Orlandos, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, vol. 2 p. 183)

x 342 351 Such an arrangement of space on the ground floor has led to a modification in the way the house communicates with the street in certain urban centres of Northern Greece (Arta, Trikala, Tyrnavos, Ambelakia, ect.). Namely, the exit to the street was originally through the yard upon which the house was facing. But by the latter arrangement, there was only a wall separating the central space of the house from the street. A direct exit to it was then easily provided by the opening of a door on this wall. This, of course, was made only when the fear of direct communication of the house with the street disappeared or at least decreased. But even so, the arrangement of space and the total orientation of the house towards the enclosed yard was kept as before [1] (Figg. 20a and 23, Plate V 2, 2a-c, 7b and 8).

1) See **A. Orlandos,** Ἀρχ. Βυζ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, vol. 2 pp. 185. 186. **G. Megas,** Θεσσ. Οἰκήσεις Figg. 63, 64, 65 and 86.

[p. 31]

351
342x
[312]

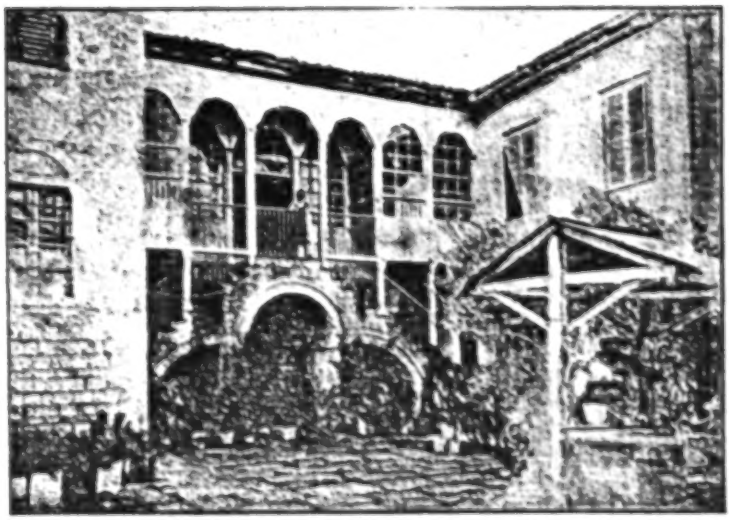

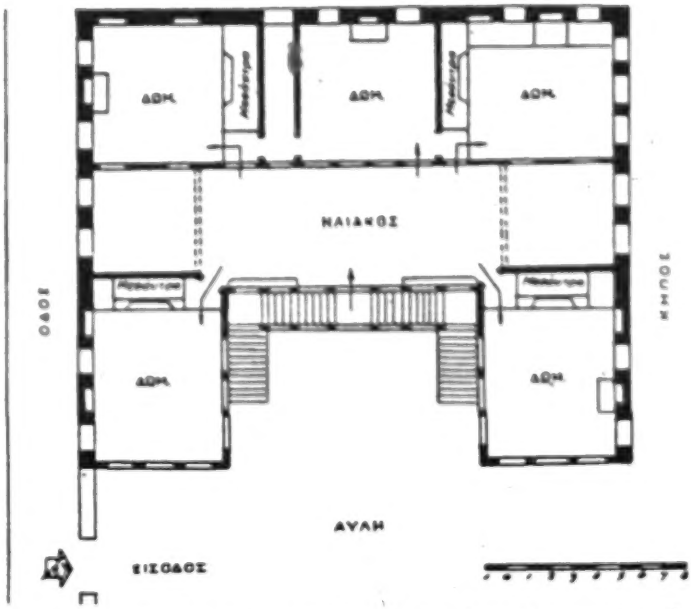

Pig. 22a An old «noble house» at Jannina in Epirus. Photograph and plan made by the architect Aristoteles Zachos (Ἠπειρωτ. Χρονικά, vol. 3 (1928) p. 297, and Pl. 3)

[p. 31]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
[p. 32]

342x
351

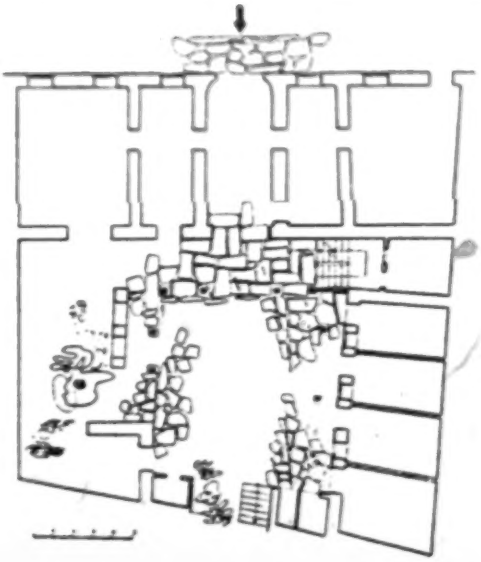

Fig. 23. An old house of Athens, Thucydides street, No 13. Photograph and plan, made by the architect Dr. Ares Constantinidis (Τὰ παλιὰ Ἀθηναϊκὰ σπίτια, Athens 1950 pp. 38 and 77)

[p. 32]

mountains and in hilly districts facing South, the portico of the upper floor is not thoroughly enclosed there, but it either remains completely open, and in this case the end of the roof on the front part of the house is supported by a series of wooden poles (ἀνώϊ, ἡλιακὸς or χρεββάτι) (1) (see fig. 16 and Plate III and IV 2, 3), or it is enclosed only on one side (fig. 21, Plate III and IV 2 a-c, 3 a-b V 3, 3a), or on both sides, (Plate III4, IV4, V5) thus forming one or two rooms. 342×

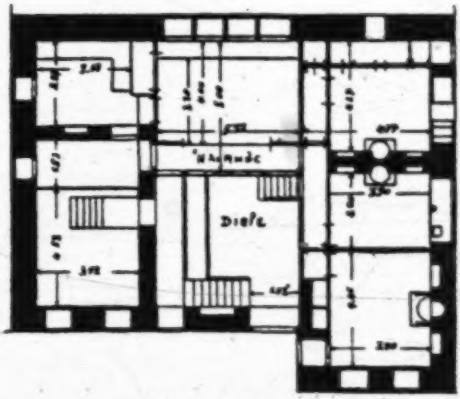

Fig. 24 Plan of a «noble house» in Siatista, Macedonia (Ar. Zachos, Wasmuts Monatshefte f. Baukunst 1922/23 VII p. 247)

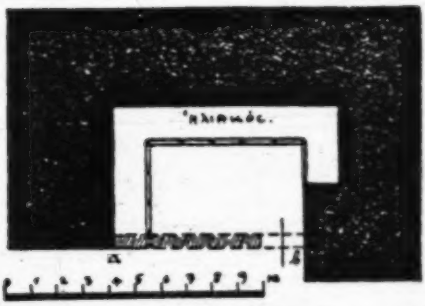

«The wall a-b was added in later years; it joined the two ends of the peristyle and closed the open side. A closed space was thus formed, a courtyard, which hence belonged to the interior of the house» (A. Zachos)

These rooms often extend over the building line, so that the whole construction very clearly takes the form of Γ or Π on the plan (2) (fig. 22. 22ᵃ Plate III 6ᵃ⁻ᵇ, IV 2ᶜ 3ᶜ⁻ᵉ 4ᵃ). Thus the open portico is limited to only a part of the frontage of the house. When the portico is continued as an open side arcade in front of the rooms along the sides of [351]

1) **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις figg. 32, 35, 36.
2) Ibid. pp. 67 foll. figg. No. 57-60, 62, 80a, 81a.

× 342 the Γ or Π, then the spaces appear as if extending concentrically around the central yard, which is surrounded by a peristyle (1) (figg. 22 and 23 Plate V 3ᵃ 5ᵃ·ᵇ 6-6ᵃ·ᵇ 7ᵇ 8).
● 351

This yard, in districts where the winter is severe and security was formerly scanty (Siatista, Kozani, Kastoria, Naoussa), was closed on the front part also by a wall as high as the roof, so that it appeared as a peristyle yard having around it the rooms of the house (2) (Fig. 24

× 342

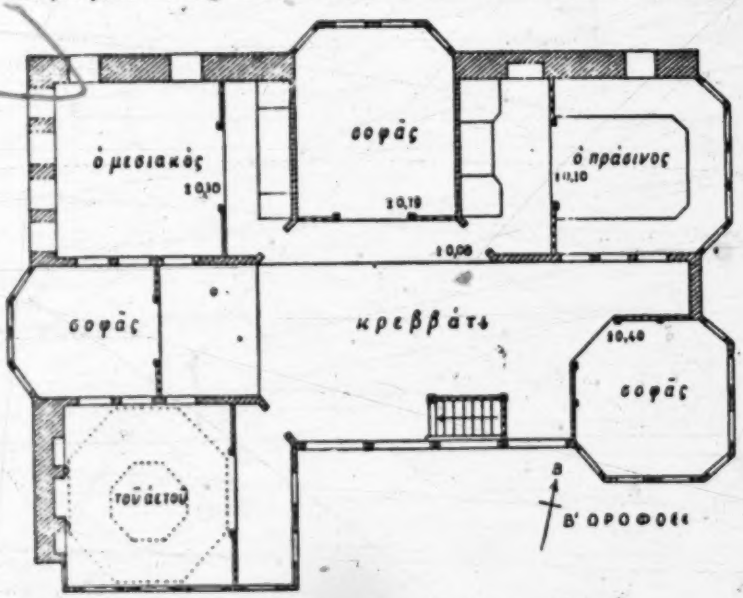

Fig. 25 A floor in the house of G. Sfortzos at Ambelakia
(G. Megas. Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκίαι, fig. 80a)

Plate V 7, cf. V 6, 6ᵃ· 7ᵃ) in the same way, as it is seen in the Greek house of the Hellenistic period. Although we cannot say that this composite form of the modern Greek house is the direct outcome of the ancient Greek house, we still think that this method of formation is clear enough to understand the ancient formation.

In these more composite forms, the «sofa», about which we have [353] spoken above, may also open to the arms of the Γ or the Π, and

1) Ibid. figg. No. 63, 72, 81a, 82.
2) Ibid pp. 108 foll. figg. 90, 91.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who [463] lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, [465] depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She [825] pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the [788] four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we [778] discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner [574] of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, [793] when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person [788] to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good [777] luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The [352] dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, [583] will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

[352] Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung [353] a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the [513] vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 ence. On the island of Salamis, not far from Athens, while visiting in a village home we asked a young woman to tell us about her engagement. This is her account, which highlights some of the points previously made:

A matchmaker arranged our marriage. When my mother finally decided that it was time to have a man in the house, we discussed with which family we wanted to affiliate. We had heard my father say before his death that he wanted his daughter to marry one of the sons of a retired chief petty officer in the village. My mother and sisters named one of the sons who was still single and I said, "All right. Whatever you decide," even though I didn't know the boy. So my brother-in-law (my oldest sister's husband), as head of the family, arranged the contact through a third person. I had said that I would take anything but a bald-headed man. [At this point everyone laughed for the one selected was prematurely bald.] On a Tuesday both families had said *Entaxei* [all right], and on Saturday the groom-to-be was supposed to visit me. He didn't try to see me in advance, for he had faith in his parents and, besides, we all live in the same village. But he sent word that he couldn't come on Saturday, for as a petty officer he was on duty. Instead he came on Thursday with a friend. He sent his friend in first to announce that he was here and to ask if he could come in. I said certainly but spoke in the plural form; he said not to do this for it annoyed him. We looked at each other for the first time. He asked, "Do you like me?" I said, "Of course." What else could I say? I shrieked when I saw his bald head, shrieked with disappointment. He came and sat near me. My mother said, "You see, he has already become very bald." [The fiancé, who was present during the interview, was asked what had been his thoughts when the match was made. He replied, "Since her father and my father had known each other, I said what is the use of pretending."]

On the Saturday following his visit to me I went to pay my first visit to my in-laws. I took candied almonds and flowers to my mother-in-law and we all ate, drank, and were merry. Then he and I started visiting each other. But the people began to say, "How does such traffic go on since they don't have an engagement ring?" So we decided to have the formal engagement. We were going to do it on his name day, but he got sick and we postponed it to Easter. The groom bought the ring and gave me a silk dress, shoes and stockings, and his relatives gave me some earrings and beads. I gave him slippers, pajamas, shirts, and handkerchiefs. On the day of the engagement, I sent his mother a large [262] bread ring with thirty-one red Easter eggs on top and she sent a cake containing five eggs to my home. At the engagement ceremony the fathers of the couple usually place the rings on the fingers, but since my father was dead his father put the rings on both of our fingers.

Engagements in this Salamis village last two years or more unless the families are rich and can hurry the matter along. The length of time is based on the dowry that the girl must accumulate. Not only must she bring the [583] house but must furnish it with a bureau (or chiffonier), a buffet, six dining-[352] room chairs, four kitchen chairs, and a mattress. The groom provides the dining-room table, a cupboard, and a bed.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[666] councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes,
[633] on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

[622] The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of
[624] the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen
[622] are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand
[666] drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

623 The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two
344 rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's;
352 its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[7]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of
[353] medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorating the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long
[207] table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high-powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

623 As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there,
624 as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on
[623] the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni,* and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [594] [594]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukba* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
[354] table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
[431] given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[362] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
534 and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are
[178] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE WATERS OF MARAH

346 *Autres temps, autres moeurs.* "Unhappily", said Father Callinicos, as
792 we waited at the foot of the precipice and Gregorios unsaddled the pony, "there have been regrettable changes; formerly there was great
[406] security." The windlass, it appeared, was now used only for hauling up firewood and victuals. We took a last look at the leeks, now 100 feet above our heads, and entered the dark passage which gives access to the steps leading to the monastery. Agathangellos was awaiting us outside the now disused refectory: a youngish monk, clad in a tattered grey cassock and soft cap, who had come to the Meteora, we subsequently discovered, in 1939. He carried us off to the guest-chamber (little used in these days) and left us among the faded memorials of former splendour while he went in search of refreshment. A few
[796] minutes later the insistent clamour of the *semandron* summoned us to vespers in the fine *catholicon*, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, where Athanasius the Athonite, clad in the habit of a western monk, looks down from the apse—a fragment of an earlier church on the
[262] same site, built by Ioasaph in 1388. A frugal supper of vegetables, goats' milk cheese and bread followed, and afterwards we sat on
● 352 wooden stools round a fire of brushwood and talked to the *Igoumenos*
[372] and the other members of his little family, while Agathangellos busied himself in the kitchens, where cats as lean as the stylite saints depicted
792 in the frescoes of the narthex lurked in the shadows. Father Callinicos, we discovered, had been at the Great Meteoron for nearly forty years. There was one other priest in the community: a Father Theophylaktos who had lived in the Athonite house of Xeropotamou for several years as a simple monk before he was ordained and came to Thessaly in 1935. Another monk—also named Callinicos—had been carried off by the Italians and had died in exile. Apart from Father Agathangellos, the only remaining member of the community was a very ancient personage named Paul who appeared to lead the life of a solitary, and whom we but dimly discerned amidst the shadows of the church. Gregorios, who had accompanied us from Kalambaka, was no monk but a married man with a wife and several children, lately returned to their village in the mountains to the west of Trikkala. We encountered him again some ten days later, breasting a snow-covered ridge among the foothills of Pindos with a couple of heavily-laden pack-animals, and accompanied by a little troop of refugees on their way home after three years in Kalambaka.

[796] Shortly after eight o'clock Father Agathangellos reappeared with a
[346]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

574 and we found ourselves clear of the rocky wilderness, among low hills covered with dwarf oaks, and detected the distant barking of a dog. We struck down the bed of a torrent in the direction of the sound and came, after some forty minutes, upon a fold of muddy sheep guarded by two shepherd-lads, who, startled though they were at our sudden appearance, directed us to the nearby hamlet of Kopraina. In the gathering darkness, and as men with long-barrelled guns converged upon us from all sides, we entered the village, and bursting in upon an astonished assembly in the tavern called for the president. Ten minutes later, elated by several draughts of raw spirits, we were reclining on the presidential hearth, while the maidens of the household unlaced our boots, and our sodden outer garments steamed before a huge fire. The parish priest arrived in breathless haste to welcome the strangers, and the whole village buzzed with the news of our unlooked-for advent.

That night we enjoyed the hospitality of the village president, who had fought with Zervas in the mountains of Epirus, and who slept like a good soldier with a greatcoat for pillow and a loaded rifle beside him on the hearth. Earlier that evening he had told us of the English officer who had once come to the village, during the long years of the occupation, and who had snatched a few hours sleep in that same room where we supped, before slipping away to the mountains at daybreak. [346] Our own visit to Kopraina was more prolonged: we were taken to see the church, the chapel in the cemetery on the hillside above the village, and the school, where a geography lesson was in progress.

The parish priest excused himself and retired to supervise the preparations which, we gathered, were even then in hand for a festal lunch. [291] At high noon the *kapetanios* reappeared and led the way to the half-finished parsonage, where we found the parish priest drawing water from the well, his flocks and herds all about him, while his two sturdy daughters laboured excitedly in the kitchen and clattered to and fro in their wooden shoes. "*Kalos orisete*, welcome!" exclaimed Father Apostolos, setting down his bucket in great haste and rubbing his hands on the skirt of his cassock; "Come, all is ready, let us eat! Some wine, O *Papadia*!" He led the way indoors and we took our places at the [352] festal board—a section sawn from the trunk of a great oak. It was a merry gathering, and as we feasted in this country parsonage and the children listened wide-eyed to our tales of the strange and marvellous ways of the Franks, that other world from which we had so lately descended took on a curious, dream-like quality. It was hard to realise

/60 cont./ 241 242

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems.

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

/62 cont./ 511 352

few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard but should not question how and why the money was spent. The farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen, implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spending money for getting drunk or gambling. 511 594 [451]

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes stabilized the more his needs increase. 511 241 [454]

/63/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley. Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal. The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter. 262 [251]

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cooking. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the starch foods. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed oil. [438]

The second form, namely the wide-front house, is much more frequently found on the islands, as well as in continental Greece, and in several places it keeps the prostyle prostoon, but usually a creeping vine takes the place of the portico. Generally the wide-front house favours a better distribution of space than does the narrow-front one. 342x

The architectural articulation of this house consists of a regular distribution of the interior: a sofa or πεζούλα with the hearth on the one side, and a wooden bed called κρέββατος or μπαταρός, on the other; the space under the bed is called ἀποκρέββατος and serves as a cellar. [354] [352]

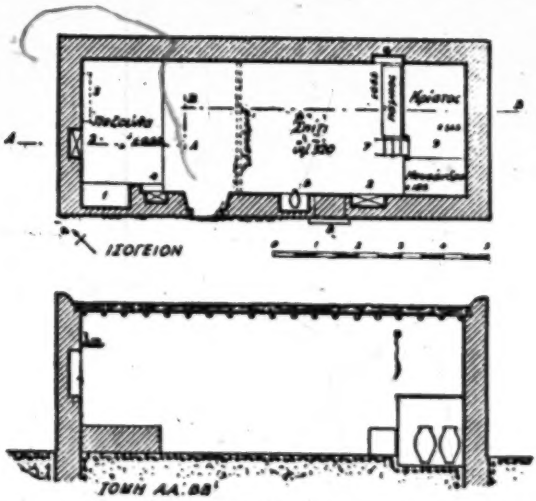

Fig. 27 Kephalos, Kôs. The long house of Maria Yiannou
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 1)
1 hearth 2 cupboards

The widening of space in this single house, (called long house, μακρυνάρι) is easy along the longer side, namely the «long wall», but not so along the narrow side, namely the «short wall», because the width of this side is determined by the beams used for the construction of the roof, which, according to the sizes of building timber prevailing in the islands and for the weight they will support, are not longer than 4-4,50 meters. Thus, the inside of the house is limited to 3.20-3.60 meters. That is why the widening along this side was obtained by the creation of a certain intermediate support of the roof, so 342x 335

X 342 335 that the beams would be put in two successive lines, thus covering a wider space.

This support is actually created by placing a long and resistant beam of 9-12 m. lentgh, leading from the middle of the one short wall to the middle of the other, (μεσιάς, Fig. 28 Plate IXa 1[a]) or by using a shorter beam, but which is leaning on one or both its ends upon built supports called «pilieri» (single-pilieri or double-pilieri house) in Rhodes and Cyprus (Fig. 29 Plate IXa 1[b c]) (1). This beam, especially when it is long, is supported in its centre or its one end by a wooden pole.

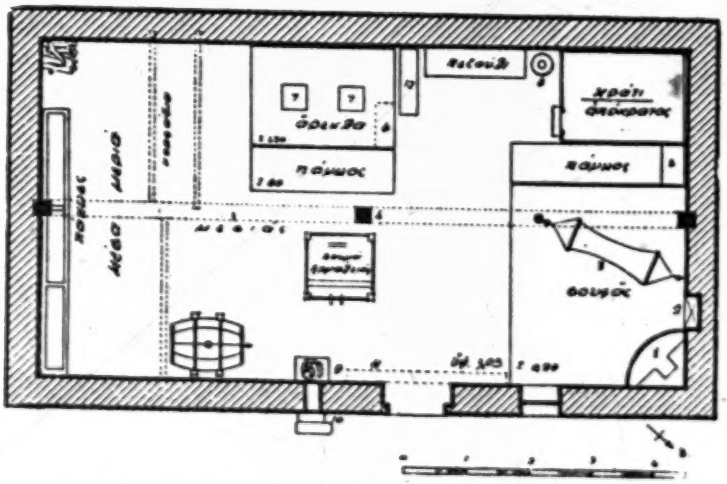

Fig. 28 Embona-Rhodes. Old house of Antony Emm. Antonakis

(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, N. 3)
Ploughing animals are stabled in the inner part (μέσα μερά).
Μεσιάς (mesias) — middle beam πάγκος = bench κρέβατι = bed ἀρκλα = arcula
ἀργαλειός = loom f hearth 4 pole

[352 286]

X 342 333 In places, however, where building stone is abundant, such as in many of the Cyclades, the eastern part of Rhodes, Nisyros etc. in order to support the roof, a big arch (καμάρα) is constructed, which was probably introduced in popular house building, just as the construction of domes, through the construction of fortresses, prevalent

1) G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 7 and 8. In Katavia of Rhodes these are called «antimissia».

342 stables and storage rooms, and in the upper story the living quarters with a verandah, a balcony, and a sink; over them is a flat roof of tiles. The Albanian form of the square fortified tower is to be seen 177 on larger warehouses (Figure 3). The interior displays the customary [352] simple furnishing of the Balkan dwelling; the semicircular chair in Figure 14 is reminiscent of the Albanian styles, while its horn-shaped [415] supports remind one of Turkish influence. The weaving loom and the hatter's bow (Figure 11) that is used for the cleaning of wool and of cotton, have probably come to this country from the Orient, even though the hatter's bow is ancient European (compare the Plate, Estonians II). The baking bell shown in Figure 7, the bagpipes shown in Figure 6, the incense vessel shown in Figure 17, the wooden plow, [492] shown in Figure 15, which is drawn by the team of oxen that are driven on by a goad (not a whip) and which are harnessed with a neck yoke--all these are universally characteristic of the Balkans. The riding donkey shown in Figure 12, on the other hand, points to the Orient. [777] Figures 8 to 9 are illustrations of protective charms--the horse's skull is reminiscent of Kirghiz customs, compare volume 1 of this atlas, Plate, Kirghiz I, Figure 13, that are based upon the knowledge of spiritual forces which are everywhere alive, which are effective in everything that is and has being, and can be utilized for magical purposes, both in a good as well as in a bad sense.

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/105: Illustrations/

/106/ The Macedonians

II.

000 1. Men and women from western Macedonia. 2. Woman from
[See 2: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 73a --Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm." [463] [465]

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone. [825] [788] [778] [574]

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in. [793] [788] [777]

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant. [352] [583]

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture. [352] [353]

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season, [513]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[666] [633] councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes, on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

[622] The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of [624] the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen [622] are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand [666] drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

623 The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two 344 rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's; 352 its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[1]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorat- [353] ing the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high- [207] powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

623 As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there, 624 as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on [623] the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [594]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to en-
[356] tertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the
room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[215] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living
[353] away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greet-
ing cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed
[583] along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth.
These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets,
pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They
also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the
house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every
[574] housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur
which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items
on a tray.

A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead
[574] owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns
a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also
decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the
photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families
have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like
[354] fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on
wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its
edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959):963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth. 356 353 [296]

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping. 356 515 [574] [751] [264]

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters. 356 512 [264]

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems. 241 242

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

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Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

/77 cont./ 353

makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [553]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

x 342
[231
[353

The basement is used for stabling the cattle, keeping agricultural tools and storing cattle food and fruits. However, apart from the disadvantage of having the stable just underneath the living room, this double house is also insufficient to cover the needs of a family living on the produce of cattle breeding or vine growing, especially when this family is of somewhat comfortable means.

There is also a need for a separate storeroom suitable for the keeping of liquid products and supplies, and such one is created either by a division of the ground floor or by the addition to it of another space, in the direction of the top beam (1). Similarly, by a simple division of the space or by an addition, two rooms are created on the floor too, one of which is the kitchen. Down there in the hearth, in some places such as Agrafa, the bread is also baked (Fig. 16) (2).

In addition, the προστῷον, on the ground floor, is usually fenced on the front part by a wall and forms another space, used as an «outside basement», where cattle are often stabled, and on the upper floor, the προστῷον is closed on its narrow sides, and remains open on its front side and is thus used for spreading and drying maize and other fruits, for treating wool, weaving and for other occupations of mountainous populations, who also enjoy its cool shadow (fig. 17) (3).

That is why this originally open portico became an essential element of the building and has gradually been incorporated, in two-floored and in one-floored house, and finally even on its front part, has been closed off, partly or totally, by a thin wall.

By this arrangement, the προστῷον on the upper floor, has either formed a spacious, closed room, extending all along the front part of the rooms and has kept its original names (ἀνώϊ, ξάνωγο, κρεββάτι, ἡλιακός, χαγιάτι (4) (Plate III5, 6), or it was limited in space by the formation of one or two rooms at one or both ends of the portico by simple division (5) (Plate III, 4a, 5a, 7a). Thus, the form of double upper-lower floor house was created, perfectly meeting the needs of mountainous, cattle-breeding families and having the staircase within the house, thus affording greater security (6).

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1) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις figg. 32, 36.
2) Ibid. figg. 32, 34, 36.
3) Ibid. figg. 34, 36, 37.
4) Ibid. pp. 34, 50, 80a, 81a, 91.
5) Ibid. figg. 37, 38. 42, 44a, 48, 76.
6) Ibid. pp. 39 foll., 86 foll.

x 342 the Γ or Π, then the spaces appear as if extending concentrically around the central yard, which is surrounded by a peristyle (1) (figg. 22 and 23 Plate V 3ᵃ 5ᵃ·ᵇ 6-6ᵃ·ᵇ 7ᵇ 8).
351

This yard, in districts where the winter is severe and security was formerly scanty (Siatista, Kozani, Kastoria, Naoussa), was closed on the front part also by a wall as high as the roof, so that it appeared as a peristyle yard having around it the rooms of the house (2) (Fig. 24

x 342

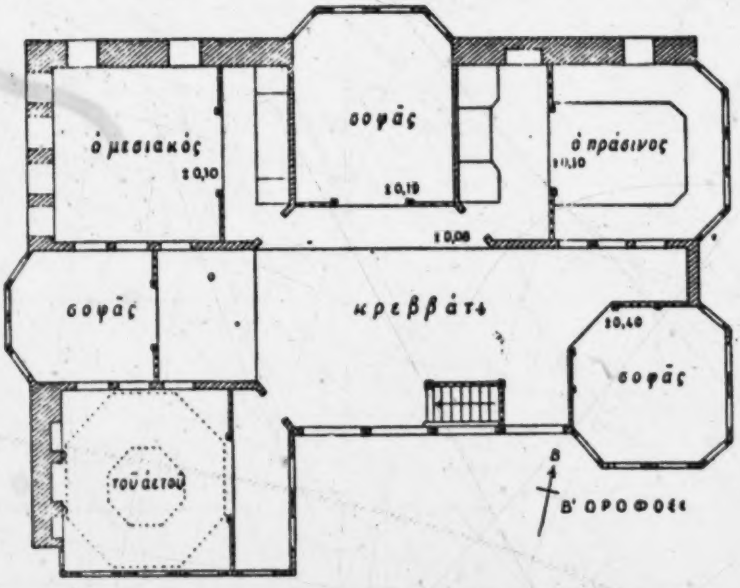

Fig. 25 A floor in the house of G. Sfortzos at Ambelakia
(G. Megas. Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, fig. 80a)

Plate V 7, cf. V 6, 6ᵃ· 7ᵃ) in the same way, as it is seen in the Greek house of the Hellenistic period. Although we cannot say that this composite form of the modern Greek house is the direct outcome of the ancient Greek house, we still think that this method of formation is clear enough to understand the ancient formation.

In these more composite forms, the «sofa», about which we have [353] spoken above, may also open to the arms of the Γ or the Π, and

1) Ibid. figg. No. 63, 72, 81a, 82.
2) Ibid pp. 108 foll. figg. 90, 91.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

is not only elevated from the rest of the floor, but is separated from it by a wooden fence made of beautifully turned bars and by slender pillars connected at their top by a light arc. This «sofa» usually extends slightly over the exterior wall of the building and often takes the form of a beautiful octagonal kiosk, giving a view on the street and used as a special living space or as a drawing room for the reception of guests during holidays, (Figg. 22, 25 Plate V 5b, 6a b c). With their decoration of carved wood and drawings the sofas and the «good rooms» give the house an accent of ease and urban comfort (1). 342x 353 [574]

Thus by various intermediate stages, we arrive from the rural house to the urban house, which combines practical with aesthetic and sanitary purposes. Such developed forms of houses are the noble houses of the urban centres of Epirus, Thessaly and Western Macedonia, dating from the 18th century, which are the result of the economic and spiritual prosperity of that period and constitute treasures of an unparalleled Greek art as regards harmony and decorative wealth. 342x

2. FLAT-ROOFED HOUSES

The visitor to the Aegean Islands, as well as to the islands of Crete and Cyprus, keeps a very pleasant impression from the view of the houses there. The island houses, with their cubic forms, beautiful arches and their white, plain appearence, are pleasing to the eye, and much more so because not one among them appears to make an effort of surpassing the others in height or size.

The main characteristic of these island houses is the flat roof, called δῶμα. This is made of overlaid layers of insulating material (seaweeds, clay etc.) spread to a thickness of 20—25 cm. over the horizontal beams and the reeds or thorny bushes that fill up the gaps between the beams of the roof (2). (See figg. in p. 36). In some islands of the Cyclades (Kimolos, Thera, Antiparos) the houses do not belong to

1) See **G. Megas** op. cit. p. 97. **Angh. Hagimihali,** L'art populaire grec 1937 pp. 9 foll. Pl. 62-66.

2) The fact that in the Byzantine years the use of flat roofs was current can be seen from the following extract of Eustathios of Thessaloniki (Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς Ὁμήρου Ὀδύσσειαν κ 509) «πίπτει ὁ Ἕλληνως διὰ τὸ τὰ δώματα μὴ κεραμωτὰ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὁποῖα καὶ νῦν ὡς εἰκὸς μυριαχοῦ, ὧν ταῖς δοκοῖς γῆ ἐκαμάται, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὴν στέγην χρήσιμον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι». **Ph. Konkoules,** Περὶ τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Οἰκίαν (Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρ. Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 12, 98).

[p. 36]

x342
[353]

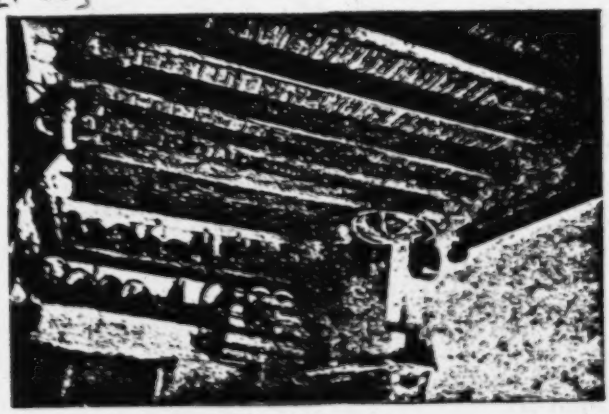

Above: Ceiling and interior of a house in the village of Kephalos on the island of Kôs.

Middle: the flat roof (δῶμα) of a house in the island of Rhodes. At the end the chimney.

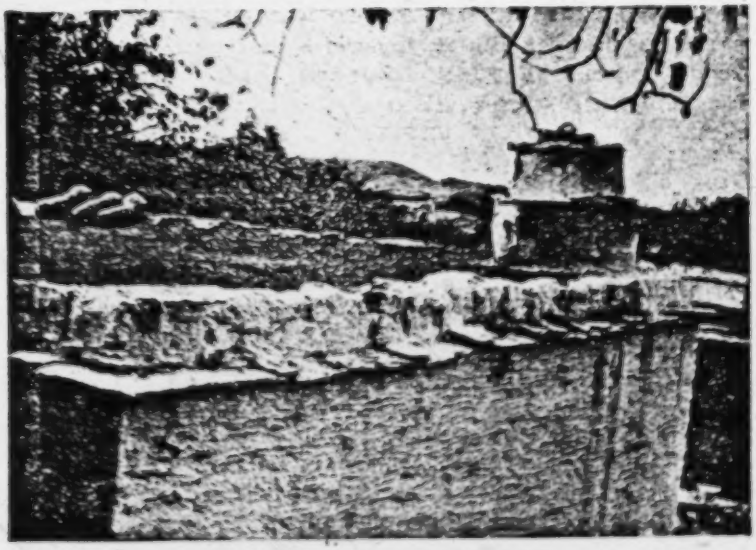

[353]

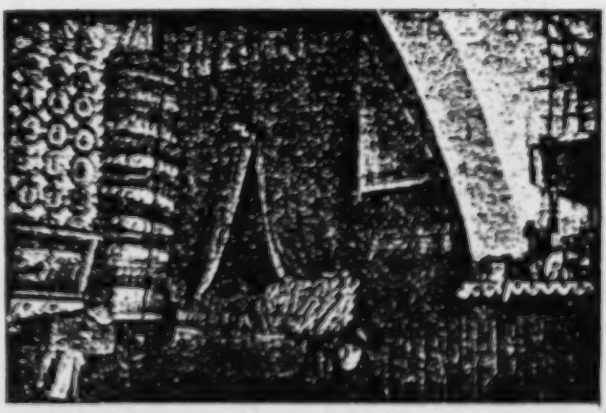

A corner of a house with arch in the village of Phanes in Rhodes.

[p. 36]

in the islands (Fig. 30, Plate IX a, 2). The use of the arch was probably extended from the wide-front house to the narrow-front one, in places where beams of a sufficient length were not available for the widening of space. In this case, the arch was built from the one long wall to the other, and the roof beams were placed on two parallel rows 342x [333]

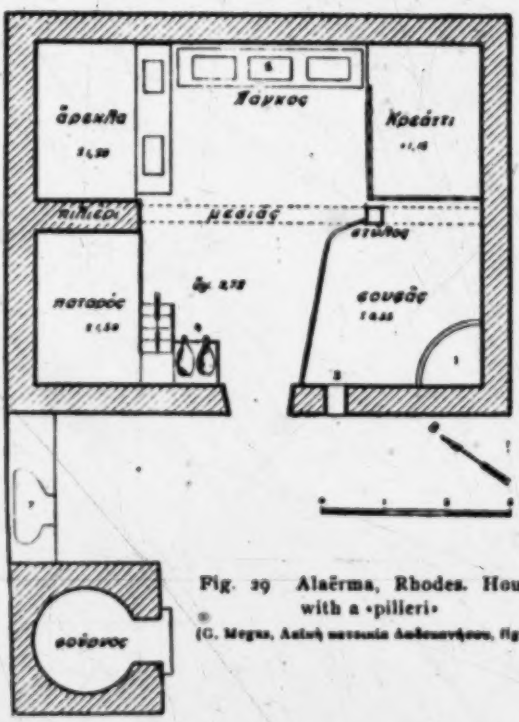

Fig. 29 Alačrma, Rhodes. House with a «pilleri»
(G. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 8)

in the direction of the long side of the house. In this way, the narrow front house too, gained in width on its narrow side (Plate VIII a 2, 5, 5a, 7, 7a, 8, 9, 9a).

By this arch, the space of the house was divided, as with the pilieri, into two equal parts: the inside space (μέσα χώρα) and the outside space (ἔξω χώρα), as they are called in Rhodes and the four corners that were separated on both sides of its jambs were allocated, in [353]

×342 the inside space, to the bed and an «arcula», and in the outside space, to the hearth with a low sofa in front of it and a higher sofa on the [353] opposite side. (Figg. 29 and 30).

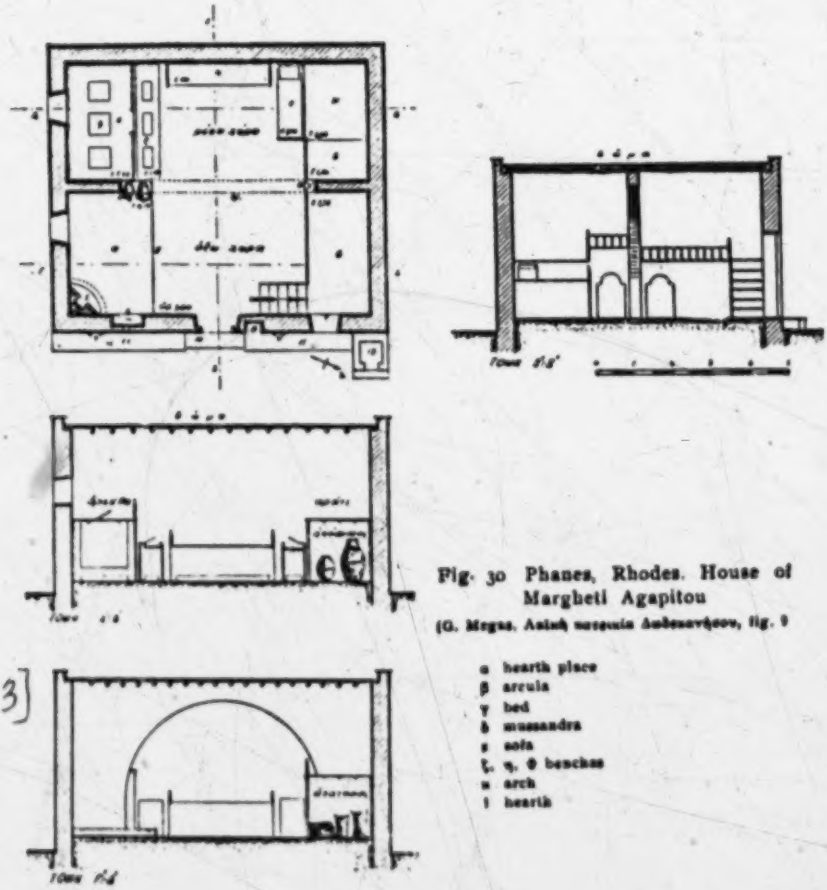

Fig. 30 Phanes, Rhodes. House of Margheti Agapitou

(G. Megas. Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 9

α hearth place
β arcula
γ bed
δ mastandra
ε sofa
ζ, η, θ benches
κ arch
ι hearth

[333]

In some of the Cyclades, the corners of the inside space were arranged to form small rooms, used as bedrooms, and the outside space was used as a living room for the family (Plate VIIIa 7[b]).

*342 concentrate everything around the main living space, so that all
341 rooms open to a central yard. Thus, in Crete, Cyprus, etc., apart from the double and triple blocks, we find multiple blocks, in one or two floors, which in the plan have the form of Γ or Π or sometimes T (Plate IXc 5. 6., IXd 2-5).

It is seen, from the whole examination, that the island house has not had the fine evolution of the house of continental Greece but rather remained faithful to simple forms, a legacy of the ancient times. However, in this primitive simplicity, the island house kept the beauty of simple lines and of natural forms, both the arch and the arched windows and doors giving to the cubic form of the island house a mark of pleasant contrast, especially when, as in the narrow-front house, the προστῷον is open and has an arch, instead of columns, for supporting the roof (Plate VIIIa 5). Apart from this, the regular division
• [353] of the interior, the order and regularity noted in the arrangement of household furniture and utensils and the passionate love of the islanders for decoration, so that all parts of the house are fully adorned, constitute marked facts of the Greek island house.

From this summary review it is clearly seen that Greece, situated on the SE end of the European Continent and by its Islands, a neighbour of the districts of SW Asia and NE Africa, presents both the basic types of housing architecture and a variety of building forms, the proof of a long and important evolution, according to the geographical position, the nature of the ground and the long history of its civilization.

*342 Greek architecture, which has its origin in the prehistoric Greek
174 and in general the North European house, namely the megaron (1),
341 makes its appearance in neolithic and Mycenaean times, and survives to this day in some regions with a surprisingly undiminished energy. This arhitecture has gradually perfected its ways and means of construction and improved the form of the dwelling. And first, it often deviated from the narrow to the wide-front types (2), probably for the advantages presented by a long front side,

1) **F. Behn** in Eberts Reallex. d. Vorgeschichte, 5 (1926) 186 foll. 193 **Gerda Boëtius,** Studier i. Den Nordiska Timmerbyggnadskonsten. Stockholm 1927, pp. 25 and foll. Eldhuset eller Megarontypen.

2) This tendency for a wide front is shown by the neolithic houses (**D. Robinson** in RE Suppl. VII p. 226) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Gnomon 1927, p. 173, on those countries neighbouring the area of flat-roof houses, and under their influence, the eagle-type house disappeared and became wide-fronted.

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end.

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act.

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!"

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure.

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[15]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peleponneses

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their 221
caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered [796]
as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The
man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also [275]
go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly
the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder [241]
or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start prepar-
ing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do [462]
not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To
the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; [275]
they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few
understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not
wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of
wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it
out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others
curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have [796]
Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, [535]
then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help [462]
outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, [241]
beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When
some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes [342]
then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time
because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their [354]
games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a
fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and
get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then 221
onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our 796
work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do
something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church;
then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manli-
ness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass,
we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our 221
tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then 512
the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we
have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children [462]
return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by
themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many,
it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her
hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs
to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re- [275]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The children in our village are tyrannized. Just as they sit down to study their mother says, "Get up. Break your bones, take your papers and the goat, and take her out to pasture." "Get up, get some water, get some wood, go and bring in the oxen. Don't you hear? In the evening you can study." The children go do their different tasks and in the evening come back broken with fatigue and drop off to sleep. In the morning they are cuffed by the teacher because they haven't written their lesson, and thus it goes. Black letters they learn! As if they had a lamp! Most of them read sitting on the floor; they drop on their stomachs near the fireplace and read in the light of the burning wood. From exhaustion they fall asleep and there is danger that they might get burned if the elders do not pull them away. In spring when the days are longer they read outside; they take the hog and the goat and go here or there and read while the animals pasture. What sort of reading can they do? As soon as they start, the hog escapes here and the goat there; they try to catch the hog, the goat escapes again. They start crying and lost is the reading. They also get beaten if the animals cause damage to the crops. Most of the children work also in the field; they also do some heavier tasks. What sort of letters can they learn? It's lucky they learn as much as they do.

When I discussed parental attitudes toward education with an experienced school man in Northern Greece, he said: "Less land and more knowledge is needed. A farmer can't see the need of educating a son who is to farm. He will keep the one to succeed him at home and send the others off for an education." The people of Vilia, a village in Central Greece, brag that the parents there see to it that the children go through eight grades but indicate that the other villages do not do this. "We do this," they say, "because an educated man commands more respect." But what about the children in the other villages?

From time to time an Athens newspaper comes out with some shocking statistics which cause a sensation and are then forgotten. Such accounts point out that the Article 16 of the Constitution states: "Elementary education is obligatory for all and is supplied gratis by the state." In 1951–52 it was estimated that two hundred thousand Greek children of school age were not in attendance. Conditions have improved considerably since then, but the effects of this nonattendance will be felt for many years to come. At that time it was also stated that at about the third grade the numbers of those who started are halved, a truly high drop-out rate, although other reports place this reduction at the end of the fourth grade.[4] One article comments:

> Although the Constitution states that elementary schooling is supplied gratis, the various stamps and taxes, not to mention the prohibitive prices of schoolbooks, writing materials, and other paraphernalia, make this statement null and void.[4]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [594]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 443 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to en-
[356] tertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed
[583] along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
[354] table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but
[286] gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

pended in the void, without visible contact with the world which we had revisited the previous afternoon. We returned to the *Igoumenos'* cell and sat and talked around a brazier filled with glowing charcoal, while we waited for the weather to moderate. Father Christopher told us of his own experiences during the troubled years of war; how he had been thrown into prison at Trikkala by the Italians and had escaped by jumping from a window; how several years later he had been carried off by the Communists in company with some 300 men, women and children from Kalambaka, and had been in the mountains for six days before his release; he told us too of the great monastery where he had taken the monastic habit, and of its 366 cells. Father Ambrose joined our little circle and catechised us as to our age, our families, were our parents living, were we married or *agamos*: "Certainly marriage is of God; a soldier from England and a *koritsi* from Piraeus, and God joins them. Truly, this is a great mystery, as says the apostle."

So the morning passed and at midday Father Bessarion reappeared with bean soup and bread for our lunch. By one o'clock the snow had somewhat abated, and since the visibility had increased sufficiently to enable us to see the monastery of Rosani, 500 yards distant, we decided to set out for St. Stephen where we were expected that evening. The *Igoumenos* and Father Ambrose advised us to take the easier, though less direct, path by way of Kalambaka; but being reluctant to add two miles or more to our journey in such weather we insisted on following the path which keeps to the high ground. Father Bessarion accompanied us a little way, and then, since the weather seemed to be improving, he left us after giving us precise directions as to our route.

All went well for a time, despite the fact that the path was entirely obscured beneath the drifting snow, and Rosani (formerly the dwelling of an aged female solitary) gradually faded from our view. Shortly afterwards, however, the mist thickened until visibility was but a few yards, and it was not long before we were in difficulties. For a time we crept along the edge of the abyss, edging our way cautiously across expanses of bare rock scoured by the wind, a thin coating of ice affording none save the most precarious foothold, until it seemed that we must be within a stone's throw of Aghia Trias. Alas! there were no monks left to answer our shouts; no slight thinning of the mist afforded us a momentary glimpse of the encompassing heights such as would have sufficed to give us our bearings. For three hours we wandered in an unfamiliar world until, an hour before dark, the mist lifted somewhat,

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

/59 cont./ 241
that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the [407]
iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes
too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the
field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow
over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without
bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron 241
plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on 242
such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are
plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to
plow the same field as many times as possible. The common
expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get."
This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under
all conditions.

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. 241
Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture 237
all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for 372
fuel.

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not
acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil
filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ can-
not afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding prob-
lems which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should
be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The [433]
productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus,
what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order
to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that
92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the
fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to [433]
the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel
of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the [354]
manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal,
but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm
family was not discovered.

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [553]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

9: Megas

EH1 Greece EH1

231, 252, 351, 354

/For the location of ovens, hearths, courtyards, stables and chicken coops in Greek houses, see category 116, pp. 6-46 and end plates 1-9./

×342 Thus, the προστῷον of the wide-front house is proved to be the most versatile and easily changing element of the building and it contributed, through its various changes, to the increase of space in rural dwellings and it also led, to new, more comfortable and better developed forms.

An important arrangement in the tripartite disposition of the spaces was achieved in the wide-fronted house by the division of

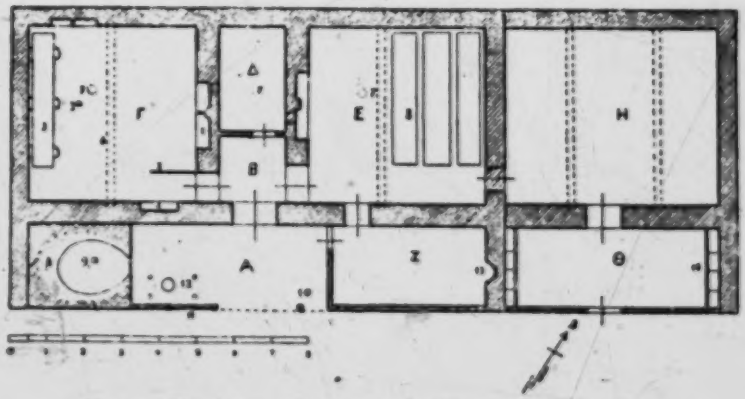

Fig. 12 Plan of an old house in Kosti near - Didymoteichon
(G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ οἰκήσεις, fig. 13)
A portico, B ante-room, Γ (spiti) main room, Δ room, E cellar, Z little room, H hayloft Θ stable

the middle space, thus creating a small room at the back, as a cellar or kitchen, and forming at the front an ante-room used as a central entrance to the rooms [1] (Fig 12, Plate VI a and VII b).

354 As to the position of the hearth in Epirus and Aetolia, as well as in other places such as the villages of Villia in Kithairon, of St. Anne and other parts of Euboea, this was built, until a few years ago, right in the middle of the room, and for the easier escape of smoke as well as for the lighting of the room, there were small skylights (φεγγῖται) in the roof itself. [2]

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1) See **G. Megas,** Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 19 and foll. Fig. 13 Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 47 and foll. Fig. 43 **D. Loucopoulos,** Αἰτωλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 30 Fig. 22 (usually called μεσόντρα)

2) **D. Loucopoulos,** ibid. pp. 12 and foll. fig. 10.

This was the original place of the hearth. Later, however, this place was moved to the middle of one of the walls, usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house [1], or to one of the corners of the room (since γωνιὰ = a) corner, b) fire-place) [2] where a chimney was built for the escape of smoke. 354

2. Two-storey houses.

In mountainous districts, such as in most of continental Greece, and especially in Epirus, Western Macedonia, S. Greek mainland (Sterea Hellas) and the Peloponese, when the arable land is limited, and the main resources of the inhabitants are the cultivation of vine and stock breeding, the expansion of the house on a large area is not easy, due to the nature of the ground. For on an inclined soil, such as in the mountains, the house is usually dug into the soil and this requires rock blasting which, during the Turkish rule, when explosives were hard to get, was difficult, if not impossible, and extremely expensive. That is why the foundation of the house was made on the bare rock and the parallelogram of its plan was usually situated with its long side perpendicular to the slope. Thus, also, in places where the nature of the ground allowed some rock digging, a deep embedding was avoided. In such a ground, the need for the increase of space was met by the creation of another storey or, more correctly, by the construction of a basement under the house, usually under its entire surface, provided that the longer side of the plan was perpendicular to the slope, and in rarer cases, under part of the house only, when the longer side of the plan was parallel to the slope. [3] 332 342 x

Thus the two-storey form of house was created, consisting of an upper storey and of a basement presenting, just as the one-storey house, both simple and composite forms (two-storey single house, and two storey double house) [4]. 342x [341]

We may often see two-storey houses, of the eagle type roof, which have either a narrow or a wide front, but the narrow-front ones are to be seen only in those areas where there are narrow

1) **G. Megas,** Θρρκ. Οἰκήσεις pp. 10 and 38, Figg. 1, 8, 10, 11, 21, 23, 25, etc.
2) **G. Megas,** Οἰκοδ. Λήμν. p. 7, Fig. 2.
3) Cf. the so-called «Sterfogalaro» in Aetolia, **D. Loukopoulos** ibid. pp. 5-7.
4) See **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις pp. 39 foll.

x 342 front one-storey houses, such as Thrace and Lemnos. In Lemnos especially, the προστῷον of the ground floor has been shut in from the front and formed an ante-room (ἀξάτα) used as a stable for the cattle and containing also the oven.

The roof of this ἀξάτα is flat and it is built like the so-called doma of the flat-roof houses in S. Aegeon, namely with successive layers of isolating material (seaweed and clay) that is lined upon the horizontal bars and reeds. This «axata» is used as a spacy open ve-
[354] randa through which people enter the «house», the sole room of the storey, where there is also the hearth for the cooking (figg. 13 and 13a).

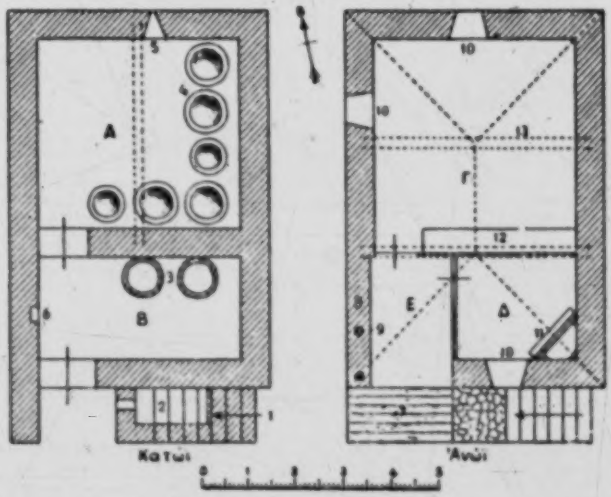

Fig. 14a House with an «ἀξάϊτο» in Katalakkos - Lemnos (See fig. 14)
(G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ οἰκοδομία τῆς Λήμνου, fig. 9)
A Katoi=basement B oxo katoi=outer basement Γ spiti—house Δ kitchen E axaito=covered balcony. 1 staircase 2 chicken-coop 3 manger 4 jars 11 hearth

[354] The wish, however, to release the living room from such a use of the hearth, led to the construction of a separate kitchen in the space over the «axata»; only a part of it was then left open as an entrance, and this part was like a covered veranda. This type of house is called «σπίτι ἀξάϊτο» (covered veranda house, figg. 14 and 14a). Afterwards it was closed on this side too. (S. Plate Ia N°s 8 and 9)(1).

1) G. Megas Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδ. Λήμνου, pp. 22 foll. Figg. 12 and 13.

The second form, namely the wide-front house, is much more frequently found on the islands, as well as in continental Greece, and in several places it keeps the prostyle prostoon, but usually a creeping vine takes the place of the portico. Generally the wide-front house favours a better distribution of space than does the narrow-front one. 342x

The architectural articulation of this house consists of a regular distribution of the interior: a sofa or πεζούλα with the hearth on the one side, and a wooden bed called κρέββατος or μπαταρός, on the other; the space under the bed is called ἀποκρέββατος and serves as a cellar. [354] [352]

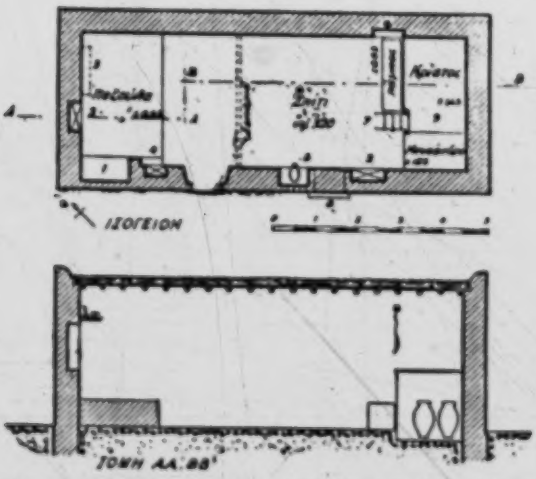

Fig. 27 Kephalos, Kôs. The long house of Maria Yiannou
(O. Megas, Λαϊκή κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 1)
1 hearth 3 cupboards

The widening of space in this single house, (called long house, μακρυνάρι) is easy along the longer side, namely the «long wall», but not so along the narrow side, namely the «short wall», because the width of this side is determined by the beams used for the construction of the roof, which, according to the sizes of building timber prevailing in the islands and for the weight they will support, are not longer than 4-4,50 meters. Thus, the inside of the house is limited to 3.20-3.60 meters. That is why the widening along this side was obtained by the creation of a certain intermediate support of the roof, so 342x 335

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman. Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to
[231] gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed
[152] when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
462 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on
[702] his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

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Vasilika's inhabitants and some of the congruent attitudes. The householders of Vasilika take it for granted that they will use part of their produce, in kind or in cash, to pay for the services of various specialists. They rarely make repairs on their houses or on their equipment; they rarely make shelves or simple pieces of furniture. In short, they do not have the habit of pottering and tinkering about the farms either from necessity or because they enjoy it. Vasilika's farmers and shepherds consider themselves specialists; they view themselves with pride as experts in farming and sheepherding, and assign the same dignity to the expertness of others. To say of a man, *"Kseri ti dhulya tu,"* "He knows his work," is a compliment, and the villagers use the phrase often. They do not expect a man to know how to do anyone else's work. One specialty is considered enough.

Such a point of view means that a farmer, if his saddle strap breaks, does without a saddle or borrows someone else's until the saddle-maker comes by, even if it means several weeks of inconvenience. In one of Vasilika's households, the stone wall of one side of an oven was accidentally broken by a tractor plow one day in April of 1956. At the end of July, the wall had still not been repaired —even temporarily—because the stonemason with whom the farmer was accustomed to deal had not yet had time to come to fix it. In the meantime, the women baked their bread in a neighbor's oven. We learned later that the entire oven was finally rebuilt in the spring of the next year.

When a farmer wants to cover his earth floor with cement, or when he wants the walls of his house whitewashed for Easter, he often pays to have these jobs done by a "master." On one occasion, a stonemason was persuaded to put screens on the windows of the house we lived in, but he went to a carpenter to have wooden frame pieces cut to the proper length. A final illustration indicates not only the existence of this point of view, but also the way in which those in Vasilika might greet a different one. The village house in which we lived had several broken windowpanes when we moved into it. Since the winter rains were due, we thought it imperative to get new glass in. My husband went to Levadhia, purchased glass and putty, and replaced the broken panes. The farmer who owned the house watched my husband work. He kept making the sign of the cross and repeated again and again in awed tones, "A professor who is also a master glazier!" The farmer himself had never thought of repairing his own windows, and for anyone in as exalted a position, from Vasilika's point of view, as that of "professor," to make such a repair had for the farmer a touch of the quality of a miracle.

With the increasing use of machinery on the farms, the villagers may be forced into learning mechanical skills; but the emerging pattern seems to be one in which the tractor operators and a village man who learned mechanics in the Greek Air Force have enough skill to make minor repairs and are called on by other farmers when they need help with their pumps. Major repairs must still await a mechanic from Levadhia. For the Vasilika farmers, however, the inconvenience of having to wait for expert personnel to repair machinery is not a source of special irritation. American farmers, who have been accustomed to acting as their own mechanics, are now beginning to deal with machinery so complex as to require expert repairs. Such dependence is new and annoying for

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445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innova-
[178] tions since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
356 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late
463 fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one,
183 as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

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342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at least some token *rukba* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every
[574] housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
[354] table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos,* as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth. 356 353 [296]

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping. 356 515 [574] [751] [264]

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters. 356 512 [264]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community. 621 654 178x

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is land-locked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today. 361 [132] [133] [243]

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress. [487] [356] [712]

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the 361 423 [712] 000

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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-centered type of agriculture. 178* 241 [464]

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Eleftherohori is to say that during the past five or six years commercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsistence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabitants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-respecting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors. [433] 178* 511 356 [291] [351]

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy members of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done. [563]

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. One very important consequence is the postponement of mar- 178* 511 582

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

796 527

796 794 [356] [526] [535] [437] [787] [782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards
[357] (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened
[675] (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[a] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *agbora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
●36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the
[526] houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
463
423

1:Sanders Z-5,¥ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 ver-
sion of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picturesque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 184
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates*, *chorikos*, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approximations *of peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to 369 [361]
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of over-idealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of burdens and dull plodders through life.[15]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland, away from the cities, we can use *villager*, *peasant*, and *rural population* interchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local political units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens, whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over 20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more attention than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peasant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways. 369
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 184
174

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw. 821 [539]

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . . [245] [243] [132]

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune. 721

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless. 731 133 [361]

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!) 731 821 [123]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

823 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits
361 about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages
241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos.
433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with
[233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our
[312] village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one
[423] stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired
[487] as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the
[312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] [291]

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

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[P.36]

III

The Village Setting

621 Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization.
361 To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and
[369] mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes, or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place,
[491] the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new
[487] roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the more isolated areas.

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows
[476] him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or
[438] neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture,
[233] frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Agricultural

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square. 241 621

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing. 621 609 574 275 [272] [273]

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention. 621 609 574 [312] [275] [494]

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

[472] The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

123 house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he
574 young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impres-
609 sive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

173 Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be
361 legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

361 Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to
167 rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

361 There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advis-
461 ability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the stand-
[484] point of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Fre-
[489] quently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his-own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[9]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

166 voices, questioned: "Just how would a fisherman know how to guard
361 livestock?" The new site had been chosen because it was sheltered, near
727 the water, and on the road. The houses had been provided free by the Ministry of Reconstruction, each being set in a plot of four hundred square meters in which a small vegetable garden was possible. As the surrounding cropland was insufficient to support all of these families, the men had to go far away in search of jobs while leaving the women and children behind.

361 In the beginning of the reconstruction period, private contractors were
727 given the task of rebuilding the destroyed villages and in some cases put
178 up shoddy dwellings in a location where people did not want to live. Some of these stand today between Lamia and Volos abandoned, mute testimony to the failure of projects carried out without consulting those supposed to benefit from them. But most of the postwar villages are now inhabited and contrast, because of their straight streets and their houses in a perfect line, with the older villages where the streets wander and each individual put up his house on his lot as it pleased him.

361 Location, however, is more complex than some of the peasants' explanations or the contractors' choices would imply. It usually represents over a long period of time an adjustment to the resources which people need for their livelihood. First of all, there must be water available for drinking and washing. Should a spring upon which everyone depended dry up, the
[312] people of the village would move, ghosts or no ghosts, particularly if the women got tired of carrying water from some unreasonable distance. Over a period of time, also, the peasants locate their settlements as a compromise between the requirements for wood and pastures on heights above the village and the need for daily travel to their fields lying below. That is why villages are so frequently perched on a hillside instead of on the level land beneath. Of course, if the plain is large and the hills distant from land owned by the peasants, they will build a village on the plain and make long trips for their wood. Another factor affecting location in the days of Turkish rule was the villager's desire to be off the main road and thus less subject to taxation by officials and to requisition of foodstuffs by passing troops. He valued his freedom. Those old villages are now suffering from the isolation which was once a blessing. But many of the people still cling to residence in the old village in preference to separate farms because of the protection a village gives against wild animals and predatory armies, and because neighbors help each other to cultivate the earth. A further reason for the long survival of the village was its suitability to the system of large landholdings prevalent through much of Greece before the liberation from the Turks. Estate owners or managers could better control and supervise the rural workers whose houses were conveniently grouped together. Nowadays, according to those engaged in community development, better provisions for schools, roads, medical services, mail, and other

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby. [363]

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[1] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece. 491 [521] [619]

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away. [177] [653]

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner." 491 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma,* found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture.

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?"

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu-

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even to the extent of sleeping on the portico, on the roof balcony, or anywhere else where they found it comfortable. As a matter of fact, some students of the Greek house think the court the basic element, and the other parts of the house an adaptation to it and to the other needs connected with the individual peasant's kind of agriculture. Where the court is covered with flagstones, it serves for a longer season than do those that turn to mud after the fall or spring rains begin. 351 [513]

The court is separated from the street by some kind of wall or a fence of holm-oak branches. In the plains villages these walls, like the houses, are of mud brick. They too are white-washed a brilliant white on the Monday of Holy Week before Easter. Later on, when the rains come and the white-wash wears away, the walls take on a drabness that made travelers from early times on down to our day describe these plains villages as unattractive. Where the walls are well kept, where there are attractive tiled gateways — as in Macedonia — large enough for the wagon to drive through, the yards behind have a mysterious and richer look. 351 184

The village setting is part of the Greek peasant's physical adjustment to the land. Throughout Greece there are many variations in the appearances of the settlements due to differences in terrain, location, and communication. Villages set in the shadow of a towering mountain and surrounded by a forest of firs have a snug look; those whose green trees and vines are the only cool color in a vast stretch of hot brown fields invite one to stop and rest; those which stand proudly on the brow of a hill seem to be keeping a watchful eye on the farmlands lying around. Others, perched on some airy height, dare you to climb and visit them, and anyone doing so will be surprised to find that behind the village there is a broad shoulder of the mountain which provides good farmland to those willing to live there on the heights. For many villages the dark blue sea is part of the setting, even though none of the villagers may be able to swim a stroke. Whatever the location, the villager has the deep belief that his village site is the best possible one. The water of his village is the best-tasting in the world, and in moments of homesickness when he is away from his native place he would give anything for a drink of that water again and for a chance to see the incomparable view from his village. 361 361 186 271

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Pelopponneses
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us
124 there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along
[491] the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely
669 off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still
727 stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. 362 727 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 844 124

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 221 361 423 427 246

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5.-1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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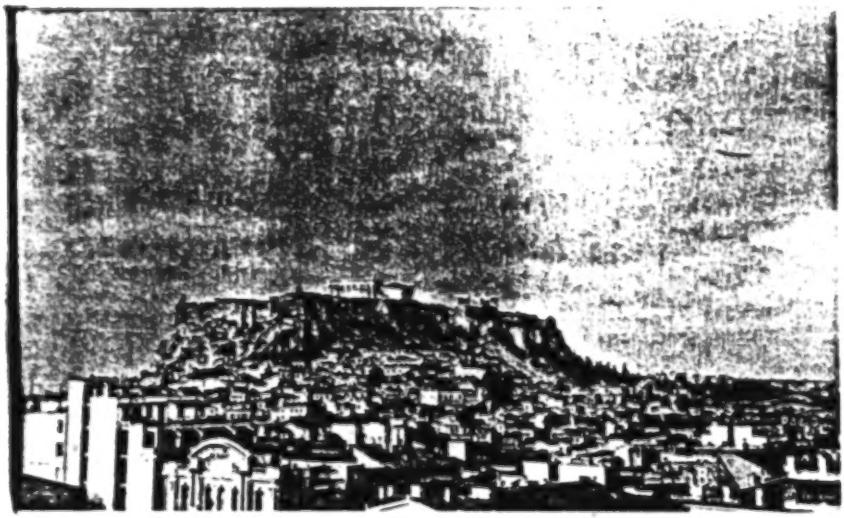

1. The Acropolis, its profile held unobstructed by city ordinance, shades the Athenian in legacy from the Golden Age.

[p.272-A]

Vlachs EH15
1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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2. Kyparissia (Cypress Village) of Peloponnesos, amid its pattern of mountain, and field, and cypress trees that hide a cemetery.

3. The square of Metsovo, Epirus, village of the shepherd Koutso-Vlachs; the children quieted while a vivid funeral procession passed along this road.

V
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[p. 272 - B]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[727]

4. The village of Valtetsi, near Tripolis, Peloponnesos, is abandoned for half the year as the shepherds follow pasturage. The walls remain broken, testimony of wartime guerrilla raiders.

5. A Peloponnesian home, walled from the road, hugs a rock slope near Megalopolis.

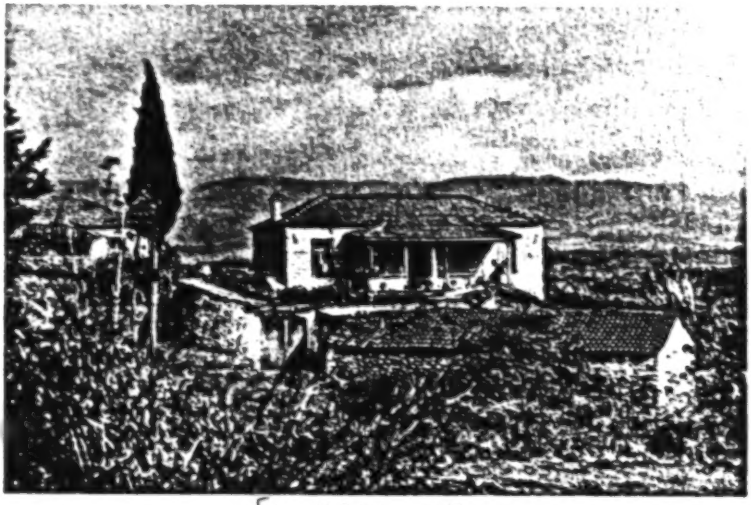

[p. 272-c]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

346 Generally, in the old villages the church is in the outskirts. To the back of
361 the church is the cemetery, which is walled to keep out both wild predatory
764 animals and farm animals. For Greeks it is a sin to step on a grave. The church may have a belltower, or the bell may be hung from the branch of an old tree.
[783] There is always a well in the churchyard and the cemetery of the old village. It is used as drinking water and for the purification after a burial. The main
[312] church of the old village must be the tallest, the largest, and the best-constructed building of the village. This signifies respect for God; the past is not forgotten. This is very much after the pattern of the ancient Greeks who built their shrines as the best buildings while they themselves lived in huts. . . .

Both the church and the cemetery of the old village must be located in a landscape of natural beauty and scenery. Thus faith, worship, and death are in close relation with the natural scenery.[18]

[178] But Valassis adds a discordant note. The new churches are now being
[769] constructed in the center of the village, while the cemeteries remain on the outskirts. No longer, therefore, do the peasants, after a Mass or ceremony, go to the graveyard to pay respect to their ancestors.

2 Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Vasilika with Parori and Mt. Parnassos in the background

Women hoeing.

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[p. xvii]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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The Village: As a Setting

THE VILLAGE OF VASILIKA lies almost at the foot of Mt. Parnassos on the Boeotian plain. The oldest of its fifty-odd houses were built in the late nineteenth century by the grandfathers of some of the now adult villagers. Most of them came from the village of Parori two miles to the northeast. Until 1933, when Vasilika sued for and won separate status, the two settlements were classified by the central government as one community (*kinotis*). The parent village still has the larger population, with some 700 inhabitants, while Vasilika, in 1955–1956, had 216.

Both Vasilika and Parori have come to be called by these names only since 1955. During the Turkish occupation, and for more than a century after the liberation of the region, the Boeotian villages used the names the Turks had assigned to them. Parori was Biskeni Aghas; Vasilika was Kravasaras. But in the last decade, patriotic considerations have led to a change from the old names to ones based on Greek roots. *Parori,* in Greek, means "near a mountain" and is an appropriate name for a village which rests in the foothills of Parnassos. *Vasilika* means "royal" and was the name of a hill in the region where a famous battle against the Turks was fought. In some cases, the names by which the villages were known in classical Greek times were restored. Drachmani, for example, once again became Elatia.

Most of the villagers of Vasilika, in 1961, still called the village "Kravasaras." Indeed, the new sign pointing to the dirt road which leads into the settlement reads *Kravasaras,* in spite of the designation of the village in the provincial records as *Vasilika.* This type of double nomenclature is common in the entire region. The wives of Vasilika, most of whom come from the surrounding Boeotian villages, frequently refer to their former houses by their older Turkish names. These are the names which evoke for them the emotions associated with "my village." Their husbands, on the other hand, often refer to their wives' home villages by the newly given names. An outsider must resign himself to learning the double nomenclature if he is to avoid utter confusion.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are [621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to 361 the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of [423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the [133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece, [134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting [312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently, [134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

241 Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton 312 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural underground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere [406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for [363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not 621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider- 361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen, 182

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the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

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49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.

484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of 443 fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use 484 them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation. 484 But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or 49 a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of [205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and communities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a 484 bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built, [49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields [346] are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959, [245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and another of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the [764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

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west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

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church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora.* Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *aghora,* and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora,* and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now 342
being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, [178]
flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents.

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens 333
which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is [514]
always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, 351
and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls.

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places 361
of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses [342]
is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. [823]
Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, [343]
the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This [351]
combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The 363
single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on 361
different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the

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361 houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

621 Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings
156 has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with [594] the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore [484] does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

621 To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement
484 in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settlement, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore,
494 never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *aghora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the [512] spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

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245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the
574 agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders, and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two
574 or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles
[484] through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

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IV

THE ORGANIC BODY

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Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

THERE is an old story, still to be heard in the mountain villages, which 773
tells how God fashioned the dry land; how He put all the earth through the mesh of His sieve: here a pile of fine rich soil, the granary of Africa, and there another which was Sicily. When all was done there remained within the sieve a heap of stones and dross: God threw them over His shoulder, and there was Greece. *Tout ce païs*, remarks an old traveller, *est plein de hautes montagnes*.

It is important to bear in mind the physical characteristics of the 133
setting within which the Greek Church carries out her work of re- 361
conciliation and renewal. Greece is a land of high mountains and narrow coastal plains; of few towns and wretched communications. The majority of her people live, as they have lived from time immemorial, in small rural communities widely dispersed among the mountains, winning a laborious subsistence from the parched and stony soil which scarcely covers her rocky skeleton. More than half of the whole [311]
area of Greece is utterly barren; much of what remains consists of forest and poor pasture; less than one-fifth is under cultivation. Greece and poverty, the saying runs, have ever been sisters.

At the time of the last census approximately one-seventh of the total 162
population of Greece dwelt in the Athens-Piraeus region, the pheno- 369
menal growth of which during the last 100 years has set it strangely apart from the rest of the country—even though "the equipages of Athens", as the Abbé de St. Michon observed, "have not quite the freshness nor the elegance of those seen in the Champs Elysées". Salonica had a population which was approaching 300,000; the next largest town, however, was Patras with less than 80,000 inhabitants. Most of the remaining towns, a large proportion of which are situated in the fertile plains of Macedonia and Thrace, are market towns and centres of rural industries but little more.

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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

1 [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood 796
of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells [793]
jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on [778]
the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I
was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon
of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re- [782]
decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the [531]
interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the
contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the
squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who [361]
had followed us up the stony path from the *mesochori*, or village-square, [782]
crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of [769]
our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ
conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of
relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated
at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers 796
and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office 788
(the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon [782]
the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured [852]
carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the
church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by 796
the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who 794
had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion,
overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which 533
were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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VII

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A THESSALIAN THEBAID

It seems a place of such stupendious solitude, as if the situation thereof had been designed for the retirement of Monks or the Cells of Anchorites.

PAUL RYCAUT

For the Quiet and innocency of their Life, the natural Beauty of the Place, the Rocks, Mountains, Streams, Woods, and curious Plants, joyn'd with the Harmonious Notes of Nightingales, and other Birds, in whole Quires, celebrating, and as it were, welcoming the forward Spring, to speak the truth, so charmed my melancholick Fancy for a time, that I had almost made a Resolution never to part with so great a Happiness, for whatever the rest of the World could present me with. But, in conclusion, it prov'd too hard a Task for me, so soon to wean myself from the World.

GEORGE WHELER
A Journey into Greece, 1682.

133
●361
792
346

THE traveller who follows the shallow streams of Peneios beyond Trikkala, with its Byzantine citadel, towards Kalambaka at the head of the Thessalian plain, will observe, long before the ruined cottages and hastily improvised dwellings of that oft-destroyed township come into view, a singular group of fantastically shaped rocks rising abruptly from the plain. As he draws nearer and the mountains close in on either hand he will distinguish what appear to be human habitations occupying seemingly inaccessible sites among these monstrous crags and pinnacles. Above Kalambaka itself the limestone cliffs tower toward heaven, "asperous, craggy, and barren"; a few monasteries and hermitages clinging as it seems miraculously to the very brink of the abyss, in defiance alike of the violence of the elements and of the laws of gravity. These are the Meteora monasteries, so extraordinary in their situation that one is disposed to accept the local belief that God formed

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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these strange rocks for the peculiar benefit of the communities of 133
stylites who, in the fulness of time, were to build their chapels and 361
hermitages upon their barren summits. Assuredly, there are few places 792
on earth so admirably fitted to serve as a refuge for those who are called
to the solitary life and to the labour of the angels as this rocky wilderness 346
above Kalambaka.

The early history of the monasteries is lost in obscurity. We cannot 175
say at what period the first solitaries found their way to this remote 792
corner of Thessaly. It seems clear, however, that certainly before the 346
end of the thirteenth century, and perhaps considerably earlier, there
were many hermits scattered about this wild region. *Staghi* (as Kalambaka, the ancient Aeginion, was known in the Middle Ages), seems to be a contraction of *eis tous aghious*—the name is still preserved in the official title of the Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi. It may have been many years before the unorganised eremitical life crystallised into anything in the nature of regular communities. Many of the monasteries trace their origins to the troubled epoch during the latter part of the fourteenth century when the Emperor of the Serbs carried on an intermittent campaign against the successors of Constantine from his base at Trikkala, a few miles further down the valley of the Peneios, and the desert of the solitaries was invaded by armed bands and by men whose warfare was not with principalities and powers. The hermits took refuge among the high rocks. How they first succeeded in establishing themselves on some of the apparently unscalable heights which are now surmounted by the crumbling ruins of their cells is one of the unfathomed mysteries of monastic history—though there are explanations to be heard in the mountain villages of Pindos.

Between 1356 and 1372 there came to Staghi a monk trained in the [133]
great coenobia of Mount Athos, Athanasius by name, who founded
on the summit of the Platys Lithos—the vast mass of rock which towers to a height of more than 1,800 feet to the north of Kastraki—the monastery dedicated in honour of the Transfiguration of our Lord and Saviour which has ever since been known as the Great Meteoron. As darkness descended upon the glories of New Rome, and the church of the Holy Wisdom—"the most fayr Chirche and the most noble of alle the world"—fell into the hands of the infidel, the desert blossomed and a flourishing group of monasteries sprang up among the barren rocks. The Great Meteoron prospered and served as a model for other foundations, thanks to the wisdom of its founder and to the benefactions of

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later in the day. There was, alas! no bedding at the monastery, said Father Ambrose: everything had been carried off by the Communists, to equip a field-hospital which they had established in the mountains to the northward; "What is to be done? But we will find something for you when you return this evening."

We spent the rest of the day scrambling about the rocks and visiting long-abandoned monasteries and hermitages. At St. Nicolas—fast falling into ruin, and where one must tread with circumspection—we found a few paintings remaining in the two chapels and the refectory, as well as an iron chest containing liturgical books and an eikon of the Forerunner; elsewhere, nothing save slowly crumbling masonry and the all-enveloping silence. We paid a fleeting visit to Kalambaka and returned to St. Barlaam a little before sunset laden with cognac and cigarettes. Like the Great Meteoron, this monastery, which crowns the towering cliffs of Drakospelaia, was until quite recent times inaccessible save by net and windlass. It is a sixteenth-century foundation, having been built about 1517 by two brothers from Ioannina—Nektarios and Theophanes—on the site of the fourteenth-century hermitage founded by the solitary from whom the monastery takes its name. In 1950 it was inhabited by six monks. The *Igoumenos*, Father Christopher, told us he had been at the monastery for twenty-one years, and for another twenty years at a convent to the westward of Trikkala. He was seventy-seven—twelve years older than Father Ambrose, an Athenian who was ordained many years ago at Moni Petraki in the shadow of Lykavettos. This was the only one of the monasteries where we came across any novices. Father Bessarion (who came from a village near Larissa and who had seen service with the British army in the Middle East), had been received only five months earlier, as had another young deacon, a native of Chios. There were in addition two simple monks, one of them more than ninety years old.

That night it snowed heavily. Father Bessarion produced a threadbare carpet which, folded double, afforded us a little protection against the bitter cold; and he and a shepherd from Kalambaka, who was living at the monastery, kindled a huge fire which blazed on the open hearth of our cell until morning, while the wind howled along the deserted galleries, the ancient timbers groaned and shivered, and it seemed that an exceptionally heavy squall would send the whole monastery with its domed chapels and its frail scaffolding of cells and domestic buildings spinning off into the abyss. When daylight came we seemed to be sus-

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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792 648 hostile camps have, however, already gone far towards transforming the holy mountain into a purely Hellenic preserve, and threaten wholly to deprive it of the pan-Orthodox character which it yet retains, despite the fact that for many years now every monk has been required to adopt Greek nationality. Three of the twenty ruling monasteries—St. Panteleimon, Zographou and Chilandari—are non-Hellenic convents, being Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian respectively. In former days these monasteries were amongst the wealthiest on the mountain; St. Panteleimon, in particular, with its numerous dependencies—some of the latter far larger than any other ruling monastery—could boast of more monks than were to be found in all the other convents together. All these alien monasteries, however, were dependent mainly upon the produce of lands which now lie behind the iron curtain, and to-day, cut off as they are from their sources both of supply and of recruitment, they are in a most melancholy condition.

Of all the thousands of Russian monks who once inhabited the holy mountain scarcely 300 remain. The majority of these are aged and infirm: many of them physically incapable of cultivating the vegetables, olives and vineyards which now form the monastery's only means of support. It is now more than thirty-five years since the monks have been cut off from their own land. A certain amount of assistance continued to reach Athos from the Russian community in Jerusalem, but this also has ceased since the property became subject to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate. With the passing of the years the position of the alien monasteries becomes more and more desperate, as the list of invalids grows longer, and fewer and fewer hands are available for the support of those who can no longer work; and greatly as one may regret the fact, the day seems not far distant when Athos will become a purely Hellenic community.

792 727 Mount Athos apart, the organised religious life has come very near to complete suppression in northern and central Greece during the last few years. I have already said something of the sufferings of the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. The fortunes of two or three other important monasteries are not without a certain melancholy interest.

Take, for example, the ancient convent of Eikosiphoinisses, which [361] traces its foundation to the second decade of the sixth century: a vast walled enclosure on the wooded slopes of Mount Pangaion, accessible only by mule-tracks winding high above the marshes of Philippi. It is said that there were some fifty monks inhabiting the convent at the

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raids, the Metropolitan of Serres arranged for rations to be sent daily to the monastery, and this state of affairs endured down till the summer of 1949, when it was considered safe to lay in stores once again. In the spring of 1950 only three monks were living in the convent: one of them a priest who could celebrate the divine mysteries. The other monks had been sent by the Metropolitan to serve in parishes of the diocese, where (owing to the very high proportion of casualties amongst the village clergy), the shortage of clergy was peculiarly grave. 792 727

All over northern Greece the same tragic history has been re-enacted time and time again. The monastery of Aghios Nikanor, Zavordas, lies at the heart of a barren and desolate region to the southward of Kozani, and within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Grevena. Like so many Greek monasteries its situation is remarkable: the summit of a high rock set amidst the swirling waters of the Aliakmon. The remoteness of its site, far from the lines of communication, brought this convent through the years of occupation unscathed; isolation, however, afforded little protection against the Communists. The monastery was attacked and looted; everything of the slightest value was borne off to the mountains together with the convent's pack-animals and its 300 sheep and goats. The abbot, Father Gabriel Balayiannes, and an older monk named Gerasimos Stathopoulos were murdered, and the survivors fled to the village of Palaiochori (some four hours' journey from the monastery) where they were still living when I visited this region in the spring of 1950. [361] [669]

Southwards, over the pass which skirts snow-capped Olympus and connects western Macedonia with the broad plains of Thessaly, stands the ancient monastery of Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elassona. This, too, was pillaged, the monks driven out, the abbot severely beaten, imprisoned and sent into exile. In almost every diocese of Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus the few surviving monasteries and their inhabitants have suffered a like fate.

The Abbé de St. Michon observes that in his day the Greek monk was a patriot who fought for the independence of his country, and who was loved for virtues which belong more to the soldier than to the man of prayer. The cannon of Megaspelaion were indeed used to some purpose against the Turk during the war of independence, and Urquhart gives a vivid description of his arrival at the monastery of Lezini, in the guise of a "goul or spirit of the marsh", with twenty muskets and a nine-pounder full of grape trained upon him. Alas! the monkish batteries

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XV

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GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

> The true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their Prelacy and Clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special Messengers and Ministers of Almighty God.
>
> *Canons of* 1604

> The parson's apparel . . . plain but reverend, and clean, without spots, or dust, or smell.
>
> GEORGE HERBERT

361

[439] CAVALLA, the ancient Neapolis, where St. Paul first set foot on European soil, is a flourishing port, the chief centre for exporting the tobacco grown on the rich coastal plains of Thrace and Macedonia east of the river Strymon, the gateway to the Plain of Gold which stretches from the marshes of Philippi to the mountains to the northward of Drama. Great stone warehouses surround the harbour and give an air of solid commercial prosperity to the town, which boasts, moreover, two cinemas, a restaurant with plate-glass windows and chromium fittings, and a remarkable town hall in Hungarian baroque, apart from lesser amenities. Yet the pedestrian who pauses for breath after scrambling up the steps which give access to the metropolis, or who through some narrow break in the line of warehouses gazes out across the busy harbour and the waters of the Aegean, may observe—faint and barely discernible at midday, sharper and more clearly defined at dawn and towards sunset—a distant triangle rising from beyond the sea's rim: Aghion Oros, the holy mountain of Athos, "that is so highe, that the Schadewe of hym rechethe to Lempne, that is an Ile; and it is lxxvi Myle betwene".

[792] [292] Thence, as from another world, come occasional caiques manned by singular bearded figures in black gowns and tall cylindrical caps;

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mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin, the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least, far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping

[Village Life]

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else
361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im-
433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages
438 of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads
241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will
433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is
433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be
[464] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains
[166] often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

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[Village Life]

Hence a sort of symbiosis was established. A large proportion 361 ●
of the able-bodied men of the hill villages descended each year 464
to the plains and worked in the fields of the Turkish landown- 166
ers, then returned to their homes with wages, either in money 433
or in kind, with which to supplement the produce of the tiny fields they had been able to carve from the mountain valleys and slopes around their homes.

Some of the hill villages developed occupational specialties,[1] 361
sending most of their able-bodied men each year to labor as 438
masons or carpenters wherever work was to be found. Groups 464
of villagers sometimes walked as much as a hundred miles to 166
and from the scene of this sort of seasonal employment. Other 433
villages developed what might be called industrial specialties – lime burning, rug weaving, wood carving and the like – and peddled their products far and wide during the summer season. One village even developed an international trade in specially dyed red wool and cloth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, stationing agents in such cities as Vienna, Constantinople and Leipzig. The origins of the modern Greek mer- [505]
chant marine were similar, for sailors were easily recruited among peasant boys of the islands and coasts, who sought seasonal employment to supplement what could be produced on the family farm.

Another pattern of migration should be mentioned, up into the higher mountain slopes rather than down to the plains. Each summer herds of sheep and goats were sent to pasture on the high ground, where vegetation stayed green through the summer drought, and then returned to lower altitudes when the snows fell. Quite a few hill villages specialized in sheepherding, accompanying their own sheep, and sometimes sheep entrusted to them by others as well, on this annual round.

As long as the hill villages lay between two relatively unpop- 361
ulated geographic regions – the plains beneath and the peaks 166
464
433

[1] [During Turkish times - ANALYST]

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
433 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

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[Village Life]

large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets. 361 166 464 178 433

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture. 167 464 178 433 [191]

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of [648]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community.

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today.

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress.

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains. 178* 241 433 [609] [621]

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters. 361 621 [434]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural techniques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family 241
and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be 1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This [166]
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech [191] was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

×178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 233

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

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[211]
[883]
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[312]
[103]
[527]

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

[342]
[247]
[621]

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

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[435]

/10 cont./

Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years.

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/ fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move. 167 722 [648] 511 167

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

To the Land of the Eagle

292 in the island, encircle their heads with an enormous roll of
[302] extra hair bound with red ribbon. This curious adornment —let me resist the obvious pun!—is an heirloom, and consists of hair which at one time belonged to a grandmother or other female ancestor. It is as much a visible sign of the married state as the ring is with us.

MARRIED WOMAN, GASTOURI

361 The chief feature of the village[1] is a very old well sur-
312 rounded by enormous plane trees of unknown antiquity. Here we watched the Gastouri girls coming for water, dawdling at the well's edge, and departing homeward with great jars of shining pottery—successors to the amphoræ of classical times—balanced on their heads. The painter in search of a subject, in whatever part of the world he may happen to be, can always find one at a well.

1 [i.e. Gastouri --- Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter
124 in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently
[491] the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under
669 the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still
727 stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

diocese of Drama no less than forty of the 112 parish churches were burned down, as well as the monastery of Eikosiphoinisses. 722 727

Elsewhere in Greece, and particularly in those areas traversed by important lines of communication, the number of the homeless mounted steadily as guerilla activity drew savage reprisals upon the villages. One had only to spend a few days in the mountains which lie to the westward of the Thessalian township of Kalambaka, for example, to see something of the effect of these reprisal raids. Church after church was gutted: mere empty shells with fragments of ancient paintings clinging to the tottering walls. In this diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone, twenty-four village churches were completely destroyed during the occupation and many others more or less seriously damaged. Nor did the towns escape the flood of destruction: Edessa, for example, which was set on fire by the Germans on September 12th, 1944, and where five churches perished in the ensuing conflagration, or Iannitsa which suffered a like fate two days later; Larissa, which had scarcely recovered from an earthquake when it was bombed by the Italians, and Kerkyra where more than sixty per cent. of the buildings were destroyed or damaged. 795

After the occupying troops had withdrawn from Greece in the autumn of 1944 and the Communist sedition had met with its first reverse, there ensued a period of comparative tranquillity. The refugees returned to their villages and some progress was made in repairing the damage wrought during the years of occupation. But a greater trial was still to come. From the autumn of 1946 onwards the full violence of the armed sedition which had slowly been gathering its energies since its temporary set-back of December, 1944, was let loose upon the country dioceses. It was utterly out of question for the Greek army, even with the assistance of the gendarmerie and the local militia, to garrison hundreds of isolated hamlets lying in mountainous districts where communications were of the most rudimentary kind. The defence of the northern frontiers presented problems enough and to spare. It was not long, therefore, before the country people were forced to flee from their lands and homes and to seek refuge in those centres which possessed a garrison. Large areas of northern and central Greece were soon abandoned to the roving Communist bands. 722 727 669

Some of the refugees found their way to Athens and Salonica, but the majority crowded with their surviving animals and such few possessions as they had been able to carry with them in their flight into 722 362

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

722 the small country towns which serve as centres for the ecclesiastical
362 administration. Here many of them remained for three years. Some, and those the most fortunate, were able to build themselves wooden houses or *kalyvai*; others were lodged in huts; multitudes, especially in Macedonia, lived (often twenty or twenty-five families together) in old Turkish houses; those who fared worst of all had to be content with hastily improvised shelters of mud and thatch, or even to pass the bitter months of winter in tents. By the end of 1948 the number of the refugees exceeded 700,000: for the second time within ten years a tenth part of the whole nation was homeless. The country towns were packed with refugees: not a ruined cottage or a stable but sheltered two or three families. Some words from Thomas Alcock's *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece in 1828-29* might well have been written 120 years later: "Nothing in Greece", says this traveller, "can more forcibly give an idea of the war that has been carried on, than finding on inquiry that not a third of the residents in any place are natives of it, but only sojourners there, till security is afforded them in their own birth-places."

727 The parish clergy fled with their people to the comparative security
793 of the towns, but the priest was a marked man and many failed to make good their escape. No less than 239 priests and monks were done to
[792] death by the Communists alone, and seventy-seven by the Germans, while a further forty-seven died at the hands of Bulgars, Italians or
[798] Albanian moslems. Of the total number of 363 the majority (297 to be precise) were parish priests: no single category of the population sustained heavier casualties in the slaughter of these years than the village *papades*.

793 "I triumphed", says De Quincey, "but infer not, reader, a condition
798 of joy or exultation." Not all of those who died were men of the quality of the heroic parish priest of the village of Megarchis, Papa George Skrekas, who was crucified by the Communists on Good Friday, 1947. Nor, needless to add, did every Christian who suffered for the faith during the first three centuries of our era embrace death with the ardour of an Ignatius or the serenity of a Polycarp. The Church of Greece has ever been rich in martyrs, and there are not a few names—unknown though they be to Christendom at large—which have been added during the last ten years to the roll of those who will be remembered in the mountain dioceses whenever the Church gathers for the eucharist:

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is
tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while
the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out.
/69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the [515]
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth
healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any
village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a
doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many
farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing
two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever
is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and every-
thing evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned 744
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house
flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children.
Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the
troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat
them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a
time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the
sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their
families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few
windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost.
Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the
same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

/70 cont./

Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

PREFACE

At the present stage of the reconstruction of our country the building of houses is of colossal importance. 362

At no other time, since the reconstruction of liberated Greece began, after the 1821 Revolution, was there such a great opportunity for building activity in the Greek mainland as at present. 369 727

The 430.000 destroyed houses in our country, most of which are to be found in the countryside, form 24% of our total number of houses, and the great majority of these have been either totally destroyed or damaged beyond repair.

At the present moment, the attention of all our authorities is focussed on the best solution of the housing in the Greek countryside.

The question is of paramount importance and is much more difficult than that of reconstructing the urban centres where a different way of life allows the application of solutions usually common to all towns, and even to all countries.

But the problem is quite different in the countryside where the «land» factor and the «human» factor, free from the intense influence of civilization, have a direct bearing on the way of life, the methods of living and consequently the types of dwelling. It is for this reason that a great importance should be attached to all the forms of dwellings originating in Greek tradition. In this way we will be able to understand how similar problems have been faced previously by the same people and in the same surroundings.

The present survey by Prof. G. A. Megas, who is already known from his previous works on Thracian, Lemnian and Thessalian Houses, is the first attempt at a synthetic presentation of the whole problem of the Greek Popular House. 114 342*

The problem is not an easy one.

The Greek house has developed through the centuries, under the influence of many civilizations on those physical factors which usually determine its form. The author achieves a global presentation of the problem in conjunction with the similar problems in the countries

[P. 8 is blank]

in order to help him in his activities; thus he creates deviations from the traditional type, variations from the original form. The scholar may see the solutions which the man of the people finds for the various problems connected with house construction, with storage of cattle foodstuffs, shelter of cattle and arrangement of space. He may see his very spiritual and productive forces in action and in full application. For, the methods and means which the popular builder uses in solving these problems, reflect the thought, the practical mind, the creative force, the sence of beauty of the man of the people. This is why it is difficult for me to understand how it is possible that a study of art and material life of the people can be separated from the whole folklore research, as if it was a separate subject; because the things as such are of great interest for folklore study as constituting elements of popular civilization studied by it, and on the other hand, because the man of the people, whose spiritual and creative forces are investigated by Folklore, is acting behind these things. 121 342*

Researches on the popular house are naturally of great importance both for ethnology and for the general history of civilization, but the same holds true for all the subjects of folklore research, especially for those transmitted from people to people.

It is evident that each effort to proceed to a general synthesis of the forms of the Greek house and of its relation to the houses of the other peoples of the Balkans and of Asia Minor assumes the collection of various and abundant comparative material, pertaining to the arrangement of the plan as well as to the methods of construction. I think however that such an attempt, at least as far as the Greek side is concerned, is not premature to-day.

The war and the occupation, and later the communist rebellion, supported from abroad, apart from the other calamities, had as a result the destruction of a great number of houses. The private houses, public buildings, schools, churches and communal buildings destroyed amount to 430.000. The destruction is so big that in future we shall know the architectural forms of some areas only by surveys made in those areas. 121 362 727 653

The urgent need to reconstruct the ruins and to rehabilitate the agricultural economy of the country, made necessary, even during the occupation, the reorganization of the Survey Office of the Town Planning Service, and the creation, immediately after the liberation, of the Ministry of Reconstruction, whose program of works includes the knowledge of the locally prevailing types and forms of popular

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
* 342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[591] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bungalow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards improve, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphically on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. (1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein.—I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby. [363]

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[7] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece. 491 [521] [619]

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away. [177] [653]

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner." 491 178

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are [621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to [361] the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of [423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the [133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece, [134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting [312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently, [134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

241 Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton 312 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural underground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere [406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for [363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not 621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider- 361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen, 182

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents. 342 [178]

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls. 333 [514] 351

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the 361 [342] [823] [343] [351] 363 361

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Village Hygiene

364 This closer contact with the ideas and the services of the city is helping
[369] overcome one of the negative aspects of village life from the survival standpoint, namely, its lack of adequate hygienic provisions. When Greek villages are judged in terms of what one finds in many rural settlements throughout the United States and Western Europe, they measure up fairly well. They have their expected quota of flies, their problems of sewage disposal, and the difficulties of obtaining pure drinking water, but these concerns are common to farm people in other parts of the world.

364 When, however, one measures the Greek village by scientific standards
312 of public hygiene — and these should be the goal in the interest of better health for its people — then there are obvious shortcomings. According to *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*:

> many of the rural sections depend on small springs and hand-dug wells for their water supplies. These are usually isolated from inhabited areas and the water is not piped to the villages. It is quite common to see women carrying water in earthenware containers from sources as far as a mile from their homes.
>
> In semi-rural communities, particularly in the lowlands where underground water is more common, public wells, springs and private wells are often in use. Many private wells exist all over Greece and are sometimes the preferred sources of supply, even where safe piped supplies are provided. In some of the smaller Ionian and Aegean Islands and in a few villages in the northeastern Peloponnese and eastern Crete, the complete lack of any surface or underground water has compelled the population to depend on rain water collected from the roofs of their homes.
>
> Many private and public wells and many rural springs are open and unprotected from contamination which may be introduced by the human or animal population which it serves. . . . Even after collection, the water is frequently subject to contamination in containers. . . .[8]

The urban water supplies are more apt to be adequate with proper precautions taken for filtration and chlorination.[9]

364 A description of waste disposal is also contained in the report quoted
514 above:

> For the disposal of human excreta in the rural areas of Greece either the pit privy or bored-hole latrines are utilized. Defecation on the ground is still widely practiced due to lack of sanitary facilities in residences and schools. However, the sanitary type of bored-hole latrine and pit privy has been installed under various programs at low cost to villagers in rural areas mainly as demonstration projects.[10]

164 In addition to the obvious visible signs of sanitation progress, one can
165 learn much from the list of causes of death for Greece as a whole. Table 2 shows the first fifteen general causes of death for 1950. Some of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

164 Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a
744 story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

364 Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

342 As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can
184 associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years,
[712] plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
[354] table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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● 365 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, perhaps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, [425] supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. [427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several 423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained 428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would 476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth 464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others, either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the in- 465 troduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with [427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

621 631 178 a distinguished man in any company. Authority seemed to rest as naturally upon his shoulders as the callouses rested upon his palms. This easy relation between village officers and the people of their community had definitely not been characteristic in 1947.

621 631 652 Local government in Greece was suffering, however, from a chronic and serious handicap. Local authorities lacked funds, and could seldom do anything beyond routine administration without borrowing from some agency of the central government.[1] The result of this situation was to extend greatly the real authority and influence of the central government over local affairs. Village and municipal authorities spent a great deal of time waiting in the anterooms of officials of the central government in the hope of securing money with which to carry through some local improvement.

621 651 652 178 631 Villages had always depended on the Agricultural Bank or on one of the central ministries for finding money for any important project; cities and towns until 1949 had financed their local expenditures mainly through excise duties imposed upon goods brought into the municipality. Before that year, long lines of peasant carts, waiting their turn at municipal excise stations, were a frequent sight in the outskirts of every town. Internal tariffs were abolished in 1949, however, and the share of the cigarette tax, levied nationally, which was assigned to municipalities in lieu of these excises proved generally inadequate. Town governments were therefore in poor shape financially, and any public improvements that were made came from special grants or loans from the central government.

[633 365] 1. The municipality of Athens, for example, had been insolvent for as long as anyone cared to recall. The problem was such that in 1955 and again in 1956, the Athens Power Company threatened to cut off the supply of electricity to municipal institutions unless some of the back bills were paid.

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential;
829 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre-
[195] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the
[854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem-
178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation-
577 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There
[312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water
[365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 461 as public proof of their privileged status. 302

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

[366] [441] [465]

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit character of Greek families. The members of a family group are ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

472 602 466

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [891] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

621 433 animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought
366 their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili,
438 where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to
491 Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five
258 miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-
464 pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which em-
388 ployed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the sea-
son. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept
open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed
258 down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had
491 been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new
438 road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a
621 purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a de-
669 crease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabit-
722 ants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the
161 village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kala-
162 mata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

178 361 367 [211] [883] 178 [312] [103] [527]

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

[342] [247] [621]

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

167 342 722 511 [435]

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
[131] Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
[161] 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
[311] has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
[156] Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
[181] three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
●369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through
[167] cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take
[829] up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the seminomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

369 829 195 nians. According to the story, a man reading his newspaper at a café table was studying the battle plans and maps of the Russian command. The more he studied the newspaper details of the Russian army lines, the more excited he became, until he finally called out a warning to the Russian general half a world away in these classic words, "More to the right, Koropotkin! More to the right!" This phrase is repeated with a smile by one Athenian to another when he wants to imply that the other is passing judgment on something a little — but only a little — out of his field of competence. As 369 829 a matter of fact, a multitude of anecdotes told by city Greeks about themselves swarm into memory. One way of gaining an insight into the Greek mind is to listen to these stories.

The Greek shows pride in his intellectual curiosity by relating the tale of the Greek walking along a Paris street with a French friend. The Greek in the excitement of a discussion of nationality traits boasted that he could identify any Greek who came down the street. To the Frenchman this seemed impossible in such a cosmopolitan city as Paris.

"Let us wait here for a few minutes and I will find the Greeks for you," said the Athenian, who thereupon began to twist his cane into a nearby wall as though he were boring a hole. Many people passed by without paying any attention, when all of a sudden one man stopped to observe this strange behavior. He looked at the cane, the small hole, and at the man turning the cane as though trying to figure out the reason for the procedure. The Greek with the cane asked, "Are you Greek?" "Yes, I am," said the inquisitive passerby. "What are you doing with that cane?" The performance with the cane was repeated and after an interval a second man — of course, another Greek — stopped to observe. This was enough to convince the Frenchman of his Greek friend's ability to discover his fellow countrymen by tickling their curiosity.

This intellectual curiosity has its other side, too. One Greek social worker with an objective view of herself and her associates said, "When we Greeks face a crucial problem in social welfare or elsewhere, we are inclined to examine it from all sides. We look at it from so many points of view that we finally convince ourselves that it is not a very serious problem and practically explain it away, with the result that we do not feel the need to take any action about it at all."

369 521 [275] [829] It must be obvious by now that city Greeks are never dull. Conversations with them do not merely flow; they roar along. They always have some principles to defend, some causes or organizations to promote, or some absorbing hobbies to share. The mark of the true urbanite, as previously implied, is the regular visit to a favorite café, the modern version of the ancient agora, to transact business or to discuss with friends every conceivable facet of the happenings of the past twenty-four hours, not only in his own social group but in the world at large. It is only fair to point out that a few of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 ver-
sion of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picur- 184
esque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 369
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, cho-*
rikos, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approxima- [361]
tions of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions
about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of over-
idealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of
burdens and dull plodders through life.[10]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland,
away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* in-
terchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall
have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other
countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local po-
litical units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens,
whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had
reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over
20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small
village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more atten-
tion than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peas- 369
ant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways.
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 184
174

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

369 184 174 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is [191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak [197] Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these 369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock; [854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

from a distant island or an isolated mainland village. On the other hand, almost every village home contains photographs of relatives who have taken on the habits of the city. All islanders are not seafarers, for the majority of those in the larger islands live from the soil as do the peasants of the mainland. There is thus a lively interdependence among the urbanite, the seafarer, and the villager. 184 369 [854]

This interdependence, not always recognized by the Greeks themselves, has a fascination for the Western observer who is curious about the working of a society other than his own. For him the panorama of Greece is a source of enchantment. Now brilliant, now shadowy, through it the thread of tradition runs. Who are the carriers of this continuity? What has insulated the thread against time? It is doubtful whether the answers can be found in the clear, cold, statistical analysis of the social scientist. But an observer trained in the scientific method, with a background of Greek history and literature and an acquaintance with modern Greece that began with a first visit there thirty years ago, may be able to give interpretations and insights helpful to those interested in contemporary Greece.

Such interpretations may even have a broader implication. The Greeks differ in innumerable ways from Asian peoples and from those of the Middle East and Africa. Nevertheless, most Greeks on the mainland live in villages which are much closer in tempo and quality of life to villages on other continents than to anything one can find in the United States. They work small plots of land, scattered in strips around their villages, as do many rural people throughout the world, in sharp contrast to the mechanized American farm of several hundred acres; they know the meaning of hunger, of poverty, of the catastrophe of war and violence, which most Americans fortunately have not had to experience, but which is all too common in the newly developing countries; they also face many of the same problems of relationship to the central government and its services, of accepting or rejecting national programs of rural change. 171 184 369

To know the rural Greek, therefore, is to know more about rural humanity, most of which lives in a different social world from our own city-dominated society. Village people want to be seen not as cannon fodder, potential customers, religious or political converts, but as parents hoping for a better life for their children, as farmers wishing better yields to feed the family until next harvest, as new citizens — not yet secure in their franchise — learning the rudiments of the political process. Even more important, they want to be seen as individuals, with all the rich color this word conveys.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P.36]

III

The Village Setting

621 Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization.
361 To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and
[369] mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes, or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place,
[491] the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new
[487] roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the more isolated areas.

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows
[476] him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or
[438] neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture,
[233] frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Village Hygiene

364 This closer contact with the ideas and the services of the city is helping
[369] overcome one of the negative aspects of village life from the survival standpoint, namely, its lack of adequate hygienic provisions. When Greek villages are judged in terms of what one finds in many rural settlements throughout the United States and Western Europe, they measure up fairly well. They have their expected quota of flies, their problems of sewage disposal, and the difficulties of obtaining pure drinking water, but these concerns are common to farm people in other parts of the world.

364 When, however, one measures the Greek village by scientific standards
312 of public hygiene — and these should be the goal in the interest of better health for its people — then there are obvious shortcomings. According to *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*:

> many of the rural sections depend on small springs and hand-dug wells for their water supplies. These are usually isolated from inhabited areas and the water is not piped to the villages. It is quite common to see women carrying water in earthenware containers from sources as far as a mile from their homes.
>
> In semi-rural communities, particularly in the lowlands where underground water is more common, public wells, springs and private wells are often in use. Many private wells exist all over Greece and are sometimes the preferred sources of supply, even where safe piped supplies are provided. In some of the smaller Ionian and Aegean Islands and in a few villages in the northeastern Peloponnese and eastern Crete, the complete lack of any surface or underground water has compelled the population to depend on rain water collected from the roofs of their homes.
>
> Many private and public wells and many rural springs are open and unprotected from contamination which may be introduced by the human or animal population which it serves. . . . Even after collection, the water is frequently subject to contamination in containers. . . .[8]

The urban water supplies are more apt to be adequate with proper precautions taken for filtration and chlorination.[9]

364 A description of waste disposal is also contained in the report quoted
514 above:

> For the disposal of human excreta in the rural areas of Greece either the pit privy or bored-hole latrines are utilized. Defecation on the ground is still widely practiced due to lack of sanitary facilities in residences and schools. However, the sanitary type of bored-hole latrine and pit privy has been installed under various programs at low cost to villagers in rural areas mainly as demonstration projects.[10]

164 In addition to the obvious visible signs of sanitation progress, one can
165 learn much from the list of causes of death for Greece as a whole. Table 2 shows the first fifteen general causes of death for 1950. Some of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
[432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary,
because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
[166] rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are
[578] three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
[369] rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
[593] young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the
432 provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional variations are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
[166] On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[6]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago.

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[7] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow.

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria,* did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

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Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

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Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

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We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

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"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business (baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
576 of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions them-
[369] selves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the
matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had
369 gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece
585 at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the
[591] bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness
[824] of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

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The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

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Keeping the Family Well

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Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

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Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

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> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

743 been pointed out by Dr. Friedl. The bedclothes from home give the patient
758 a chance not only to show a part of her dowry but they, being familiar, lessen the unfamiliarity of the hospital. Human companionship is considered an absolute good. To be left alone by one's family, especially when one is sick, is dreaded.

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.[17]

Then, too, the presence of relatives overcomes any doubt the patient may have about the doctor, for they can keep a check on him and discuss in constant family conferences the kind of treatment he is giving.

These are only some of the cultural influences surrounding hospital care. They have their advantages and their disadvantages, as Dr. Friedl points out, but they do show the pervasiveness of the family system and the fact that woman's role in medical care, even when a relative is in the hospital, is indispensable.

562 Women in rural Greece today are conscious of their hard lot; they long
593 for an easier physical existence, for their contacts with the cities have been frequent enough to show them the advantages of the conveniences there.
• [369] At the same time, they are not discontented in their social relations. They observe that a man honors his mother and is solicitous over his sister's welfare; in the beginning, however, he behaves differently toward his young wife who is less experienced in the world than he and whom he must command if he is to retain the respect of his fellow villagers. Later on, his wife — though still observing the proprieties of deference and obedience — becomes almost his equal in many matters most essential to her. He consults her about the children or about any important shift in agricultural activity, although reserving for himself the final decision.

Rural Greeks would probably not see the intended humor in the sign once posted in an Alabama restaurant — "Keep your wife for a pet, and eat with us" — since the Greek peasant wife still maintains an indispensable economic role in addition to that of sexual companion and the bearer of children. Her chief security in a male-oriented society is her very indispensability, and the more dependent her husband is upon her, the greater her sense of satisfaction. To be merely a pet, even though this carried with it a lightening of physical toil, would threaten the very foundations of her

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

existence. In the Greek cities also, both the sophisticated and unsophisticated men and women agree that a woman's place in life is to cater to the man's desires, to build up his ego, to be "a good wife." As long as there is mutual agreement in this regard, marriages remain stable. Instability begins when there is disagreement over what the roles of husbands and wives should really be.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)
3 medium pans	

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

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As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

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IX

Ceremonies and Holy Days

593 182 Greek family life also has its serious overtones. In such a closely knit unit the illness or death of a member may be more keenly felt than in a family system where one's own security is not so closely tied in with the fate of the others. In a society such as rural Greece, where there is so little [589] room for the unmarried woman, the task of finding a suitable husband for a daughter or sister can become an overriding consideration coloring all of life's relationships. Where the family is the economic and producing unit, economic ups and downs are intimately geared with the ups and downs of the family. Should the bond between husband and wife become strained, [369] the home increasingly becomes the center of tension with fewer outlets than exist in an urban setting. In such cases, the man stays around the house as little as possible and the wife seeks the company of the neighboring women or of some relatives.

Fortunately for all, just when home life has become a bit ruffled, some ceremony or holiday appears to make the family forget for a while their differences in order to carry off the ceremony with the proper flair. The housewife can immerse herself with good conscience in the time-consuming preparations; the father knows that certain duties are exclusively in his domain; and the children wait expectantly for their cues from the adults so that they, too, may participate.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

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Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

527 533 788 755 777

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

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Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata*, or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti*, since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

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Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

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1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

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Even when death is there, there is help. Who can bury the dead by himself? The village all cry together, they all suffer together, and the whole village buries him. He too is not far away from them. His soul roams around them and, as they say themselves, he watches them.[2]

The Agricultural Cooperative Movement in Greece

One could logically argue that a people with as many kinds of mutual aid as the Greek villagers should take readily to the cooperative organization designed to assist cooperators, through organized efforts, to achieve goals which they could not hope to satisfy individually. But the transition from informal mutual aid to an organized cooperative proves much more difficult than one would at first imagine. In the first place, since the village mutual-aid patterns are a "here and now" undertaking, those participating can see the immediate results of their labor and can hold the person helped accountable to return assistance to them when needed. The formal cooperative organizations, on the other hand, have to set goals which are removed both in time and place from the average peasant. Not only are the centers of financial control and the markets distant, but the member has to wait for benefits to accrue in the case of a marketing cooperative. In a credit cooperative, the loan received is more tangible, but its attainment has probably seemed to the peasant a long, laborious procedure.

The transition from village mutual aid to the formal cooperative organization is difficult, in the second place, because the *formal* organization itself is an urban rather than a village development. To participate in and guide an organization takes as much "know-how" as repairing a tractor or managing a flock. But it is a different kind of skill from any which the peasant has been trained to use, and he is therefore either ill at ease or grossly inefficient when he tries to work with such a new social mechanism. Parliamentary procedure, the keeping of books and membership lists, and the preparation of reports go on around him all of the time, but he is seldom called upon to participate in such activity. This means that, as a member, he is apt to be passive and apathetic; he is also apt not to understand much of what is done in the cooperative organization and is therefore chronically critical of management, the government, and perhaps the whole idea of formal cooperatives in general. Once he has learned to deal with the social mechanism of the organization, he is much more self-assured and agreeable, but getting to this point takes a great deal of time for most villagers.

But perhaps a third difficulty in the transition from local mutual aid to membership in the cooperative society is most crucial. Basically the mutual-aid groups consist of family members and neighbors; only occasionally do they even call upon others in the village. The cooperative association makes an immediate leap beyond family and neighborhood to encompass men from the whole village — men who know each other but who have not

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XI

The Village Coffeehouse

Eventually the coffeehouse, instead of being merely the setting for many lively conversations about village life, became an object of interest in its own right. It, too, is a village institution which takes its rank along with the school and the church. The coffeehouse, or *kapheneion*, is more than just a structure. Like the English pub, it is a place of assembly, a communication center, a place to transact business, satisfy one's thirst, or find out about the health of one's friend. 275 182

Most coffeehouses are located near the main square or at some crossroads where things are apt to happen. They find their fullest development in the cities. In the early evening, the time of day when Washington "rolls up its sidewalks" and becomes quieter and quieter, the squares of Athens, the Greek capital, literally burst into life. Constitution Square, for instance, after hundreds of chairs, which have been stacked during the day, are set up around small tables, the waiters begin their hazardous dashes back and forth across the busy street to the food shops which line the square. Their frenetic activity contrasts with the leisurely attack by the patrons upon the small cup of sweet, sirupy coffee and glass of water before them, although a conversation at some table may reach such proportions that one becomes oblivious to the automobile horns, the radio blaring out some popular tune, or the clink of spoons on a glass as people try to attract the attention of a waiter. 275 369 521 201

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 369 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison, its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it has a variety of forms.

Coffeehouse Types

275 443 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three assorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles [562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's 275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four 443 by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches 347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves [262] Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly [373] glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

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[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas,* where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

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the Greek coffeehouses we find the equivalent of what Chester Bowles has referred to as the "tea house jury": 275 521

One evening in Taipeh I asked a world-wise old Chinese diplomat what he thought would happen on the mainland. "Have you ever been to China?" he asked. When I said that I had not, he said, "In every one of China's one million villages is a tea house. Every day at the tea hour the people, especially the wise people of the village, gather to talk. 208

"Chiang lost," the old man continued, "because this great 'tea house jury' decided that he had failed. The villagers came to believe that the Communists could do no worse, and they might be better.

"Someday perhaps the 'tea house jury' will bring a verdict against Mao. Then China will be ready for a change." [8]

Although my study of the Greek coffeehouse never got beyond the introductory stage, I felt fortunate indeed to find that the investigation by John Photiadis of Stavroupolis in Macedonia had addressed itself to many of the specific questions in which I had been interested.[9] No one would claim that all of his findings for one village in Northern Greece would automatically apply to the whole country, but they do possess enough generality to provide some penetrating insight. For example, his discussion * of the coffeehouse attractions are most helpful. 275 521

The primary appeal is *kouvenda*, or conversation, explained as follows: 275

Kouvenda means conversation without any particular purpose, a recognized form of "passing the time." It is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of ideas or description of events, or delving into the past in a quiet manner. But sometimes it is contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud, a statement or a question is countered by a challenging question, tact and gentleness have no part, insults are hurled, but within appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinions, and its end is neither to reach truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech. But whatever impression this occupation of passing the time makes on someone who is a stranger to this custom, to these people it is their enjoyment. It constitutes one of the attractions that makes the coffeehouse a necessity for the villager. 521 571

Photiadis points out that during the kouvenda the participant is involved emotionally, is not only trying to prove his point but is also enjoying this oratory. The irresponsible statements are not to be taken seriously, although they sometimes are, with unfortunate consequences. In this connection, I was always interested in what the men argued about most in the village coffeehouses and found that they did not discuss politics to the same extent as the denizens of the urban coffeehouses. They preferred to talk about community affairs, crops, and personalities, although the announcement about some [369]

* Relying on some of Dorothy Lee's analysis.

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631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many argu-
578 ments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the
individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order
to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his
farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the
advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several
villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
634 come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
623 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The
653 nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other
by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One
man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guer-
rillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file
for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office
75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had
dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were
four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over
their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out
what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary
contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state
had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the
village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get
another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some
much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
634 nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a
275 truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile
away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive
fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted,
"did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sun-
days before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The
crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would
handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go
on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to
go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
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mata, at the southern part of the Peloponnesos. When we discussed the attitude of the peasants toward Athens and the central government, he commented: "Life in the village is difficult; Athens has had special privileges. The villages are 100 percent right in their complaints. In my nomos many of them have no roads, no irrigation or drainage. Their education is so far behind that it is pitiful; their homes are in awful condition. How can a peasant under such circumstances feel gratitude! Paying for the priest and the teacher should be the job of the central government in the same way that a father supports a child. The recent decision to turn back to the communes a share of the tobacco tax is encouraging the villagers very much. Here it will amount to about one dollar yearly per capita."

When I asked him more about the actual workings of the communes in his nomos, he repeated much that others had said:

> The president of the community represents in a small way the national government. So the community council is both an arm of the central government and also a representative of the local village. All decisions of the council have to be communicated to the nomarch; this is compulsory. If the council and president decide to spend any of the local funds the nomarch has the right to say "yes" or "no." If they wish to add a paid employee, the nomarch will check to see whether it is legal or not. If the nomarch does not answer in two weeks' time, then the local council has the right to go ahead without further permission. But the villagers for the most part are not conscious of their rights after the expiration of the two-week period and are capable of waiting fifteen years. The chief reason for delays in such matters is the lack of sufficient personnel in the nomarchy.

During 1952–53, the possibility seemed strong of developing a capable, well-trained group of nomarchs, all of whom were supposed to have security of tenure and not be subject to dismissal except for carefully defined "cause." These nomarchs were being sent to England, the United States, and elsewhere to study how local governments functioned, and to see what ideas might be adaptable to Greece. The community presidents, over and over again, expressed appreciative comments on the work of many of these nomarchs. To be sure, in some villages I found that the nomarch had not yet made himself known, but I had the general impression that a much better relationship was building up between the peasantry and the national government because of the changed attitudes of friendliness and understanding on the part of these key officials. When I revisited Greece in 1955 for another study period, I found that the Minister of Interior in early March 1954 had rescinded the career-nomarch legislation and had immediately dismissed one third of the nomarchs. According to one observer:

> The odd characteristic about these dismissals was that they were not necessarily based on political opinions nor on efficiency. Several strongly-pro-government nomarchs were dismissed despite known efficiency. Apparently this arose

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634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a
661 week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government
[875] although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
758 rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat
465 to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[793] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

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than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a different administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental services enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area.
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco.
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[13]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government carries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

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answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[18] 664

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead. [369] [654]

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter. 622 664 [669] [646]

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch 662 664

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

665 the rival party the other sixty percent support. However, should occasion
578 seem opportune, a great number of them might switch to the support of a
666 third party simply as a means of expressing disapproval of the performance of the ones they have been supporting. But let the men of a village find some common denominator, such as the erection of a school or a church building, and they will forget their political differences.

829 In conclusion, the best way to characterize "the peasant and politics" is
66 in terms of indifference. This is especially true if one looks on politics as an organized way of bringing certain measures to pass through the election
369 of officials committed to carrying them out. This has never worked for the Greek peasant in the past, and he is dubious about its merits in the future. If one means by politics the utilization of personal and family contacts with politicians and officials to get some gain for oneself, then the peasant can understand its significance and see its value. For, after all, politics and politicians are associated with the city and especially with Athens. Villagers are caught up in the backwash and, in their view of the world, have little importance as active agents. Political phenomena, like the weather, have to be endured, although now and then some useful protection from each might be sought in personal initiative, but not by group effort.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men). Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen to us if we can't read?"

[212] [369] [562] [669] [875]

Local Support for the School

871 Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school, since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people and the community council toward the education of their children.

[875] [875]

One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board, the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

[634] [653]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [554] 875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not
156 expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve
[212] glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is
[369] supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that
875 he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

The School Curriculum

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873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

[871] In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her children how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

873 tion between this curriculum and the requirements of farming in the village. The peasants recognize this, for they do not send the eldest son, who is to take over the farm, to such a school. Some completing the gymnasium will go on to get a university diploma and will therefore find this curriculum directly related to their needs in many university courses. Others [647] will go no further than the completion of high school, but this will be enough to open up certain government jobs to them.

874 But what of the eldest son who expects to farm? Is his education to stop at the sixth grade? In most cases it does, but there are about eight government agricultural high schools in Greece where boys can go to learn to be better farmers. Some of these government schools admit boys who have finished the fourth grade and others require the sixth grade, but all give those who complete the course through the eighth grade a certificate. [647] Here, again, the graduates are not so much interested in going back to their family's small farm as in going on to government jobs in the Ministry of Agriculture as technicians. In the school in Phlorina one can study horticulture and viticulture; in Kozane winemaking has recently been added to horticulture and viticulture; in Ioannina the emphasis is upon dairying and in Larissa upon cheesemaking and horticulture. The others, in the Peloponnesos and Crete, also stress horticulture and viticulture. In addition to the government schools, there are four private agricultural schools: [177] The American Farm School in Thessalonike,[13] and schools in Konitsa, Amaroussi, and the island of Chios. The two government Superior Schools of Agriculture are near Athens and Thessalonike and rank at the university level.

871 The lower agricultural schools as well as certain technical schools in [874] carpentry, brickmaking, and the like, set up by the King's Institute, are viewed by Greeks as training schools rather than as paths to becoming an educated man. In other words, education in Greece is utilitarian in that its pursuit helps one achieve life goals in the government bureaucracy and the social structure of the country; it is not utilitarian in the sense of preparing one for practical or vocational matters while absorbing at the same time general education from courses in language, history, mathematics, and the like. Greece, in this respect, follows the traditional European pattern.

871 Many Greeks are acutely aware of their educational problems. One 369 nomarch told of a move toward closing down some of the classical gymnasiums and putting young people into trade schools. "But this presents problems," he said, "because the boys who finish think they are carpenters or blacksmiths and don't want to go back to the village." He thought the attack upon the flight of the educated people to the cities must begin with the mothers, for it is they who say: "But, son, you have your education; you can't go work in the fields."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. 788
To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named. [778]

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read [198] in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but [852] show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed [562] as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way: 771 788

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or 793
rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

[369] [342] [823] [782] [789]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as 793
comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them [794] meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, [627] and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlach EH15.

G 764 533 [562] [369] traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myriologia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing, but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

G V 764 The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

G V 764 152 As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

G 764 775 In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Social Class in the Village

The notables just described constitute the village élite; they are at the top of the status system and represent the village's contact with the outside world. If they are originally from outside, they are supposed to possess the qualities that the peasants ascribe to the educated city person. Their reputation in turn is based largely on the traditional classical education which sets them apart from those less fortunate. As one commentator pointed out: "The civil servant or poor lawyer has little out of life other than his prestige. This takes the form of petty autocracy and the assumption of superiority over the nonprofessional classes." Such a person coming to live in the village feels it incumbent upon him to maintain something of a social gulf between him and the peasants, who also share this feeling. But this "assumption of superiority" is in itself not enough. It will wear thin after a while if the individual does not prove himself competent in his job or show an understanding of the problems that the villagers face. Even if he does it arrogantly, he nevertheless must produce some benefits for the villagers. There is a shrewd practicality in the Greek peasant with which any intellectual has to reckon.

Those notables who are from the village, whether educated or not, must also possess those qualities stressed locally. To some extent, they have to fit into the value systems of both the city and the village, not favoring one so much that they alienate those subscribing to the other.

Very few studies have been made of the status distinctions in Greek villages, with the result that we cannot prove or disprove the existence of regional differences in ascribing status. In a Greek community, as in an American one, people when asked about class differences will be apt to deny them, claiming, "everybody here is as good as everybody else. We have no class distinctions." But as the questioner probes, he learns that one part of the community is considered a very good residential area and another part very poor; some families are at the very top of the social scale for a variety of reasons, others are generally recognized to be at the bottom, and those in between can be sorted out in a loose way according to the criteria (or social values) prevailing in that place. John Photiadis lists the following as the factors for class distinction in the Macedonian village he studied: education; occupation; money; family name; approved achievement; community activities; origin (whether refugee or not); area of residence. On the basis of these he delineates three classes in a larger-than-average village:

The *upper class* consisting of professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers), tobacco merchants, larger storekeepers, and office managers.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423] [427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance
669 for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
166 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did [657] not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as [369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes following the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity,
[302] with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was [657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

Social Drift

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discussion of religion, observed:

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> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

[454]

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

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A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the connection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change. The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transitional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
[435] near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
[476] being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

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observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

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Abroad, our movies, international radio transmissions, and printed material also contribute to the interpretation given to democracy, our economic system, and our social institutions. These facts alone indicate the deep involvement of the United States in the problem of change; but the urgency for a careful reconsideration and a more effective discharge of this involvement is driven home hard by the alternatives for change which the Soviet bloc offers to the new countries grappling with the problems of becoming part of the modern world.

In the face of this challenge, we of the Western world are coming more and more to recognize that the task of our generation is to serve as agents of international social change. Even though as individuals we stay at home, we still play some part in initiating change in many parts of the world through our government and the many private organizations which we support. For Americans this is inevitable, whether or not we like it. It is hard to see that we are all responsible for great changes in Asia or Africa; yet this is grim reality. In a sense, this is what people from many countries mean when they say that the United States must assume more actively its role of world leadership, for they are suggesting that this nation fit itself and assert itself more fully to guide and, at times, even set in motion social, economic, and political change among many peoples. Those urging this position, if one listens carefully, usually qualify their comments by pointing out that there are "right and wrong" ways of exercising this leadership, mistakes to be avoided, and a strong possibility that such a channeling of energies will not necessarily help the United States win a popularity contest, though it may greatly increase respect for this country.

Such a call to leadership is sufficient to make many Americans recoil in horror at the thought of playing the role of some global master-minder, Santa Claus, or do-gooder. And as they pull back, they drop the rational approach with which they face certain aspects of their lives and fall into a much more comfortable emotionalism absolving them from some of the disagreeable consequences of facing facts in today's world. They, as well as the rest of us, need to think through some philosophy of change compatible with democratic ideals and more in keeping with a world moving fast toward the twenty-first century. One of the first requirements is to accept change, rapid and dislocating as it often is, as one of the paramount traits of our times.

The Greek village, chiefly on the receiving end of change, can provide us some clues as to what happens when comparatively isolated villages begin to swing in the orbit of a town or city, or when archaic agricultural practices give way to modern farming. Statistics can tell about the increases in production, but one will have to rely on general observations to discern what such changes bring to social life. We are responsible as American citizens for helping bring about this social redesign in Greek life. What have

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so ur-
369 banized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to under-
stand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

From Peasant to Farmer

184 In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards
241 in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs
of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of
[178] these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is
241 the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for
511 a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

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or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [465] [429]

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178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
●369 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
665 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as
definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some coun-
829 tries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
178 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the
82 less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
184 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They
156 begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

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178 184 peasant is rapidly becoming a farmer. But what about those who leave the village, displaced by the machine or attracted by opportunities elsewhere? What transformation do they have to go through if they are to adjust to urban and industrial life?

From Villager to Urbanite

369 Although this study of Greek life has concentrated upon the village, some observations about villagers transplanted to the city have relevance to foreign aid as a force for change. If farm workers are displaced by the machine, they tend to gravitate toward population centers where they hope to find work as general laborers or to follow some small skill they may have acquired. The coming of factories usually means some migration of labor, much of it frequently stemming from the rural areas. In fact, in the Western sense, to industrialize means to de-ruralize.

Any foreign-aid program, therefore, which creates new urban centers or leads to the movement of rural people to older centers in search of jobs is introducing not only a type but a tempo of change that must be taken into account in the allocation of economic resources. Some funds will undoubtedly have to be used to ease the transition for those making the move if they are not to become a discontented proletariat. This becomes more evident when we see what happens when a villager becomes an urbanite.

One of the first effects is for the villager to find himself immersed in a much more heterogeneous society. Occupations are more numerous, specialization is greater, and social extremes — the rich and the very poor — are more pronounced than anything he had experienced in the village. There is an intoxicating excitement in the possibilities that seemingly lie before him, although he realizes early in his stay that lack of training and insufficient income limit the realization of many of the more desirable alternatives. He comes face to face with people deriving from different cultural backgrounds, encounters different religious and ethnic groupings, and can participate in recreational pursuits not known in his native village. This richness, this complexity of urban life often calls for living techniques not acquired in the village. As a substitute, therefore, those recently arrived from rural areas may live with others of their kind in a semifolk environment in parts of cities where they are to some degree insulated from the total impact that the city might make upon them.

A second effect of migration to the city is that life becomes job-focused. One's fortune rests not only on the kind of job one has but frequently upon the mere fact of having a job or not. As a peasant back on the farm he had many tasks to perform, but these varied with the season and could often be done at a time of his choosing, within limits. But as an employee, whether a general laborer on a construction project or a worker in a factory, he moves into a different way of life. He must subscribe to a new type

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of authority — the boss. With some of the younger migrants, the boss may become a father-surrogate; for others, he may represent a challenge to their independence. 369

Furthermore, a job-focused life means a regimented routine, particularly if fellow workers in an assembly line are dependent upon one's own performance. In such cases, others make decisions which one has to carry out. Along with this, a time consciousness, not necessarily present in the village, has to develop, particularly if factory managers are Western-trained. To live by the clock instead of by the sun calls for a major psychological orientation for many villagers.

Also inherent in this arrangement is the fact that the individual and not the family becomes the economic unit. To be sure, different family members may bring their earnings to a common family purse, but they each must go out to tasks over which the family as a group has no control. And as the individual becomes economically more prominent in his environment, he finds his security increasingly in the skills which he possesses. Industrialization and urbanization, therefore, work out part of their changes simply because jobs loom large and life becomes focused on them.

The villager while changing into an urbanite may need welfare and housing programs, largely governmental in origin. He may try to maintain connections with others in the city who have come from his same area; he may have relatives nearby upon whom he can depend in times of emergency; he may never completely cut off his ties with his home village; but he quite often stands in need of unemployment compensation, his wife may need maternity care in a government-run maternity home, and his children may need shots to protect them from diseases. A foreign-aid program which finances factories but gives little consideration to the welfare needs of the people moving into these factories is overlooking an important social dimension. The developing countries also need help in learning effective welfare and health practices as well as in mastering machine technology at the management level.

For the transplanted villager mass organizations may possess some attraction. He may be persuaded to join a labor union without fully realizing what membership involves; he may be talked into participating in a political-action group with no knowledge of the ideology behind the action; or he may content himself simply with belonging to some regional association made up of people from his own native area. One can safely predict that most villagers will not actively seek out the mass organizations but that many of them will get caught up in them with no clear picture of their nature. Should they find the leaders of these groups voicing their own aspirations or resentments, then the new urbanites gain a sense of belonging in an otherwise alien world. Although not touched upon in preceding pages, the work of the labor specialists in the American Mission to Greece de- [177 467]

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369 [177] [467] serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

From Subject to Citizen

641 [648] Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

[177] One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

3

The Family: Consumption Habits

511 594 INCREASED INCOME resulting from technological advances in Vasilika has given the present generation in the village a wider choice of alternatives for allotting their resources than that enjoyed by their predecessors. The [454] first call upon the family's income, after the needs of subsistence, is felt to be the accumulation of a dowry for the daughters and (since there is rarely land enough for all) the provision of an education or apprentice-training for all the sons except the one or two who could eventually be provided with enough land to farm profitably. The process by which these obligations are fulfilled is the subject of the next chapter. Here, our concern is with the goods and services used by the villagers, with particular emphasis on the overtones of meaning that accompany them.

[574] The differences among the households of Vasilika in furnishings, foods, clothing, and hospitality patterns are not great on an absolute scale, but the [556] small differences have, on the local scale, as much significance to the people of Vasilika as the corresponding differences do in any middle-class suburb in the United States. Family self-respect is maintained, and family rivalries are carried on in the village partly by demonstrating levels of taste through consumption habits.

511 369 What the villagers admire and try to emulate are standards of living and of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities. Their knowledge of these standards is acquired through the first-hand information brought back by their town relatives and by what they themselves notice on their own visits to urban centers.

The base to which the new standards are adapted, or for which they are substituted, is a set of patterns for rural living customary in the Boeotian countryside.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos,* as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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Vasilika

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[292] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes
somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white
[427] wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at
least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like
skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now
worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic oc-
casions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
[177] avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[369] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for
Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of
[626] the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
[292] up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the
village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men,
when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by
men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and
wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear
all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves
more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men
wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue
[184] homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
[511] They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief,
wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely
removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around
the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields,
these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is
loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
[765] to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the
colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourn-
ing. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is
in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the
outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but
[286] gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

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sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige.

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers' produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the next chapter.

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share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *paniyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

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the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

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sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing the income of his family and of raising its social position.

Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the history of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However, emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inheritance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *sogbambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *sogbambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *sogbambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *sogbambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *sogbambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

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or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they might not be able to do so.

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

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Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called *vasana,* a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

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In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

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The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes, return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

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601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 557 [581] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal [582] connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since [612] the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be [369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

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relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least; it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those potentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to another individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways, for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospitality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to himself, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied relationships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary connections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them. *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

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the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

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The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece[1]

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FOR some time anthropologists have been trying to refine their understandings of the relationships of peasant communities to the nations of which they are a part. Pioneer acculturation studies in Latin America pointed up the significantly different possibilities in this regard between physically isolated communities and those with access to roads and bus service and the like. The stress here was on analysis of the selectivity with which rural populations took over and adapted culture traits encountered in the cities (Redfield 1930:218–223; Beals 1951:5).

In a recent article Eric Wolf emphasizes the contrast between economically isolated rural communities producing primarily for subsistence and those which, because they produce cash crops, must maintain credit and market connections outside the local communities. Wolf stresses the cultural and social ramifications in the local community which he believes develop from the degree of its economic dependence on the town and its representatives (Wolf 1955:461–466). In a later article, Wolf describes as "a web of group relations" the actual mechanism by which peasant communities are connected to the towns (Wolf 1956:1066). In Wolf's discussion, the groups participating include not only the peasant and his economic mediator or "broker," as Wolf calls him, but also the political functionaries who act as intermediaries between the rural community and the national controls centered in the cities.

Redfield, in his most recent summary and analysis of the literature on peasant communities, characterizes these communities as societies ". . . in which there are long-established relations with an elite whose culture is that of the peasant carried to another level of development" (Redfield 1956:60). This elite he conceptualizes with a cultural rather than a structural emphasis. He defines it not primarily in terms of its economic and political power, but rather as the group of educated people who interpret to the villagers both urban customs and the great national literary and artistic traditions, and who also manage those affairs of peasants which are connected with the national institutions (Redfield 1956:60–65, 101–102). Both Wolf and Redfield make the point that the mediating groups need not be outsiders in the physical sense. Wolf notes that economically successful peasants who remain in the local community have become "brokers" (Wolf 1956:1075). Redfield mentions the "intelligentsia" who may live in the villages although they consider themselves among the urban educated classes (Redfield 1956:61–62). He also mentions that the elite may be relatives of the peasants (Redfield 1956:134). Wolf, by contrast, in his description of the characteristics of open peasant communities, suggests that the accumulation of wealth and the necessity for display which presumably

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lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57). 121 369

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations. 114 369 602

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all. 369 602 554 [571] [571]

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 369 554 433 000

However Vasilika is an open community in
369 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
463 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
871 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
[873] any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
[166] gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
[702] barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
[873] charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
554 tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
58 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is almost impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[3] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual,
602 therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a t[illegible]

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have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another 369 daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and 602 one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions.

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had 369 achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance 602 of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, 554 they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators.

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult 571 sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have 602 some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this 369 group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or 593 more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children [425] are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences.

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly [574] favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction.

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over 571 which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision 583 is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry 425 contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to 593 the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the

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sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

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ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

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369 602 554 [574] 171 369 602 554 [619]

in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepozatlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918: Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957.

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[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinos, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia.

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IV

THE ORGANIC BODY

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Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

THERE is an old story, still to be heard in the mountain villages, which tells how God fashioned the dry land; how He put all the earth through the mesh of His sieve: here a pile of fine rich soil, the granary of Africa, and there another which was Sicily. When all was done there remained within the sieve a heap of stones and dross: God threw them over His shoulder, and there was Greece. *Tout ce païs*, remarks an old traveller, *est plein de hautes montagnes.* 773

It is important to bear in mind the physical characteristics of the setting within which the Greek Church carries out her work of reconciliation and renewal. Greece is a land of high mountains and narrow coastal plains; of few towns and wretched communications. The majority of her people live, as they have lived from time immemorial, in small rural communities widely dispersed among the mountains, winning a laborious subsistence from the parched and stony soil which scarcely covers her rocky skeleton. More than half of the whole area of Greece is utterly barren; much of what remains consists of forest and poor pasture; less than one-fifth is under cultivation. Greece and poverty, the saying runs, have ever been sisters. 133 361 [311]

At the time of the last census approximately one-seventh of the total population of Greece dwelt in the Athens-Piraeus region, the phenomenal growth of which during the last 100 years has set it strangely apart from the rest of the country—even though "the equipages of Athens", as the Abbé de St. Michon observed, "have not quite the freshness nor the elegance of those seen in the Champs Elysées". Salonica had a population which was approaching 300,000; the next largest town, however, was Patras with less than 80,000 inhabitants. Most of the remaining towns, a large proportion of which are situated in the fertile plains of Macedonia and Thrace, are market towns and centres of rural industries but little more. 162 369

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369 Thus, despite a certain drift from the villages to the towns during the last few years, the average Greek is still a countryman. Even the Athenian, if one delves into his personal history, is generally found to have his roots in some mountain village of the Peloponnese or in one of the islands. The generality of the Greek bishops are charged with the pastoral care of a flock dispersed in village communities among the mountains; a single market town or *komopolis* forming the centre of the ecclesiastical as of the civil administration.

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The Church of Greece, from the point of view of outward organisation, consists of sixty-seven dioceses: thirty-four belonging to Old Greece and the remainder to the territories annexed to the Greek kingdom after the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the first world war. These latter dioceses, though formally subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, are at present placed under that of the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy, which is presided over by the Archbishop of Athens and of all Greece. This body, which is made up of the metropolitans of the sixty-seven dioceses, assembles every three years and may be summoned on other occasions if need arise. Extraordinary business apart, however, the affairs of the Church are administered by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, which is composed of twelve bishops under the presidency of the Archbishop. All the bishops are called in turn to serve on this body, and during the greater part of their year as *synodikoi* (which normally recurs about once every five years), they reside in Athens, going home to their dioceses only during the heat of the summer and for the great festivals.

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In Greece the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church has not been replaced by 'the Churches'. According to the figures of the 1940 census, out of a total population of 7,344,860 persons, no less than 7,090,192 were Orthodox, while the non-Orthodox Christians amounted to a bare 51,851. This small minority consists of Roman Catholics and a few so-called 'evangelicals' who came to Greece in the early 'twenties from Asia Minor and owe their origin to the proselytising zeal of American missionaries. All of them are confined to the islands and to a few towns on the mainland: in the country districts a Dissenter would be a curiosity indeed.

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The Greek diocese is, by English standards, very small and sparsely populated; in some respects more akin to a rural deanery than to our overgrown dioceses. Its average population—if we leave on one side the

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788 west—been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Is not the Greek
796 Christian for all practical purposes a mere passive onlooker at a gorgeous spectacle performed by the resplendent ministers: even though the sacred participants in the divine drama sometimes descend from their apron stage and mingle with the audience?

It must be admitted that the average Greek layman communicates very rarely, often only once or twice a year; outside the immediate sphere of influence of the movements, hardly ever more than four times. This reluctance of the laity to communicate frequently is a phenomenon which has been common to east and west from a very early period—though in the west (among Orthodox of the diaspora as well as amongst western Christians) there has been a widespread return to something more nearly approaching primitive practice. Its causes are complex and, to a great extent, a matter for speculation. One factor which is peculiar to the east is the place which the *antidoron* has come to occupy. It would be an over-simplification to say that the blessed bread which the Greek Christian is accustomed to receive at the end of every liturgy is consciously looked upon as a substitute for the holy communion; nevertheless, the *antidoron* has a deep significance for the Greek layman —more, perhaps, than in other parts of the Orthodox world.

The reluctance to communicate frequently does not, as we can see from the history of certain movements within western Christendom, necessarily spring from carelessness and sloth; often it is due to a sense of unworthiness which is none the less real though it be considered misguided. Even in reforming circles in Greece to-day one discovers great wariness on the part of the clergy in recommending frequent, let alone daily, communion to their people. This is not, it is held, a matter
[783] to be undertaken lightly, or without the advice and approval of an experienced confessor; and few priests will permit their penitents to communicate as often as once a month unless they are satisfied that the desire goes hand in hand with a real determination to follow Christ in their daily life. To communicate every Sunday is regarded as an inestimable privilege, but one which is hardly for all men.

[782] Then we must not ignore the part played by the ordinary Christian
[769] in the offertory. In the country districts of Greece the housewife who bakes her bread on Saturday will set aside one loaf upon which she has
● [369] stamped with a wooden seal a traditional design wherein the words "Jesus Christ conquers"—abbreviated to I(HCOY)C . X(PICTO)C . NI . KA—constitute the most prominent feature. Early on Sunday

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morning she will set out for the parish church with her loaf, and arriving whilst the singers are still chanting the morning psalms, and taking it to the door of the chapel where the elements are prepared, she will hand it to the priest together with a vessel of wine, the family diptychs —or lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated by name at the holy eucharist—and perhaps a flask of oil for the lamps and a few grains of incense. Even in an urban parish church the faithful may purchase a sealed loaf at the counter in the narthex where candles are sold, and send it to the celebrant with their diptychs.

It is frequently asserted that the offering of the people disappeared from the eastern liturgies at an early date. One can only marvel at the number of eminent scholars who have been led astray in this matter through failure to distinguish clearly between the offertory procession of the Roman rite and the offering itself. The procession never found a place in the Byzantine rite, which retained the older practice of presenting the bread and wine informally before the commencement of the eucharistic liturgy. So widely-used a liturgical handbook as the late Dr. Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy* asserts that "the offerings of the people, which consisted partly of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the eucharist were taken, and partly of alms . . . continued in the west longer than in the east".[1] In actual fact the offering of the people has never disappeared from the Byzantine liturgy and may still be witnessed in any Greek village church on the Lord's day.

But even though it be admitted that the offering of the bread and wine makes the ordinary people something more than mere passive spectators at a gorgeous pageant, it may yet be said that from very early times the rightful liturgy of the laity has in practice been transferred to the choir: the common people hardly open their mouths from one end of the eucharistic liturgy to the other. Now it is true that congregational singing as practised in the west is so rare among the Greeks as to be almost unknown. Only on one of the great festivals of the Church's year will the whole congregation take up the melody of some ancient hymn: the paschal anthem *Christ is risen from the dead*, for example, or the dismissal hymn at the Epiphany. Normally those parts of the liturgy which properly belong to the laity are in fact sung by the *psaltai* or trained singers —and this applies even to the responses to the petitions of the litanies.

[1] 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1949, p. 127. Dom Gregory Dix and Professor Burkitt have already been taken to task on this issue by the Archimandrite Alexis van der Mensbrugghe.

THE WATERS OF MARAH

788 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat,
796 almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy
533 as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary
[782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear
[292] lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an
[369] *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the
788 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way
796 for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the
[175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

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number of the students were experienced preachers and confessors from the provinces, but in the years to come they will normally consist in the main of young graduates of the theological school. The primary aim of this school is to equip priests (and lay theologians) for work in the dioceses, and it promises to be of the greatest service to the Church of Greece.

The same building serves as a hostel for theological students who live at some distance from Athens and who would otherwise be dispersed in lodgings (though some find a home in one of the hostels of the Zoë Brotherhood). All the inhabitants—theological students as well as those belonging to the School for Preachers—share a common life, with morning and evening prayers, and meals taken together in the refectory on the coenobitic pattern. Now that the theological faculty of the university is attracting students from Ethiopia and America, as well as from the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, and the Apostoliki Diakonia is offering generous hospitality to occasional Frankish visitors and a student or two from the Russian Academy in Paris, this community is fast acquiring an oecumenical character such as belonged to Halki in the day of its fame.

The theological faculty at Salonica, as I mentioned earlier, is of recent foundation. Despite the difficulties of the times, however, it is now in full vigour and holds out very great promise to the sorely-tried and understaffed dioceses of northern Greece. It is greatly to be hoped that it will prove possible before long to set up at Salonica an institution similar to that now flourishing in Athens, and combining the functions of a post-graduate theological college and a hostel for theological students from the outlying provinces. Many of these students at present have some difficulty in maintaining themselves for the period of their studies, and comparatively few can be accommodated in the new hostel of the Zoë Brotherhood or in the little hostel maintained for several years in the face of tremendous material difficulties by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica.

At present there is an acute shortage of educated clergy in these the more remote provinces of Greece. Few dioceses have more than one priest-theologian and in some *eparchiai* the metropolitan is single-handed. In such circumstances preaching and the mystery of penance are inevitably much neglected. Not a few amongst the bishops of these northern dioceses are advocates of some kind of 'direction' of the educated clergy which would counteract the prevailing current which

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sweeps away so inordinate a number of archimandrites to Athens and its suburbs, leaving the mountain dioceses wretchedly short of trained theologians. 793 369

It is interesting to note that the present Archbishop of Athens has recently been moved by the continuing shortage of clergy of all classes in the outlying districts of Greece to conscript from amongst the clergy of the Athens-Piraeus area a 'Sacred Company', consisting of fifty archimandrites, for a 'Spiritual Campaign' (*Pnevmatiki Ekstrateia*) of a month's duration and covering the dioceses of Didymoteichon, Maroneia (Comotini), Drama, Serres, Siderokastro, Kilkis, Verroia, Edessa, Florina, Kastoria, Grevena and Naupaktos: 393 parishes in these dioceses were without a priest in September, 1951. It may well be that similar campaigns, and perhaps some kind of clerical conscription of a more permanent character, will be forced upon the Church if many of her children are not to be left without adequate spiritual guidance.

It is perhaps needless to add that the reader would be greatly deceived if he should suppose for one moment that Athens and its suburbs afford a refuge for idle drones of archimandrites who have from time to time to be dragged forth from their retreats by a stern archbishop, and packed off to the barren mountain dioceses of Macedonia for a month's hard work. Nothing could be farther from the truth: were there three times the present number of educated clergy in the Athens-Piraeus area there would yet be urgent tasks left undone for want of priests capable of tackling them. The Athenian archimandrite is the busiest of men, constantly in demand, not merely to serve on committees, but for preaching and confessing and real spiritual work.

In the country dioceses, nevertheless, the present situation is still more serious; the shortage of educated clergy is even more acute. True, the position is slightly better now than it was in 1949, when many a diocesan *hierokeryx* was somehow contriving to combine his already arduous duties with those of an army chaplain, and others had had to abandon their dioceses for a time in order to minister to isolated mountain outposts, but it remains sufficiently disturbing. Many a provincial 'saint' is acutely conscious of vital work still neglected, which could be undertaken could he but command the services of a single priest-theologian. [722]

The Metropolitan of Kilkis, for example, charged with the care of 140 scattered communities, had only one priest qualified to assist him in the work of preaching and confessing the people; a priest already [794]

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793 burdened with the spiritual care of more than 2,000 children belonging
369 to the newly organised Christian Unions of the diocese and a score of
isolated garrisons, yet contriving somehow to find time to train a group
[794] of young men and women to take charge of the village catechetical schools when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes.

Is it any wonder that in such circumstances the shepherd of one of these mountain flocks will sometimes persuade himself that the populous cities of the south have more than their rightful share of the educated clergy, and picture them as a pleasant haven from the chill blasts that sweep his own desolate pastures; a place where university men "tarry out their time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, and are never used; or, as so many candles, illuminate themselves alone, obscuring one another's light . . . the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some country benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a fair light and be seen over all."

793 Much will depend upon the success of the strenuous efforts now being
871 made to raise the prevailing standards of education among the country
369 clergy and to increase the number of priest-theologians available for work in urban parishes and as assistants to the provincial metropolitans. So far as the village clergy are concerned, the lower seminaries do, on the whole, meet the needs of the present situation tolerably well. The system whereby the pastor of a small rural community is normally chosen by the village elders ensures that the mountain *papas* is a man of good character and reputation, often the natural leader of the community. The Greek country parson has little need of book-learning, and a lengthy academic training would be wasted upon him.

793 With the parish clergy of the towns the position is less satisfactory.
369 The urban parish priest does not always command that universal respect
and affection normally enjoyed by his rural colleague. This is not to say
[554] that the clergy of the towns are credited with any of the more spectacular vices. The Greek bishop is not compelled to exercise an unsleeping vigilance to ensure that his priests and deacons do not "being drunk bellow in the streets; or what is worse, in their drink whoop and hollow in the church; or read the church service in a double tone . . . that their upper dress though plain be clean, and not one black and another red; that they walk not in a dronish lazy manner, nor lie down to sleep in the streets; nor tipple in brandy houses and alehouses, nor boast the strength of their heads in drinking at entertainments." Such deplorable failings (though apparently regrettably prevalent in the Russia of Peter the

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Great) cannot be said to characterise the Greek clergy of the present day. 793

It is, however, frequently asserted that the town clergy are for the most part ill-educated, worldly, idle, more concerned with fees than with spiritual things; and, while there are, happily, many and notable exceptions to such generalisations, it must be confessed that there is some truth in these charges. The education of many of the urban pastors is woefully inadequate, and a lamentably small proportion of those educated in the ecclesiastical schools—and to whom, one might suppose, the Church would turn in recruiting her ministry for the urban parishes—seem ready to offer themselves for ordination. 369 [871]

This leakage is in part explained by the late canonical age for ordination, but the reluctance of many well-educated men to become parish priests is also due in no small measure to the precarious economic situation of the clergy. "Our diocese", a Greek bishop wrote to me in 1949, "lacks educated clergy . . . no eagerness is to be observed on the part of the laity to attain to the priestly office, on account of the poor, indeed ridiculous stipend which is at present paid to the clergy." Other causes of this lack of eagerness may be discerned in the style of dress, the untrimmed hair and beard, and general manner of life which custom continues to demand of the clergy (and which are often thoroughly distasteful to the young graduate of the ecclesiastical school), as well as in the abundant opportunities open to the lay theologian. It is, perhaps, hardly surprising that the provision of educated priests to serve in the urban parishes of Greece is a matter which in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities is of absolutely primary importance at the present time, and which is receiving the most serious consideration. [465] [178] [794]

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CHAPTER 1

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Like other countries struggling under the impact of western technology and ideas, contemporary Greece is a land of sharp contrasts. Donkeys with loaded panniers on their backs still jog down the broad avenues of modern Athens oblivious to the stream of automobiles passing them by; and the donkeys' owners daily hawk their wares, with piercing and immemorial cries, to people living in ultra-modern apartment buildings, as well as to others who inhabit the merest hovels, clustered along nar-

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177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Simi-
184 larly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peas-
● 369 ants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain
[243] with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long,
161 least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost
648 continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families com- [162] prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, [463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

[Village Life]

669 the guerrillas, even in the south, where landless families existed
433 in many plains communities. The hard times that drove the hillsmen from home, gun in hand, impelled the plainsmen to stay home where there was food. More recently, the revival and improvement of agriculture naturally proceeded furthest and fastest in regions where the soil was reasonably fertile and abundant. Hence, the plains villagers have been able to achieve far better results than the hillsmen from technical and marketing changes. They have property and social status to defend, and know quite enough about Communist agrarian policy in neighboring countries to distrust beguiling words from Communist lips.

The farmers of the plains are therefore not revolutionary, even though they may grumble about present hardship, and envy others better off than themselves. They have seen quite enough of the violence and suffering which revolutions, or attempted revolutions, involve. The hillsmen, too, have suffered, and do not love violence for its own sake. But, unless I am much mistaken, they remain potential revolutionaries.

Town Life

369 Just as the combine and the sickle join in uneasy partnership
184 to harvest the wheat fields of Greece, so also in the towns an age-old style of life is set side by side with a few completely up-to-date factories and the most modern urban amenities. The juxtaposition in an urban context is no less awkward than in the country.

443 Particularly in the north, where Turkish times are still within
369 living memory, in towns like Jannina or Kozani, one can see streets where artisans pursue their trades in little shops just as their predecessors have done for centuries. The old medieval principle still holds, whereby shops dealing in the same goods

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[Town Life]

cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silversmiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a prominent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars. 443 369 [493]

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, almost with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talking and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise. 512 369 [461] [513] [584]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

621 369 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns [513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 517 275 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied [435] by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 464 166 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from villages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons [434] can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his [602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369 or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464 relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166 the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602 back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369 however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829 no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186 most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423 more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369 while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437 relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609 every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571 tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602] party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602] merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

437 Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal
609 constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occa-
[571] sionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharp-
463 ness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual oc-
555 cupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to
871 a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of
461 education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these at-
[178] titudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

471 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more gen-
554 eral social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near
461 the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will
[427]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[p.85]

CHAPTER 3

THE VILLAGES

Since most of the people of Greece still live in villages, peasant life constitutes something of a base level for Greek society. Pressure of population is felt first and most acutely in the villages. Peasant boys from land-hungry villages are driven to seek a livelihood in the towns, thus creating a pool of unskilled but eager labor which deeply affects the conditions of life among the urban working classes. Moreover, agricultural products are the country's major items of export. What happens in the villages therefore fixes limits upon the general prosperity and social stability of the entire national community. It follows that the best criterion by which to measure the impact of Amer- 369 433 178* [464]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
* 178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
[433] 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
[423] surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
× [178] tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
× 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Villages of the Plains]

×178 of older peasant customs. The dowry has always been a part of
582 marriage customs in Greece, but it used to be relatively small
583 and easily within the means of the average family. Moreover, not to marry off one's daughters at a rather early age – before twenty-two or so – was regarded as a disgrace. It was felt that something must be wrong, either with the girl or with her parents; that she was running a grave risk of immorality and consequent loss of reputation; and that the parents were delinquent in their duty if they failed to marry her off in the bloom of her youth. Because the new customs run contrary to these older attitudes, a very special tension exists among the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori. They feel it is wrong that their young people cannot marry when they should; they feel even more strongly that marriages must wait until the means of livelihood are assured. This requires the new dowry and land inheritance pattern. But no one is happy with the way the system has worked out, particularly the young people themselves, who see a long and dreary time of waiting ahead before they can hope to start families of their own.

×178 This discontent is compounded by the feeling, which seems
● 369 very strong in the village, that people in the towns have the best of everything: less work, more income; less boredom, more excitement. City standards of dress and manners have made extraordinary inroads in recent years, and aspiration toward a more comfortable and less laborious life is very strong.

×178 Consequently, although by economic criteria the village is
621 very much better off than before, and although the political
669 tensions within the village have sunk back into insignificance,
433 discontent is much alive and near the surface. It no longer takes political form as it did during and immediately after the war, when the Communists appealed to, and found a response among, many of the young people. As long as the majority of families in the village continue to see a path by which they

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be 1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This [166]
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from 178x
neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I 621
was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of 873
gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea 178x
Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry 582
system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming 583
in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease 621
in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no 161
more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any [744]
change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The [582]
more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone 178x
much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I 166
was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have 369
gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left be-
166 hind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one
[369] of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are pre-
[427] pared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

647 One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The
[665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers
[186] that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against
[625] natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the
433 difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to.

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted.

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956).

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 844
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that 759
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come [593]
to be associated with low social position and low income,
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major [511]
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of [583]
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. 828
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* 152
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance,
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel 156
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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Boeotia

has been evolved willy-nilly by these doctors under the diverse pressures of their complex culture.

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Future Development

This is not to say that Greek provincial hospitals will continue their present practices indefinitely. The fact that urban hospitals conform more closely to previously existing American standards and that these form the ideal for the Greek doctors has already been noted. What is even more interesting is that, as the villagers become familiar with hospital care, in the provinces, they are sensitized to the reports of their urban relatives about hospital conditions in Athens. They are told that these more modern institutions provide bedding, and serve food from hospital kitchens. They, themselves, have learned that bringing food from home, and cooking in the hospital, are severe drains on family energies. The result is that they are beginning to complain about the poorer facilities of the provincial hospitals, and are talking of demanding more services: services which, had they been forced upon them in the early stages, would have made the hospital a strange and repellent place.

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One may hope that the development of hospital practice in Greece does not reach the heights of impersonality and isolation of patients characteristic of the majority of our own hospitals. There is a growing literature analyzing and sometimes criticizing these aspects of American hospital care.[10]

10. See e.g., L. W. Simmons and H. G. Wolff, *op. cit.*, and L. K. Frank, *op. cit.*

[p.27(B)]

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

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/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their 755
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. 776

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. 778
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers 751
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. 754

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their 851
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put 178
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash 164
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and 165
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked 369
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black 515
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does 752
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are 759
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

9:Megas

EH1 Greece EH1

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/For information on differences between house types of rural and urban areas, and between different geographical areas of Greece, see category 116, pp. 1-53./

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

PREFACE

At the present stage of the reconstruction of our country the building of houses is of colossal importance. 362

At no other time, since the reconstruction of liberated Greece began, after the 1821 Revolution, was there such a great opportunity for building activity in the Greek mainland as at present. 369 727

The 430.000 destroyed houses in our country, most of which are to be found in the countryside, form 24% of our total number of houses, and the great majority of these have been either totally destroyed or damaged beyond repair.

At the present moment, the attention of all our authorities is focussed on the best solution of the housing in the Greek countryside.

The question is of paramount importance and is much more difficult than that of reconstructing the urban centres where a different way of life allows the application of solutions usually common to all towns, and even to all countries.

But the problem is quite different in the countryside where the «land» factor and the «human» factor, free from the intense influence of civilization, have a direct bearing on the way of life, the methods of living and consequently the types of dwelling. It is for this reason that a great importance should be attached to all the forms of dwellings originating in Greek tradition. In this way we will be able to understand how similar problems have been faced previously by the same people and in the same surroundings.

The present survey by Prof. G. A. Megas, who is already known from his previous works on Thracian, Lemnian and Thessalian Houses, is the first attempt at a synthetic presentation of the whole problem of the Greek Popular House. 114 342*

The problem is not an easy one.

The Greek house has developed through the centuries, under the influence of many civilizations on those physical factors which usually determine its form. The author achieves a global presentation of the problem in conjunction with the similar problems in the countries

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9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

INTRODUCTION*

Greek popular architecture was first systematically studied by the architect Aristotelis Zachos, who examined especially the old «noble houses» of Northern Greece, which constitute the most composite and developed forms of urban dwellings of the post-Byzantine period. One of the rules drawn from the studies of this memorable man is that the developed form of urban houses has always its foundation, as regards the general disposition, in the architecture of the farmers' dwellings; consequently the primary form of the houses of Jannina (and correspondingly of the other urban centres) should be sought in the houses of the Epirus villages and of the other villages of Northern Greece (1). 114 342* 369

Professor An. Orlandos was the one who also mainly studied the urban houses of the last Byzantine years and of the subsequent period.

The popular house in its simplest form, the rural form, was first viewed and studied, in its internal division and composition, by an artist, Mrs. Angheliki Hatzimichali at Skyros, Roumlouki, Ikaria, Samos and Villia. Late D. Loukopoulos, at the same time, gave us a good description of the houses and household utensils of Aetolia.

The present writer, while serving in the educational centres of Thrace in 1922, had the opportunity to study the rural house of the Hevros area, but the publication of his survey on the «Thracian House» was delayed. 114 342*

Further systematic research of the popular house followed by the

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* This survey was originally compiled for announcement at the 3rd Plenary Session of the International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore, which met in Paris on 1-5 October, 1947. The original form of this announcement is maintained in the present publication.

1) **Ar. Zachos**: Ἀρχιτεκτονικά Σημειώματα — Ἰωάννινα (Ἠπειρωτ. Χρονικά, Vol. 3 p: 298). Cf. also conclusions of my book Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, 1916 pp. 75 and 108.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change.

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education.

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed.

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
[BCS] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
[177] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
577 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
[643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
186 and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
577 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
195 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
577 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end. 805 461

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act. 805 269 252

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!" 805 195 [269] [355]

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. 805 [405] [301] [353] [655] [804]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other [202]

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843
and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained [843]
by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 844
in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. 759
In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369]
many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844
something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged.
Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846
regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854
pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856
suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is
at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369]
there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
856 the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however,
[369] to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
[262] easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
[862] period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
[843] be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings. The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude, and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions; and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [791]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal. [461] [369]

264 574 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 26 855 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread. [369]

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

villages the bread is brown and home-baked, and it may form the complete meal, with olive-oil for dipping. If there is any other food, there is only one dish, containing a variety of ingredients which usually make for balanced eating through the day. The hot bean dish *(fasoulada)* for example, contains olive-oil, parsley, onions, tomatoes, and other vegetables, and, eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese, provides a complete nutritive meal, except that the proteins are not animal ones; and the writer finds it fit for a king. The Greek meal is not structured climactically. It may end with fruit, or a leaf of lettuce, or cheese; this, however, is nothing to look forward to but, at most, puts a period to the meal. It is the bread, the "food", that is the point of the meal. Greeks in foreign parts, who have taken on rich foreign desserts, often top their meals with a bite of bread.

In the provinces, very little meat is eaten. Through the week it is served, if at all, as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain. On Sundays, or when guests arrive, or on other festive occasions, there may be roast and potatoes; these are baked together and constitute the whole meal, with the ever-present bread. Fish is eaten in the villages wherever it is available. Processed fish—salted, dried, canned—is a great favourite, and salted roe, made into a "salad" is greatly enjoyed, and forms a regular item during Lent. Milk is consumed in the form of cheese and *yaourti*, a custard-like cultured milk; little is drunk. But the milk used is that of sheep and goats, which, according to Kaloyereas, is richer in fat and protein than cow's milk. In the villages, fruit and vegetables are eaten plentifully when in season; dried fruits and nuts are eaten, olives, cheese while it lasts, and a variety of legumes. There is skill in cooking, and since variety within a meal is not valued or demanded, the simple meals are much enjoyed, and wealthy emigrants, who have succumbed to the luxuries of the American meal pattern, often long for their peasant meals.

In the cities, the Greeks have learned to eat meat and to drink more milk. Here cow's milk and a taste for it have been introduced, and in the country around Athens and Salonica, the peasants raise cattle. Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities, and people, in their desire to take on American ways, eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of texture. Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one of its American trade names, Quaker Oats, pronounced unrecognizably. As *vromi*, it is food for animals, and the word is reminiscent of "stench". According to Dr. Katsigra, much foreign fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten; this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe. City people eat mostly white bread. In general, city food, which conforms in externals more closely to the list of the nutritionists, actually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been

much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[6] 423 [369]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago. [438] [273] [372] [137]

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[7] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow. 175 423

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria,* did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure. 796 527 [465]

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity. [184] [241]

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil. 527 [789]

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell 796 372 [369] [783] 796 787

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796

The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

[527] [533] [788] [755] [777]

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

[789]

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata*, or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti*, since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

[585] [369] [785] [769] [777]

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

[785] [262] [372] [783]

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria,* or the groups of 573 women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring [562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are [574] strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work [535] is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes [533] are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other [589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid [226] activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have [241] numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field [422] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general, these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire 592
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and con- 804
sumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 273
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have 372
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 252
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 147
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are 461
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 412
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 462
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE WATERS OF MARAH

346 *Autres temps, autres moeurs.* "Unhappily", said Father Callinicos, as
792 we waited at the foot of the precipice and Gregorios unsaddled the
pony, "there have been regrettable changes; formerly there was great
[406] security." The windlass, it appeared, was now used only for hauling
up firewood and victuals. We took a last look at the leeks, now
100 feet above our heads, and entered the dark passage which gives
access to the steps leading to the monastery. Agathangellos was awaiting
us outside the now disused refectory: a youngish monk, clad in a
tattered grey cassock and soft cap, who had come to the Meteora, we
subsequently discovered, in 1939. He carried us off to the guest-
chamber (little used in these days) and left us among the faded memorials
of former splendour while he went in search of refreshment. A few
[796] minutes later the insistent clamour of the *semandron* summoned us to
vespers in the fine *catholicon*, dating from the middle of the sixteenth
century, where Athanasius the Athonite, clad in the habit of a western
monk, looks down from the apse—a fragment of an earlier church on the
[262] same site, built by Ioasaph in 1388. A frugal supper of vegetables,
goats' milk cheese and bread followed, and afterwards we sat on
[352] wooden stools round a fire of brushwood and talked to the *Igoumenos*
[372] and the other members of his little family, while Agathangellos busied
himself in the kitchens, where cats as lean as the stylite saints depicted
792 in the frescoes of the narthex lurked in the shadows. Father Callinicos,
we discovered, had been at the Great Meteoron for nearly forty years.
There was one other priest in the community: a Father Theophylaktos
who had lived in the Athonite house of Xeropotamou for several years
as a simple monk before he was ordained and came to Thessaly in 1935.
Another monk—also named Callinicos—had been carried off by the
Italians and had died in exile. Apart from Father Agathangellos, the
only remaining member of the community was a very ancient personage
named Paul who appeared to lead the life of a solitary, and whom we
but dimly discerned amidst the shadows of the church. Gregorios, who
had accompanied us from Kalambaka, was no monk but a married man
with a wife and several children, lately returned to their village in the
mountains to the west of Trikkala. We encountered him again some
ten days later, breasting a snow-covered ridge among the foothills of
Pindos with a couple of heavily-laden pack-animals, and accompanied
by a little troop of refugees on their way home after three years in
Kalambaka.

[796] Shortly after eight o'clock Father Agathangellos reappeared with a
[346]

/59 cont./ 241
that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the [407]
iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes
too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the
field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow
over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without
bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron 241
plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on 242
such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are
plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to
plow the same field as many times as possible. The common
expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get."
This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under
all conditions.

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. 241
Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture 237
all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for 372
fuel.

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not
acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil
filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ can-
not afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding prob-
lems which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should
be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The [433]
productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus,
what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order
to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that
92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the
fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to [433]
the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel
of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the [354]
manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal,
but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm
family was not discovered.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the
[526] houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
463
423

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 369 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison, its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it has a variety of forms.

Coffeehouse Types

275 443 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three assorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles [562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's 275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four 443 by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches 347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves [262] Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly [373] glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 193 EH1 Greece EH1
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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
462 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on
[702] his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 116 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered
[552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents
[865] permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of
[178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the
[373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing
511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small
592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to
[422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever,
[464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for
[422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac-
511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the in-
[294] testines which they sell very readily.

Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group
[494] which plays at all weddings and festivals.

Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

621 433 [366 438 491 258 464 388] animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which employed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the season. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed [258 491 438] down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a de- 621 crease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabit- 669 ants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were 722 insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the [161 village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kala- 162] mata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[2] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis,* while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[3] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

> [403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas,* where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end. 805 461

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act. 805 269 252

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!" 805 195 [369] [355]

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. 805 [405] [301] [353] [655] [804]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other [202]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241 311 406 462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a [407 452 464] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243 554] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are
[621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to
361 the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of
[423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the
[133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece,
134 north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting
[312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently,
[134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton
241 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural under-
312 ground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere
• [406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for
[363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not
621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider-
361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen,
182

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the
[231] straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[471] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
● 406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter. "I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but
[286] gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

175 the wife of the Despot of Ioannina, whose brother, Ioasaph, had come to
792 Staghi as a postulant in 1388. By the sixteenth century there would
346 seem to have been as many as twenty-four communities scattered about the rocks.

The convent of St. Stephen, built on the site of a hermitage founded in 1312, lies on the farther side of a chasm spanned by a drawbridge. [406] In order to gain access to most of the monasteries, however, it was necessary to be hoisted in a net lowered from the gate-house of the monastery (commonly situated some 150 feet above the farthest point [417] to which the traveller could attain by his own unaided efforts), or to clamber up ladders somewhat imperfectly secured by long wooden pegs to the face of the precipice. Travellers' accounts abound in references to the perils of either means of ascent: to frayed ropes which were replaced only after a catastrophe had actually occurred, and to the horrors of ladders hung perpendicularly upon the face of the cliff, below which, as Curzon relates: "the precipice went sheer down to so tremendous a depth, that my head turned when I surveyed the distant valley over which I was hanging in the air like a fly on a wall." It was not until 1925 that, as the result of the construction of some rough tunnels and steps, it became possible to reach the four monasteries then inhabited without considerable hazard to life and limb. The alterations then effected are bitterly lamented by the present *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron, the Archimandrite Callinicos, as a misguided concession to episcopal infirmity on the part of his predecessor. It seemed very [406] doubtful, however, whether the combined energies of the few remaining monks would suffice to operate their ancient windlass at all effectively. Curzon (who visited the Meteora in 1834) speaks of the ten or twelve monks at Aghia Trias who pulled him up to their monastery with a rope thirty-two fathoms long, and of the like number of reverend stevedores who assembled at the bars of the capstan at St. Barlaam, and whose efforts had the somewhat disconcerting effect of lifting him off the floor in his net and launching him "out of the door right into the sky, with an impetus which kept me swinging backwards and forwards at a fearful rate". To-day, the largest community can muster no more than half a dozen monks, of whom two are well advanced in years.

A great transformation has indeed come about since the days of prosperity vividly depicted in an old print which hangs in the sadly dilapidated guest-chamber of the Great Meteoron. More than twenty

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

346 *Autres temps, autres moeurs.* "Unhappily", said Father Callinicos, as
792 we waited at the foot of the precipice and Gregorios unsaddled the pony, "there have been regrettable changes; formerly there was great
[406] security." The windlass, it appeared, was now used only for hauling up firewood and victuals. We took a last look at the leeks, now 100 feet above our heads, and entered the dark passage which gives access to the steps leading to the monastery. Agathangellos was awaiting us outside the now disused refectory: a youngish monk, clad in a tattered grey cassock and soft cap, who had come to the Meteora, we subsequently discovered, in 1939. He carried us off to the guest-chamber (little used in these days) and left us among the faded memorials of former splendour while he went in search of refreshment. A few
[796] minutes later the insistent clamour of the *semandron* summoned us to vespers in the fine *catholicon*, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, where Athanasius the Athonite, clad in the habit of a western monk, looks down from the apse—a fragment of an earlier church on the
[262] same site, built by Ioasaph in 1388. A frugal supper of vegetables,
[352] goats' milk cheese and bread followed, and afterwards we sat on wooden stools round a fire of brushwood and talked to the *Igoumenos*
[372] and the other members of his little family, while Agathangellos busied himself in the kitchens, where cats as lean as the stylite saints depicted
792 in the frescoes of the narthex lurked in the shadows. Father Callinicos, we discovered, had been at the Great Meteoron for nearly forty years. There was one other priest in the community: a Father Theophylaktos who had lived in the Athonite house of Xeropotamou for several years as a simple monk before he was ordained and came to Thessaly in 1935. Another monk—also named Callinicos—had been carried off by the Italians and had died in exile. Apart from Father Agathangellos, the only remaining member of the community was a very ancient personage named Paul who appeared to lead the life of a solitary, and whom we but dimly discerned amidst the shadows of the church. Gregorios, who had accompanied us from Kalambaka, was no monk but a married man with a wife and several children, lately returned to their village in the mountains to the west of Trikkala. We encountered him again some ten days later, breasting a snow-covered ridge among the foothills of Pindos with a couple of heavily-laden pack-animals, and accompanied by a little troop of refugees on their way home after three years in Kalambaka.

[796] Shortly after eight o'clock Father Agathangellos reappeared with a
[346]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan. 423 474 241 [167]

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future. [242] [407] [435] [407]

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem. [652]

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity." [343] [242]

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 [426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily [435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Al- [464] strate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with [249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from [273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and [412] potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407] [412]

> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown.
>
> Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the [462] fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[2]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

they had a resilience that kept them going. When asked how their tobacco crop was doing, they broke into broad smiles, and the man said: 241

"This year our tobacco is just like basil." (By this they meant that it was nice, thick, and round.)

The woman was quick to add, "ho Theos na dosi" (may God grant it).

In a book of interpretations there is a temptation to linger with a couple like this, to record in detail their simple ways which contrast so markedly with the complicated life in the West. The temptation is even stronger when one encounters throughout Greece peasants who are as far removed from mechanization as the Acropolis is removed from the Empire State Building. The late Robert P. T. Coffin, during a year in Greece, caught their spirit in "The Golden Age," which begins:

> High in the back mountains of old Greece
> I came upon incredible peace;
> A wife with a distaff twisting wool
> A boy who filled wool breeches full,
> Riding together on a burro
> Ahead of a bronze man running a furrow
> On a steep acre mostly rocks,
> Twenty red hens, and two bronze cocks.[8]

Yet there is a spirit of change stirring in Greece that cannot be ignored no matter how strongly one may be drawn to the simplicity of the past. To drive along the road just south of Corinth and to see a new bright orange tractor plowing in the shadow of Akrokorinthos, with its lofty crown of crenelated medieval ruins on the summit, is a startling sensation; or between Levadeia and Lamia in Central Greece, to come suddenly upon a combine efficiently working its way through a wheat field with Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, as a backdrop, is to be jolted momentarily by the incongruities of an invasion by the machines into an ancient world which for ages had moved in the pattern of man, land, and animals. 178 241 407

The swiftly changing techniques are illustrated vividly on almost any day's tour through the countryside. At threshing time, for instance, I have seen peasants threshing grain by putting it into a bag and pounding it with sticks; not far away will be several threshing floors on the edge of the village with many teams of horses tramping out the grain; elsewhere there will be the slow-moving oxen pulling a little platform with metal teeth fixed underneath to separate the grain from the stalk; and around the next bend may be a big cooperatively owned threshing machine operated by a long belt turned by a tractor. Tired women, faces veiled with white scarves against the scorching heat and dust, stand feeding the broken sheaves into the thresher; other women sack the grain for the sweating men to carry away in trucks. In the memory of the traveler the impression of fierce heat and 243 178 [407]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] [311] [406] [462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a [407] [452] [464] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, [554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers [407] would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the [445] tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary.

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor [407] instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type.

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world. Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum.
462 The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.] [8]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors — [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.

At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.

Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer [476] spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu- [461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that 178
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 461
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 462
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton.
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. 241
The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with [435]
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [452]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. [439] Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444] of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658] had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874] the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422] by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474] belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000
[167] [464] ernment is at the present confronted. For Greece *has no surplus population*, and, if the country is to prosper, the services of every able-bodied man and boy are needed for the proper development of its natural resources. Weekly emigrant steamers carry large numbers to Western lands and bring but few back . . . with the consequence that many agricultural districts are left without labourers to till the soil" (p. 133).

For more on this emigration, see Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America: The Story of the Re-Patriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956); and Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, 1911).

18. The figures used in this presentation of land use are taken from *Greece Today* (August 1954); from Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954); and from data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. In these three sources the years differ, as do some of the categories of land use, but the details prove interesting.

19. The study on idle lands made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece appeared in mimeographed form in 1952 and was based on detailed reports turned in by the field representatives of the Civil Government Division of the Mission. The report was issued by William M. Tait, who was then deputy director for field service. Other informants point out that in Epirus, and probably elsewhere, thousands of acres are owned by Greek-Americans in the United States, and Greek villagers do not feel free to make use of such idle lands.

20. For a discussion of these exports, see E. J. Bell, "Greece, Exporter of Farm Products," *Foreign Agriculture*, March 1958, pp. 5–6.

[428] 21. The use of lots in dividing up a patrimony among brothers in a Boeotian village is described in an article by Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXVII (1956).

Chapter V. The Peasant at Work

[127] 1. The unpublished manuscript from which this comes is "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria).

2. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 8.

3. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited*, p. 14.

[874] [407] [492] 4. Dr. Charles House, former director of the American Farm School in Salonica, played a great part in preparing the way for mechanization in Northern Greece, since the students at this school were taught how to operate and repair tractors long before they began to appear in so many villages. He said that one argument for the use of the tractor in preference to the draft animal was the fact that the animals ate up too much of the farm produce.

5. For the full World War II picture, see C. S. Stephanides, "Agricultural Machinery in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (November 1948), 250–253.

6. Supplementary labor is an important element in the economy of many families and even whole villages. In the Peloponnesos people from the mountain villages can harvest olives and help with the pressing of the oil, receiving pay in kind. When they help with the vineyards they are paid in money, as they are in Macedonia when they help plant tobacco. Near Ioannina there are villages specializing in certain crafts from which many men go during the winter to ply their trades.

[465] [438]

[127] 7. "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," (1952, mimeographed), prepared by A. Argyropoulos. One of the village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The following comment about this village (Dafnon) by John D. Photiadis is helpful: "I have served as a county agent in that area and I think that Dafnon is not a representative village. It is considered the poorest village in the area and the most stricken by the reduction of prices of Turkish tobacco. This is because

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
[221] earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[248] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[465] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
[436] relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[461] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[558] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
[462] *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[626] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
279 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
[571] grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[461] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[492] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
[445] tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[465] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314] trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
241 questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter. "I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 43 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the [221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and [433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the [434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat, 241 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to 454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their 652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac- [583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings [556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from [242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the [462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to [433] produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, [417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241 422 407 [412] [435]

1	Harrow	$3
1	Plow, iron	1.50
1	Wooden plow	1.00
1	Yoke	1.00
3	Hoes	0.35
2	Shovels	0.25
2	Sickles	0.35

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

/57 cont./
of the outstanding institutions in the village which guides the people in keeping accounts and in taking active part in appointing officers every year. 241 474 [621]

The yearly meeting of the cooperative lasts 2 days and all the men who served in the army take active part. After the committee presents its accounts and accomplishments and its future program, a discussion starts from different members either praising or criticising the work of the existing committee. Different proposals for improvement are made and finally it ends with a vote for a new committee of six. During these two days of discussion people learn from each other how to judge and evaluate certain deeds of the cooperative.

The government, understanding the importance of the cooperative has organized the Ministry of Cooperatives /58/ under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The effect of the cooperative on the people is great not only on the economic life but also on their social life as well. It draws the people close together and they think not in terms of their immediate needs but of their future welfare. [647]

Every year the cooperative sends two students to the high school, gives prizes to the farmers that raise good seed and better animals, gives financial aid to the poor, and helps the unfortunate sick to go to hospitals. These are signs of the role the cooperative can play in the near future. [741]

Besides unifying the whole village into an economic unit it also is becoming a center of spreading higher ideals among the people. Its powers at the present are restricted due to the lack of experienced men with foresight. There are possibilities for one to do more in devising community programs by working with the cooperative. [621]

Farm Techniques. The biblical type of farming is still the kind that yields the greater returns with the least cost. The animal power is composed of oxen with a yoke and an iron plow. The wooden plow still has its /59/ blessings for certain soils. In soils 241 [492] [407]

/59 cont./ 241

that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to plow the same field as many times as possible. The common expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get." This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under all conditions. [407] 241 242

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for fuel. 241 237 372

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ cannot afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding problems which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus, what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that 92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal, but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm family was not discovered. [433] [433] [354]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 [426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily [435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Ali- [464] strate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with [249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from [273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and [412] potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407] [412]

> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown. Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the [462] fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[2]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?" "Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agreement is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea. 243 465

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker provided for himself. 243 464 594 243 466 [412]

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where their services are no longer needed. 124 464 178

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

249 year, since there is not sufficient land to permit crop rotation. This means that extensive use has to be made of costly chemical fertilizers, about 260 [242] pounds to the acre. Formerly, when fewer Turkish families lived in the village, they were able to keep more animals and had plenty of animal manure which, according to old-time residents of the area, gave a 40 percent higher yield. Since then the land has become more worn out, and more reliance must be placed on chemical fertilizers.

The transplanting of the young tobacco plants from the seedbed to the regular fields is done in rows which have been marked in the field by straight lines, drawn by a hoe, about a foot apart. For each row the peasant uses a [412] stick to make holes three inches apart, into which he puts the plants and presses the soil firmly down around the plant. He waters them immediately but is careful not to get any water on the tobacco leaves themselves. Ten days later he hoes around the plants and follows this with a second hoeing ten to fifteen days later.

[461] Usually tobacco-leaf collectors start about July 15 and continue their work until the end of October. They are up by 2 A.M. to gather the leaves before sunrise, and gather only once in a while in the evening. There are four or five collections from each plant during the season, with each leaf picked just at its maturity. During the daytime the members of the family string these leaves into long strands which are then hung up to dry in the sun. Once dried, they are hung in dry sheds or on the rafters of the house.

In November, after the first dews fall, the village home manipulation starts and continues until the middle of March. The purpose of this manipulation is to sort out the leaves into three categories: the first category includes the best small leaves; the second includes the larger sound leaves; and the third includes all those that do not meet the previous qualifications and yet are sound. This last class is called *refouzia*. Any broken leaves are thrown away or else made into pipe tobacco. The leaves of each class are made into bales of from 55 to 70 pounds and then stored in a dry, protected place for the merchant. By the time the baling has been completed, the family must begin once more the cycle of preparing and sowing the seedbed to start the next year's crop. The tobacco farmer, whether from [461] Macedonia, Thrace, or Central Greece, largely because of the traditional [221] pattern of manipulation, is on a twelve-month work year somewhat like the American dairy farmer. His year contrasts markedly with that of the Peloponnesian villager whose seasonal change was described at the opening of this chapter, or with the wheat farmer of Thessaly. Furthermore, what he grows he cannot eat but must sell as best he can to buy his food.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

[Harvesting Olives]

245 not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to
[464] earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up
461 long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to
[264] last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled
[412] rakes and "combed" the tree.

"Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to
[832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come
[264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he
[466] was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between
[264] ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each
[521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle,
3 medium pans	2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

I:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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291
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8. On the tenth day after transplanting, Macedonia; his hoe is said to be short-handled so that he can watch the fragile tobacco leaves as he moves.

[p. 272-E]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

133
361

Vasilika with Parori and Mt. Parnassos in the background.

Women hoeing.

241
291
412

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire 592
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 804 273
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 252
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are 147
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 461
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the 412
earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two 462

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/93 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on
[702] his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

Megali Vrisi

[Inventory at the beginning of the year-
/43 cont./ taken from a representative farmer]

B. Livestock:	Number	Value in drachmas		
Cows	2	5,000		511
Oxen	2	8,000		422
Poultry	30	900		435
Turkeys	3	300		[231]
Hogs	1	250		
Bees	20	4,000		
			18,450	

C. Family food stuffs in storeroom: [251]

	Okes		
Wheat	300	2,100	
Lard	50	3,000	
Honey	10	300	/44/

D. Animal feed in store: [231]

	Okes	Value in Drachmas	
Chick peas	200	800	
Straw	1200	600	
Barley	400	2,000	
			8,800

E. Agricultural implements [241] [412]

	Number		
Plow	1	250	
Yoke	1	90	
Harrow	1	600	
Barrels	3	450	
Harrows	2	70	
Shovels	1	30	
Hatchet	1	60	
Axes	1	80	
Wagons	1	3,000	
Sickles	2	50	
			4,680
	Total		31,930

8:Stephanides--28 I, Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/44 cont./ 511
Inventory at the end of the year. December 31st 1934. 422
435
Family, the same members as at the beginning. [231]

A. Livestock:	Number	Value in Drachmas
Cows	3	6,000
Oxen	2	8,000
Hens	20	600
Turkeys	3	300
Pigs	1	600
Bees	20	4,000
		19,500

B. Family food in store: [251]

	Okes	
Wheat	350	2,450
Lard	40	2,400
Honey	15	450
Onions	20	60
Beans	15	150
Cracked wheat cereal	40	400
		5,910

C. Animal feed in store: [231]

Straw	1,600	800
Corn	60	300
Chickpea	200	800
		1,900 /45/

D. Agricultural implements: [241] [412]

	Okes	Value in Drachmas
Plow	1	250
Yoke	1	90
Harrow	1	550
Barrels	3	450
Harrows	2	60
Shovel	1	30
Hatchets	1	60

511
241

/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

241
423
[484]
[433]
[242]
[476]
[233]

We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241 422 407 [412] [435]

1	Harrow	$3
1	Plow, iron	1.50
1	Wooden plow	1.00
1	Yoke	1.00
3	Hoes	0.35
2	Shovels	0.25
2	Sickles	0.35

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [594]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud [178] stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food [261] is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [4] Therefore, when we describe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared 146 with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why. 262 [146] 272 654

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home: 262

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven. [256] [465] [251] [415] [252]

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef. [251] [231]

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year. [251]

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite. [606]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)
3 medium pans	

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-5/f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

142
291
241
264
415
576

13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakasa, Central Greece.

142
252
291

[p. 272-I]

/60 cont./ 241

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. 242
The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems.

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed 444
due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing 452
well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds
3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen [458]
competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a [474]
successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the
cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three [273]
local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as
to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used
at harvest time.

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most [241]
cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying [463]
their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery
business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time.

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two 511
to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with.

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons [352]
and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. [415]
Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a [353]
few handmade embroideries. [531]

342 stables and storage rooms, and in the upper story the living quarters with a verandah, a balcony, and a sink; over them is a flat roof of tiles. The Albanian form of the square fortified tower is to be seen
177 on larger warehouses (Figure 3). The interior displays the customary
[352] simple furnishing of the Balkan dwelling; the semicircular chair in Figure 14 is reminiscent of the Albanian styles, while its horn-shaped
[415] supports remind one of Turkish influence. The weaving loom and the hatter's bow (Figure 11) that is used for the cleaning of wool and of cotton, have probably come to this country from the Orient, even though the hatter's bow is ancient European (compare the Plate, Estonians II). The baking bell shown in Figure 7, the bagpipes shown in Figure 6, the incense vessel shown in Figure 17, the wooden plow,
[492] shown in Figure 15, which is drawn by the team of oxen that are driven on by a goad (not a whip) and which are harnessed with a neck yoke--all these are universally characteristic of the Balkans. The riding donkey shown in Figure 12, on the other hand, points to the Orient.
[777] Figures 8 to 9 are illustrations of protective charms--the horse's skull is reminiscent of Kirghiz customs, compare volume 1 of this atlas, Plate, Kirghiz I, Figure 13, that are based upon the knowledge of spiritual forces which are everywhere alive, which are effective in everything that is and has being, and can be utilized for magical purposes, both in a good as well as in a bad sense.

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/105: Illustrations/

/106/ The Macedonians

II.

000 1. Men and women from western Macedonia. 2. Woman from
[See 2: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a --Analyst]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another, at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

249 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the [221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and [433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the [434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance 241 what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat, 454 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to 652 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac- [583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings [556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from [242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the [462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to [433] produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, [417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks.

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet.

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need.

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes.

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument.

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

175 the wife of the Despot of Ioannina, whose brother, Ioasaph, had come to
792 Staghi as a postulant in 1388. By the sixteenth century there would
346 seem to have been as many as twenty-four communities scattered about the rocks.

The convent of St. Stephen, built on the site of a hermitage founded in 1312, lies on the farther side of a chasm spanned by a drawbridge. [406] In order to gain access to most of the monasteries, however, it was necessary to be hoisted in a net lowered from the gate-house of the monastery (commonly situated some 150 feet above the farthest point [417] to which the traveller could attain by his own unaided efforts), or to clamber up ladders somewhat imperfectly secured by long wooden pegs to the face of the precipice. Travellers' accounts abound in references to the perils of either means of ascent: to frayed ropes which were replaced only after a catastrophe had actually occurred, and to the horrors of ladders hung perpendicularly upon the face of the cliff, below which, as Curzon relates: "the precipice went sheer down to so tremendous a depth, that my head turned when I surveyed the distant valley over which I was hanging in the air like a fly on a wall." It was not until 1925 that, as the result of the construction of some rough tunnels and steps, it became possible to reach the four monasteries then inhabited without considerable hazard to life and limb. The alterations then effected are bitterly lamented by the present *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron, the Archimandrite Callinicos, as a misguided concession to episcopal infirmity on the part of his predecessor. It seemed very [406] doubtful, however, whether the combined energies of the few remaining monks would suffice to operate their ancient windlass at all effectively. Curzon (who visited the Meteora in 1834) speaks of the ten or twelve monks at Aghia Trias who pulled him up to their monastery with a rope thirty-two fathoms long, and of the like number of reverend stevedores who assembled at the bars of the capstan at St. Barlaam, and whose efforts had the somewhat disconcerting effect of lifting him off the floor in his net and launching him "out of the door right into the sky, with an impetus which kept me swinging backwards and forwards at a fearful rate". To-day, the largest community can muster no more than half a dozen monks, of whom two are well advanced in years.

A great transformation has indeed come about since the days of prosperity vividly depicted in an old print which hangs in the sadly dilapidated guest-chamber of the Great Meteoron. More than twenty

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454]
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the [584]
fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the management and control of movable and personal property that he received with his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the standpoint of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control [606]
over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
425 further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] [311] [406] [462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 ● 422 178 [407] [452] [464] Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243] [554] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about people, changing for the better." 241 178 [461] [242]

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women. Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-to-do peasantry. 241 178 461 462 [517] [423] [556]

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive. 178 241 407 [435] [452]

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license. [439] [444] [658] [874]

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors belonging to cooperatives. [422] [474]

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178 241 434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described
573 and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria,* or the groups of women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring
[562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are
[574] strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work
[535] is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes
[533] are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help
[589] which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid
[226] activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have
[241] numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field
[422] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general, these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered [552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents [865] permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of [178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the [373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing 511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small 592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to [422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever, [464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for [422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac- 511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.

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If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words.

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These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women.

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Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in

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8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital.

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[p 25(B)]

8:Stephanides--27 I. Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1

Megali Vrisi

[Inventory at the beginning of the year-
/43 cont./ taken from a representative farmer]

B. Livestock:	Number	Value in drachmas		
Cows	2	5,000		511
Oxen	2	8,000		422
Poultry	30	900		435
Turkeys	3	300		[231]
Hogs	1	250		
Bees	20	4,000		
			18,450	

C. Family food stuffs in storeroom: [251]

	Okes		
Wheat	300	2,100	
Lard	50	3,000	
Honey	10	300	/44/

D. Animal feed in store: [231]

	Okes	Value in Drachmas	
Chick peas	200	800	
Straw	1200	600	
Barley	400	2,000	
			8,800

E. Agricultural implements [241] [412]

	Number		
Plow	1	250	
Yoke	1	90	
Harrow	1	600	
Barrels	3	450	
Harrows	2	70	
Shovels	1	30	
Hatchet	1	60	
Axes	1	80	
Wagons	1	3,000	
Sickles	2	50	
			4,680
	Total		31,930

8:Stephanides--28 I, Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/44 cont./ 511
Inventory at the end of the year. December 31st 1934. 422
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Family. the same members as at the beginning. [231]

A. Livestock:	Number	Value in Drachmas
Cows	3	6,000
Oxen	2	8,000
Hens	20	600
Turkeys	3	300
Pigs	1	600
Bees	20	4,000
		19,500

[251]

B. Family food in store:	Okes	
Wheat	350	2,450
Lard	40	2,400
Honey	15	450
Onions	20	60
Beans	15	150
Cracked wheat cereal	40	400
		5,910

[231]

C. Animal feed in store:		
Straw	1,600	800
Corn	60	300
Chickpea	200	800
		1,900 /45/

[241] [412]

D. Agricultural implements:	Okes	Value in Drachmas
Plow	1	250
Yoke	1	90
Harrow	1	550
Barrels	3	450
Harrows	2	60
Shovel	1	30
Hatchets	1	60

511
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/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
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A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

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We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241 422 407 [412] [435]

1	Harrow	$3
1	Plow, iron	1.50
1	Wooden plow	1.00
1	Yoke	1.00
3	Hoes	0.35
2	Shovels	0.25
2	Sickles	0.35

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

823 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits
361 about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages
241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos.
433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with [233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the [312] water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the [423] heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! [487] Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the [312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

312 or too little water; never is it "just right." If there is too much, a drainage project must be undertaken to make much-needed land available for cultivation.

312 The most noteworthy reclamation project before the turn of this century
471 was the draining of Lake Kopais, just north of Thebes in Central Greece.[18] The work was undertaken by a French company in 1886 and completed by an English company in 1887, which continued to operate the agricultural estate of sixty thousand acres down to its purchase by the Greek government prior to the November elections of 1952. At that time, this large hold-
[427] ing, along with its complicated drainage system, was turned over to the former tenants, who had worked for the foreign company. Now as owners,
[474] or as members of a cooperative, they face the necessity of making their contribution to the over-all maintenance of the drainage channels so that the water may run off adequately and prevent the land from reverting to its once-marshy condition. According to some foreign technicians, the Greeks are doing a good job of managing this operation.

312 Much of the time, however, there is too little water through the growing season. One answer to this scarcity has been the recent drilling of hundreds of wells, from which water is pumped to the thirsty fields through irrigation ditches. In addition, a number of ambitious water-control projects have led to considerable storage of water and the spread of irrigation.

312 In villages, usually on the edges of plains watered by streams flowing
203 from a mountain source, the water crier is a unique institution. This individual is encountered, for instance, in the Peloponnesos, where he strides through the streets of the village calling out the name of the person whose patches of land are next in line to receive the flow of water. One of these criers had a voice so powerful that, while standing on the small plain below, he could notify people in the village on the mountainside hundreds of yards away.

312 A Greek villager, like the Arab, will make much over the merits of the
● 423 water of his homeplace. To praise the water he will speak of it as *cho-nephtiko nero*, or "digestive water." He will even fight over it, as the fol-
628 lowing news item shows.

> Athens. The Kentucky mountaineers' storied concept of feudin' justice reached here recently and two girls were killed and four men were critically injured.
>
> Two Greek villages — Kerasovo and Papadates — went to war a few days ago to settle a dispute over water rights, and 400 men, women, and children battled for hours with clubs, hoes, knives and hand grenades.
>
> Two army companies were sent to restore order.
>
> The cause of the trouble was water. Sovereignty over Cold Fountain, a spring irrigating the wheat-fields of Kerasovo, was contested by the farmers of neighboring Papadates.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 59]
[p. 58 is blank]

[IV]

Land as a Birthright

Grandfather slipped his hand underneath and drew out a little bundle which had lain over his heart. 423

"It is nothing. . . . A handful of earth. . . ."

"A handful of earth! . . ."

"Yes, a handful of earth from our fields so we can plant a root of basil in our land of exile, to remind us. . . ."

Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, p. 259

A Handful of Earth

To some readers, this passage will reveal a poetic insight into the mystic attachment which not only the refugees portrayed but people in many parts of the world have for the land which is theirs, which they revere, and for which they will endure bloody encounters. To other readers, this will seem an overromanticized stereotyping of the peasant. Which reaction is more justifiable in considering the Greek villages today?

Seeking an answer to this question brought me face to face with the dramatic social changes which have been occurring in Greece, with all their marked regional differences. Facts and figures are a good starting point for trying to resolve a debated question. Certainly, in Greece today, with the population increase, good land is at a very high premium. The "handful of 423 178 241

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 178 [241] earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] [181] [432] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they substitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 178 423 432 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 423 432 [186] [166] [511] [578] The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism. They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave. He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land."

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening.

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits.

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values.

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer
[369] is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young
[593] people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional varia-
432 tions are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live
[166] in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[8]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago.

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[9] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow.

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria,* did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

175 authorities continued the existing forms of land ownership as long as they controlled Attica and the rest of Greece.

●423 There were, for four centuries, four ways in which agricultural and forest land was held during the Turkish occupation. First of all, much land (the old Byzantine estates) belonged to the Turkish state; that is, it was the property of the Sultan who owned it by right of sovereignty. He could not give it away irrevocably, but he could award it as grants to Turks or to Christians adopting Islam. Such grants included the fiefs (or estates called *tsiftikia* in Turkish) over which the new owners had all property rights. These holdings were found chiefly in the richest parts of Attica.[10]

A second form of property in land was that owned by the communes, which had full property rights. The Turkish occupation, for reasons of general policy, preserved the communes existing prior to the occupation together with their administrative institutions. Also, every city, town, and village preserved its magistrates who, elected for the most part by the Christians, were called *demogerontes* (village elders). The occupying Turks also respected the communal property reserved for the needs of the commune (pastures, woodlots), which was administered by the demogerontes. As the later description of local government will show, these elders, in addition, had the right to impose taxes, enforce civil law, exercise police and other powers, with the result that they became the natural protectors and councilors of every inhabitant in the commune. This institution of demogerontes was the incentive which maintained and helped develop national sentiment during the years of occupation, and it was found in those communes which had been *kephalochoria* (head or independent villages) in the Byzantine period.

A third form of landed property was that owned individually by the inhabitants of these kephalochoria, the villages which had the communal land mentioned above. These were settlements usually in the mountain or hill regions. Because their poor or mediocre soil was of little economic interest to the Turks, and because of their inaccessible location, they were not completely subjected economically. They preserved the regime of small holdings: either small holdings already existing in Byzantine times or those which their inhabitants had begun to acquire around the places where they lived, some by purchase of the right of limited tenure, some by grant on the part of landlords. These small holdings frequently were planted with olive trees, vineyards, and fruit trees, as they had been for generations.

The fourth form of property was that which belonged to monasteries and to religious foundations. The Turks, under the system of the Waqf, deeded land to mosques or hospitals in keeping with Koranic law in much the same way as Christians had given land to monasteries in the Byzantine era. In this way, large estates came into being under the control of these

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks. 175 423

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica: 175 423 427

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops. [311]

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years. 178 241 [235] [462]

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of
241 summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

● 423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illustrate modern Greek land reform.[13] The size of the farm holding in Thes-
[241] saly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still
[671] exists for those poor villagers who need it.

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

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Thessaly

423

But he was being forced to surrender even this by the provisions of the 1952 constitution which sought to put in the hands of all the remaining peasant tenants the land which they tilled. [427]

It was some of this land the Thomai peasants were waiting for. Thomai was a village of refugees from near Konya, Turkey, who had settled there in 1926 and 1927. Each had been given approximately fifteen acres of land, much of it quite fertile in comparison with land elsewhere in Greece, but still not enough for their needs. [167]

Arriving in the village, the director of agriculture questioned the men, gathered in the coffeehouse, on the extent of the damage done by the rain and they agreed with him that the loss was not nearly so great as the Athens papers had stated in their morning editions. One of them was even frank enough to say, "Oh, you know how farmers are inclined to exaggerate their losses."

"But what about our pasture land?" one of the more aggressive peasants wanted to know. "We are supposed to get some from one of the Hadjilazaros estates. When will the government give it to us? We need it for our flocks."

Patiently the director explained that they would definitely receive this land but that it would take time. He said he felt the matter would be settled fairly soon since the expropriation — the most difficult part of the transaction — had already been completed. One peasant asked: "How could the owner manage to sell some of the estates to be expropriated before the government took them over? This gives the government less to distribute."

The director pointed out that in any sweeping law like the land reform there were often legal loopholes. These were being closed, but the landowner had been able to use them to his advantage. "Remember," he added, "the present government is really interested in enforcing the law and you will get your pasture land." [14]

The land hunger so vigorously expressed by these villagers in the middle of some of the best land of Greece was due partly to their social origins. Added to the conservatism, the moderate pessimism, and longing for land common to most rural people, there was another factor: when they had lived in Turkey, deep in the interior, they had had all the land they could use. Turkey is less densely populated than Greece. Some Thomai peasants even longed to return to Turkey, so much had they idealized the earlier years before their forced exodus. Yet they admitted that in the 1920s in Turkey they had used primitive methods, plowing with a wooden rather than a steel plowshare; many had lived in caves. Significantly, they admitted also that in this part of Greece they had found agriculture more advanced, but it was an admission of a fact to which they could not adjust. Compared to the more flexible peasants of the refugee villages of Northern Greece, these Thomai villagers were reluctant to change; their nostalgia for the 178 423

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

423 178 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful," [177] [825] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the [685] point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever." [521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 241 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land redistribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant became about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the [311] entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan.

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future.

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem.

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity."

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 474 241 the smallest holdings, must have found sweet consolation in knowing that now many of their more advantaged village neighbors wish to join the cooperative pool. But this poses a problem. "How," the secretary asked anxiously, "can we calculate what arrangement to make with these people? How can we know what to charge them for the risk we took, the major expenses we bore? Certainly, now that we have succeeded, it would not be fair for them to come in and benefit free of cost from the pioneering work that we have done."

As these cooperative members talked of their plans, their eyes glowed with happiness and enthusiasm. The men had concrete proposals to solve other problems. They expect to shift from sole concentration upon grain production to more diversified farming, including livestock and poultry production, the raising of dry legumes and other crops that tend to give employment to the able-bodied members of the cooperating families.

International recognition as well as scientific farming is coming to Nees Karyes. Today there are people from Yugoslavia and Israel, as well as touring Americans, who have seen the way some of the peasant families in this village of Thessaly set about solving their problem of too little land in too many strips cultivated in unscientific ways. The secret of this undertaking, in great part at least, lies in the feeling of responsibility on the part of those who participate, since they originated and now conduct and plan for the cooperative which they jointly own.

Pressure on the Land

161 241 511 Most rural Greeks, however, struggle along with insufficient resources and with no cooperative venture such as Nees Karyes to give them hope. A village cobbler from Karpenesi in Central Greece explained the matter in this way: "There has been such an increase in population that the fields are no longer sufficient. The village child today lives more poorly than did his father as a child, because there are more mouths to feed and no added resources."

A well-informed Greek official put the problem in excellent perspective: "Today there is less income per family, less food, and the land values go [565] up. Those that have more land become better off, leading to totally new economic and social distinctions in the villages. Many of our farmers are trying to make a living on such small farms that all they produce is hate. The main problem of the Greek farm family is the population problem. There are too many people. The villager with nothing to do has no place to go in search of work. That is why you see here in Athens many strong, healthy men selling matches. They have no work to do either in their villages or here in the city."

What the Greek villagers are up against in one part of the Peloponnesos is revealed in *Greece, Ripe for Improvement:*

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of the depressed areas of the country.

Land Use in Greece

What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[18] We may not be able to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest, and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres (double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

Greece Today, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens, in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation; and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Furthermore, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is 63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective average for these countries.

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of which are owned or administered by the state.[19] They were obtained in the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

1:Sanders Z-5ℵ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 241 178

villagers, then conservatism and lack of progress will handicap the peasant; if, on the other hand, the man-land bond becomes too abruptly broken, a rural proletariat will come into existence and will make demands beyond the capacity of the country to provide.

The golden mean would call for such a balancing of forces that Greek villagers, proud of their rural heritage but aware of steps necessary to improve their economic and educational position, would grow stronger with the passing of time. For some the answer to greater economic stability would lie in higher yields per acre through fertilization and better farming practices; in other cases mechanization may prove an aid, as would more efficient irrigation or marketing facilities and lower interest rates. Along with the economic remedies, whatever they prove to be, a sense of psychological security will develop in the peasant if he thinks of himself as a landowner and gets prestige and satisfaction from the intelligent way he treats his land. Linked to this, however, must be the feeling that he — the villager — is not Greece's forgotten or neglected man, but that those engaged in agriculture are viewed by policy makers as an important segment of national life. Individually and collectively, no people can afford the costly luxury of taking lightly their birthright of land.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.

[407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.] [8]

[727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors —
[492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his
[423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain
[454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.

At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.

Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer
[476] spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu-
[461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. 462
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechaniza- 241
tion. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [435]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the re- [452]
maining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government offi-
cials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be im- [439]
ported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444]
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[7]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure
[167] of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the
[526] houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports
[373] club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

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land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business 463
(baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these land-
owners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade [423]
such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward
the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their 621
own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land 241
belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, 511
therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for
187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres,
and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon,
it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land.
There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it,
and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for
a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide suffi-
cient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since
other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities
are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural
areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in [369]
search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income 249
from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the
mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own 435
production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order 511
to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of
Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, [458]
had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, [204]
in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he
also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times,
fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and im-
ported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas 249
variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average
leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first
plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily man-
ured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds
are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered
over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually
morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to
be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located
near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the to-
bacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

we ate, we watched the milking going on nearby. There was a rhythmic pitter-patter as the milk was squirted into the big receptacles. Each animal was named according to some physical characteristic, corresponding to "Brownie," "Dotty," "Blackie," or after some person whom the shepherd thought the sheep resembled. As the men sat there we asked them how they milked when it rained. They told us that they simply put on their heavy waterproof capes and kept right on milking.

Some of the sheep were sheared. We learned that the shearing was done below (on the plains) and sold unwashed for "it weighs more with the oil in it." The unsheared animals were simply carrying up to the summer camp the supply of wool that the women would need to use in making their blankets and heavy garments. Some of the animals were sheared in various symmetrical patterns, a style of decoration which pleases the children, so the older people said. These fancy designs are not nearly so common now as formerly, according to Berates.

Despite the magnificent mountain setting and the fascinating activities going on in the fire-lit darkness, the conversation itself — focusing on the present problems facing nomadic peoples — stands out most vividly as I look back upon this evening. Since my central interest was social change, I welcomed the turning of the talk into such a channel.

Without any doubt, the life of the nomad is getting more difficult every year. A major problem had already been brought out in many conversations along the roads of Greece as well as with the people of Valtetsi: land on the plains below is no longer so available as it used to be. Scientific agriculture is winning the day and pastoralism is on the way out. But Berates and his men were most bitter about the difficulties they faced on the road between summer and winter pastures. We had noticed the many signs represented by a pile of stones perhaps a foot high or by tufts of straw twisted onto a branch, warning the nomad not to trespass. These signs were numerous even as one approached and entered the mountain areas. That was why the men had had to drive in one day the sheep all the way from Kalpaki to Konitsa, using routes shorter than the main road but nevertheless arriving late at night. Tired from this experience, they felt such a long march to be most unfair. One man said, "Here in the mountains a peasant will sow only one oka of seed in a field so he will have an excuse to keep us out." The field policeman, who serves a commune although under the authority of the central government, patrols his beat most vigorously during these days of migration. He not only sees that the animals keep out of the forbidden fields, but also enforces the custom that no nomad family camp in one place longer than twenty-four hours. But most field policemen are quite ready to show the nomads where they can find a camp site in the event some old one is no longer available, for these guards expect a tip — a box of cigarettes or "whatever one has the pleasure to give," as Berates put it.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

[The Tselingata]

used for public works, especially for the operation of schools. All these accounts are regulated by the general assembly of the members of the union.

In my conversations with Berates, the visit to whom has just been described, I learned that he considered himself an architselingas. True enough, he owned most of the sheep, but he did allow the six men who worked for him to have flocks of their own, say fifty to sixty head, if they could get a start. One of his shepherds was assigned the task of keeping the records of milk production so that each one could have a share prorated on the basis of the number of animals in the common flock. Every six months Berates draws up a contract with those associated with him; he supervises the cheese production up in the highland pastures and even helps process the milk for some of the smaller owners who are not in position to set up their own plant.

Those who knew Epirus a generation or so ago tell of the great authority these chief shepherds had, each ruling in autocratic fashion his people and the area in which they were established. Should one of the shepherds associated with any of these chieftains become dissatisfied and want to move away, he found it impossible to attach himself to any other chief shepherd, for these men of position stuck together. In the days of turmoil and disorder early in this century, it was almost necessary for a small owner to be connected in some way with a leading figure who could protect him and represent him to outside authorities.[14]

The tselingata, from many accounts, were not necessarily based on kinship, though there were interesting examples of the group of relatives being so large that they formed a union by themselves. In such a case, age and generation would usually determine who had the authority and his word would carry great weight among the others.

Even today there are powerful chief shepherds. The mayor of the city of Egoumenitsa, along the Ionian Sea, was the head of the Petoules family which is run on the principles of the traditional tselingata. There are eighty members in the family and all of them obey him. In 1953 I was told that the Petoules family collectively owned from 12,000 to 14,000 sheep, in spite of the fact that on one day in 1948 the Communist guerrillas took 4,200 sheep from them. Although they owned sufficient land to graze at least 14,000 sheep, they were improving the pastures by sowing wild clover. The summer area alone added up to about 3,450 acres and the winter area was additional.

One official in describing this family said that in 1952 some of the governmental representatives in Ioannina were ordered by the central government to go to the head of the Petoules family and take some of the pasture land for the settlement of refugees who needed land. They expected trouble but were pleasantly surprised when the architselingas agreed to give the land and also went with them to select it. Two villages were constructed,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests. 233 241 578 621

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in. [423] [474]

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The 233 578 185 [656] [669] [654]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a [177] few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usually lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest minimum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called a "comradely equality" with his people.[6]

The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often acquires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his children. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all qualified people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who discussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop (Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupation back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products from the parishioners. *Kondota,* or the subscription by families of so much wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

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the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423] [427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

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182 156 828 577

To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. . . .

621 156 577 182

One may well ask how this trait of self-esteem is related to a sense of community. The connection is twofold: first, the adult member of the community participates as a free agent and as an expression of his own individuality; he can cooperate because he feels free, and by the same token he can refuse to cooperate. But the second connection makes him think seriously before refusing to cooperate, for he would be shaming himself and others if he let his village down. Yet the sense of community need not be limited to formal cooperation; it can be a state of mind as well, a feeling of loyalty one carries about, and a deep psychological identification with the village where one was born and in which one grew up.

621 182

A common living space. One writer attributes the unity of the Greek village to the residents' dependence upon their physical environment:

[423]

First, the people are directly dependent on the land, hence their interests are all one. Second, the village owns grazing lands and meadows used in common by the farmers. Third, the people are highly interdependent in respect to water supply. Thus a sense of cooperation pervades the village. Fourth, the people of the village are limited in their actions by the very village's physical structure; the width of the streets, the pavement or lack of pavements, and degree of crookedness of same. Lastly, the whole physical lay-out is such that ceremonials and rituals as repeated year-in and year-out by slow processions, must change even if the ceremonials were to become mechanized.[6]

An earlier chapter on the village setting has discussed this factor, which must be taken into account in considering the identification people feel with their village. People develop a "sense of belonging" with those who walk the same village lanes, send their animals to the same community pastures, draw water from the same wells or fountains, and share the same living space. This propinquity does not necessarily produce a liking for everyone frequently encountered, but it calls for the recognition that these neighbors or fellow villagers must be dealt with in solving many of the ordinary affairs of life.

Shared institutions. Partly related to the physical pattern of the village are the church, the school, and the office of the local government, whose very structures are visible and concrete signs of the institutional complex which they embody. But these institutions are more than a material expression; they are also the focal points of the values which the people inherit and pass on to their children. On the basis of these, people ascribe rank to each other; on the basis of these, people make decisions relative to what activities are most worthy and which are least worthy. Community

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observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[1]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

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commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

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184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern
454 farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
241 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
594 but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away
184 from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
184 to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

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Vasilika

The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are
[621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to
361 the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of
[423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the
[133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece,
[134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting
[312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently,
[134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

241 Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton
312 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural underground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere
[406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for
[363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not
621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider-
361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen,
182

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Vasilika

church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *aghora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora*, and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered [552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents [865] permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of [178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the [373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing 511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small 592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to [422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever, [464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for [422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac- 511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 43 EH1 Greece EH1
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4

The Family: Dowry and Inheritance; Formal Structure[1]

182 THE DOWRY AND INHERITANCE SYSTEM in Vasilika is primarily a mecha-
428 nism by which property is transferred from one generation to the next.
It is this kind of mechanism, but it is also more. By reason of the context
583 of values in which they operate and because of their specific characteristics, dowry and inheritance patterns as they function in Vasilika have ramifications not only for the Boeotian countryside but also for Greece as a whole.

Inheritance by Sons

428 Both the Greek laws of inheritance and village custom require that
583 property be divided equally among all the children, sons and daughters alike.
[671] Some receive their shares through inheritance or by gifts while the parents are
[594] still alive, but the daughters of a family are entitled to their share at marriage in the form of a dowry. Since, from the standpoint of the villagers, a man's most compelling obligation is to arrange for the successful marriage of his daughters, and since no girl in Vasilika can normally expect to marry without at least a token dowry, the girls have first lien on the family's property. For most of
[423] Vasilika's families, land holdings are the most valuable assets, and dowries are, therefore, calculated ordinarily as a transfer of a share of the land from parents to a daughter and through her to the jurisdiction of her husband. However, if a family's land holdings are such that it is obvious that by giving daughters their

[1] Portions of this chapter were presented as a paper at a conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean held at Burg Wartenstein in July 1959, and will appear in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, scheduled for publication in 1962.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *paniyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, 423 but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423●
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold- [434]
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 583
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis.* The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had
628 been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
692 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
233 no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had
[622] been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis,* was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

●423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis.* Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who
[463] exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

793 The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age,
465 and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one
[874] of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—
[589] which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of
[659] his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this
792 may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic
[423] property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

793 Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in
[795] work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece.
[589] There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sit- 275
ting in the village *cafeneion,* or coffee house, talking, playing backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in
a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, some- [275]
thing quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [576]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really pro- [521]
vides the village women with a meeting place where they may
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk [794]
and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
* 178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
[433] 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
● [423] surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
x [178] tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
x 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community. 621 654 178x

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today. 361 [132] [133] [243]

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress. [487] [356] [712]

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the 361 423 [712] ooo

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

The inhabitants are the
423 sons or grandsons of men who once tilled the Turk's lands for
427 him on a sharecropping basis. They stayed behind when the
[621] Turk departed, and in due course fell heir to his land.

These changes did not happen all at once. When the Turkish landowner left he sold his rights to a wealthy Greek who lived in Larissa. The new landlord continued the old arrangements, with the difference that he was an absentee. Early in the twentieth century, however, widespread peasant unrest manifested itself in Thessaly, and in 1912 a law of expropriation was passed
[425] against the large landowners. But it was not until 1920 that the effect of this law was felt in Lofiscos. In that year government surveyors and officials carried out a general distribution of the estate. Every male resident of the village nineteen years old or over was given possession of 137 stremmata of land (34¼ acres). In addition, 15 stremmata (3¾ acres) were assigned to each male member of a community of semi-migratory shepherds who had immemorially used these lands for winter pasture, paying a fee to the owner for the privilege of grazing their sheep on the stubble left after the grain harvest. A thousand stremmata (250 acres) remained in the possession of the absentee land-
[621] owner. The rest of the land was left as common pasture. Much of it was unsuited to cultivation because of flooding in the spring; and in any case 137 stremmata was about all the land a single family could easily cultivate with the tools then available to them.

The land settlement of 1920 remained essentially unchanged thereafter. Many of the men who received their farms at that time are still alive; five families had moved into the village by 1956, but no one had moved away. The five newcomers owned no land at all, but worked for the established farmers of the village or, more often, on the big estate of the absentee owner. (Incidentally, this estate survived in 1956 as a working unit in spite of the land law of 1952 which forbade ownership of more

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know.

621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never

621 178x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori
[Villages of the Plains]

423 The land now occupied by the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori
425 was owned by a Turkish landlord until 1912, and worked by a group of Turkish peasants. These were harried from the land when the Greek army came north in the first Balkan war of 1912. Thereupon, some of the inhabitants of Eleftherohori, together with a large group from another similar hill village, called Katophigi, simply squatted on the vacant land. They apportioned the booty on a first-come, first-served basis, effective title depending on tillage of particular fields. Since there was plenty of land for everyone, this provoked no difficulty.

The situation was radically changed and legally stabilized in 1927 when government authorities surveyed and redistributed
[166] village property. The Greek government was then engaged in settling as many as possible of the refugees who had come from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923 on land vacated by Turks; but it was not deemed politic to drive the squatters entirely away from what they had seized. Consequently, an estimate of the fertility of the soil was made in order to determine the smallest allotment on which a single family could subsist. In Nea Eleftherohori, the allotment was fixed at 27 stremmata, i.e., 6¾ acres. To permit as many refugees as possible to find land, it was further decided that lots would be assigned only to heads of families, not, as had been done earlier in Lofiscos, to every man, married or single.

As far as the squatters, or "old settlers," were concerned, these policies did not usually involve much loss. To be sure, their holdings were reassigned and particular pieces of land changed hands, but possession was so recent that this in itself did not rouse serious resentment. Moreover, few families failed
× [178] to get as much land as they had previously occupied. When it became known that only heads of families could qualify for an allotment, all the boys of marriageable age, even if only seventeen or eighteen years old, hastened to find themselves wives,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

and thus made good a claim for 27 stremmata. The original squatters' rights had been apportioned on the basis of the amount of land actually tilled by a given family, and as a man or a boy could scarcely cultivate more than about 27 stremmata single-handed with the sort of equipment they had, the old families received about as much land as they had had before. The difference was that the sons escaped from parental control earlier than they would otherwise have done, since title to their share of the land was now vested individually, not, as traditionally, in the parental family as a whole. 423 425 178x

The squatters of 1912 had not occupied all the cultivable land. When they had all received their lots, therefore, almost an equal number of refugees, mostly from the Caucasus area, were settled on the remainder. The two groups stood more or less apart, especially at the beginning. Many of the customs of the Caucasus people seemed wild and barbarous to the old settlers. But because the old settlers felt little or no sense of grievance, and because each family was very nearly on a level of economic equality, with 27 stremmata apiece, the fissure between the two groups was not great. Nevertheless, the houses of the old settlers are still separated by about one hundred yards from those occupied by the refugees, so that the village is physically divided into two quite distinct parts. 621 167 [423] [563]

In 1932 a supplementary land distribution took place, giving families with more than four members an additional 5 stremmata; in 1937 a further adjustment was made when forty-three families removed to a newly drained area in the valley of the Aliakmon River, and left their allotments behind, to be reassigned in chunks of 5 stremmata to the larger families of Nea Eleftherohori. No further official changes have since been made, but the natural processes of death and inheritance have resulted in the splitting up of a few of the allotments into smaller farms, while in some cases formerly separate allotments have been 423 425

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

423 combined into one holding. The great majority of the families
425 of the village, however, still occupied 27 or 32 stremmata in 1956, and most of the original holders of the allotments were still alive.

x 178 The land settlement in Nea Eleftherohori differed from that
621 in Lofiscos in two respects. First, the farms in Nea Eleftherohori were less than one fifth as large as in Lofiscos. Second, the new
241 settlers, uprooted from their former homes, whether up the
433 mountain or in distant Asia Minor, left binding customary ways of life behind them, and started off in Nea Eleftherohori without the automatic conservatism and suspicion of innovation typical until very recently of the families of Lofiscos. These differences acted together to make the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori a good deal more willing to try new crops and methods, even before the war, than those in the older Thessalian community. Life on so little land was difficult at best, and anything that promised to bring in a little more seemed worth trying; and when the problems of farming the land were new in any event, there was far less psychological resistance against trying some further innovation.

621 Another contrast with Lofiscos, a contrast perhaps related
163 to the general shake-up of old customary routines which came to the inhabitants of Nea Eleftherohori between 1912 and 1923,
433 is that the new settlers proceeded to procreate children at a far greater rate than occurs in Lofiscos, where families are mostly quite small. [2]

2. It would be very interesting to know why the prosperous peasants of Lofiscos have fewer children than their much poorer fellows in Nea Eleftherohori, but I do not know Lofiscos well enough to hazard an opinion. Can it be that the general market orientation of their agriculture and the habit of calculating in monetary terms leads them to restrict the number of their children deliberately, in some fashion or other, realizing that to divide the family farm among many children spells impoverishment for

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most 428
families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to 423
present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in 621
still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it 669
lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands con- 578
trolled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that 621
village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the 163
wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. 433
Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, conse-
quent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the differ- [563]
ence, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land dis- [656]
tributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

365 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, perhaps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, [425] supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. [427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several 423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained 428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would 476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth 464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others, either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the in- 465 troduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with [427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 break down. The more elaborate social stratification and intri-
578 cate economic integration which the development from simple
565 village into small town involves carries with it a special vulnerability: vulnerability to fluctuations in distant markets, and vulnerability to social stresses within the community itself. This is perhaps the price Old Corinth has to pay for its remarkable economic progress in recent years.

x 178 This progress may remind us that there is another sense in
621 which the social structure of Old Corinth shows itself far more
556 flexible and hospitable to innovation than the other villages described. For while family and marriage customs have not undergone important modification, the occupational patterns of the community have shown important changes; and in at least one instance a landless and once very poor man has risen to a position of wealth and importance by becoming a successful merchant. Old Corinth has given far more scope to individual and cooperative enterprise than either Lofiscos or Nea Eleftherohori. Yet this development, too, is in line with old Greek tradition. The self-made man, particularly the self-made merchant or storekeeper, rising to wealth and respectability by virtue of his mother wit and shrewdness in buying and selling, has been a prominent figure in Greek society for at least two centuries; and it has always been the marginal man in the village social hierarchy – the man who has had no land to keep him busy – who has naturally gravitated to such occupations when opportunity has opened. Innovation in Old Corinth has thus taken traditional forms.

x 178 Since 1912, rural Greece has been fundamentally divided be-
184 tween villages like Old Corinth, which can look back to genera-
● 423 tions of substantially undisturbed evolution, and those villages
621 where within recent memory radical governmental intervention entirely transformed earlier landholding patterns. The division is geographical. In Old Greece, meaning Greece within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Villages of the Plains]

boundaries that existed before 1881, village life has not suffered drastic upheaval since 1821, if then. Changes have come slowly and by evolution. The case is far otherwise in New Greece – Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus and Thrace. There the violent elimination of Turkish landlords and peasants through war was followed by governmental creation of egalitarian peasant communities. This amounted to an agrarian revolution from above, in some cases fully satisfying the peasants – as in Lofiscos – but often failing to do so, as in Nea Eleftherohori. 178 x 184 423 621

The slower evolution of village life in Old Greece has meant, at least until the present, the preservation of a fairly firm cake of custom, governing the daily lives of the inhabitants. In this respect, Old Corinth is quite typical. Consequently, in spite of the contrast between rich peasant and landless laborer, the social stratification within these peasant communities has not bred so many revolutionists as have been bred by the hardships of life in an equality of poverty, characteristic of many villages in the north. Conservatism, royalism, traditionalism have all centered in the south; while radicalism, republicanism, restlessness and revolution have found their strongest expression in the north. 178 x 184 621 669 [565]

Yet while these generalizations are true, I must hasten to add that the villages of the plains never were the main centers of political revolt. Too many had too much to lose in such communities. Rather it was in the hill villages, where life was harder and the prospect of maintaining a given standard of life was dimmer, that revolution found its most congenial ground. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, if not before, this has been the really vulnerable point in Greek society, the source of major disturbance and of recurrent civil violence. In the hills, even more than in the plains, the future stability or instability of Greek society is likely to be decided in time to come, as it has in times past. Let us therefore leave the plains and turn to the hills.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

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led to this change. One was the rise of Volos as an important urban center, requiring charcoal as fuel for cooking and for heating houses. To supply the rising demand, the villagers of Cherasia began cutting off the forests of Mount Pelion with a new energy. A second factor was the growth of population in Cherasia itself. As more families appeared, sheep could not support them all, because the pastures could not be readily extended. So the people fell back on exploitation of the forests.

This "ancient" history is mostly speculation. I was not able to get any clear account of their distant past from the men of the village. What they did know was that in 1905 three families had secured title to 100 stremmata (25 acres) of land apiece in the little valley that spreads out below the site of their winter quarters at the foot of the mountain. At that time, very likely, the free villagers of the mountain saw little or no attraction in the toilsome life of a farmer, and preferred to keep to their ancient shepherd's way of life, supplemented by woodcutting and charcoal burning.

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About the time of the first world war, things changed. As the population continued to grow, sheep and charcoal no longer sufficed to provide a satisfactory living for the members of the community. Many of them began to clear little patches of rocky mountainside in the hope of raising a crop or two on the land. Their tenure was legally recognized by a governmental survey made in 1922, which assigned to each family title to the patches its members had cleared and cultivated in preceding years. During the interwar period the pressure to find supplementary means of livelihood through agriculture continued to mount. In 1938, village authorities parceled out 500 stremmata of what had been common pasture to private family ownership. No further property changes had occurred in the village up to 1956.

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The brute fact remains, however, that fields cleared from mountain slopes are miserable agricultural land. These produce

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
565 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
578 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecrop-
427 ping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

178x households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423 also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565 The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578 these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 427 hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [302] village. [142]

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 178x 233 Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 241 plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 433 the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 565 part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even 578 today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [579] Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. [461] The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461] spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

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Selection of the Village

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The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics.

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The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 233

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

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A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

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We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241

1	Harrow	$3	422
1	Plow, iron	1.50	407
1	Wooden plow	1.00	[412]
1	Yoke	1.00	[435]
3	Hoes	0.35	
2	Shovels	0.25	
2	Sickles	0.35	

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

[Caucasus]

/84 cont./

The village was ruled by "Gerousia", a group composed of old respected people. It is interesting here to note that even today the Greek Senate is called "Gerousia". This "Gerousia" would meet when necessary to discuss certain problems concerning their village. They had no definite calendar for meeting nor approved place for meetings. There were two dates well observed for meetings. One was St. Demeter's day -- October 26th -- for deciding to hire a village shepherd for the cattle and a guard for the fields. Another meeting which was fairly definite, was St. Constantin's day -- May 24th -- at which the redistribution of the land was decided for the coming seven years. It was one of the well-observed economic principles to redistribute the pasture for farming and leave the cultivated land for pasture. Due to the increase or decrease of the family members the land had to be redistributed /85/ according to the number of heads in the family. Once the land was given, the owner could use it as he pleased but could not pass it on to the relatives or friends. The land belonged to the village. There was another order which every one had to follow strictly. No one was allowed to increase his livestock on the community pasture, but he could increase it on hired pasture land from near by villages. 621 623 621 423

Away from every kind of complicated civilization the Caucasians had a world of their own and found it better to preserve it centuries after centuries without adulterating it with the modern civilization. 621

Most of the church, school and community problems were solved by the "Gerousia" without a general meeting or vote. The decision of "Gerousia" on any problem was final. Local conflicts and neighborhood grievances were taken care of by "Gerousia". Repairing school buildings, or church, or taking care of the poor and unfortunate were closely followed up by this group. 621 623

This cooperative spirit for mutual aid is rarely found among any people except the Caucasians. /86/ The rush harvest season is shared alike by all. Building houses, threshing and transportation of agricultural goods is done through borrowed labor. If any, by 476 621

594 accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne
[156] with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like
[513] to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

594 Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-
593 dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an
156 organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

593 Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of
594 fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to
[589] find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed
[583] sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number
[167] of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for
602 younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions
593 and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserv-
661 ing by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who
156 have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

594 On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some
241 property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry.
423 This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece
425 at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

582 583 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony [178] or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no install- [452] ment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will [571] only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furniture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

184 583 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla, [425] the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate [178] into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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583 wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is ex-
[286] pected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets,
two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen
blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental
table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth
with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two
long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before
baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town,
are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
[431] given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men
585 crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning
the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the
house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find
the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside
giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining,
the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*,
the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with
a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
[534] and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are
changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few
years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's vil-
lage and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm holdings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income [434]
from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 523
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the
●425 Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

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have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another 369
daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and 602
one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions.

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had 369
achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance 602
of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, 554
they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators.

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult 571
sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have 602
some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this 369
group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or 593
more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children [425]
are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences.

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly [574]
favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction.

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over 571
which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision 583
is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry 425
contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to 593
the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

423 sons or grandsons of men who once tilled the Turk's lands for
427 him on a sharecropping basis. They stayed behind when the
[621] Turk departed, and in due course fell heir to his land.

The inhabitants are the

These changes did not happen all at once. When the Turkish landowner left he sold his rights to a wealthy Greek who lived in Larissa. The new landlord continued the old arrangements, with the difference that he was an absentee. Early in the twentieth century, however, widespread peasant unrest manifested itself in Thessaly, and in 1912 a law of expropriation was passed
[425] against the large landowners. But it was not until 1920 that the effect of this law was felt in Lofiscos. In that year government surveyors and officials carried out a general distribution of the estate. Every male resident of the village nineteen years old or over was given possession of 137 stremmata of land (34¼ acres). In addition, 15 stremmata (3¾ acres) were assigned to each male member of a community of semi-migratory shepherds who had immemorially used these lands for winter pasture, paying a fee to the owner for the privilege of grazing their sheep on the stubble left after the grain harvest. A thousand stremmata (250 acres) remained in the possession of the absentee land-
[621] owner. The rest of the land was left as common pasture. Much of it was unsuited to cultivation because of flooding in the spring; and in any case 137 stremmata was about all the land a single family could easily cultivate with the tools then available to them.

423 The land settlement of 1920 remained essentially unchanged thereafter. Many of the men who received their farms at that time are still alive; five families had moved into the village by 1956, but no one had moved away. The five newcomers owned no land at all, but worked for the established farmers of the village or, more often, on the big estate of the absentee owner. (Incidentally, this estate survived in 1956 as a working unit in spite of the land law of 1952 which forbade ownership of more

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori
[Villages of the Plains]

423 The land now occupied by the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori
425 was owned by a Turkish landlord until 1912, and worked by a group of Turkish peasants. These were harried from the land when the Greek army came north in the first Balkan war of 1912. Thereupon, some of the inhabitants of Eleftherohori, together with a large group from another similar hill village, called Katophigi, simply squatted on the vacant land. They apportioned the booty on a first-come, first-served basis, effective title depending on tillage of particular fields. Since there was plenty of land for everyone, this provoked no difficulty.

The situation was radically changed and legally stabilized in 1927 when government authorities surveyed and redistributed
[166] village property. The Greek government was then engaged in settling as many as possible of the refugees who had come from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923 on land vacated by Turks; but it was not deemed politic to drive the squatters entirely away from what they had seized. Consequently, an estimate of the fertility of the soil was made in order to determine the smallest allotment on which a single family could subsist. In Nea Eleftherohori, the allotment was fixed at 27 stremmata, i.e., 6¾ acres. To permit as many refugees as possible to find land, it was further decided that lots would be assigned only to heads of families, not, as had been done earlier in Lofiscos, to every man, married or single.

As far as the squatters, or "old settlers," were concerned, these policies did not usually involve much loss. To be sure, their holdings were reassigned and particular pieces of land changed hands, but possession was so recent that this in itself did not rouse serious resentment. Moreover, few families failed
× [178] to get as much land as they had previously occupied. When it became known that only heads of families could qualify for an allotment, all the boys of marriageable age, even if only seventeen or eighteen years old, hastened to find themselves wives,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

and thus made good a claim for 27 stremmata. The original squatters' rights had been apportioned on the basis of the amount of land actually tilled by a given family, and as a man or a boy could scarcely cultivate more than about 27 stremmata single-handed with the sort of equipment they had, the old families received about as much land as they had had before. The difference was that the sons escaped from parental control earlier than they would otherwise have done, since title to their share of the land was now vested individually, not, as traditionally, in the parental family as a whole. 423 425 178x

The squatters of 1912 had not occupied all the cultivable land. When they had all received their lots, therefore, almost an equal number of refugees, mostly from the Caucasus area, were settled on the remainder. The two groups stood more or less apart, especially at the beginning. Many of the customs of the Caucasus people seemed wild and barbarous to the old settlers. But because the old settlers felt little or no sense of grievance, and because each family was very nearly on a level of economic equality, with 27 stremmata apiece, the fissure between the two groups was not great. Nevertheless, the houses of the old settlers are still separated by about one hundred yards from those occupied by the refugees, so that the village is physically divided into two quite distinct parts. 621 167 [423] [563]

In 1932 a supplementary land distribution took place, giving families with more than four members an additional 5 stremmata; in 1937 a further adjustment was made when forty-three families removed to a newly drained area in the valley of the Aliakmon River, and left their allotments behind, to be reassigned in chunks of 5 stremmata to the larger families of Nea Eleftherohori. No further official changes have since been made, but the natural processes of death and inheritance have resulted in the splitting up of a few of the allotments into smaller farms, while in some cases formerly separate allotments have been 423 425

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

423 combined into one holding. The great majority of the families
425 of the village, however, still occupied 27 or 32 stremmata in 1956, and most of the original holders of the allotments were still alive.

x 178 The land settlement in Nea Eleftherohori differed from that
621 in Lofiscos in two respects. First, the farms in Nea Eleftherohori
241 were less than one fifth as large as in Lofiscos. Second, the new
433 settlers, uprooted from their former homes, whether up the mountain or in distant Asia Minor, left binding customary ways of life behind them, and started off in Nea Eleftherohori without the automatic conservatism and suspicion of innovation typical until very recently of the families of Lofiscos. These differences acted together to make the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori a good deal more willing to try new crops and methods, even before the war, than those in the older Thessalian community. Life on so little land was difficult at best, and anything that promised to bring in a little more seemed worth trying; and when the problems of farming the land were new in any event, there was far less psychological resistance against trying some further innovation.

621 Another contrast with Lofiscos, a contrast perhaps related
163 to the general shake-up of old customary routines which came
433 to the inhabitants of Nea Eleftherohori between 1912 and 1923, is that the new settlers proceeded to procreate children at a far greater rate than occurs in Lofiscos, where families are mostly quite small. [2]

2. It would be very interesting to know why the prosperous peasants of Lofiscos have fewer children than their much poorer fellows in Nea Eleftherohori, but I do not know Lofiscos well enough to hazard an opinion. Can it be that the general market orientation of their agriculture and the habit of calculating in monetary terms leads them to restrict the number of their children deliberately, in some fashion or other, realizing that to divide the family farm among many children spells impoverishment for

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

365 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, perhaps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, [425] supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. [427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several 423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained 428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would 476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth 464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others, either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the in- 465 troduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with [427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

602
Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and [596]
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [178]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the [621]
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [582]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro-
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different [736]
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [737]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

175
We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 621
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

426,654

/For information on the granting of loans by the Agricultural Bank see category 652./

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 [426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily [435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Ali- [464] strate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with [249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from [273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and [412] potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407] [412]

> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown.
>
> Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the [462] fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[2]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
246 of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

"But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some
[474] other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

"Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and
[157] all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, [581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[9]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita,* a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes
476 closely identified with the central government, which immediately intro-
178 duces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting
438 past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic
474 greatness because of the well-run association which administered the com-
621 munity's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different
474 in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece
● 426 today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village
[875] of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with
656 at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

How strong are cooperatives in Greece today? In 1957, they numbered 7,127 and had a membership of 718,000.[9] They therefore constitute the principal farm organization in Greece. Those who lead the cooperative movement are quick to point out what they hope to achieve: to narrow the ratio between prices received by the farmers and prices paid by the farmers; to market members' products and purchase for them equipment and supplies; to process farm commodities, produce pesticides, farm machinery; and to provide special services for members such as plowing, cultivating, and harvesting.[10] Since many of the Greek farmers are too impoverished to raise sufficient capital on their own to finance a local cooperative, they are therefore dependent upon those cooperatives for which the government, through the Agricultural Bank, provides all the funds and over which it insists on centralized control.

474 241 [652] [471]

How the Villagers View Cooperatives

What the FAO study team, the American missioners, and even the Greek government officials think about agricultural cooperatives is secondary to what the Greek peasants themselves think. Their opinions ranged all the way from those of open resentment and hostility to those of great pride in local cooperative achievements. To be told, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, that some villagers whom we wanted to see had hid upon our arrival, for they thought that we were either cooperative officials or connected with the Agricultural Bank, was an object lesson in itself. We asked one of them why he had run away. He replied: "I still owe the Bank a great deal. We have to pay 9 percent interest on what we borrow, 1 percent to the cooperative and 8 percent to the Bank. Last year I hadn't paid off my loan ($70.), so I couldn't get a new loan. I borrowed what I needed from a private individual at 20 percent and paid off this loan to the bank so that I could obtain potato seed on a new loan. Now I have sold my potatoes and the Bank will be after me to pay them what I owe."

474 652 [426]

When we asked what happened to people who did not repay their loans, we were told that in such cases the collector came out, wrangled with the people, and if he received no repayment took them to court. To such villagers, cooperatives were chiefly credit agencies and in no sense stood for a local association of farmers pooling their energies and resources to achieve joint goals.

Now and then we found peasants who were anxious to start a cooperative but considered the initiation difficult. In a village near Megalopolis in the Peloponnesos, the people were well aware of the difference between prices received in the village for watermelons and what such products cost in Athens. Like farmers everywhere, they thought the price differences unjust. They blamed bureaucratic red tape for holding up the establishment of a cooperative. Some of the more dubious went on to say: "Even if we do

[435]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. 407 492 652 423 471 652

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 221 248 464 476 248

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 242 406 426

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator 407 445 427 231 412

596 428 first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as [736] possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata*, are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings, and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the [736] mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a baby-tender were needed.

596 594 428 When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neigh- [476] bors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the [426] village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from [607] whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

/28 cont./ 603 867 702 [538]
always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

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/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

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A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

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[484]
[433]
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We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [177] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [577] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 556 457 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

312 or too little water; never is it "just right." If there is too much, a drainage project must be undertaken to make much-needed land available for cultivation.

312 The most noteworthy reclamation project before the turn of this century
471 was the draining of Lake Kopais, just north of Thebes in Central Greece.[18] The work was undertaken by a French company in 1886 and completed by an English company in 1887, which continued to operate the agricultural estate of sixty thousand acres down to its purchase by the Greek government prior to the November elections of 1952. At that time, this large hold-
[427] ing, along with its complicated drainage system, was turned over to the former tenants, who had worked for the foreign company. Now as owners,
[474] or as members of a cooperative, they face the necessity of making their contribution to the over-all maintenance of the drainage channels so that the water may run off adequately and prevent the land from reverting to its once-marshy condition. According to some foreign technicians, the Greeks are doing a good job of managing this operation.

312 Much of the time, however, there is too little water through the growing season. One answer to this scarcity has been the recent drilling of hundreds of wells, from which water is pumped to the thirsty fields through irrigation ditches. In addition, a number of ambitious water-control projects have led to considerable storage of water and the spread of irrigation.

312 In villages, usually on the edges of plains watered by streams flowing
203 from a mountain source, the water crier is a unique institution. This individual is encountered, for instance, in the Peloponnesos, where he strides through the streets of the village calling out the name of the person whose patches of land are next in line to receive the flow of water. One of these criers had a voice so powerful that, while standing on the small plain below, he could notify people in the village on the mountainside hundreds of yards away.

312 A Greek villager, like the Arab, will make much over the merits of the
423 water of his homeplace. To praise the water he will speak of it as *cho-*
628 *nephtiko nero,* or "digestive water." He will even fight over it, as the following news item shows.

> Athens. The Kentucky mountaineers' storied concept of feudin' justice reached here recently and two girls were killed and four men were critically injured.
>
> Two Greek villages — Kerasovo and Papadates — went to war a few days ago to settle a dispute over water rights, and 400 men, women, and children battled for hours with clubs, hoes, knives and hand grenades.
>
> Two army companies were sent to restore order.
>
> The cause of the trouble was water. Sovereignty over Cold Fountain, a spring irrigating the wheat-fields of Kerasovo, was contested by the farmers of neighboring Papadates.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks. 175 423

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica: 175 423 427

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops. [311]

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years. 178 241 [235] [462]

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 241 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illustrate modern Greek land reform.[12] The size of the farm holding in Thessaly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law. [241]

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly, there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still exists for those poor villagers who need it. [177] [243] [735] [671]

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the problem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees, with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding. 423 427 [671] [792]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

423

But he was being forced to surrender even this by the provisions of the 1952 constitution which sought to put in the hands of all the remaining [427] peasant tenants the land which they tilled.

It was some of this land the Thomai peasants were waiting for. Thomai [167] was a village of refugees from near Konya, Turkey, who had settled there in 1926 and 1927. Each had been given approximately fifteen acres of land, much of it quite fertile in comparison with land elsewhere in Greece, but still not enough for their needs.

Arriving in the village, the director of agriculture questioned the men, gathered in the coffeehouse, on the extent of the damage done by the rain and they agreed with him that the loss was not nearly so great as the Athens papers had stated in their morning editions. One of them was even frank enough to say, "Oh, you know how farmers are inclined to exaggerate their losses."

"But what about our pasture land?" one of the more aggressive peasants wanted to know. "We are supposed to get some from one of the Hadjilazaros estates. When will the government give it to us? We need it for our flocks."

Patiently the director explained that they would definitely receive this land but that it would take time. He said he felt the matter would be settled fairly soon since the expropriation — the most difficult part of the transaction — had already been completed. One peasant asked: "How could the owner manage to sell some of the estates to be expropriated before the government took them over? This gives the government less to distribute."

The director pointed out that in any sweeping law like the land reform there were often legal loopholes. These were being closed, but the landowner had been able to use them to his advantage. "Remember," he added, "the present government is really interested in enforcing the law and you will get your pasture land." [18]

The land hunger so vigorously expressed by these villagers in the middle of some of the best land of Greece was due partly to their social origins. 178 Added to the conservatism, the moderate pessimism, and longing for land 423 common to most rural people, there was another factor: when they had lived in Turkey, deep in the interior, they had had all the land they could use. Turkey is less densely populated than Greece. Some Thomai peasants even longed to return to Turkey, so much had they idealized the earlier years before their forced exodus. Yet they admitted that in the 1920s in Turkey they had used primitive methods, plowing with a wooden rather than a steel plowshare; many had lived in caves. Significantly, they admitted also that in this part of Greece they had found agriculture more advanced, but it was an admission of a fact to which they could not adjust. Compared to the more flexible peasants of the refugee villages of Northern Greece, these Thomai villagers were reluctant to change; their nostalgia for the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

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Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

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Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

[492]
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We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

[369]

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 233 [439] Although before the war Greece had over 8 million sheep and almost 4.5 million goats, these were still insufficient to meet local needs, and additional animals had to be imported each year. The war brought a reduction of about 2 million sheep and over a million goats, but by 1954 the numbers had risen to more than the prewar figures, and by 1957 sheep were estimated at 9.3 million and goats at 4.9 million.[3] From 1922 to 1937, with G [167] the resettlement of the 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor, the pasture area in Greece decreased but the number of sheep rose from 6 million to well over 8 million. It takes little stretch of the imagination to see what this has meant in terms of overpasturing and in accentuating the competition for grazing land.

The chief concentrations of sheep and goats are found in Thessaly and through the western part of the country (Epirus, Roumele, and the Peloponnesos). Even in Attica, according to P. J. Iliopoulos, a region where G numbers are not so dense, the small livestock make the best adaptation to [434] the natural conditions; they provide the peasants with some income to offset farms that are too small or harvests that are insufficient; and they require less capital investment than do large cattle.[5]

V G 233 221 [427] There are three different systems of sheep management in Greece.[6] The first is that used by the so-called Vlachs, an interesting nomadic group to be discussed in detail later on. This group of grazers controls about 15 percent of the sheep. They are landless and rent grazing land from private landholders, the church, or the state. It is customary for them to graze their herds in the plains during the rainy winter months, while the lowland pastures are lush, and then drive their flocks into the mountains as spring and summer advance.

The second type of management is that practiced by the village ranchers, who control about 70 percent of the small animals. They own land in the plains, where they singly or cooperatively graze their flocks in the winter; they send them to the mountains in summer, as do the Vlachs. In some instances, farmers in this group will arrange with a Vlach to include their animals in his flock during the summer grazing in the mountains.

G 233 [476] The third type is connected with settled agriculture. Village farmers control the remaining 15 percent of the sheep and goats and keep them on the plains at all times. Usually, the animals of these farmers are combined under the care of Greek shepherds, whose responsibility is to prevent the animals from damaging the crops by restricting their grazing to the rougher foothills or the fallow or idle areas in the plains.

The best way, however, to describe the changing life of the shepherd is not to talk about sheep and goats, but to look him up wherever he is and try to view the world through his eyes. We will do this by visiting him in the Peloponnesos and in Epirus, by which time facts and figures on sheep and goats should have much more meaning.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
246 of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
464 around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

"But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some
[474] other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

"Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and
[157] all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
533 morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
●427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
241 get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble
[511] the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
511 their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and
[221] children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

V 484 horses on which very small children were perched somewhat precariously on
492 wooly blanket-rugs stacked up on the saddles. On one horse we saw several
221 hens tied to a saddle and I wondered what the horse thought of being
V turned into a mobile poultry yard; cows, heifers, and goats were also a
part of the procession under the care of the women. The women were carry-
[482] ing their share of the load, some with babies, others with water kegs strapped
to their backs. The lowly donkeys were carrying the tent poles. As we
passed the long straggling march of people and animals, we blew our horn
and enjoyed the open-mouthed astonishment of the other Vlachs as they
saw one of their number riding in such state.

V She explained to us how they stopped before midday and rested, and
484 then after milking the sheep traveled during the night. When we wondered
221 whether or not the children enjoyed the six-month shift, she said, "They
233 learn to make the move for it is a necessity." "How many times have you
moved like this?" we asked. "As many times as I have years — twenty-
V three." She was amused at our ignorance. Her family also was having trou-
233 ble over the rental of winter pasture, for the farmer from whom they had
427 been renting wanted to put the land into crops. With an air of assurance,
G she added, "But we are holding it under the rent law." Before the last war
241 legislation had been passed forbidding a farmer to put into cultivation pas-
●427 ture that had been rented for three consecutive years to a shepherd, unless
he proved to the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture that he abso-
lutely needed it. This action had to be taken a year in advance and the
shepherd had to be notified.

V After a while, our lively passenger told us that she wanted to get out at
484 the next turn, for that was the rendezvous point at which the women would
221 stop to unload the pack animals, set up camp, and wait for the men with
G the flocks to catch up with them before noon. Our conversations with other
123 members of this group dealt more with the problems they were facing as a
shepherd people than with the customs and beliefs which set them off from
their fellow nomads. In Metsovo, to be described later in connection with
a funeral I witnessed, we saw other aspects of Koutso-Vlach character which
V need not concern us here. Of the three nomadic groups they have been most
114 fully described and documented in the literature, notably in the memorable
361 book by Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans* (1914), which was
based on extended acquaintance with the people of Samarina, another well-
known Koutso-Vlach village.[9]

V Four of the effects of this migratory life which Wace and Thompson list
221 seem to hold true for all of the nomadic groups even in 1953, and they de-
182 serve brief mention. Such a migration, for instance, presents a wider out-
look on life in general in contrast to the utter stagnation normal in remote
villages. At the same time, it is a serious financial drain, for two houses
must be kept up; nevertheless, what is lost in cash is perhaps gained in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14..
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)
3 medium pans	

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas*, where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423] [427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 the British Admiralty, 1930); and M. L. Newbigin, *Southern Europe: A Regional and Economic Geography of the Mediterranean Lands* (3rd ed., London, 1949).

3. One still finds many similarities between the peasants of Hesiod's time (see his "Works and Days") and those of today.

4. Many allusions to nature are found in the passionate novel about the Communist guerrilla war by Panos D. Bardis, *Ivan and Artemis* (New York, 1957).

5. "The Holy Virgin's Hand" is mentioned on p. 123 of G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903). This book gives a number of examples of the peasants' use of and adaptation to nature.

6. For a delightful essay on the flowers of Greece, see "Flowers of Ancient Greece," *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 23, 1954.

7. For an earlier account of peasant cosmological beliefs, see the article by N. G. Politis in *Attikon Emerologion* (1882); also G. Kapsalis, "Meteorologikes paroimiakes Phraseis" (Meteorological Proverbial Phrases), *Laographia*, XIII (1950).

8. One of the most authentic documents on Greek village life came into my hands through a mutual acquaintance of T. K. Papaspyropoulos, the author. This account is in Greek typescript, from which the passages used in my book have been translated with the permission of the author. Mr. Papaspyropoulos teaches singing in one of Athens' secondary schools and has specialized in folk music. I accompanied him on a visit to his village, where I had a chance to observe at first hand many of the sights he so colorfully describes.

[875] [123]

9. A very common phrase among the peasants is *Ean thell o Theos* (If God is willing), to which one replies *Vevea, prota o Theos* (Yes, of course, first God).

10. Interesting observations on the use in Homer of the ancient Greek terms *atē* (divine temptation or infatuation, cause of irrational actions) and *moira* (portion or lot) are found in E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951).

11. The facts and figures used in this section are taken in large part from *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, 1947), and *Story of the American Marshall Plan in Greece, July 1, 1948 to Jan. 1, 1952*, Press Release No. 1300, MSA (Athens, July 20, 1952).

12. For the problem of soil erosion, see Constantine I. Nevros, "Soil Erosion in Greece," *Soil Conservation, VI* (1940), and F. G. Renner, "Erosion, Trojan Horse of Greece," *National Geographic*, December 1947. For forestry, see W. Miller, *Greek Town and Country Life* (London, 1905), pp. 229–232.

13. E. G. Mariolopoulos and A. N. Livathinos, in *Atlas climatique de la Grèce* (Athens, 1935), give a good description of the Greek climate.

14. For two views on the sun (Helios) and St. Elias, see the articles by N. G. Politis in *Laographika Symmikta B'* (1921), and E. Rein, "Zu der Verehrung des Propheten Elias bei den Neugriechen," *Ofversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, XLVII (1904–1905).

15. Percy F. Martin, *Greece of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1913), pp. 267–68, discusses the company-tenant relations worked out at Lake Kopais as of 1913.

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16. One friend wrote in 1959: "Fresh fish has always been expensive. Earlier this winter there was a sudden 50 percent price rise. We ourselves cannot afford fresh fish and buy frozen fish brought in by Greek boats from the Atlantic, which is now available in many parts of Greece. It is a scandal that abundant fresh fish at reasonable prices is not available to the Greeks."

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17. This gorgon is really a sea nymph or mermaid (*gorgona* in modern Greek) and not one of the classical gorgons of terrifying aspect (Medusa and her sisters).

18. Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, trans. from the Greek by E. D. Scott-Kilvert (London, 1949), p. 94.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Since the two jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone, sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar) and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape harvest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce besides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours. The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making certain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a

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steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
262 payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
438 bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
231 As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

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Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[292] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes
somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white
[427] wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[369] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for
Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of
[626] the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
[292] up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the
village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men,
when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by
men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and
wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear
all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves
more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men
wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue
[184] homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
[511] They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief,
wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely
removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around
the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields,
these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is
loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the
[765] colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourn-
ing. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is
in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the
[554] outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

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583 wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
[431] table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
[534] sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are
[178] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *aghora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

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793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw
796 powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's
[535] clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those
[273] who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos, sirtos,* and *tsamikos,* danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

796 In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
[574] after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
[484] the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

369 437 609 [571] Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 463 555 871 461 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these at- [178] titudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

471 554 461 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

[427]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

423 The inhabitants are the sons or grandsons of men who once tilled the Turk's lands for 427 him on a sharecropping basis. They stayed behind when the [621] Turk departed, and in due course fell heir to his land.

These changes did not happen all at once. When the Turkish landowner left he sold his rights to a wealthy Greek who lived in Larissa. The new landlord continued the old arrangements, with the difference that he was an absentee. Early in the twentieth century, however, widespread peasant unrest manifested itself in Thessaly, and in 1912 a law of expropriation was passed [425] against the large landowners. But it was not until 1920 that the effect of this law was felt in Lofiscos. In that year government surveyors and officials carried out a general distribution of the estate. Every male resident of the village nineteen years old or over was given possession of 137 stremmata of land (34¼ acres). In addition, 15 stremmata (3¾ acres) were assigned to each male member of a community of semi-migratory shepherds who had immemorially used these lands for winter pasture, paying a fee to the owner for the privilege of grazing their sheep on the stubble left after the grain harvest. A thousand stremmata (250 acres) remained in the possession of the absentee land- [621] owner. The rest of the land was left as common pasture. Much of it was unsuited to cultivation because of flooding in the spring; and in any case 137 stremmata was about all the land a single family could easily cultivate with the tools then available to them.

423 The land settlement of 1920 remained essentially unchanged thereafter. Many of the men who received their farms at that time are still alive; five families had moved into the village by 1956, but no one had moved away. The five newcomers owned no land at all, but worked for the established farmers of the village or, more often, on the big estate of the absentee owner. (Incidentally, this estate survived in 1956 as a working unit in spite of the land law of 1952 which forbade ownership of more

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

365 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, perhaps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, [425] supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. •[427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several 423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained 428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would 476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth 464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others, either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the in- 465 troduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with [427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
565 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
578 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecrop-
● 427 ping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

178x households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423 also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565 The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578 these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 427 hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [302] village. [142]

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 178x Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 233 241 plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 433 the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 565 part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even 578 today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [579] Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. [461] The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461] spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left be-
166 hind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one
[369] of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are pre-
[427] pared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to
the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

647 One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The
[665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers
[186] that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against
[625] natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the
433 difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and 602
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [596]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the [178]
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [621]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro- [582]
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [736]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under [737]
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

/82 cont./
peaceful rest of their dead. They donate to the church either money or wheat. On St. Nicolas day, the people from remote villages bring either a chicken, a pig, a cow, a calf, a sheep, or a goat to the church as a present. Numerous animals are lined in the yard of the church which are sold in auction the same day. /83/ Every Sunday morning at the church service a tray is passed to the people for contributions. The selling of candles brings an appreciable amount of money. The church has its fields which are either worked or hired to others to swell the income of the church.

794 [769] [437] [427]

Part VIII Living Together.

Mutual aid. Both groups, the Thracians and the Caucasians, before settling in this village had a civilization of their own. The isolation of the Caucasians in the interior part of mountainous Caucasus has developed a unique type of civilization mostly built around their community life. Here they had the compound type of family organized under the direct rule of the oldest in the family. In spite of the large number in the family the work was divided every day among all. Every one did his best with no complaint. The men gave blind obedience to the head of the family and the women to the mother. The obedience was so strict that misunderstanding would seldom occur. Every one was specialized in his or her own work. All buying and selling was done by the head of the family. No one could smoke, speak, nor could sit by the head of the family unless told to do so. A strictly military type of rules were observed. The father decided the marriage age of his son and this usually would coincide with the need of more labor in the family. Sometimes /84/ the need for labor was so great that the age of 15 was thought practical to give the solution for extra labor. The grandma was responsible for the education of the children either in household work or school work. The children call their mother by her first name and instead, call the grandma, mother.

621 596

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usually lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest minimum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often acquires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his children. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all qualified people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who discussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop (Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupation back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products from the parishioners. *Kondota*, or the subscription by families of so much wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave
788 them an emotional uplift.

But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he
793 had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in
[737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a poly-
[874] technic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about
[177] $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more activity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.
[743]

793 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole
794 complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country,
757 especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of in-
793 mates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of
794 the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their
[428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial
[769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the
[748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 [167] [464] ernment is at the present confronted. For Greece *has no surplus population*, and, if the country is to prosper, the services of every able-bodied man and boy are needed for the proper development of its natural resources. Weekly emigrant steamers carry large numbers to Western lands and bring but few back . . . with the consequence that many agricultural districts are left without labourers to till the soil" (p. 133).

For more on this emigration, see Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America: The Story of the Re-Patriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956); and Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, 1911).

18. The figures used in this presentation of land use are taken from *Greece Today* (August 1954); from Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954); and from data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. In these three sources the years differ, as do some of the categories of land use, but the details prove interesting.

19. The study on idle lands made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece appeared in mimeographed form in 1952 and was based on detailed reports turned in by the field representatives of the Civil Government Division of the Mission. The report was issued by William M. Tait, who was then deputy director for field service. Other informants point out that in Epirus, and probably elsewhere, thousands of acres are owned by Greek-Americans in the United States, and Greek villagers do not feel free to make use of such idle lands.

20. For a discussion of these exports, see E. J. Bell, "Greece, Exporter of Farm Products," *Foreign Agriculture*, March 1958, pp. 5–6.

[428] 21. The use of lots in dividing up a patrimony among brothers in a Boeotian village is described in an article by Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXVII (1956).

Chapter V. The Peasant at Work

[127] 1. The unpublished manuscript from which this comes is "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria).

2. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 8.

3. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited*, p. 14.

[874] [407] [492] 4. Dr. Charles House, former director of the American Farm School in Salonica, played a great part in preparing the way for mechanization in Northern Greece, since the students at this school were taught how to operate and repair tractors long before they began to appear in so many villages. He said that one argument for the use of the tractor in preference to the draft animal was the fact that the animals ate up too much of the farm produce.

5. For the full World War II picture, see C. S. Stephanides, "Agricultural Machinery in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (November 1948), 250–253.

6. Supplementary labor is an important element in the economy of many families and even whole villages. In the Peloponnesos people from the mountain villages can harvest olives and help with the pressing of the oil, receiving pay in kind. When they help with the vineyards they are paid in money, as they are in Macedonia when they help plant tobacco. Near Ioannina there are villages specializing in certain crafts from which many men go during the winter to ply their trades. [465] [438]

7. "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," (1952, mimeographed), prepared by A. Argyropoulos. One of the village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The following comment about this village (Dafnon) by John D. Photiadis is helpful: "I have served as a county agent in that area and I think that Dafnon is not a representative village. It is considered the poorest village in the area and the most stricken by the reduction of prices of Turkish tobacco. This is because [127]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

2

The Family: Economic Activities

THE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES of the family as the most significant social unit in Vasilika will become clearer in the ensuing discussions. For the present, the family in the village may be defined as what has variously been called the "elementary," "nuclear," or "conjugal" family; that is, a husband and wife and their children. It is the welfare of his own family as a corporate entity which motivates the actions of the villager; and the family is the group whose members work in cooperation to try to maintain or to improve their common position. The villagers measure prestige and honor by the degree to which a family succeeds in fulfilling its obligations. From their point of view, the essential family obligation is to maintain a ratio between property and children such as to enable each child, when the property is divided in equal shares among all the children, to maintain, in turn, a decent standard of living for his family. This goal commonly requires not only an effort to conserve the wealth received from previous generations, but also, if possible, to increase it. The villagers act as if they conceive of the family as a kin group which conserves, accumulates, and transmits wealth from one generation to the next. The ability to transmit wealth is especially important. The villagers consider a man who is rich in lands but has no children an object of pity; the man's wife is considered even more unfortunate. This is because the contemplation of the success of their children gives the life of a married couple a large part of its meaning. In the operation of the inheritance and dowry systems in the region, a son may be given his share of the patrimony in the form of an education and a daughter given hers as her dowry at marriage. An educated son who has a civil service job in a town, or a daughter whose dowry was large enough for her parents to have found a schoolteacher husband for her, can give to the parents lasting inner satisfaction and the joy of being able to tell of their child's exploits. To be able to sit and watch such adult children, or even an industrious farming son, as they talk to visitors of their adventures, or as, on a feast day, they eat the food their

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

4

The Family: Dowry and Inheritance; Formal Structure[1]

182 THE DOWRY AND INHERITANCE SYSTEM in Vasilika is primarily a mechanism by which property is transferred from one generation to the next. It is this kind of mechanism, but it is also more. By reason of the context of values in which they operate and because of their specific characteristics, dowry and inheritance patterns as they function in Vasilika have ramifications not only for the Boeotian countryside but also for Greece as a whole.

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Inheritance by Sons

428 Both the Greek laws of inheritance and village custom require that property be divided equally among all the children, sons and daughters alike. Some receive their shares through inheritance or by gifts while the parents are still alive, but the daughters of a family are entitled to their share at marriage in the form of a dowry. Since, from the standpoint of the villagers, a man's most compelling obligation is to arrange for the successful marriage of his daughters, and since no girl in Vasilika can normally expect to marry without at least a token dowry, the girls have first lien on the family's property. For most of Vasilika's families, land holdings are the most valuable assets, and dowries are, therefore, calculated ordinarily as a transfer of a share of the land from parents to a daughter and through her to the jurisdiction of her husband. However, if a family's land holdings are such that it is obvious that by giving daughters their

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[1] Portions of this chapter were presented as a paper at a conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean held at Burg Wartenstein in July 1959, and will appear in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, scheduled for publication in 1962.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *paniyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
594 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.
[554]

Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

[166] The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[369] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the his-
594 tory of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However,
[123] emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inherit-
369 ance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an
428 actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
511 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

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584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

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mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454]
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they [584]
want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the management and control of movable and personal property that he received with his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the standpoint of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control [606]
over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold- [434]
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 583
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

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596 mother, and any additional properties acquired by their father in the course of
428 his lifetime.

Division of the Patrimony

The division of the property is always a dramatic event in the lives of the villagers. They believe that the separation of brothers is necessitated more by human than by economic considerations. They explain that brothers should be able to get along with each other and work together under the supervision of the eldest. Harmonious relations between brothers are highly approved in the village, and their maintenance is considered a moral obligation. But, the villagers will add, "What can you do?" When the wives and children of several brothers are part of the same household, inevitably they quarrel. One wife complains that her children's shoes are all worn out while her nieces and nephews are wearing new shoes. The matter of the work contributions to the joint household causes dissension; each wife tries to convince her husband that he works harder than the others. The children of one brother may cry at night and keep another brother and his wife from getting proper sleep. There also may be some envy if the dowry received by one brother is larger than that of the others.

The decision to divide the property may be delayed in spite of considerable disharmony in the household for several reasons. First, division implies a kind of moral defeat. Second, there are economic factors which favor the maintenance of a joint household. It cuts down on the consumption expenditures for each of the families; more women are released for work in the fields because the young children may be cared for at home by the grandmother or by only one of the wives; and the amount invested in farm animals and equipment can be held down because they are cooperatively used. Then, too, as one farmer puts it, before brothers divide the patrimony, it seems as if they have a lot of land and are earning a good living, but once the property is divided, each brother has little and then one sees that the family was not so wealthy after all. Appearances
[554] are important to the villagers, and a group of brothers may be reluctant to reveal the details of their economic condition. But the most important impediment to the separation of the brothers is the house itself. For the house is part of the patrimony, and if the brothers separate, the housing must also somehow be divided among them. There are several ways in which the villagers have solved this last problem.

342 When there are only two brothers involved, the house may be physically
596 divided simply by building a wall between two sets of rooms both upstairs and
428 downstairs. The brothers work together to improve both parts of the house so that each is of equal value and then draw lots to determine which brother gets which part (Levy 1956). Such houses are thenceforth called *dhipla* (double houses), and two or more families live in them as in entirely different establishments. Once the households are separated, a brother who has received cash in his wife's dowry is now able to make further improvements in his side of the house without regard for the other. There were four double houses in Vasilika in 1961.

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None were then occupied by brothers; their occupants were second and third generation descendants of the brothers who had originally put in the wall. The houses showed the effects of the long separation. In one of the houses, one side has been inhabited by a branch of the family that is losing its lands; that side has no additions and is in poor repair. The descendants of the other brother have prospered and have added some rooms and a terrace to their side of the house. In another case, both parts of the house have been expanded and modernized but in different ways. 342 596 428

Vasilika's houses are not ordinarily large enough to be divided into more than two parts. If there are more than two brothers, or if the paternal house is small, another solution to the housing problem exists. Here, the brothers agree to refurnish the ancestral house which one of them will continue to inhabit, and to build, in addition, new houses to the number of the remaining farmer brothers. The significance of the agreement is that the cost of the new houses and the repair and modernization of the old will be borne by the patrimony. Moreover, the brothers do not decide in advance which one is to have which house. That decision is made by drawing lots after the new houses are habitable and the old one has been improved. In a sense, the brothers agree jointly to improve the father's estate before they take their shares. The process is not different from that involved when the men in a joint household buy land which is added to the estate and is eventually divided among them. The process of building the new houses takes years (in one case where two new houses were built, the actual work took seven years) and during that time the brothers and their wives watch carefully to make sure that no one house is less well equipped than any other; for no man knows which of the houses it will fall to his lot to own.

The drawing of lots and thereby the division of the property does not have to await the completion of the new houses. As in the towns and cities in Greece, a dwelling is considered habitable at what to an American view is an early stage in its construction. Villagers will live in a house in which the ground-level rooms still have earthen floors, in which there is no ceiling to hide the rafters and to exclude the earth and dust that the wind sends through the roof, in which only the outer stone walls have been completed and the inner walls have not yet been plastered or stuccoed. Even at that, the cost of labor and materials for the basic stone or brick shell of a two-story house in Vasilika can absorb the surplus cash from joint holding of some eighty *stremata* for two or three years. [435]

Once it is agreed that the new houses are ready for occupancy and that the old house has been sufficiently improved, the moment for the separation has come. The farmers are then joined by any town brothers they may have and they sit down together to evaluate the patrimonial property. No women participate in the deliberations. First, the men examine their land resources and make up sets of holdings of equal value. For example, if there are three farming brothers, virtually all the patrimonial land will be divided into three parcels; one parcel may have an extra *stremata* of vineyard as compared to the other two parcels, but that will make up for the fact that the second and third parcels consist of cotton lands which are slightly more fertile than those assigned to the 596 428

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first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata,* are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings,and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a baby-tender were needed.

When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neighbors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

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tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw.

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision.

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist-

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596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at mar-
[421] riage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
425 further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most 428 ●
families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to 423
present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in 621
still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it 669
lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands con- 578
trolled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that 621
village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the 163
wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. 433
Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, conse-
quent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the differ- [563]
ence, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land dis- [656]
tributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, perhaps because it was the newest.

Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained from subdividing an inheritance because such division would reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others, either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the introduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corintho

[Villages of the Plains]

621 x178 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in- [428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil- [873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by—a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian [433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family [571] can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 x178 571 433 For the landless segment of the population, and for those who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family anyway, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera- tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For [582] them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 163 165 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimina- [744] tion of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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VII

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[776] considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both
[784] a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of
[296] clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a
[241] neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come
[426] true at this time.*

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and
[787] the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the
[262] traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

[533] On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around carol-
[824] ing again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is
[777] St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the
[431] sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

[431] If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event
[524] on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the
[788] liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are care-
[574] ful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to
[524] their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 wedding to take the *rukba* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukba*. A Vasilika girl is ex-
[286] pected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets,
two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen
blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental
table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth
with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two
long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before
baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town,
are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
431 given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men
crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning
the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the
house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find
the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside
giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining,
the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[362] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*,
the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with
a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
[584] and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[52] the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are
changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few
years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's vil-
lage and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicits, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a vilage by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
[432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary,
because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
[166] rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are
[578] three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511]

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
[369] rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
[593] young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional varia-
432 tions are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
[166] On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 512 turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their [275] evening meals before and go afterwards.

Summer. As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start [241] preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then [241] we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that 221 of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 241 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we [432] start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we [273] press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot 82 south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare 40, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including
[146] the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[4]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person
[146] for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
184

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)
3 medium pans	

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this [581] line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumu- [426] late a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the re- [626] quired amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [183] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

mist—these specialties already exist and their practitioners can be consulted. Nor 121
does the anthropologist have to discover the structure of the language for himself, nor is his vocabulary limited to what he can learn directly from the people he studies. An anthropologist working in old national cultures is able to concentrate his energies in the field on that aspect of his profession for which he is specifically trained and best fitted: the observation of the behavior of those he lives with for the purpose of discovering its regularities, its range of variation, its internal interrelationships, and its association or articulation with the culture of the nation of which the village community is a part.

There are, however, some unexpected mental hazards in doing anthropological field work in a society whose culture is a contemporary variation on one's own basic tradition. We had two opposite reactions to the way of life of the village; one was a strong sense of its familiarity, and the other was a surprised awareness of its strangeness. The sense of familarity grows out of the similarity of so many cultural elements with those one knows from home; the sense of strangeness partially from the often slight variation in the form of the elements, but more particularly from the way the elements are combined, from the new patterns created by a different organization of the items and by the different contexts in which they appear.

A trivial example may illustrate the point. If the cultural element under 121
discussion is adult footwear, we are immediately conscious of familiar elements. 291
Shoes and slippers are purchased, not manufactured by each family; men and 292
women do not wear the same types; the man's shoe is a standard low oxford tie, [432]
and the women wear leather pumps with medium high heels, or cloth slippers. The shoes, pumps, and slippers are within the range of styles for such items available in the United States. But the contexts in which the Greek villagers wear their shoes and slippers provide surprises. Men in Vasilika wear ordinary oxfords for work in the fields, for walking in mud, rain, and even snow during the winter—with no other foot protection. When the fields are flooded for irrigation, men remove their shoes and work barefoot. Within their houses, men do not change into slippers; they do not own any. Women, on the other hand, wear cloth slippers both indoors and outdoors, around the house and in the fields, in all weathers and in all seasons. Their leather pumps are saved for church, for holidays, and for journeys. On such occasions women wear pumps regardless of the weather. They daintily pick their way through muddy, unpaved village paths and stand for hours in unsubstantial pumps on the stone floor of the unheated church each Sunday throughout the cold, rainy winter.

Ways in which the same cultural elements are differently combined in 121
the Greek village from the way they are in the United States will be noticed as family organization, values, and the like are discussed. The hazard this kind of situation creates for the anthropological field worker is that he may not even become aware of certain characteristics of village culture because their superficial familiarity leads him to take them for granted. For example, once I learned [343]
that farm animals and stores of farm produce were not kept in the houses, I assumed they must be maintained in buildings of distinctive design. Although

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold- [434]
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 583
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

217 166 [727] families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names registered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people officially [745] registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 621 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers [433] reckon that their own local production supplies food for only two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money [432] earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 217 162 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of [743] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — [844] a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as por-
13 trayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where
[249] the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty
[433] and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[48] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland
[788] Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

823 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits
361 about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages
241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos.
433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with
[233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our
[312] village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the
[423] water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired
[487] as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the
[312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Plains

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment. 162 361

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago. 133 361

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece. 241 361 133 433 132 349 291

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much 312

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

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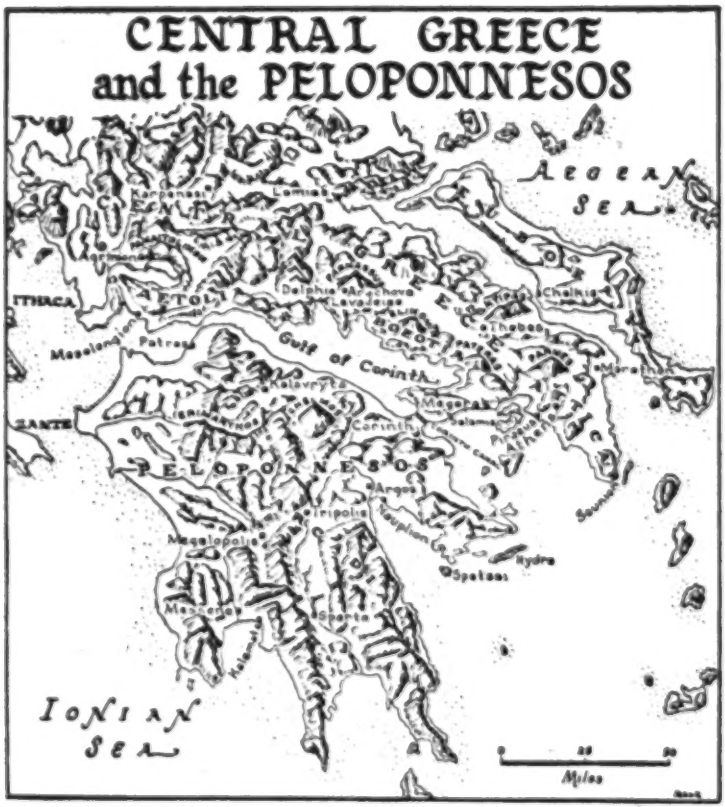

184 would have normally been paid to the mountain people, to Patras and sold it for its weight in gold. As a result, the highland villagers faced serious difficulties.

433 About this time a band of five young guerrillas came by the village and demanded hospitality. The villagers took them in and killed a lamb so that they could dine in plenty. After a few months, the same band put in another 511 appearance, but this time the people could only provide a cock for the dinner. 722 On the third visit, much later on, a wheat dish had to be the main course. Finally, on a fourth visit, when the members of the band were served only onions and garlic, they turned to the villagers and said: "You are hungry. Do you see those villages on the plain below? Why don't you go down there and take the food away from them, take their land, and let them come up here and live?"

An old villager answered: "Yes, we may be able to go down there and beat

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

them now and begin to live in their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can." 184 433 511

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains. [722]

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are: 184 157 829

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it." 184 511

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna- 184 157 829 [166] [722]

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184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to
[434] the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
● 433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[16] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the headquarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative so-
[474] ciety, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.
[434] The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of the depressed areas of the country.

Land Use in Greece

What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[18] We may not be able to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest, and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres (double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

Greece Today, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens, in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation; and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Furthermore, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is 63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective average for these countries.

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of which are owned or administered by the state.[19] They were obtained in the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

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[423]

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

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Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

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[427]

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

[312]

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

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The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the
178 fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as
[311] well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drain-
[406] age of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the
[462] machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by
312 blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated
241 by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is
406 found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of
[433] Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of
422 mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of
178 Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a
[407] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well,
[452] for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; own-
[464] ing one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been
[243] threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however,
[554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

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258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance. "No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil," which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
[245] Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said, "If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive 2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition, their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing, many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware. What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices, and the marketing facilities set up near him.

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178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time
178 by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has
511 been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discus-
369 sion of religion, observed:

> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have
[454] stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

178 A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the con-
● 433 nection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change.
464 The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transi-
241 tional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

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In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income. When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

[166]

The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's economic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire.

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[162]

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tobacco is the only product they can raise due to the lack of additional land. I think this is the reason why the Mission sent somebody to do a study of the village in 1952" (personal communication). [127]

Chapter VI. The Changing Life of the Shepherd

1. It is of interest to note the breakdown by products on a percentage basis for the total income from sheep. Figures for Greece are taken from C. S. Stephanides, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (July 1948), 153–155, as is the quotation about the characteristics of the Greek sheep used in the text of this chapter. Kentucky figures are from C. D. Phillips and J. L. Pearson of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture. G [234] [433] [236] [281]

	Greece	*Kentucky*
Milk and milk products	45.10	
Mutton	14.26	84.00
Lamb	24.77	
Wool	8.68	16.00
Hides	7.19	
	100.00%	100.00%

2. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the human factors in the small livestock industry, the table below will give some basic information for those interested in livestock numbers and products. These data are based on official Greek Ministry of Agriculture figures.

Total Number of Sheep and Goats, Greece (In Thousands)

Period	Sheep	Goats
1935–38 (average)	8,304	5,111
1938	8,139	4,356
1945	6,262	3,066
1946	7,228	3,462
1949	6,785	3,629
1954	8,738	4,643
1957 (estimate)	9,300	4,900

3. See P. J. Iliopoulos, *L' Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951). Three other studies that deal with sheep production are: P. H. Kontos, *Dasikai ktenotrophia eis ten Hellada apo oikonomikes kai politikes apopseus* (Forestry and Livestock Production in Greece from the Economic and Political Aspect) (Thessalonike, 1932); G. D. Kyriakos, *E Ktenotrophia mas* (Our Livestock Industry) (Athens, 1941); V. Handziolos, *To Provlema tes ktenotrophias en Helladi* (The Problem of the Livestock Industry in Greece) (Athens, 1941).

4. The description of the three systems of grazing practices (Vlachs, village ranchers, and village farmers) is taken from the American Embassy, Athens, Report No. 1056 (February 29, 1952), p. 13.

5. The study of transhumance as a habitat adjustment is almost a field in itself and will not be tackled here. Suffice it to say that I recognize the difference geographers make between transhumance and nomadism. Nevertheless, in the next section on the "nomads" of Epirus, I have followed conventional practice in thus alluding to these people, although most of them may actually be practicing transhumance rather than nomadism. V [101] [22]

6. An interesting source in this connection is Jovan Cvijic's *La Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918). This was published in French before it G [114]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) ~3 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*. 593

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters. 162 592

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households. 621 592 241 434 433

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two *stremata* (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two 245 221 [804 273 372 252 147 461 412 462]

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243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
[407] generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the
312 region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
[249] since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
[433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
[434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
241 what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat, cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their
652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac-
[583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings
[556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household
[433] and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few house-
[417] holds fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

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the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit. 434 511 231 235 443 438

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings. 445

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households. 294 463

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in. 793 463 434 796 846

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily. 463 794 624 434

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here. 433

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445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-
sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had
[178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innova-
tions since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have
involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new
attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these
items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assump-
tion that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late
fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit
in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his com-
ments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field
chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic
of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one,
as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even
to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one
farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stone-
mason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with
interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire struc-
ture collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it
a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did
they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job.
He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was
ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking in-
stances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally
try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point
here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have
skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance
of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they
are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

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fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

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sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige.

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers' produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the next chapter.

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share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *paniyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses 583
are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and 454
contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young 369
couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will
be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on- [427
the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source 434
not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town
son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*. 606
The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities 578]
has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not 369
a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women 166
married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and [581
groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The 425
network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their
relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important con- 602
sequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition 574]
to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary
patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely
village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their
grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women
with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as
a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the [484
Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha*
(home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village 574
men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have 602
sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers 369
and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town
aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. [758
They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture.
Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for [571
personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are
not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially [513
uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is
through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that 369
rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition 433
to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the 583
form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's
profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a
part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in [471
small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

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369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
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Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
594 unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called *vasana,* a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the
[593] new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live
594 well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from
434 dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings
511 to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes, return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57). 121 369

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations. 114 369 602

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all. 369 602 554 [571] [571]

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 369 554 433 000

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Similarly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peasants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.
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[243]

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long, least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.
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648

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons. 563

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export. 433 13 433 [439] [241]

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks. [505] [651] [464] [505]

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since 648

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families com- [162] prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, [463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

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perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one realizes that according to this same census the average family farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just 1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year. 241 433 463 [423]

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses. 461 517 275 [521]

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really provides the village women with a meeting place where they may on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus 517 562 [462] [275] [576] [521] [794]

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[Village Life]

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else
361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im-
433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill
438 villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads
241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will
433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is
433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving
[464] the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be
[166] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

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Hence a sort of symbiosis was established. A large proportion of the able-bodied men of the hill villages descended each year to the plains and worked in the fields of the Turkish landowners, then returned to their homes with wages, either in money or in kind, with which to supplement the produce of the tiny fields they had been able to carve from the mountain valleys and slopes around their homes. 361 464 166 433

Some of the hill villages developed occupational specialties,[1] sending most of their able-bodied men each year to labor as masons or carpenters wherever work was to be found. Groups of villagers sometimes walked as much as a hundred miles to and from the scene of this sort of seasonal employment. Other villages developed what might be called industrial specialties – lime burning, rug weaving, wood carving and the like – and peddled their products far and wide during the summer season. One village even developed an international trade in specially dyed red wool and cloth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, stationing agents in such cities as Vienna, Constantinople and Leipzig. The origins of the modern Greek merchant marine were similar, for sailors were easily recruited among peasant boys of the islands and coasts, who sought seasonal employment to supplement what could be produced on the family farm. 361 438 464 166 433 [505]

Another pattern of migration should be mentioned, up into the higher mountain slopes rather than down to the plains. Each summer herds of sheep and goats were sent to pasture on the high ground, where vegetation stayed green through the summer drought, and then returned to lower altitudes when the snows fell. Quite a few hill villages specialized in sheepherding, accompanying their own sheep, and sometimes sheep entrusted to them by others as well, on this annual round.

As long as the hill villages lay between two relatively unpopulated geographic regions – the plains beneath and the peaks 361 166 464 433

[1] [During Turkish times - ANALYST]

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
433 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

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large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant 361
farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little 166
outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the 464
plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less 178
and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between 433
hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely
occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose
numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets.

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, 167
especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a 464
geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from 178
home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek 433
emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and
1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in
their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough
money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there
buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional
style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the
new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home;
but many thousands acted upon their original plans and re-
turned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one [191]
of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no un-
common thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent
the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can
produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer vil-
lages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas.
As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in
the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed,
there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to un-
dertake such a perilous and expensive venture.

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration [648]
which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this
country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of

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464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas
[701] attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[625] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

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When the Second World War came, followed by Italian and German occupation and drastic derangement of the national economy, the situation of the hill villages became truly desperate. Starvation visited many of them. 433 731

Famine in time of war was age-old; and the response of the hillsmen of Greece also had very ancient precedent behind it, for they took gun in hand, and attempted to seize forcibly what they could no longer gain peaceably from the plains. They formed the backbone of the wartime ~~resistance forces~~, and justified their violence by patriotism, quite in the spirit their forefathers had shown in attacking the Turks. Yet the resistance movement was not merely a reassertion of old patterns. Its leadership was mainly provided by Communists, who in earlier years had been a small and not very significant group, largely confined to the towns.[1] [579] 726 669 433 [668]

In the wartime resistance movement the inhabitants of the hill villages found a sort of economic relief, inasmuch as the guerrilla bands lived by raiding the plains, taking by force a part of the agricultural surplus of those regions in order to feed themselves. A young man, without any real occupation in his native village, and without any hope of a career at home which could satisfy even the traditionally low level of expectation among the hillsmen, could, by joining a guerrilla band, hope to feed himself and relieve his family of the burden of his presence. In addition, he could become a hero, fighting for freedom and liberty, social justice and a better life for all.

For most peasant boys, the ulterior aims of their Communist leaders meant little or nothing. Indeed, the Communists were at very considerable pains to play down any plans they had for social revolution, and welcomed persons of widely differing social views into the ranks of the resistance. This was, of course, 669

1. There were a number of non-Communist resistance bands also, but most of them did not last long, and the successful ones were confined to Epirus, in the northwest.

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669 thoroughly in harmony with the "popular front" tactics inculcated by international Communist policy. When British inter-
[648] vention in 1944 prevented the resistance forces from seizing power in Greece, the rank and file of those who had supported the Communists during the war had little reason to distrust their leaders, since the Communists had not had time or opportunity to carry through the revolution they hoped for.

669 As a result, when in 1946 international Communist policy
433 again mobilized the energies of the Greek Communist party to begin a new guerrilla war, Communist organizers found little difficulty in winning the sympathy and support of the same social groups that had participated in the wartime resistance movement. The hill villages were prepared to send their young men into the guerrilla ranks for the same reasons as before. Liberation had not brought prosperity, and without prosperity in the cities and plains, life in the hills was very hard. Hence the Communists found it easy to create guerrilla bands in all the mountainous regions of the country.

In the most obvious sense, both of these recent guerrilla movements failed. Their leaders were killed or driven from the country, and the government remained in other hands. Yet in
[208] another sense, it must be recognized that the imprint of the two guerrilla enterprises upon the attitudes of the hill villages of Greece has been deep, and seems likely to last a long time.

Basically, what the Communists achieved was to convince nearly everyone in the villages that the traditional way of living was no longer even to be wished for and striven after. Instead, they held out fascinating and quite unrealizable dreams of bathtubs and electric refrigerators for all. Or rather, they held this out as an ultimate goal, and offered in the more immediate future a life of activity, violence and dedication — a life that at least seemed to have significance and purpose and hope. These were just what the average young man or woman

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in the hill villages (and in only slightly less degree the other young people of Greece also) lacked, yet desperately needed in order to confront the daily hardships and disappointments of private life. Here, I think, lay and continues to lie the secret of Communist influence in Greece. It was not so much the ultimate vision of wealth and ease and justice – Greek peasants are quite sophisticated enough to distrust such glittering baubles – but the mobilization of energies in the here and now to form a purposeful movement, surcharged with hope and optimism, that attracted the allegiance of so many restless young people. 669 433

At the least it seems correct to say that the guerrilla movements, with their attendant propaganda and real life experiences, created a population more or less chronically open to fresh revolutionary winds, from whatever direction they may blow. Even when jobs on roads and other sorts of construction opened up again in the 1950's, so that something resembling the old symbiosis of hill and plains could be resumed, the changed attitudes among the hillsmen remained quite obvious. Greece will have, for some considerable time to come, a substantial group of its population that is peculiarly receptive to movements of political dissent or outright revolution. [208] [668]

The real, physical problems presented by too many mouths and too little land have not been solved, and cannot be solved quickly by anything short of wholesale depopulation. But the tradition-bound attitudes which once made this precarious life seem inevitable, even if not right, have been profoundly eroded. Clearly, this is a dangerous and potentially explosive situation. What happens in the hill villages is likely to constitute the critical factor in the future political history of Greece.

The situation in the plains was different. Guerrilla bands seemed suspiciously like robbers, or at best like tax collectors, to the peasants of the plains villages from whom they demanded food. Comparatively few young men left such villages to join

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669 the guerrillas, even in the south, where landless families existed
433 in many plains communities. The hard times that drove the hillsmen from home, gun in hand, impelled the plainsmen to stay home where there was food. More recently, the revival and improvement of agriculture naturally proceeded furthest and fastest in regions where the soil was reasonably fertile and abundant. Hence, the plains villagers have been able to achieve far better results than the hillsmen from technical and marketing changes. They have property and social status to defend, and know quite enough about Communist agrarian policy in neighboring countries to distrust beguiling words from Communist lips.

The farmers of the plains are therefore not revolutionary, even though they may grumble about present hardship, and envy others better off than themselves. They have seen quite enough of the violence and suffering which revolutions, or attempted revolutions, involve. The hillsmen, too, have suffered, and do not love violence for its own sake. But, unless I am much mistaken, they remain potential revolutionaries.

Town Life

369 Just as the combine and the sickle join in uneasy partnership
184 to harvest the wheat fields of Greece, so also in the towns an age-old style of life is set side by side with a few completely up-to-date factories and the most modern urban amenities. The juxtaposition in an urban context is no less awkward than in the country.

443 Particularly in the north, where Turkish times are still within
369 living memory, in towns like Jannina or Kozani, one can see streets where artisans pursue their trades in little shops just as their predecessors have done for centuries. The old medieval principle still holds, whereby shops dealing in the same goods

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cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping 578
of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present- 669
day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of [178]
the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the bal- 669
ance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of [703]
the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Com- 669
munist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by finan- 648
cial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was 433

[Public Life in 1947]

669 sure that aid would come, or if it came that it would arrive soon
648 enough and in large enough quantity to turn the tide. Yet for-
433 eign aid was clearly needed if the Communist guerrillas were to be stopped. Without it, the government could scarcely hope to maintain its army for long. More than that, the fabric of the civil economy could not stand by itself, especially when guerrilla raids and road mines made transport and communication unsafe.

727 Apart from the military and diplomatic aspects, there was
648 another and more fundamental sense in which the morale of the government and of the conservative classes was damaged. The general ideas and presuppositions of the non-Communist politicians and their supporters were badly shaken by the course of events in the immediate postwar period. Their general assumption had been that once the Germans had withdrawn and a transition period of special emergency had been passed through, then the society and economy of Greece would return of themselves to something like stability and the prewar pattern. Yet now the Germans had departed, UNRRA had come and gone (save for a small rear guard), and still there was no stability and no security. Far less was there any prospect of prosperity.

The upheaval of the war years had in fact been too drastic to permit any automatic return to normal. But the political lead-
[661] ers of the country, all of whom had grown up in a world where government economic policy and administration were conceived in terms of doing favors for one's friends and withholding them from one's opponents, had no idea how to cope with the disturbed and unhappy society entrusted to their guidance. No idea, that is, except to ask for help from Britain or the United States.

[665] The politicians could scarcely be accused of not having done their part to bring things back to normal. During the brief res-

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[Public Life in 1947]

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pite between the time when British troops had suppressed the wartime guerrilla army in December 1944, and the resumption of the guerrilla war in the summer of 1946, the politicians resumed the prewar game of politics with an exemplary faithfulness to old customs and methods. Two of the principal figures of Greek politics, Sophocles Venizelos and Constantine Tsaldaris, carried family names that had been illustrious in the twenties and thirties, and owed their leadership more to their names than to any personal attributes. Quarrels between royalists and republicans, which dated back to the first world war, remained the principal line of demarcation between rival groups of politicians; and demands for territorial expansion at the expense of the defeated powers – primarily Bulgaria – remained a major stock-in-trade of political oratory, and the best antidote the political leaders could find for the discontent and unrest of the nation. This, after all, had been the dominant theme in the career of the great Eleftherios Venizelos, who had almost doubled Greek territory between 1912 and 1919, and even for a dizzy moment seemed to have the old Byzantine capital of Constantinople within his grasp. And how could any politician hope to improve on Venizelist models?

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Fame and fortune had always been the stuff and substance of a political career; special favors to friends and supporters had always been the means by which power was sustained; parties had always been fragile coalitions of ambitious public men who combined for a longer or shorter time under the leadership of one of their number, only to scatter and re-form in some new constellation when the restless striving for place and position dictated a change.

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To be sure, even before the war, extensive social legislation had been enacted, and the idea that the government was somehow responsible for maintaining the welfare of the population at large was not unknown. But such measures were conceived

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[Public Life in 1947]

727 primarily as electoral maneuvers, aimed to win votes, rather
661 than as aspects of any general social policy. A managed econ-
433 omy, or even a semi-managed economy, in which government decisions influenced the flow and volume of investment, regulated the supply of money, and adjusted the share of the national income to be enjoyed by different groups in the population was scarcely within the purview of the old-style politicians. Once again, this was not because the government had not intervened repeatedly and with telling effect in the economic life of the country. It had, but usually in the spirit of helping political or personal friends and thwarting foes.

Yet in spite of the faithful and unimaginative efforts of the political cosmos (the name Greeks give to the small number of men who play leading roles in political life) to return to a comfortable prewar pattern of behavior, the country ungratefully failed to follow suit. The times remained desperately out of joint, but knowing no way to set them right, the conservative politicians and their supporters were in a quandary. Their morale was destroyed by the lack of any clearly defined and firmly felt purpose and program, quite as much as by the diplomatic and material difficulties they confronted. Among the men of the right, apathy and hopelessness alternated with sporadic anti-Communist and extra-legal violence; but neither the one nor the other seemed to do anything but make the situation worse.

665 The Greek Communist party was not without its own internal
727 difficulties, but by comparison with the old-style politicians the Communists had tremendous advantages. First and foremost, they commanded a disciplined, enthusiastic and energetic body of committed followers, men who could be counted upon to follow instructions and who were willing to undergo personal hardship in the service of their dream for the future. Beyond this, the Communists enjoyed the sympathy or admiration of a

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 tions with higher authority, promote their own careers, and
661 enjoy the amenities of Athenian existence. But in the meantime much that should have been done remained undone.

Senior officials and ministers were harrassed by incredible numbers of papers requiring their signature or countersignature; they were harrassed even more by the crowds of petitioners who stood outside every door and not infrequently pushed their way inside to watch for a chance to seize the great man's attention. Subordinates, on the other hand, seldom would or could take any initiative themselves, but referred everything to higher authority, where the papers added to the jam at the top.

185 Perhaps the greatest weakness of the whole system was that
727 officialdom shared the intellectual and technical deficiencies of
647 the politicians. In the general confusion and pressure of daily
433 business, no one had time or opportunity to try to think in long terms, measure the economic and other needs of the country, and attempt to establish some sort of priority among them, so that a beginning, however modest, could be made toward repairing some of the disbalances and defects of Greek society. Perhaps the magnitude of the problems and the sheer inadequacy of Greek resources to cope with most of them made such calculations impracticable. But it was also true that the officials of the Greek government were not accustomed to thinking in such terms, and tended to assume that problems of this nature should be left to solve themselves by the spontaneous action of private citizens, within the framework of traditional patterns of living. In proportion as the physical and psychological basis of such a traditional framework had been destroyed by the war, this assumption was no longer valid; but few, indeed, in the turmoil of the civil administration realized this fact, and fewer were ready, intellectually or morally, to try to move into the gaps thus created in the social structure, and attempt to put the scattered fragments back into some sort of working order.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

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government. Unassisted, they would certainly not have been able to do anything effective to overcome the Communist menace. 185 727 433 669

To sum up: The nature of Greek society and the shortcomings of the Greek government, together with the constellation of international relations in 1946 and 1947, made Communist revolution possible, indeed probable. But the injection of a massive new force, United States aid, changed the direction of events and prevented that consummation. The activity of the American aid missions will therefore be the subject of the next chapter. [648]

[PP. 33-84 not Processed]

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[P.85]

CHAPTER 3

THE VILLAGES

Since most of the people of Greece still live in villages, peasant life constitutes something of a base level for Greek society. Pressure of population is felt first and most acutely in the villages. Peasant boys from land-hungry villages are driven to seek a livelihood in the towns, thus creating a pool of unskilled but eager labor which deeply affects the conditions of life among the urban working classes. Moreover, agricultural products are the country's major items of export. What happens in the villages therefore fixes limits upon the general prosperity and social stability of the entire national community. It follows that the best criterion by which to measure the impact of Amer- 369 433 178* [464]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
● 433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
* 178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
[433] 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
[423] surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
x [178] tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
x 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 453 435 654

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

433 511 454 556 178x 438

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

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x178 life in Lofiscos dates only from 1952, it cannot be surprising to
241 find that as yet little has altered outwardly. But since the vil-
433 lage has been attuned to a market economy for generations, and since changes that increase income without involving more than the normal risks of farming meet with little resistance in the village, it seems entirely probable that in the future more and more substantial changes will come to Lofiscos. In 1956 there was still much that could be done to increase the intensity of
[312] farming and to enlarge the cash income of the farmers. Well irrigation is easy, because the water table lies close to the surface; and with such irrigation, a wide variety of hitherto untried crops will become possible: vegetables, fruit, fodder, in addition to cotton. The basis for a highly productive and diversified farming may thus appear in a relatively short period of time. Moreover, it would not be difficult or very expensive to build drainage works in the portion of the village lands that flood each spring, thus bringing some or all of that land into cultivation.

Two obstacles stand in the path of any such program of development in Lofiscos. One is the general inertia and conservatism of the farmers, who will have to learn a good deal about new crops and farming methods, and may also find themselves working a good deal more steadily through the year than was necessary when nearly all their land was still in wheat. Yet the means and incentive to overcome this difficulty both seemed to be present in 1956. Agricultural extension agents and the Agricultural Bank stand ready to give expert advice and instruction; and some of the farmers of Losfiscos have shown an eagerness to enrich themselves thereby.

The second problem is more complicated. If the farmers begin to exploit the possibilities of their land more fully, the village will very soon find itself short of labor, for the existing inhabitants are too few to attend to all the chores of high farming

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains.

178x 241 433 [609] [621]

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters.

361 621 [434]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Nea Eleftherohori

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423 combined into one holding. The great majority of the families
425 of the village, however, still occupied 27 or 32 stremmata in 1956, and most of the original holders of the allotments were still alive.

x 178 The land settlement in Nea Eleftherohori differed from that
621 in Lofiscos in two respects. First, the farms in Nea Eleftherohori were less than one fifth as large as in Lofiscos. Second, the new
241 settlers, uprooted from their former homes, whether up the
433 mountain or in distant Asia Minor, left binding customary ways of life behind them, and started off in Nea Eleftherohori without the automatic conservatism and suspicion of innovation typical until very recently of the families of Lofiscos. These differences acted together to make the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori a good deal more willing to try new crops and methods, even before the war, than those in the older Thessalian community. Life on so little land was difficult at best, and anything that promised to bring in a little more seemed worth trying; and when the problems of farming the land were new in any event, there was far less psychological resistance against trying some further innovation.

621 Another contrast with Lofiscos, a contrast perhaps related
163 to the general shake-up of old customary routines which came to the inhabitants of Nea Eleftherohori between 1912 and 1923,
433 is that the new settlers proceeded to procreate children at a far greater rate than occurs in Lofiscos, where families are mostly quite small.[2]

2. It would be very interesting to know why the prosperous peasants of Lofiscos have fewer children than their much poorer fellows in Nea Eleftherohori, but I do not know Lofiscos well enough to hazard an opinion. Can it be that the general market orientation of their agriculture and the habit of calculating in monetary terms leads them to restrict the number of their children deliberately, in some fashion or other, realizing that to divide the family farm among many children spells impoverishment for

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most 428
families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to 423
present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in 621
still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it 669
lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands con- 578
trolled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that 621
village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the 163
wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. 433
Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, conse-
quent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the differ- [563]
ence, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land dis- [656]
tributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

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ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [241]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising mar- [434]
ket crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

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By 1956 "everybody"

×178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
● 433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
×178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

×178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Eleftherohori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[245] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricul-
[452] tural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the 178*
early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor 241
over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long [464]
seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-centered type of agriculture.

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Elef- [433]
therohori is to say that during the past five or six years commercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsistence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very 178*
great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabit- 511
ants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has 356
been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-respecting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has [291]
been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, [351]
and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors.

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception [563]
to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy members of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done.

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the 178*
desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the 511
world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. 582
One very important consequence is the postponement of mar-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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*178 of older peasant customs. The dowry has always been a part of
582 marriage customs in Greece, but it used to be relatively small
583 and easily within the means of the average family. Moreover, not to marry off one's daughters at a rather early age – before twenty-two or so – was regarded as a disgrace. It was felt that something must be wrong, either with the girl or with her parents; that she was running a grave risk of immorality and consequent loss of reputation; and that the parents were delinquent in their duty if they failed to marry her off in the bloom of her youth. Because the new customs run contrary to these older attitudes, a very special tension exists among the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori. They feel it is wrong that their young people cannot marry when they should; they feel even more strongly that marriages must wait until the means of livelihood are assured. This requires the new dowry and land inheritance pattern. But no one is happy with the way the system has worked out, particularly the young people themselves, who see a long and dreary time of waiting ahead before they can hope to start families of their own.

*178 This discontent is compounded by the feeling, which seems
369 very strong in the village, that people in the towns have the best of everything: less work, more income; less boredom, more excitement. City standards of dress and manners have made extraordinary inroads in recent years, and aspiration toward a more comfortable and less laborious life is very strong.

*178 Consequently, although by economic criteria the village is
621 very much better off than before, and although the political
669 tensions within the village have sunk back into insignificance, discontent is much alive and near the surface. It no longer takes
433 political form as it did during and immediately after the war, when the Communists appealed to, and found a response among, many of the young people. As long as the majority of families in the village continue to see a path by which they

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be 1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This [166]
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Paleo Corinthos.

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621 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill
166 villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

245 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become
439 prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devalua-
[436] tion of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good.

241 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing
474 largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in
• 433 the community, the two cooperatives which were organized
× 178 before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

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Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
x178 seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by — a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian
[433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family
[571] can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
x178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For
[582] them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is
165 evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimina-
[744] tion of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the
upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep
on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village
still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The
villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four
months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends
meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [463]
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [333]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construc- [464]
tion – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947
such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic
accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto,
Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded
regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant
groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree,
helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family ex-
pected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in
turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his
parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters
who stayed home.

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175 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords
669 of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Un-
619 til 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such
161 warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopula-
433 tion – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

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limits of the hill valleys. In times past, Balkan hillsmen then had to seek sustenance from the plains, either by peaceful labor or by armed forays. 621 161 433

As far as Kotta and villages like it are concerned, it now seems to me an open question whether the old cycle will repeat itself again or whether new standards of expectation and conduct will make sufficient inroads upon the traditional peasant family system to check early marriage and rapid multiplication of numbers. Through overseas emigration, the modern city has made its mark on Kotta. All but a few young people want to leave, and many have done so. At the same time, the handful who remain appear to be conforming to the old ways. Perhaps the critical turn will come as their children grow up; for if the rising generation elects to look beyond the confines of the village – and if the possibilities of migration, either within Greece or overseas, exist – then, perhaps, as the population of the village begins to press once again upon the limits of local production, the young people may decline to continue the old, economically suicidal pattern, and will instead seek their fortunes far afield, and refuse to marry into hopeless poverty at home. It depends more than anything else, perhaps, upon the degree of communication that may come to exist between the outside world and the villagers. In 1956 these contacts were limited. Newspapers came seldom; vehicles rarely. But the village did possess a radio that brought daily news from Athens; and emigrants' letters were perhaps the most important of all the channels of contact with the great world beyond the valley in which Kotta nestles. 621 161 167 [20]

Survivors of the older generation – those who have lost their children to the guerrillas – seem to have no doubts or reservations in wishing to see more and more children about again. The priest complained of how empty and joyless the village was without the throngs of children he knew before. He deeply 621 161 842

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621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

×178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

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178x
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[438]

led to this change. One was the rise of Volos as an important urban center, requiring charcoal as fuel for cooking and for heating houses. To supply the rising demand, the villagers of Cherasia began cutting off the forests of Mount Pelion with a new energy. A second factor was the growth of population in Cherasia itself. As more families appeared, sheep could not support them all, because the pastures could not be readily extended. So the people fell back on exploitation of the forests.

This "ancient" history is mostly speculation. I was not able to get any clear account of their distant past from the men of the village. What they did know was that in 1905 three families had secured title to 100 stremmata (25 acres) of land apiece in the little valley that spreads out below the site of their winter quarters at the foot of the mountain. At that time, very likely, the free villagers of the mountain saw little or no attraction in the toilsome life of a farmer, and preferred to keep to their ancient shepherd's way of life, supplemented by woodcutting and charcoal burning.

[423]

[241]

About the time of the first world war, things changed. As the population continued to grow, sheep and charcoal no longer sufficed to provide a satisfactory living for the members of the community. Many of them began to clear little patches of rocky mountainside in the hope of raising a crop or two on the land. Their tenure was legally recognized by a governmental survey made in 1922, which assigned to each family title to the patches its members had cleared and cultivated in preceding years. During the interwar period the pressure to find supplementary means of livelihood through agriculture continued to mount. In 1938, village authorities parceled out 500 stremmata of what had been common pasture to private family ownership. No further property changes had occurred in the village up to 1956.

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The brute fact remains, however, that fields cleared from mountain slopes are miserable agricultural land. These produce

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Cherasia

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x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
•433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
565 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
578 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecrop-
427 ping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

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178x households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423 also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565 The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578 these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 427 hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt [302] from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [142] village.

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of eco- 178x nomics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 233 Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have al- 241 ways felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 433 plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 565 the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 578 part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even [579] today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [461] Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461] spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

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x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
●433 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

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thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

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various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hopefully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but because the villagers failed to look after them.

Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land – the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a forest preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical – pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

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badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

178x 829 669 433 313 656 [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

669 722 657 178x

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

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217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names regis-
[745] tered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people officially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers reckon that their own local production supplies food for only
[432] two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 *are supposed to be, but are not always in* fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of
[844] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

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621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
727 forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
[669] expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
[653] in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

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city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

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animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which employed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the season. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a decrease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabitants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kalamata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

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Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178^ 245 [241] [438]

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established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left behind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are prepared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

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come by indirection: that is, by opening opportunities for work in the plains and in the towns even more rapidly than the hill populations increase their numbers. If emigration from the hills reaches a sufficient magnitude, there is a chance that standards of life and expectation derived from urban milieux will penetrate into the hills themselves, and lead the peasants there to change their customs and to regulate their reproduction to an economic standard. But until a lively possibility of attaining or defending such a standard of living begins to open, one cannot expect the hillsmen to abandon old customs which have been deeply bred into them from earliest childhood. In other words, only when self-discipline, parsimony, effort and foresight seem to promise a definitely better life than anything these people now know can changes be expected in the old-fashioned family customs. The difficulty is that the old-fashioned, rough-and-ready – one is tempted to say the natural or automatic – demographic balance has been upset by the comparative efficiency of modern government, and by medical science. Until compensatory adjustments in birth rates have occurred, the result is to create a serious and potentially explosive problem.

It is possible to imagine a time, some twenty or thirty years from now, when a more or less regular pattern of internal migration may establish itself in Greece. Perhaps some day young men from the hills, descending to the plain, may begin as day laborers and in time acquire land, by marriage or by purchase, while the plains villagers restrict their reproduction and send increasing numbers of their sons into town to pursue service or industrial occupations. Or perhaps the more mobile hillsmen may shortcut such a process, and send their sons directly into town occupations, largely bypassing the plains villages as an outlet for their numbers. But as yet only the rudiments of any such migratory pattern can be detected. There still remain, at every level, far too many men who are looking for work or for

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*178 more work; and only the unusually lucky or energetic can clear
433 the barriers between the paternal village and a wider, freer, more satisfying career elsewhere.

The future of Greece might well be thought of as a race between the natural increase of the hill villages and the capacity of plain and town to absorb men into new productive occupations. The future development of the towns and cities will obviously play a major role in deciding how the race comes out. Accordingly, the next chapter will be devoted to some remarks about conditions in the towns.

[pp. 149–175 not processed]

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riod, however, important changes have taken place. In particular, a group of comparatively youthful economists and statisticians have risen to key posts in many of the ministries, and are able to advise their superiors in the light of a type of professional training and in accordance with intellectual concepts which ten years ago were noticeably absent from the policy-making levels of the Greek civil service. Even if the execution of official policy is not always effective, ideas of what government ought to do and can do and how to go about doing it have undergone radical change. 647 178

Politicians and civil servants of the immediate postwar period in Greece grew up in a time when society and the economy were expected to run themselves, subject only to sporadic official interference. The painful inadequacy of this outlook became apparent in 1947, when the emergency relief and reconstruction undertaken by UNRRA began to taper off before the economy had been restored to running order. In this situation, the Greek government lacked ideas as much as the means with which to try to cope with the problems confronting the country. All too clearly, automatic restoration to something like the prewar social and economic pattern was out of the question. Planning and massive organization of effort by government agencies were still needed if serious collapse was to be avoided. 647 178 433 177

The American aid mission, to be sure, stepped into the gap created by the withdrawal of the British and of UNRRA, and attempted far more energetically than its predecessors to educate Greek administrative personnel to new ways of thinking. Even before 1947, foreigners — mostly American and British — had insisted on making plans for the development of the Greek economy, and a small number of Greeks had been drawn into the attempt. Yet by and large, it was the foreigners who made plans, and the Greeks were consulted afterward. This remained more or less the case until 1950 or 1951; but in propor-

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647 tion as the Americans reduced the scale of their economic aid
177 after 1952 and withdrew from detailed supervision of the minis-
433 tries, the task of making plans was transferred to Greek hands.
178 Some senior Greek civil servants, veterans from 1945 and 1946, welcomed the new scope and authority thus entrusted to them; but in the main the men who inherited the new role were not the same persons who ten or even five years before had occupied leading positions in the Greek civil service. Between 1947 and 1952, when American advisers were introduced into nearly all Greek ministries, these impatient foreigners were able to play a major part in determining promotions and key personnel assignments within the ministries. Many a young American economist found himself at first dealing with men much older than himself, men whose ideas often had little relation to those he had imbibed during graduate training in some American university. This regularly led to serious friction, for senior Greek officials were not much inclined to go to school to cocksure youths scarcely more than half their own age. But bright young men could be found in the lower ranks of the civil service who either already shared the concepts of their American counterparts or quickly acquired some familiarity with them. Many such men were sent to the United States for additional technical training, or visited Washington to observe American administrative methods at first hand.

These persons naturally seemed to the Americans to be just the type to run things; and the voice of an American adviser was sufficiently powerful to secure rapid advancement for men he favored. In this fashion a new generation of officials came rapidly to the fore within the Greek ministries, while many of their former superiors were shunted off to unimportant posts or else retired.

647 By 1956, therefore, the economic ministries of the Greek civil
433 service were sprinkled with men of a quite new type, some-
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times of high ability and energy, many of them well at home in the language of post-Keynesian economics. A national statistical service was organized to provide them with data for their calculations; and innumerable plans and surveys were made, priorities agreed upon, and projects for future expansion worked out in varying degrees of detail. 647 433 178

Two aims dominated most of the planning of these men. One was to improve the country's balance of payments, partly by producing goods domestically that had hitherto been imported, and partly by developing new exports (especially minerals) or enlarging old ones. The second general aim was to expand employment. Military considerations figured only indirectly in their calculations, and helping political and personal friends or penalizing opponents played almost no role at all. This was a great departure, for in the prewar years, whatever economic planning the Greek government had undertaken was heavily colored by these calculations, and paid little attention to broader aims which were assumed to be beyond deliberate manipulation. [661]

Conversations with representatives of this rising group of civil servants gave me the impression that they were more buoyantly optimistic about the future of Greece than the American economists in the aid mission. Greek economic planners were not much inclined to worry about inflation and disbalanced government budgets: they wanted to see new dams, irrigation canals, factories and mines, and felt that if inflation was the easiest way to finance the internal costs of such construction, then inflation was preferable to standing still and waiting until private savings or a government surplus was on hand to pay for the new investment. I also gained the impression that they felt themselves embarked upon a new adventure: striving for conscious management of the direction and pace of economic growth on a nation-wide basis. Moreover, they found

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647 the game of manipulating the levers from behind the scenes a
433 fascinating and entirely absorbing enterprise – advising minis-
178 ters, talking back to the Americans, and, as they hoped, saving their country from age-old poverty and hopelessness.

Whether their optimism was well founded, and whether or not the priorities the Greeks have decided upon are the best, seem to me a good deal less important than the fact that such a spirit was abroad at all. Mistakes have been made, and will almost surely be made in the future; but the great mistake which paralyzed the government of Greece in the first postwar years – the mistake of not knowing what to do, of having no policy but one of inaction, of waiting for things to pick up by themselves – this mistake at least will not be made as long as the new generation of civil servants remains as a leaven in the economic ministries, and ministers accept their advice. This is a great change from 1945 or 1946, one for which the American economic mission can take a major share of the credit.

647 The transformation of the upper ranges of the bureaucracy
178 in the central ministries in Athens was only faintly reflected in the lower ranks in 1956. In general, a petty official sitting behind his desk continued to exhibit a displeasing servility toward his superiors (at least to their faces) and a corresponding hauteur in dealing with mere members of the public. The besetting weakness of Greek administration has been the unwillingness of superiors to delegate much responsibility to their subordinates, and this feature seemed as strong as ever. Busywork, created by passing papers over a long series of desks for approval or initialing, up and again down the hierarchy of rank, was a feature of many government offices, so much so that it was hard not to believe that official routings had been designed to keep a lot of people occupied rather than to get decisions made. It was this feature of Greek administration that the

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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563] [619] [648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

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665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even he was not always successful. General Papagos achieved something similar during the first year or so when he held office, before his failing health raised the question of the succession and induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the
662 political scene – and this was normal – then political life became a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals. Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes, originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations
[433] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention
[663] to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952
666 was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United
645 States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal
[177] parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces. But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties. Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments, to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted this process and made few promises to the politicians who

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663 471 511 652 [458] lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current running expenses and to finance a modest program of government capital investment proved far more palatable politically, even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

● 433 511 663 Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped nations in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

647 177 433 645 663 To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of political debate and the planning of technicians in the economic ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

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It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political process by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians. 647 177 433 663

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus? 648 668

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in

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career of modern Greece, since the days when a small segment of the peninsula first won independence from the Turks, has been punctuated by recurrent bouts of intense popular excitement over the liberation of one or another portion of the Greek-speaking world that still remained under foreign sovereignty. In spite of costly failures, this agitation, and actions in accord with it, sooner or later added the Ionian Islands, Thessaly, Crete, Macedonia, the easterly Aegean Islands and part of Thrace to the Greek state. So successful has the nationalist program been that by 1956 Cyprus remained the only important area where a large Greek-speaking majority lived under foreign rule. The Greeks, therefore, felt entirely justified in demanding that such an anomaly end.

Anyone who takes democratic doctrines seriously must agree that the Greek case in Cyprus was a good one, since about 80 per cent of the islanders speak Greek and have given strong evidences of identification with Greece in recent years. Nor has the social and economic level of the Cypriotes been such as to justify a denial of self-government. Hence the Greeks of Greece had a good cause, and felt that the indifference of the United States to the issue, and the refusal of Britain to agree to grant self-government to Cyprus, represented a repudiation of their democratic professions. The burning conviction that the great powers were in the wrong and that the Greeks were in the right added fuel to the agitation, while Turkey's intervention in the question had the effect of opening once again all the wounds inflicted by past warfare between the two peoples.

On two occasions in the past, war with the Turks resulted from the desire of Greeks to liberate their fellow nationals, and on several other occasions war was narrowly averted by the intervention of the great powers. These wars and war scares cost Greece dearly in the past. One of the reasons for the failure of the economy to develop more rapidly was the financial bur-

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648 den the government incurred as a result of these enterprises;
668 and the complete catastrophe which came to the Hellenic com-
[433] munities of Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, following the failure of the Greek effort to annex part of the eastern Aegean coast, left marks upon the Greek body social which are still conspicuous. Yet then, as more recently in the case of Cyprus, counsels of caution or calculations of expediency scarcely found a hearing. The warm feeling of patriotism, all the warmer for being so reckless of consequences, overcame and continued to overcome every obstacle.

The Cyprus question became acute in the spring of 1955 when EOKA began issuing manifestoes and throwing bombs in the island, demanding self-determination and the end of colonial administration. Whether, or in what degree, the Greek government was an accomplice in provoking EOKA to action is impossible to say. Clandestine support of irregular armed action against a foreign government is an old tradition in the Balkans. The Greek government was itself attacked in this indirect fashion by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania during the guerrilla war; and all the Christian nations of the Balkans used similar methods against the Turks. The fact that the leader of EOKA was reputed to be Colonel George Grivas, a man who had once served in the Greek army, and who had been the head of an extra-legal rightist armed band in the years just after the end of World War II, suggested, but by no means proved, that agents of the Greek government may have had a hand in organizing the guerrillas in Cyprus.

If so (and this is not a proven fact), it seemed fairly clear that in the months that followed EOKA's appearance in Cyprus agitation in Greece grew to proportions that the government had not expected, and did not really desire. To have an issue upon which all Greeks could unite behind a government that

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bring about the overthrow of the Karamanlis government and the installation of a cabinet far less inclined to cleave to the western alliance system of NATO in foreign affairs, and far less amenable to American advice concerning home policy.

What the effect of such a change might be upon the development of the economy, or upon the civil servants who were so busily planning its growth, cannot be forecast. My point merely is this: that the divorce between the realm of political discourse in Greece and the real problems of economic and social melioration within the nation is so wide as to be dangerous. Some economically ruinous action, rising from feelings of outraged nationalism, and provoked by politicians who hope to win place and prestige by risking everything on a politico-military gamble, may damage much of what has already been accomplished, or postpone indefinitely the realization of plans which have been laid for future economic expansion.

There are here the makings of a vicious circle. The major cause of the characteristic irresponsibility and extremism of Greek politics in recent decades, I am convinced, has been the chronic discontents and personal frustrations which tens of thousands of white-collar and professional people have felt. For them, politics offers a psychological release from daily difficulty and disappointment. To act as an adequate catharsis, political argument must be exciting, indeed inflammatory. The politicians therefore offer excitement, and when they cannot find it they try to manufacture it. If no internal foe seems sufficiently evil, then attacks are turned against some foreign antagonist. Political instability and changeability are the result, and when words boil over into actions real economic setbacks often follow – setbacks that feed the chronic discontent behind the political manifestations themselves.

Much of the domestic history of modern Greece can be interpreted as the result of such a vicious circle in action. The re-

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433 construction of the economy and the transformation of the civil
662 service since 1947 seem to offer a chance for escape from this
663 circle, but escape is as yet by no means assured.

The Communist Problem

668 The Communist party was declared illegal in October 1947,
669 and has remained illegal since then. Communist party leaders first joined the guerrillas, then retreated with the remnant of the guerrilla army behind the iron curtain. It seems entirely likely that the exile leadership was torn by faction and recrimination. Backwash from the shipwreck of their hopes on the Macedonian issue in 1949 must have continued to distract the secret councils of the party. Equally, the changing winds of doctrine that followed Stalin's death shook the Greek Communist party, and, combined perhaps with other factors, led in the fall of 1956 to the demotion of Nicholas Zachariades and the substitution of an almost unknown personality as Secretary General.

Rather strenuous police measures were taken during the guerrilla war to break up the Communist underground organization. Many people were arrested and several hundred were shot. How effective these measures were in breaking down the party organization cannot be judged by anyone standing outside the inmost party circles. Furthermore, the failure of the guerrilla enterprise, and the collision between Greek national feeling and international Communist policy over the question of the future of Macedonia must have disheartened even the most fanatical Communists in Greece, and certainly discredited Communism in the eyes of many who had formerly been sympathetic.

668 Whether these events mean that the Communist threat to Greece is lastingly removed, or whether the Greek Communist

/20 cont./ In 443 438

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else. 436

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The 443 452 [433] [451] [578] [652] 000

/21 cont./ The

one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 443
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 437
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they 433
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

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/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

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[476]
[233]

We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

/59 cont./ 241
that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the [407]
iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes
too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the
field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow
over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without
bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron 241
plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on 242
such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are
plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to
plow the same field as many times as possible. The common
expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get."
This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under
all conditions.

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. 241
Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture 237
all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for 372
fuel.

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ cannot afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding problems which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The [433]
productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus, what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that 92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to [433]
the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the [354]
manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal, but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm family was not discovered.

x 342 the genuine flat-roof type, but have their origin in the stone covered house, having a cylindrical dome for a roof.

[433] [231] [251] In the smaller islands (Cyclades, Dodecanese), where agricultural production is very moderate and where, owing to the peaceful manners and to the existing security, the stables of cattle and even the stores of cereals and of wine, oil etc. are mostly away from the dwelling places (see G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, pp. 5 and 45), the house is meant only to the purpose of sheltering the family and [583] [592] partly to the keeping of the agricultural and animal products. Owing to the fact that the house is an essential element for the dowry and for the housing of a couple with their unmarried children, the single house, that is the house which consists of one rectangular room, is the most common form in these islands. It is understood that there are also [231] some rural houses, especially in Rhodes, where the cattle is stabled (or has been stabled) at one end of the house under the same roof with the inhabitants (fig. 28).

This «single» house belongs to both forms of houses, the narrow and the wide form.

The first form mainly prevails in certain islands, such as Skyros, Amorgos, Kythnos, and sporadically in many other islands of the Cyclades, of the Dodecanese, and sometimes in Crete and Cyprus. This house has mainly a ἀροστῷον on its narrow side, but, instead of supporting roof poles it has an arch on its front part (Plate VIIIa 5)(1), and more often it is enclosed on the front part as well, forming a real ante-room or a roofed yard (Cf. fig. 13, 14)(2). In several places, more over as in Crete, even in this form, it keeps the name of the open portico «γαγιάτι», as we have seen it in the case of the narrow-front houses of Thrace with the inclined roof. Consequently, the narrow-front house of the islands, in its simplest form, preserves the form of the ancient megaron.

The cylindrically-covered houses of Kimolos, Thera and Antiparos are also of the narrow-front type (3).

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1) See the Cypriot Rural House, in Laographia vol. 11 p. 81. Cf. the House of Nissyros (Fig. 26 above) and the House of Amorgos (Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδομία Λήμνου Fig. 15). In front of their covered yard, whose roof is supported by an arch, these houses have another open courtyard (Plate VIIIa 6).

2) **G. Megas,** Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 26.

3) **A. Wace,** The towns and houses of the archipelago, in the Burlington Magazine 26, 1914/15, 99 foll. **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus u. Hof im Altertum p. 64 where there is also a plan of a «Tonnendachhaus» of Kimolos.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales
452 of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as
[437] payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group

[494] which plays at all weddings and festivals.

Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. 462
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry.

178
Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. 241
The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with [435]
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [452]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. [439] Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444] of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658] had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874] the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422] by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474] belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 of Alekos, the first few owners get good income from custom plowing, but
241 with many tractors there is not very much supplementary income to go
around. These steel horses in Greece plow more deeply, give more leisure,
●[434] help spread scientific farming throughout the plains, and service an increasingly larger proportion of the 950,000 farms of the land. But with one tractor to every 70–80 farms, it is not surprising that Yannes, the tobacco grower from Alistrate, still waits for his horse so that he will not have to stand idly by while another finishes plowing a field.

The Harvesters of Chalkidike (Macedonia)

Social changes, and especially those connected with mechanization, frequently wear two faces — one bright, the other dark. In Athens I had heard from fellow Americans about the growing use of machinery, the previously mentioned over-all increase in agricultural production to more than 37 percent above the prewar figure, and the steps being taken to rationalize agriculture to an even greater degree. These programs represented not only heavy investments of dollars and drachmas, but also considerable self-sacrifice on the part of American and Greek staff members with a missionary zeal for their work and a willingness to work overtime. There was no question of the need for Greece to become a part of the scientific revolution in farming, but it was at times perplexing to find that little thought was being given to the social effects of this revolution on the people in the rural areas.

178 Once out in the provinces, away from the bright programs of Athens, I
241 saw the dark face of mechanization. While riding with the director of agri-
culture of Larissa on the drive previously mentioned, I was somewhat
243 shocked to hear him say that he was glad the recent storm had visited the
464 area.

"Why is that?" I asked. "Doesn't it make it harder to harvest the grain?"

"Yes, that's the point," he replied. "Now it will have to be done by hand in many places, giving work to some of the people from the mountain villages in this area who depend upon the harvesting to earn their supply of wheat for much of the year. Without the bread from this wheat they cannot live."

Again, a nomarch of Thessalonike talked to me of the people displaced by mechanization. He tried to see the good as well as the bad, indicating that machines without any question had raised the yields by putting more land under cultivation and by making better farming methods possible. He, too, however, used much the same words as had the official in Larissa, pointing out that he was glad to see the rains in Macedonia since it meant that harvesting would be done by hand.[6]

One bright June morning found us in Niketas, a small coastal village in
243 Chalkidike where mechanical threshing was in progress on the edge of the
124

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 233 [439] Although before the war Greece had over 8 million sheep and almost 4.5 million goats, these were still insufficient to meet local needs, and additional animals had to be imported each year. The war brought a reduction of about 2 million sheep and over a million goats, but by 1954 the numbers had risen to more than the prewar figures, and by 1957 sheep were estimated at 9.3 million and goats at 4.9 million.[3] From 1922 to 1937, with the resettlement of the 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor, the pasture area in Greece decreased but the number of sheep rose from 6 million to well over 8 million. It takes little stretch of the imagination to see what this has meant in terms of overpasturing and in accentuating the competition for grazing land.

G [167]

The chief concentrations of sheep and goats are found in Thessaly and through the western part of the country (Epirus, Roumele, and the Peloponnesos). Even in Attica, according to P. J. Iliopoulos, a region where numbers are not so dense, the small livestock make the best adaptation to the natural conditions; they provide the peasants with some income to offset farms that are too small or harvests that are insufficient; and they require less capital investment than do large cattle.[5]

G [434]

V G 233 221 [427] There are three different systems of sheep management in Greece.[4] The first is that used by the so-called Vlachs, an interesting nomadic group to be discussed in detail later on. This group of grazers controls about 15 percent of the sheep. They are landless and rent grazing land from private landholders, the church, or the state. It is customary for them to graze their herds in the plains during the rainy winter months, while the lowland pastures are lush, and then drive their flocks into the mountains as spring and summer advance.

The second type of management is that practiced by the village ranchers, who control about 70 percent of the small animals. They own land in the plains, where they singly or cooperatively graze their flocks in the winter; they send them to the mountains in summer, as do the Vlachs. In some instances, farmers in this group will arrange with a Vlach to include their animals in his flock during the summer grazing in the mountains.

G 233 [476] The third type is connected with settled agriculture. Village farmers control the remaining 15 percent of the sheep and goats and keep them on the plains at all times. Usually, the animals of these farmers are combined under the care of Greek shepherds, whose responsibility is to prevent the animals from damaging the crops by restricting their grazing to the rougher foothills or the fallow or idle areas in the plains.

The best way, however, to describe the changing life of the shepherd is not to talk about sheep and goats, but to look him up wherever he is and try to view the world through his eyes. We will do this by visiting him in the Peloponnesos and in Epirus, by which time facts and figures on sheep and goats should have much more meaning.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance,*[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
246 of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

●434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
464 around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
[321] plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[465] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives. They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

[157] "Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
533 morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
[652] taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agri-
[245] cultural Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance.
Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
[231] this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
[235] nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary
[434] cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this
is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the for-
[471] eigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way coopera-
tives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the rea-
652 son that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

178 433 464 241

In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income. When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

[166]

The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's economic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire.

178 434 [162]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
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parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it 592
always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for 433
bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and con- 804
sumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 273
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 252
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 147
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 461
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling
motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the 412
earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy 462
hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

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period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465] net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804] per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461] serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers con- [434]
tended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

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240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the [221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and [433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the [434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat, 241 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to 454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their 652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac- [583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings [556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from [242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the [462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to [433] produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, [417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959,
therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens.
By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues
that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them hone bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaowboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and
[865] kicked to make them work, and children are permited to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy
[434] mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes
262 the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
233 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

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into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

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231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered
[552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents
[865] permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of
[178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the
[373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing
511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small
592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to
[422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever,
[464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for
[422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac-
511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

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the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

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Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
[166] by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
[463] northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
[434] shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
[464] women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
[262] shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
[342] in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
563 have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
621 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
555 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
87 he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
[641] most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
[435] shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold- [434]
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 583
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
471

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
594 unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called *vasana,* a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that
[593] their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live
594 well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings
511 to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes, return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families com- [162] prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, [463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

621 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of
369 the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns
[513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is
517 also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly
275 always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any busi-
[435] ness at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and
464 semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from vil-
166 lages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons
[434] can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his
[602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains.

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [241]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising mar- [434]
ket crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

By 1956 "everybody"

×178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
×178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

×178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Eleftherohori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[245] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricul-
[452] tural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

1;Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan.

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future.

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem.

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity."

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 [426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily [435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Ali- [464] strate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with [249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from [273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and [412] potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407] [412]

> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown. [462] Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[8]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about people, changing for the better." 241 178 [461] [242]

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women. Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-to-do peasantry. 241 178 461 462 [517] [423] [556] 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive. 241 407 [435] [452]

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license. [439] [444] [658] [874]

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors belonging to cooperatives. [422] [474]

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178 241 434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

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[423]

land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business (baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

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Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in search of work. [369]

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[458]
[204]

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

249

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

How strong are cooperatives in Greece today? In 1957, they numbered 7,127 and had a membership of 718,000.[9] They therefore constitute the principal farm organization in Greece. Those who lead the cooperative movement are quick to point out what they hope to achieve: to narrow the ratio between prices received by the farmers and prices paid by the farmers; to market members' products and purchase for them equipment and supplies; to process farm commodities, produce pesticides, farm machinery; and to provide special services for members such as plowing, cultivating, and harvesting.[10] Since many of the Greek farmers are too impoverished to raise sufficient capital on their own to finance a local cooperative, they are therefore dependent upon those cooperatives for which the government, through the Agricultural Bank, provides all the funds and over which it insists on centralized control.

474 241 [652] [471]

How the Villagers View Cooperatives

What the FAO study team, the American missioners, and even the Greek government officials think about agricultural cooperatives is secondary to what the Greek peasants themselves think. Their opinions ranged all the way from those of open resentment and hostility to those of great pride in local cooperative achievements. To be told, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, that some villagers whom we wanted to see had hid upon our arrival, for they thought that we were either cooperative officials or connected with the Agricultural Bank, was an object lesson in itself. We asked one of them why he had run away. He replied: "I still owe the Bank a great deal. We have to pay 9 percent interest on what we borrow, 1 percent to the cooperative and 8 percent to the Bank. Last year I hadn't paid off my loan ($70.), so I couldn't get a new loan. I borrowed what I needed from a private individual at 20 percent and paid off this loan to the bank so that I could obtain potato seed on a new loan. Now I have sold my potatoes and the Bank will be after me to pay them what I owe."

474 652 [426]

When we asked what happened to people who did not repay their loans, we were told that in such cases the collector came out, wrangled with the people, and if he received no repayment took them to court. To such villagers, cooperatives were chiefly credit agencies and in no sense stood for a local association of farmers pooling their energies and resources to achieve joint goals.

Now and then we found peasants who were anxious to start a cooperative but considered the initiation difficult. In a village near Megalopolis in the Peloponnesos, the people were well aware of the difference between prices received in the village for watermelons and what such products cost in Athens. Like farmers everywhere, they thought the price differences unjust. They blamed bureaucratic red tape for holding up the establishment of a cooperative. Some of the more dubious went on to say: "Even if we do

[435]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[14] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

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> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

[828] [578]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
241 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
594 near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
[435] ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
626 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
183 the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first
time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other
young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no
serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually
themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a
start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to con-
tinue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are in-
volved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary
before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the
practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the
fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort
have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may
even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there
is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that
much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
369 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
602 emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 the British Admiralty, 1930); and M. L. Newbigin, *Southern Europe: A Regional and Economic Geography of the Mediterranean Lands* (3rd ed., London, 1949).

3. One still finds many similarities between the peasants of Hesiod's time (see his "Works and Days") and those of today.

4. Many allusions to nature are found in the passionate novel about the Communist guerrilla war by Panos D. Bardis, *Ivan and Artemis* (New York, 1957).

5. "The Holy Virgin's Hand" is mentioned on p. 123 of G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903). This book gives a number of examples of the peasants' use of and adaptation to nature.

6. For a delightful essay on the flowers of Greece, see "Flowers of Ancient Greece," *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 23, 1954.

7. For an earlier account of peasant cosmological beliefs, see the article by N. G. Politis in *Attikon Emerologion* (1882); also G. Kapsalis, "Meteorologikes paroimiakes Phraseis" (Meteorological Proverbial Phrases), *Laographia*, XIII (1950).

8. One of the most authentic documents on Greek village life came into my hands through a mutual acquaintance of T. K. Papaspyropoulos, the author. This account is in Greek typescript, from which the passages used in my book have been translated
[875] with the permission of the author. Mr. Papaspyropoulos teaches singing in one of
[123] Athens' secondary schools and has specialized in folk music. I accompanied him on a visit to his village, where I had a chance to observe at first hand many of the sights he so colorfully describes.

9. A very common phrase among the peasants is *Ean thell o Theos* (If God is willing), to which one replies *Vevea, prota o Theos* (Yes, of course, first God).

10. Interesting observations on the use in Homer of the ancient Greek terms *até* (divine temptation or infatuation, cause of irrational actions) and *moira* (portion or lot) are found in E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951).

11. The facts and figures used in this section are taken in large part from *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, 1947), and *Story of the American Marshall Plan in Greece, July 1, 1948 to Jan. 1, 1952*, Press Release No. 1300, MSA (Athens, July 20, 1952).

12. For the problem of soil erosion, see Constantine I. Nevros, "Soil Erosion in Greece," *Soil Conservation, VI* (1940), and F. G. Renner, "Erosion, Trojan Horse of Greece," *National Geographic*, December 1947. For forestry, see W. Miller, *Greek Town and Country Life* (London, 1905), pp. 229–232.

13. E. G. Mariolopoulos and A. N. Livathinos, in *Atlas climatique de la Grèce* (Athens, 1935), give a good description of the Greek climate.

14. For two views on the sun (Helios) and St. Elias, see the articles by N. G. Politis in *Laographika Symmikta B'* (1921), and E. Rein, "Zu der Verehrung des Propheten Elias bei den Neugriechen," *Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, XLVII (1904–1905).

15. Percy F. Martin, *Greece of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1913), pp.
[427] 267–68, discusses the company-tenant relations worked out at Lake Kopais as of 1913.

16. One friend wrote in 1959: "Fresh fish has always been expensive. Earlier this
●[435] winter there was a sudden 50 percent price rise. We ourselves cannot afford fresh fish and buy frozen fish brought in by Greek boats from the Atlantic, which is now available in many parts of Greece. It is a scandal that abundant fresh fish at reasonable prices is not available to the Greeks."

17. This gorgon is really a sea nymph or mermaid (*gorgona* in modern Greek) and not one of the classical gorgons of terrifying aspect (Medusa and her sisters).

18. Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, trans. from the Greek by E. D. Scott-Kilvert (London, 1949), p. 94.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465]
net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804]
per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461]
serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. [443]
The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 163 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

242 178 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to plant on the highway near the village.

[245] [875] [435] [244] [434] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the techniques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with 492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of 231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaonboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and [865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, [434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt 262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' 233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in [272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but [574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a 236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large 283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

233 563 166 463 434 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi* by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 563 511 434 464 262 342 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 563 621 555 871 641 435 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their children are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 563 571 621 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 445 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans, and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

None were then occupied by brothers; their occupants were second and third generation descendants of the brothers who had originally put in the wall. The houses showed the effects of the long separation. In one of the houses, one side has been inhabited by a branch of the family that is losing its lands; that side has no additions and is in poor repair. The descendants of the other brother have prospered and have added some rooms and a terrace to their side of the house. In another case, both parts of the house have been expanded and modernized but in different ways. 342 596 428

Vasilika's houses are not ordinarily large enough to be divided into more than two parts. If there are more than two brothers, or if the paternal house is small, another solution to the housing problem exists. Here, the brothers agree to refurnish the ancestral house which one of them will continue to inhabit, and to build, in addition, new houses to the number of the remaining farmer brothers. The significance of the agreement is that the cost of the new houses and the repair and modernization of the old will be borne by the patrimony. Moreover, the brothers do not decide in advance which one is to have which house. That decision is made by drawing lots after the new houses are habitable and the old one has been improved. In a sense, the brothers agree jointly to improve the father's estate before they take their shares. The process is not different from that involved when the men in a joint household buy land which is added to the estate and is eventually divided among them. The process of building the new houses takes years (in one case where two new houses were built, the actual work took seven years) and during that time the brothers and their wives watch carefully to make sure that no one house is less well equipped than any other; for no man knows which of the houses it will fall to his lot to own.

The drawing of lots and thereby the division of the property does not have to await the completion of the new houses. As in the towns and cities in Greece, a dwelling is considered habitable at what to an American view is an early stage in its construction. Villagers will live in a house in which the ground-level rooms still have earthen floors, in which there is no ceiling to hide the rafters and to exclude the earth and dust that the wind sends through the roof, in which only the outer stone walls have been completed and the inner walls have not yet been plastered or stuccoed. Even at that, the cost of labor and materials for the basic stone or brick shell of a two-story house in Vasilika can absorb the surplus cash from joint holding of some eighty *stremata* for two or three years. [435]

Once it is agreed that the new houses are ready for occupancy and that the old house has been sufficiently improved, the moment for the separation has come. The farmers are then joined by any town brothers they may have and they sit down together to evaluate the patrimonial property. No women participate in the deliberations. First, the men examine their land resources and make up sets of holdings of equal value. For example, if there are three farming brothers, virtually all the patrimonial land will be divided into three parcels; one parcel may have an extra *stremata* of vineyard as compared to the other two parcels, but that will make up for the fact that the second and third parcels consist of cotton lands which are slightly more fertile than those assigned to the 596 428

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

621 369 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns [513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 517 275 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied [435] by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 464 166 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from villages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons [434] can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his [602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know. 621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never 621 178x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178* 652 241 [453] [435] [654]

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

433 511 454 556 178* [438]

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178* 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

By 1956 "everybody"
x178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
x178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

x178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees
[245] to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Eleftherohori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[452] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricultural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

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[435]

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Famly. The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the compex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic funcion of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241
munity is very importan and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the ype of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future pospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584] 562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

8:Stephanides--27 I.Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1

Megali Vrisi

[Inventory at the beginning of the year-
/43 cont./ taken from a representative farmer]

B. Livestock:	Number	Value in drachmas		
Cows	2	5,000		511
Oxen	2	8,000		422
Poultry	30	900		435
Turkeys	3	300		[231]
Hogs	1	250		
Bees	20	4,000		
			18,450	

C. Family food stuffs in storeroom: [251]

	Okes			
Wheat	300	2,100		
Lard	50	3,000		
Honey	10	300	/44/	

D. Animal feed in store: [231]

	Okes	Value in Drachmas	
Chick peas	200	800	
Straw	1200	600	
Barley	400	2,000	
			8,800

E. Agricultural implements [241] [412]

	Number		
Plow	1	250	
Yoke	1	90	
Harrow	1	600	
Barrels	3	450	
Harrows	2	70	
Shovels	1	30	
Hatchet	1	60	
Axes	1	80	
Wagons	1	3,000	
Sickles	2	50	
			4,680
	Total		31,930

8:Stephanides--28 I.Y-3 (ca. 1933-1939) 1941 EH1 Greece EH1
Megali Vrisi

/44 cont./

511
422
435
[231]

Inventory at the end of the year. December 31st 1934.

Family. the same members as at the beginning.

A. Livestock:	Number	Value in Drachmas
Cows	3	6,000
Oxen	2	8,000
Hens	20	600
Turkeys	3	300
Pigs	1	600
Bees	20	4,000
		19,500

[251]

B. Family food in store:	Okes	
Wheat	350	2,450
Lard	40	2,400
Honey	15	450
Onions	20	60
Beans	15	150
Cracked wheat cereal	40	400
		5,910

[231]

C. Animal feed in store:		
Straw	1,600	800
Corn	60	300
Chickpea	200	800
		1,900 /45/

[241]
[412]

D. Agricultural implements:	Okes	Value in Drachmas
Plow	1	250
Yoke	1	90
Harrow	1	550
Barrels	3	450
Harrows	2	60
Shovel	1	30
Hatchets	1	60

511
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/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

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We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241 422 407 [412] [435]

1	Harrow	$3
1	Plow, iron	1.50
1	Wooden plow	1.00
1	Yoke	1.00
3	Hoes	0.35
2	Shovels	0.25
2	Sickles	0.35

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/51 cont./

Receipts Expenditures and Balances. The following account is more or less representative of the receipts expenditures and balances of the farmer.

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General farm accounts of income and expenses.

A. Income	Amount, Okes	Value in Drachmas
Wheat	840	5,040
Wheat seed	400	3,200
Wheat sold	2,560	17,920
Turkeys	36	3,600
Veg. & legumes		560
Watermelons sold		1,760
Milk (consumed at home)	300	2,100
Poultry (consumed at home)	8	320
Poultry sold	20	400
Cereal consumed	30	360
Eggs	200	200
Eggs sold	700	700
Lard consumed	40	1,600
Wool used	20	600
Wool sold	50	1,500
Corn consumed	100	400
Chick peas used	200	800
Straw used	3,000	1,500
Barley	200	800
Butter from cows sold		800
Heifers sold	1	1,200
	Total	46,160

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B. Expenses:	Amount in Okes	Value in Drachmas
Bread for the family (produced)	840	5.040
Wheat seed (produced)	400	3.200
Legumes	60	180
Vegetables		
Spinach	20	40
Onions	40	80
Beans	2	20
Potatoes	60	240
Vegetables bought		2.540
Milk (produced)	300	2.100
Poultry (produced)	8	320
Cereal	30	360
Eggs	200	200
Lard	40	400
Honey	20	600
Olives, macaroni sugar salt purchased		2.037
Clothing for family		6.227
General expenses, newspapers, travel, books		1.761
Doctor bills		530
Furniture and repairs		2.500
Animal feed: (produced)		
Corn	100	400
Chick peas	200	800
Straw	3.000	1.500
Barley	200	800
Agricultural implements bought		180
Fruit trees bought		400
Fuel (wood & kerosene)		1.085

241
511
435

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

/94 cont./

the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading newspapers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of community organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf, or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages, buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than anything else.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

121 throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959
[114] gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.

124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

●436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[465] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[461] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
[558] considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[571] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[461] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[492] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
445 hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
[465] or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
[314] countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

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427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
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[221]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos.

[Villages of the Plains]

621 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill
166 villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

245 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become
439 prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devaluation of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good.

241 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing
474 largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in
433 the community, the two cooperatives which were organized
× 178 before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

/20 cont./ In 443 438

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else. 436 •

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The

443 452 [433] [451] [578] [652] ooo

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

/94 cont./

the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading newspapers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of community organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf, or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages, buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than anything else.

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4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

An Ingenious Device

ashore, put off from the wharf. With some difficulty we weathered the hubbub. The usual formalities with passport officials and excisemen caused a little unavoidable delay, but at last I secured a carriage, my suitcases were put in, gratuities were distributed to all and sundry, and off I drove through the sun-bathed streets of Corfu town.

I found comfortable quarters at the Pension Suisse for the equivalent of 6s. per day, including board. The whole place was scrupulously clean. It was, however, tucked away amongst tall houses and had no outlook or view such as the Hotel Angleterre boasts and, incidentally, charges for. Compared with those in which I had been staying of late, my quarters were luxurious in the extreme, and I immediately became the complete tourist. The proprietors spoke French and English ; indeed, I found one or other of these languages spoken in all the shops, hotels and cafés in the town. The intending visitor need therefore feel no anxiety on the score of language. Money need not worry him either, as here, unlike Albania, there are banks where circular notes and letters of credit can be cashed—though the process is exceedingly slow, the banking officials and clerks apparently being overcome by the lassitude induced by the climate.

The currency is Greek and consists chiefly of very dirty half-notes of five and ten drachmæ—actual value, of course, two-and-a-half and five. The observant traveller will remark that it is the left portion of the note which is in circulation and never the right, the right half having had to be, at some

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

To the Land of the Eagle

● 436 time when the Government needed funds, handed in to a bank in exchange for government bonds. It was an ingenious method of halving at one stroke the amount of paper money in circulation.

The metal currency consists in the main of coins of an almost infinitesimal value, ten going to the drachma (at the time of writing 400 to the English £), made of some very light metal or alloy resembling aluminium. The lowest coin of a country is said to be an infallible index
○○○ to the level of poverty reached. Judged by this standard the poorer portion of the Greek population must be poor indeed.

One morning—a lovely May morning of blue sky and sunshine—I set out with the head of the Police School, an Englishman to whom I had had an introduction, through the southern suburbs of Corfu to walk to Gastouri and visit the Achilleion—the former Kaiser's palace. Passing along the promenade which skirts the bay, whence one has a fine view of the Fortezza Vecchia, or citadel, we took the road to Kanoni, amongst white and yellow villas buried in gardens of palm, aloe, bougainvillea, roses, and wistaria. The air was sweet with the scents of orange, honeysuckle and other blossoms. The pointed spires of cypresses towered above the olives—olives of great age, with trunks knotted and full of holes. Cottagers worked in their patches of garden. Cows stood contentedly in the deep pasturage. On the rockier ground goats browsed. Away on the lagoon fishermen were tending their nets.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231]
the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring 272
tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness 233
became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462]
the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 [461] [527] [286] Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 286 [437] Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 517 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 184 [438] The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *agbora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *agbora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *agbora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *agbora*, and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *agbora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *agbora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
[249] since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out 464
when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day. [465] [804] [461]

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton [435]
has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers [465]
a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use
the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time.
The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban 435
visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

437 Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal
609 constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occa-
[571] sionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharp-
463 ness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual oc-
555 cupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to
871 a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of
461 education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these at-
[178] titudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

471 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more gen-
554 eral social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near
461 the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will
[427]

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/82 cont./
peaceful rest of their dead. They donate to the church either money or wheat. On St. Nicolas day, the people from remote villages bring either a chicken, a pig, a cow, a calf, a sheep, or a goat to the church as a present. Numerous animals are lined in the yard of the church which are sold in auction the same day. /83/ Every Sunday morning at the church service a tray is passed to the people for contributions. The selling of candles brings an appreciable amount of money. The church has its fields which are either worked or hired to others to swell the income of the church. 794 [769] [437] [427]

Part VIII Living Together.

Mutual aid. Both groups, the Thracians and the Caucasians, before settling in this village had a civilization of their own. The isolation of the Caucasians in the interior part of mountainous Caucasus has developed a unique type of civilization mostly built around their community life. Here they had the compound type of family organized under the direct rule of the oldest in the family. In spite of the large number in the family the work was divided every day among all. Every one did his best with no complaint. The men gave blind obedience to the head of the family and the women to the mother. The obedience was so strict that misunderstanding would seldom occur. Every one was specialized in his or her own work. All buying and selling was done by the head of the family. No one could smoke, speak, nor could sit by the head of the family unless told to do so. A strictly military type of rules were observed. The father decided the marriage age of his son and this usually would coincide with the need of more labor in the family. Sometimes /84/ the need for labor was so great that the age of 15 was thought practical to give the solution for extra labor. The grandma was responsible for the education of the children either in household work or school work. The children call their mother by her first name and instead, call the grandma, mother. 621 596

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack [574]
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [484]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [178]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, [437]
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

796 527

796 794 [356] [526] [535] [437] [787] [782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

/98 cont./ 796

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P.36]

III

The Village Setting

621 Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization.
361 To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and
[369] mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes, or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place,
[491] the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new
[487] roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the more isolated areas.

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him
[476] the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows
438 him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or
[233] neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture, frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural

1:Sanders Z-5,H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
438 desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often
[294] they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the in-
[294] testines which they sell very readily.

Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group
[494] which plays at all weddings and festivals.

Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
● [438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

dweller can seldom appreciate. Many a villager may curse the land or bless it, as the seafarer does the sea, but he does it as though he were speaking of a part of his own body. In this he resembles his forebears of three thousand years ago. Legally, however, land ownership in Greece has gone a full cycle in the past three millenniums.[6]

A good vantage point from which to view this cycle of land ownership is Attica, the area around Athens. The average tourist to Greece speeds down the road from Athens on his way through the Attic countryside to Sounion, where Poseidon's temple overlooks the sea; or he drives a few miles north to Marathon to climb the memorial mound; he moves through Attica for forty or fifty miles on his way to Megara and Corinth, ancient places to be seen and photographed. On all of these trips he will see peasants everywhere. In the spring and summer they are bringing loads of vegetables — carrots, tomatoes, squash — into the city; in the fall they are taking grapes from the vineyards to be pressed by foot in the large wooden vats or, as winter comes, carrying the dead branches of the vines home to burn in their small, cold houses. Their slow-moving animals delay the tourist bus, their sheep respond erratically to the auto horn, but the peasants themselves seem unconcerned about the traffic. And the land, the dusty countryside, dotted with the gray-green olive groves, and the dark points of the cypress, surrounded by heights incredibly changing from silver to rose to violet and purple in the dusk, must look very much the same as it did when travelers or Athenians described it long ago.

In the sixth century B.C. most of the soil of Attica was in the hands of individual proprietors. It was "cultivated, as far as it was cultivable at all, by peasant proprietors, who appear to have been, if not prosperous, at least independent and contented until the devastation of Attica in the Peloponnesian War brought with it widespread unsettlement and ruin and inaugurated a period of hardship and struggle for the rural population."[7] Today peasant proprietors again work their own land, independent and moderately content, on the Attic plain and up the rocky slopes where crops, vineyards or olive trees can be made to grow.

The story of what happened between the Golden Age's peasant proprietors and the return of the land to peasant owners in the Atomic Age not only reveals much about the past of Greece but helps explain the contemporary peasant's concern for land.[8] The individual property holder, sometimes medium and sometimes small, persisted, although with difficulty, from classic times down to the Byzantine period. Then some villages, called *kephalochoria,* did manage even under Byzantium to preserve the private peasant holdings, and many more settlements possessed communal property to serve the needs of the commune. But most of the individual holdings yielded to the large estate which belonged to the crown, the nobles, or the clergy.[9] After the end of Byzantium in 1453, the Turkish

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 512 [275] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that 221 of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever 241 else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts [432] we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we [273] press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 82 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare to, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. [461] The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

● 438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the [437] priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being 517 produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and 184 embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She [438] and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

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The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time. 438

Keeping the Family Well

758 462 574 511 369

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

753

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

755 757 776

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

1:Sanders Z-5,\ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads
517 178 and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day
583 near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were
[243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of
[465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

"It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of
594 it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee
[571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries
[438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra*, or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[6] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what
[583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of
184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers
178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes
476 closely identified with the central government, which immediately intro-
178 duces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting
438 past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic
474 greatness because of the well-run association which administered the com-
621 munity's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different
474 in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece
426 today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village
[875] of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with
656 at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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ernment is at the present confronted. For Greece *has no surplus population*, and, if the country is to prosper, the services of every able-bodied man and boy are needed for the proper development of its natural resources. Weekly emigrant steamers carry large numbers to Western lands and bring but few back . . . with the consequence that many agricultural districts are left without labourers to till the soil" (p. 133).

For more on this emigration, see Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America: The Story of the Re-Patriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956); and Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, 1911).

18. The figures used in this presentation of land use are taken from *Greece Today* (August 1954); from Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954); and from data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. In these three sources the years differ, as do some of the categories of land use, but the details prove interesting.

19. The study on idle lands made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece appeared in mimeographed form in 1952 and was based on detailed reports turned in by the field representatives of the Civil Government Division of the Mission. The report was issued by William M. Tait, who was then deputy director for field service. Other informants point out that in Epirus, and probably elsewhere, thousands of acres are owned by Greek-Americans in the United States, and Greek villagers do not feel free to make use of such idle lands.

20. For a discussion of these exports, see E. J. Bell, "Greece, Exporter of Farm Products," *Foreign Agriculture*, March 1958, pp. 5–6.

21. The use of lots in dividing up a patrimony among brothers in a Boeotian village is described in an article by Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXVII (1956).
[428]

Chapter V. The Peasant at Work

[127]

1. The unpublished manuscript from which this comes is "Ta Laographika tis Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria).

2. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 8.

3. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited*, p. 14.

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[492]

4. Dr. Charles House, former director of the American Farm School in Salonica, played a great part in preparing the way for mechanization in Northern Greece, since the students at this school were taught how to operate and repair tractors long before they began to appear in so many villages. He said that one argument for the use of the tractor in preference to the draft animal was the fact that the animals ate up too much of the farm produce.

5. For the full World War II picture, see C. S. Stephanides, "Agricultural Machinery in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (November 1948), 250–253.

6. Supplementary labor is an important element in the economy of many families and even whole villages. In the Peloponnesos people from the mountain villages can harvest olives and help with the pressing of the oil, receiving pay in kind. When they help with the vineyards they are paid in money, as they are in Macedonia when they help plant tobacco. Near Ioannina there are villages specializing in certain crafts from which many men go during the winter to ply their trades.
[465]
[438]

7. "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," (1952, mimeographed), prepared by A. Argyropoulos. One of the village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The following comment about this village (Dafnon) by John D. Photiadis is helpful: "I have served as a county agent in that area and I think that Dafnon is not a representative village. It is considered the poorest village in the area and the most stricken by the reduction of prices of Turkish tobacco. This is because
[127]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.

484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

● 438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of 443 fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use 484 them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation. 484 But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or 49 a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of [205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and communities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a 484 bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built, [49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields [346] are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959, [245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and another of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the [764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

[433] The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been produced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

[178] 262 438 178 511

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is ex-
[286] pected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets,
two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen
blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental
table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth
with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two
long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before
baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town,
are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
[431] given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men
crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning
the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the
house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find
the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside
giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining,
the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*,
the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with
a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
[534] and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are
[152] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few
years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's vil-
lage and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

793 [576] garrison, it makes no difference—bow to kiss the hand of their father in God and greet him with the word *proskyno*, 'I worship': with that same *proskynesis* which is offered to the eikons of the saints, and which is not to be confounded with the *latreia* which we accord to the Three Persons of the consubstantial Trinity alone.

For the Greek bishop is not merely 'the Despot'. He is moreover 'the Saint'. Thus, one may frequently hear the country people refer to their metropolitan as ὁ ἅγιος Ἐδέσσης, ὁ ἅγιος Ἐλευθερουπόλεως, 'the Saint of Edessa, the Saint of Eleftheroupolis', etc., in recognition of the objective sanctity which attaches to the episcopal office, quite independently of the moral character of him who occupies it. If the bishop is the despot, tracing his ancestry back to those local potentates who flourished during the last days of the Byzantine Empire, he is also the successor of the apostles, the bearer of more than temporal power; binding and loosing and wielding an anathema which can arrest the normal processes of dissolution to which the body is subject after death; a father in God to whom the humblest member of his scattered flock can turn in need or perplexity, for ghostly counsel or for material aid.

For all the dignity attaching to his high office the Greek bishop is commonly the most approachable of men; the sheer accessibility of the generality of the bishops of the country dioceses is a matter for wonder and rejoicing in a world fallen beneath the curse of an impersonal [794] and irresponsible bureaucracy. Every morning, his liturgy fulfilled, the metropolitan takes his seat in his office and all the world comes to see him: Papa Iannis, who needs a new cassock, and Papa Athanasi who wants to go to the recently established seminary, although he forsook the scholars' bench to look after his father's sheep while he was yet in the second class of his village school; an elderly widow whose son requires medical attention comes to ask for help from the Fund for the Poor.

● [438] Go almost any forenoon to the metropolis at Salonica, a few yards from the windy quays where gaily painted caiques discharge their cargoes of charcoal and resinated wine, timber from the slopes of Athos, and lemons and pottery from the islands of the Aegean, and observe the crowds who throng the steps awaiting an opportunity to dart into the office of 'the Saint of Myra', who sits at his desk beneath an eikon of the Pantocrator, questioning, counselling, reproving and writing letters of commendation, while a stalwart archimandrite leans against the door with outstretched arm to keep the multitude without at bay.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

XIV

THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

> So great was his sanctity while a shepherd, that he was thought worthy of being made a pastor of men: and having been assigned the bishopric of one of the cities in Cyprus . . . on account of his extreme humility he continued to feed his sheep during his incumbency of the bishopric.
>
> SOCRATES
> *Ecclesiastical History*, I, xii

IN 1892, scarcely more than a decade since the day when the blue and white ensign of the Kingdom of the Hellenes had replaced the crescent of the infidel over the citadel at Trikkala, the wife of the village carpenter in an obscure hamlet amongst the mountains to the westward of Kalambaka gave birth to a son. The carpenter and his family dwelt in a substantial stone house a few paces beyond the village square, where a great plane tree overshadowed the church, dedicated in honour of the Egyptian anchorite Bessarion. Like many families in northern Pindos they spoke not only Greek but also the language of the Tsintsars, the Koutso-Vlachs who come down from the high pastures every autumn with their flocks and herds to winter in the Thessalian plain.

Like their neighbours at Palaiochori the Photis family (for so the carpenter was named) was virtually independent of the world that lay beyond the mountains. They owned a few sheep and goats; the *Kyria* Photis and her daughters spun their own yarn and wove the strong indigo cloth which was made up into *sarka* and *palto* for men and women alike. There was home-baked bread, goats' milk cheese and *yiaourti*, and an occasional lamb roasted on a spit to celebrate a festival; an abundance of rough red wine and the fiery ouzo which gladdens the heart of the traveller when the snow lies deep in Pindos. From time to time the carpenter would saddle his pack-animals and make an expedition to Trikkala, returning with an axe or a set of chisels, and dried figs for the children.

Constantinos, as the carpenter's son was duly christened, began to go to the village school when he was seven. Long before this time,

[Village Life]

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else
361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im-
433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages
438 of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads
241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will
433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is
433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving
[464] the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be
[166] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

Hence a sort of symbiosis was established. A large proportion of the able-bodied men of the hill villages descended each year to the plains and worked in the fields of the Turkish landowners, then returned to their homes with wages, either in money or in kind, with which to supplement the produce of the tiny fields they had been able to carve from the mountain valleys and slopes around their homes. 361 464 166 433

Some of the hill villages developed occupational specialties,[1] sending most of their able-bodied men each year to labor as masons or carpenters wherever work was to be found. Groups of villagers sometimes walked as much as a hundred miles to and from the scene of this sort of seasonal employment. Other villages developed what might be called industrial specialties – lime burning, rug weaving, wood carving and the like – and peddled their products far and wide during the summer season. One village even developed an international trade in specially dyed red wool and cloth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, stationing agents in such cities as Vienna, Constantinople and Leipzig. The origins of the modern Greek merchant marine were similar, for sailors were easily recruited among peasant boys of the islands and coasts, who sought seasonal employment to supplement what could be produced on the family farm. 361 438 464 166 433 [505]

Another pattern of migration should be mentioned, up into the higher mountain slopes rather than down to the plains. Each summer herds of sheep and goats were sent to pasture on the high ground, where vegetation stayed green through the summer drought, and then returned to lower altitudes when the snows fell. Quite a few hill villages specialized in sheepherding, accompanying their own sheep, and sometimes sheep entrusted to them by others as well, on this annual round.

As long as the hill villages lay between two relatively unpopulated geographic regions – the plains beneath and the peaks 361 166 464 433

1 [During Turkish times - ANALYST]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 [453] [435] [654]

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

433 511 454 556 178x [438]

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

x178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

314
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178x
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[438]

led to this change. One was the rise of Volos as an important urban center, requiring charcoal as fuel for cooking and for heating houses. To supply the rising demand, the villagers of Cherasia began cutting off the forests of Mount Pelion with a new energy. A second factor was the growth of population in Cherasia itself. As more families appeared, sheep could not support them all, because the pastures could not be readily extended. So the people fell back on exploitation of the forests.

This "ancient" history is mostly speculation. I was not able to get any clear account of their distant past from the men of the village. What they did know was that in 1905 three families had secured title to 100 stremmata (25 acres) of land apiece in the little valley that spreads out below the site of their winter quarters at the foot of the mountain. At that time, very likely, the free villagers of the mountain saw little or no attraction in the toilsome life of a farmer, and preferred to keep to their ancient shepherd's way of life, supplemented by woodcutting and charcoal burning.

[423]
[241]

About the time of the first world war, things changed. As the population continued to grow, sheep and charcoal no longer sufficed to provide a satisfactory living for the members of the community. Many of them began to clear little patches of rocky mountainside in the hope of raising a crop or two on the land. Their tenure was legally recognized by a governmental survey made in 1922, which assigned to each family title to the patches its members had cleared and cultivated in preceding years. During the interwar period the pressure to find supplementary means of livelihood through agriculture continued to mount. In 1938, village authorities parceled out 500 stremmata of what had been common pasture to private family ownership. No further property changes had occurred in the village up to 1956.

178x
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[314]

The brute fact remains, however, that fields cleared from mountain slopes are miserable agricultural land. These produce

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
• [438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
565 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
578 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecrop-
427 ping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which employed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the season. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a decrease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabitants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kalamata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178* 245 [241] [438]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

x 178 commands a premium price in Athens and elsewhere, the use
245 of fertilizer becomes a somewhat dubious economic advantage.
[438] The fact is, I believe, that the age-old adjustment of traditional peasant agriculture in the olive-growing regions of Greece is very nearly perfect. Certainly every scrap of potential soil is used in Kardamili, and the peasants know very well how to care for their trees. Except for chemical sprays that discourage a number of insect pests damaging to the crop, scientific agriculture has not yet devised any very important improvement upon traditional peasant methods of olive culture. But sprays were known in Kardamili before the war, and their use was resumed as soon as the chemicals became available.

x 178 In 1956 the village launched a project for bringing water
312 down the mountain. An interest-free government loan made the
[652] enterprise possible; but, even when completed, the water pipes will not supply more than household needs, leaving a little over, perhaps, for watering gardens. Shortage of water has been the long-standing problem of the community. There was scarcely enough to drink when I was there, and each glassful was treated as something precious, since the women of the village had to carry it in jars from a trickling spring half a mile away.

x 178 Yet in spite of the stability of agricultural methods, the social
621 system of the village, to all appearances, is beginning to change,
873 more or less as the social system of Nea Eleftherohori is changing. For one thing, the villagers have begun to place great hopes in education, seeing in it a means of escaping from the land. Fifteen boys from the village were enrolled in the gymnasium in Kalamata in 1956, a quite considerable number in view of the fact that they had to live away from home, and thus had to meet expenses far greater than those confronting the boys from Nea Eleftherohori. In Kardamili itself, there is a school that teaches the first two years of the standard four-year gymnasium course. This school had eighty students, five more than

/5 cont./

The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. 496
The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards 133
the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is sur- 134
rounded by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys. [137]
Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been go-
ing on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into
the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the
Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the
hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent
the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot [312]
of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago.
With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water
disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of
the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the
numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the
water buffaloes.

The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed
from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the near-
by hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters.
In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and 134
60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding
rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is
not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil
is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility
of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many
centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with 132
plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow.
The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not
uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and [241]
germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farm-
ing.

The railroad station close to the village enables the village 438•
to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location 443
[496]

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot, being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 233

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/20 cont./ In 443 438

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it 436 safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else.

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and 443 in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one 452 crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest [433] time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps [451] any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two [578] groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the [652] merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The ooo

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

/62 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard
but should not question how and why the money was spent. The
farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen,
implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are
responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the
stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife
and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spend-
ing money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
stabilized the more his needs increase.

/63/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley.
Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The
wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal.
The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried
and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned
dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they
cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cook-
ing. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the starch
foods. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer
months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and [438]
are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled
cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best
combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed
daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed
oil.

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack [574]
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [484]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [178]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for [437]
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter,
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

113, 248, 288, 439, 442 Greece EH1

[For information on agriculture, imports and exports, the textile industry and cotton production in Greece from a report published in 1952 by The National Cotton Council of America entitled "Cotton In The Middle East", see category 116, M1 Middle East, 29: Dunn, pp. 163-182.]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[13] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[14] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[16] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land."

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening.

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits.

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values.

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. 462
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechaniza- 241
tion. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [435]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the re- [452]
maining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government offi-
cials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be im- [439]
ported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444]
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 233 [439] Although before the war Greece had over 8 million sheep and almost 4.5 million goats, these were still insufficient to meet local needs, and additional animals had to be imported each year. The war brought a reduction of about 2 million sheep and over a million goats, but by 1954 the numbers had risen to more than the prewar figures, and by 1957 sheep were estimated at 9.3 million and goats at 4.9 million.[3] From 1922 to 1937, with the resettlement of the 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor, the pasture area in Greece decreased but the number of sheep rose from 6 million to well over 8 million. It takes little stretch of the imagination to see what this has meant in terms of overpasturing and in accentuating the competition for grazing land.

G [167]

The chief concentrations of sheep and goats are found in Thessaly and through the western part of the country (Epirus, Roumele, and the Peloponnesos). Even in Attica, according to P. J. Iliopoulos, a region where numbers are not so dense, the small livestock make the best adaptation to the natural conditions; they provide the peasants with some income to offset farms that are too small or harvests that are insufficient; and they require less capital investment than do large cattle.[3]

G [434]

V G 233 221 [427] There are three different systems of sheep management in Greece.[4] The first is that used by the so-called Vlachs, an interesting nomadic group to be discussed in detail later on. This group of grazers controls about 15 percent of the sheep. They are landless and rent grazing land from private landholders, the church, or the state. It is customary for them to graze their herds in the plains during the rainy winter months, while the lowland pastures are lush, and then drive their flocks into the mountains as spring and summer advance.

The second type of management is that practiced by the village ranchers, who control about 70 percent of the small animals. They own land in the plains, where they singly or cooperatively graze their flocks in the winter; they send them to the mountains in summer, as do the Vlachs. In some instances, farmers in this group will arrange with a Vlach to include their animals in his flock during the summer grazing in the mountains.

G 233 [476] The third type is connected with settled agriculture. Village farmers control the remaining 15 percent of the sheep and goats and keep them on the plains at all times. Usually, the animals of these farmers are combined under the care of Greek shepherds, whose responsibility is to prevent the animals from damaging the crops by restricting their grazing to the rougher foothills or the fallow or idle areas in the plains.

The best way, however, to describe the changing life of the shepherd is not to talk about sheep and goats, but to look him up wherever he is and try to view the world through his eyes. We will do this by visiting him in the Peloponnesos and in Epirus, by which time facts and figures on sheep and goats should have much more meaning.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

XV

292

GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

> The true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their Prelacy and Clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special Messengers and Ministers of Almighty God.
>
> *Canons of* 1604

> The parson's apparel . . . plain but reverend, and clean, without spots, or dust, or smell.
>
> GEORGE HERBERT

361

[439] CAVALLA, the ancient Neapolis, where St. Paul first set foot on European soil, is a flourishing port, the chief centre for exporting the tobacco grown on the rich coastal plains of Thrace and Macedonia east of the river Strymon, the gateway to the Plain of Gold which stretches from the marshes of Philippi to the mountains to the northward of Drama. Great stone warehouses surround the harbour and give an air of solid commercial prosperity to the town, which boasts, moreover, two cinemas, a restaurant with plate-glass windows and chromium fittings, and a remarkable town hall in Hungarian baroque, apart from lesser amenities. Yet the pedestrian who pauses for breath after scrambling up the steps which give access to the metropolis, or who through some narrow break in the line of warehouses gazes out across the busy harbour and the waters of the Aegean, may observe—faint and barely discernible at midday, sharper and more clearly defined at dawn and towards sunset—a distant triangle rising from beyond the sea's rim: Aghion Oros, the holy mountain of Athos, "that is so highe, that the Schadewe of hym rechethe to Lempne, that is an Ile; and it is lxxvi Myle betwene".

[792] [292] Thence, as from another world, come occasional caiques manned by singular bearded figures in black gowns and tall cylindrical caps;

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem 563
minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons.

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more 433
than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of 13
Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton 433
and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most im- [439]
portant for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the [241]
cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export.

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one [505]
of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners [651]
are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often re- [464]
cruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of [505]
employment to several thousand Greeks.

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second 648
world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos.

[Villages of the Plains]

621 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill
166 villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

245 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become
439 prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devaluation of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good.

[436]

241 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing
474 largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in
433 the community, the two cooperatives which were organized
× 178 before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many
[423] cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a
few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from
[441] the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usu-
[571] ally lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a
little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher
standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to
mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest mini-
[554] mum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called
a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

[794] The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop
appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can
raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways
the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the
kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often ac-
[428] quires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his chil-
dren. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service
of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now
off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a
fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When
I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they
pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the
names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family
was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as
a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church
papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all quali-
fied people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible
candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the
notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not
serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he
makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who dis-
cussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

793 In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest
and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop
465 (Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping
[659] his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupa-
tion back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid
by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products
from the parishioners. *Kondota,* or the subscription by families of so much
wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was
[794] widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round
figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 335]
[P. 334 is blank]

Notes

Chapter I. The People of Greece

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1. This version of the legend was told by an old shepherd to a hunting party which had taken refuge in his hut from a storm brewing over Lake Stymphalia in the northern Peloponnesos. Mrs. Bessie Adossides, who served as my interpreter, had been in the party and told the story to me. For a less colorful version, see A. W. Gomme, *Greece* (London, 1945), p. 11. [124]

2. A prominent subgrouping running through these three divisions is that of the Asia Minor and other refugees who were settled in Greece in the 1920s. Also, divisions among the city Greeks appeared following the French Revolution, when commercial opportunities opened up, creating a new merchant bourgeoisie in contrast to the "old patriarchal class whose members were the political administrators of the Sublime Porte and whose strength lay in landed wealth and special prerogatives." See S. G. Chaconas, *Adamantios Koraïs: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York, 1942), p. 38. [563] [441] [565]

3. S. Manolas, in a personal conversation, pointed out three factors accounting for the settlement in cities of Greeks coming to America: as "late" immigrants, there was little land available to them for homesteading; they came over individually — not as families — and could not run a farm; they were not here to work the land, for Greece was still their home. They wanted to make money and go back, staying on here to take care of "one more dowry, one more acre to buy." For many, time ran out and they did not go back. To these one might also add the Greek's unfamiliarity with the mechanized agriculture found in the United States and the greater ease with which he found employment in the cities.

4. This point of view is borne out in an article by Anton-Hermann Chroust, "Treason and Patriotism in Ancient Greece," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April 1954: "The democrats, like the oligarchs, bore their native city a quite strange kind of love: the desire to dominate it completely and, if necessary, to exterminate their political antagonists. . . . It would be difficult, indeed, to find a prominent Athenian politician, irrespective of his political persuasion, whose public actions were not motivated by partisanship or loyalty to some faction or club within the city rather than by true patriotism," p. 287.

5. The books dealing with the history of Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania usually discuss the role of the Greek clergy in the spread of Greek culture. As one example, see N. Forbes and others, *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford, 1915).

6. A good characterization of the city Greek by Dorothy Lee appears in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 79: "The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. [114]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 461 302 as public proof of their privileged status.

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very [441] likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and [465] hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to [466] work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit 472 character of Greek families. The members of a family group are 602 ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and 466 can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

113, 248, 288, 439, 442 Greece EH1

[For information on agriculture, imports and exports, the textile industry and cotton production in Greece from a report published in 1952 by The National Cotton Council of America entitled "Cotton In The Middle East", see category 116, M1 Middle East, 29: Dunn, pp. 163-182.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the headquarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative so-
[474] ciety, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

● 443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 1. BUSINESSES AND SERVICES IN EIGHT GREEK VILLAGES*

	Tobacco village near Xanthe	Village A near Mesolongi	Village B near Mesolongi	Village in Central Greece	Mountain village near Lamia	Village near Agrinion	Village A in Macedonia	Village B in Macedonia
Population	1145	1062	2030	1372	1060	2915	1654	2493
Flour mills	6	1			2	3	2	
Bakeries	1		3	1		3		
Groceries	6	8	3	7	6	21	7	8
Barbershops	3	2	3	3	2	5		
Coffeeshops	6	8	5	5	1	7	3	3
Carpenters	5				2			
Masons	12			4	4			
Shoemakers	5	1		2	1	4	1	1
Saddlemakers	1		1	2				
Tinsmiths	1					1		
Blacksmiths	2	1	2	3				
Butchers	2	5		4	3	6		
Tailors	1	1		3	1	1	2	3
Dressmakers	3	6		10	2			
Carriagemakers						2	1	
Yardgoods shops				2		1		
Tobacco-news			2			2		
Restaurants			6			4		

* Includes those services mentioned for two or more villages.
Source: Village studies by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece (mimeographed).

P. 39

162
256
443
445
463
275

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the in-
[294] testines which they sell very readily.

Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group
[494] which plays at all weddings and festivals.

Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary,
[494] we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[804] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 369 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison, its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it has a variety of forms.

Coffeehouse Types

275 443 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three assorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles [562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's 275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four 443 by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches 347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves [262] Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly [373] glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[2] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis,* while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[3] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the
443 proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or
[427] from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban
369 influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not be-
443 cause of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer
[562] coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the
[273] village or town will be found *tavernas*, where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around
521 me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest
208 of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, per-
[571] haps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make. 275 204 207

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw. 275 203 521 [208]

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset. 275 305 443 [533]

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis: 275 571 512

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Chapter III. The Village Setting

1. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900), p. 333.

2. In a village of Central Greece (Schematari), for instance, where the people number about 1800, I found in 1953 four small grocery stores, four coffeehouses (any one of which might also serve as a tavern), one bakery, one post office, one elementary school and one secondary school, one church, one motor-driven mill for grinding corn and wheat. There is one telephone, no electricity, four or five battery radios.

3. Numerous references are made throughout this book to information taken from thirteen Greek village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The studies were made in 1951 and 1952 and issued in Athens in mimeographed form, first in Greek and later in English. The first seven were directed by William J. Tudor and the last six by E. J. Kilpatrick. A general summary of content and complete bibliographical data may be found in my article, "Village Social Organization in Greece," *Rural Sociology*, December 1953, pp. 366–375. In most cases this series will be referred to here collectively as "village studies," but the individual titles are as follows: "A Village in Central Greece" (19 pp.), "A Village in the Arta Plains" (8 pp.), "A Macedonian Village" (14 pp.), "A Village in the Agrinion Area" (16 pp.), "A 'Control' Village of the Mesolongi Area" (12 pp.), "A 'Control' Village in Macedonia" (14 pp.), "A Village in the Serres Plain" (9 pp.), "A Mountain Village, Grammos Area" (16 pp.), "A Mesolongi Village (Irrigated)" (19 pp.), "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos" (17 pp.), "A Mountain Village, Lamia Area" (13 pp.), "A Livestock One-Half-Irrigated Village" (15 pp.), and "A Village in the Plain of Veria" (14 pp.).

4. T. K. Papaspyropoulos, "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished ms., no date.

5. UNNRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp. 9–10.

6. Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, 1929).

7. H. D. F. Kitto before World War II commented on the peasant's strong desire for good roads: "The village of Proussos is large, but not prosperous, in spite of the fertility of the soil. The only shop contains next to nothing; even the lemons were scraggy. Time after time we were told: 'If only we had a road! Then we could send our stuff away.' Eight hours by mule — transport is slow and expensive, and for the fruit which Proussos produces in profusion, nearly useless." From *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), p. 43.

In 1952 Pierce College students working in their adopted village in Northern Greece invited the Presidents of ten nearby village councils to come to a meeting in the adopted village. They arrived with difficulty, and most complained because their villages were off the road where people didn't see them.

8. *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, revised by Public Health Division, Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece (Athens, June 1952), mimeographed, pp. 12–13.

9. A report prepared by an American engineering firm for the Greek government on a proposed hydroelectric project points out: "The rural villages obtain their water from artesian wells, drilled or driven tube wells, springs and streams. In most of the villages the water supply is both inadequate and subject to contamination. As none of the villages have standard pressure distribution systems, much time and labor is expended in carrying water from wells and springs. Most of the rural homes are small and poorly lighted, and sanitary facilities are primitive."

10. *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, p. 25.

11. Useful works on the Greek house are: K. Doxiades and others, *Dodekanesos: to oikistiko kai plastiko provlema* (The Dodecanese: The Problem of Housing from the Point of Design) (Athens, 1950); D. Loukopoulos, *Aitolikai oikesseis, skeve kai trophai* (Aetolian Housing, Tools, and Food) (Athens, 1926); D. E. Kalitsounakes,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.
484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of
443 fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use
484 them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation.
484 But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or
49 a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of
[205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and com-
484 munities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built,
[49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-
[346] tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959,
[245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and an-
[764] other of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

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Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

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Vasilika

361 church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

621 The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *agbora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village [361] is carried on. The bus stops at the *agbora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other [443] of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to [527] drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians [533] come to the *agbora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighbor- [535] ing settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *agbora*, and, 621 indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is 562 conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, 437 and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *agbora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *agbora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

594 The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's [423] married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The 342 structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. [178] The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, [343] and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
[221] earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[248] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[465] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
[436] relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[461] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[558] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
[462] *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[626] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
279 grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
[221] the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[571] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
[461] grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[492] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[445] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
[465] tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314] trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465]
net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804]
per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461]
serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers [465]
a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)A63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 1]

CHAPTER 1

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Like other countries struggling under the impact of western technology and ideas, contemporary Greece is a land of sharp contrasts. Donkeys with loaded panniers on their backs still jog down the broad avenues of modern Athens oblivious to the stream of automobiles passing them by; and the donkeys' owners daily hawk their wares, with piercing and immemorial cries, to people living in ultra-modern apartment buildings, as well as to others who inhabit the merest hovels, clustered along nar-

177
184
369
[443]
[492]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silversmiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a prominent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars.

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, almost with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talking and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise.

/5 cont./

The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. 496
The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards 133
the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is sur- 134
rounded by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys. [137]
Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been go-
ing on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into
the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the
Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the
hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent
the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot [312]
of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago.
With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water
disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of
the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the
numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the
water buffaloes.

The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed
from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the near-
by hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters.
In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and 134
60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding
rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is
not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil
is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility
of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many
centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with 132
plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow.
The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not
uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and [241]
germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farm-
ing.

The railroad station close to the village enables the village 438
to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location 443
[496]

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 233

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/20 cont./ In 443 438

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it 436 safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else.

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and 443 in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one 452 crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest [433] time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps [451] any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two [578] groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the [652] merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The ooo

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack [574]
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [484]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [178]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for [437]
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter,
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about people, changing for the better." 241 178 [461] [242]

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women. Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-to-do peasantry. 241 178 461 462 [517] [423] [556]

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive. 178 241 407 [435] [452]

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license. [439] [444] [658] [874]

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors belonging to cooperatives. [422] [474]

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178 241 434

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

/60 cont./ 241 242

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems.

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 1. BUSINESSES AND SERVICES IN EIGHT GREEK VILLAGES*

	Tobacco village near Xanthe	Village A near Mesolongi	Village B near Mesolongi	Village in Central Greece	Mountain village near Lamia	Village near Agrinion	Village A in Macedonia	Village B in Macedonia
Population	1145	1062	2030	1372	1060	2915	1654	2493
Flour mills	6	1			2	3	2	
Bakeries	1		3	1		3		
Groceries	6	8	3	7	6	21	7	8
Barbershops	3	2	3	3	2	5		
Coffeeshops	6	8	5	5	1	7	3	3
Carpenters	5				2			
Masons	12			4	4			
Shoemakers	5	1		2	1	4	1	1
Saddlemakers	1		1	2				
Tinsmiths	1					1		
Blacksmiths	2	1	2	3				
Butchers	2	5		4	3	6		
Tailors	1	1		3	1	1	2	3
Dressmakers	3	6		10	2			
Carriagemakers						2	1	
Yardgoods shops				2		1		
Tobacco-news			2			2		
Restaurants			6			4		

* Includes those services mentioned for two or more villages.
Source: Village studies by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece (mimeographed).

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take
● 445 advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the in-
[294] testines which they sell very readily.

Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

[494] Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary. [407] [445]

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type. [407]

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [265] [229]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Since the two
245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
[221 earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[248 sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[465 land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
[436 relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[461 wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[558 and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
[462 *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[626 fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221 vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
[571 grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[461 sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[492 The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
[445 tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[465 their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443 of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314 trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123 nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
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[221]

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Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

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Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

233 563 166 463 434 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi* by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 563 511 434 464 262 342 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 563 621 555 871 641 435 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their children are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 563 571 621 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 445 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans, and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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Vasilika

Vasilika's inhabitants and some of the congruent attitudes. The householders of Vasilika take it for granted that they will use part of their produce, in kind or in cash, to pay for the services of various specialists. They rarely make repairs on their houses or on their equipment; they rarely make shelves or simple pieces of furniture. In short, they do not have the habit of pottering and tinkering about the farms either from necessity or because they enjoy it. Vasilika's farmers and shepherds consider themselves specialists; they view themselves with pride as experts in farming and sheepherding, and assign the same dignity to the expertness of others. To say of a man, *"Kseri ti dhulya tu,"* "He knows his work," is a compliment, and the villagers use the phrase often. They do not expect a man to know how to do anyone else's work. One specialty is considered enough. 463 [445] 465 356 576 463

Such a point of view means that a farmer, if his saddle strap breaks, does without a saddle or borrows someone else's until the saddle-maker comes by, even if it means several weeks of inconvenience. In one of Vasilika's households, the stone wall of one side of an oven was accidentally broken by a tractor plow one day in April of 1956. At the end of July, the wall had still not been repaired —even temporarily—because the stonemason with whom the farmer was accustomed to deal had not yet had time to come to fix it. In the meantime, the women baked their bread in a neighbor's oven. We learned later that the entire oven was finally rebuilt in the spring of the next year. 445 356

When a farmer wants to cover his earth floor with cement, or when he wants the walls of his house whitewashed for Easter, he often pays to have these jobs done by a "master." On one occasion, a stonemason was persuaded to put screens on the windows of the house we lived in, but he went to a carpenter to have wooden frame pieces cut to the proper length. A final illustration indicates not only the existence of this point of view, but also the way in which those in Vasilika might greet a different one. The village house in which we lived had several broken windowpanes when we moved into it. Since the winter rains were due, we thought it imperative to get new glass in. My husband went to Levadhia, purchased glass and putty, and replaced the broken panes. The farmer who owned the house watched my husband work. He kept making the sign of the cross and repeated again and again in awed tones, "A professor who is also a master glazier!" The farmer himself had never thought of repairing his own windows, and for anyone in as exalted a position, from Vasilika's point of view, as that of "professor," to make such a repair had for the farmer a touch of the quality of a miracle. [123]

With the increasing use of machinery on the farms, the villagers may be forced into learning mechanical skills; but the emerging pattern seems to be one in which the tractor operators and a village man who learned mechanics in the Greek Air Force have enough skill to make minor repairs and are called on by other farmers when they need help with their pumps. Major repairs must still await a mechanic from Levadhia. For the Vasilika farmers, however, the inconvenience of having to wait for expert personnel to repair machinery is not a source of special irritation. American farmers, who have been accustomed to acting as their own mechanics, are now beginning to deal with machinery so complex as to require expert repairs. Such dependence is new and annoying for 445 463

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Vasilika

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

[433] The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been produced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

[178] 262 438 178 511

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

517 356 463

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

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178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

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Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [179] [302] 178 305 445

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 [179] [855]

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241

1	Harrow	$3	422
1	Plow, iron	1.50	407
1	Wooden plow	1.00	[412]
1	Yoke	1.00	[435]
3	Hoes	0.35	
2	Shovels	0.25	
2	Sickles	0.35	

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. [474] This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. 233 The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. [492] The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. [578] Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465] net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804] per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day. [461]

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers [465]
a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

/20 cont./ In 443 438

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else. 436

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The

443 452 [433] [451] [578] [652] ooo

/32 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard but should not question how and why the money was spent. The farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen, implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spending money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
civilized the more his needs increase.

/33/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley. Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal. The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cooking. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the starch food. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. [438] The diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed oil.

452

/Information on cooperative credit unions will be found in category 474. For information on the extension of credit by the Agricultural Bank see category 652./

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
● 452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

1:Sanders Z-5,H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

[494] Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] [311] [406] [462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[407] [452] [464]

Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

[243] [554]

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. 462
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry.

178
Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. 241
The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [435]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the re- [452]
maining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this [439]
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of [444]
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
"outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to
452 a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

"But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some
[474] other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

"Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and
[157] all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

582 583 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony [178] or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no install- [452] ment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furni- [571] ture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

184 583 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla, [425] the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate [178] into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or Asia Minor who moved into the village in the 1920s, thus showing that participation may have something to do with cultural traditions. 275 571

These factors associated with participation may themselves be related to others which have not been spelled out. Then, too, the fact that participation increases with age would also be tied in with the leadership in organizations, since young people seldom attain official positions. Although findings such as these have to be tested in many ways before they become accepted generalizations, they do at least suggest some fruitful leads for further research.

Of equal interest is the reason the peasants give for going to one coffeehouse instead of another. Other accounts of village life had listed cleanliness, reputation, honesty, services provided, and the credit extended as the determining factors in the choice of coffeehouses. [452]

One village study reports as follows:

> Determining factors in the choice of a coffeehouse are the reputation of the owner, his cleanliness, honesty, and the extent of credit given to customers. Social class of an individual does not determine choice of a coffeehouse. An outsider coming to the village for the first time may visit any coffeehouse, but gradually as he becomes acquainted with the village people he will be drawn to a certain shop according to his interests, age, associates, etc.[7]

In this same village one coffeehouse is preferred by aged people. Youngsters, noisy people, and those who play technical games such as cards, chess, and checkers are not found there. A second coffeehouse is preferred by adult and old people, while all the younger people of the village gather in the third coffeehouse, which is popular because of the different games available there and because of its dance floor. This latter innovation means that girls, in the company of their parents or relatives, may visit this particular coffeehouse on Sunday afternoons or holidays in order to dance both the traditional folk dances and what passes in rural areas for modern dances. [535] [562]

One additional study is worth mentioning because it summarizes the type of patronage a village's seven coffeehouses enjoy:

A. Frequented by out-of-towners and employees
B. Employees, strangers, workers in village
C. Dance floor, so attracts mostly young men
D. Adult and old men of village
E. Village residents — not young men
F. Card-playing, so frequented mostly by young men
G. Outdoor coffeehouse — frequented by young men in summer.[8]

A villager will usually patronize the coffeehouse of which a relative is in charge so that he can get credit more easily, or simply give his trade to [602] [452]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 [602 452] the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agricultural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

By 1956 "everybody"
*178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
*178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

*178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Eleftherohori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[245] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricul-
[452] tural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

/20 cont./ In 443 438

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it 436 safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else.

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and 443 in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one 452 crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest [433] time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps [451] any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two [578] groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the [652] merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The ooo

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems. 241 242

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

/98 cont./ 796

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 [453] [435] [654]

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

43 511 454 556 178x [438]

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

An Ingenious Device

ashore, put off from the wharf. With some difficulty we weathered the hubbub. The usual formalities with passport officials and excisemen caused a little unavoidable delay, but at last I secured a carriage, my suitcases were put in, gratuities were distributed to all and sundry, and off I drove through the sun-bathed streets of Corfu town.

I found comfortable quarters at the Pension Suisse for the equivalent of 6s. per day, including board. The whole place was scrupulously clean. It was, however, tucked away amongst tall houses and had no outlook or view such as the Hotel Angleterre boasts and, incidentally, charges for. Compared with those in which I had been staying of late, my quarters were luxurious in the extreme, and I immediately became the complete tourist. The proprietors spoke French and English; indeed, I found one or other of these languages spoken in all the shops, hotels and cafés in the town. The intending visitor need therefore feel no anxiety on the score of language. Money need not worry him either, as here, unlike Albania, there are banks where circular notes and letters of credit can be cashed—though the process is exceedingly slow, the banking officials and clerks apparently being overcome by the lassitude induced by the climate.

The currency is Greek and consists chiefly of very dirty half-notes of five and ten drachmæ—actual value, of course, two-and-a-half and five. The observant traveller will remark that it is the left portion of the note which is in circulation and never the right, the right half having had to be, at some

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land."

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening.

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits.

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values.

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
[369] rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
[593] young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the
432 provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional variations are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
[166] On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly.

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiftikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.][8]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors — [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.

At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.

[476] Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu-
[461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Harvesting Olives in Southern Greece

During my travels in Greece I have passed countless olive trees, for they hug the coasts, crowd the islands, and thrive inland where the climate is mild enough. But I never really understood the significance of the olive tree until I visited an estate in Southern Greece where three thousand trees of about seven varieties provided the only income. 245

I had already learned that over 12 percent of the caloric intake of the Greek people came from olives or olive oil; that Greece produced in 1948–1950 an annual average of 47,000 metric tons of table olives, chiefly in Thessaly and Central Greece; that the smaller oil olives, grown elsewhere in the country, accounted for 103,000 metric tons annually of this precious oil, which was bought and stored as a financial reserve whenever the currency became the least bit shaky. The oil olives also produced another 12,000 tons of residue oil. Friends had said that olive growing was a story of "from rags to riches," since one year might bring an outstanding crop and the next a disastrously poor one,* but that this was one of the accepted features of growing olives. [146] [454] [458]

Some inquiring students think the olive was in Greece before the goddess Athena, with whom it is so closely associated in myth, and was originally associated with the cult of Erechtheus. Be that as it may, the olive — the "All-Dewy One" — has held a special place in the tradition of the Greek people. They have also come to know that olive growing is much more than storytelling or the writing of descriptive poetry; it is hard work. In Thessaly, around the Gulf of Volos, it was interesting to watch men plow underneath the trees and fertilize the soil to increase the olive crop; to see on the western coast of Greece and in the Peloponnesos how the peasants irrigated the fifteen to twenty trees that each might own, thereby adding to the quality and the size of the fruit. In Attica one could watch the men expertly trimming the tree so that it would bunch as it grew, making harvesting a simpler task. In the Ionian Islands, where the air is humid and growth more lush, the trees reached much higher, causing the people there to wait for the olives to fall after ripening rather than pick them directly from the tree. "A lazy man's way," said a mainland peasant. [824]

Like many things of importance, the olive harvest has a slow beginning. In October, walking through the olive groves of this estate, one could see the table varieties beginning to ripen. The Kalamata olive was one. At first, the few workers on the estate gather the olives falling to the ground, but within a week's time they begin to gather some from the trees. It is then that the girls from the surrounding villages make their gay appearance. Not many are married, for this would show that their husbands were [464]

* Compared to the 1959–60 figure of 156,000 tons of oil, 1960–61 showed 75,000 tons.

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, [581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time
178 by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discus-
511 sion of religion, observed:
369

> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have
• [454] stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

178 A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the con-
433 nection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change.
464 The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transi-
241 tional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
454 will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
241 belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
594 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
184 time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
184 to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

249 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.
[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
[433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
[434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat,
241 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their
652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are
exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac-
[583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to
pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings
[556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields.
This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household
[433] and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions,
[417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

3

The Family: Consumption Habits

511 594 INCREASED INCOME resulting from technological advances in Vasilika has given the present generation in the village a wider choice of alternatives for allotting their resources than that enjoyed by their predecessors. The [454] first call upon the family's income, after the needs of subsistence, is felt to be the accumulation of a dowry for the daughters and (since there is rarely land enough for all) the provision of an education or apprentice-training for all the sons except the one or two who could eventually be provided with enough land to farm profitably. The process by which these obligations are fulfilled is the subject of the next chapter. Here, our concern is with the goods and services used by the villagers, with particular emphasis on the overtones of meaning that accompany them.

[574] [556] The differences among the households of Vasilika in furnishings, foods, clothing, and hospitality patterns are not great on an absolute scale, but the small differences have, on the local scale, as much significance to the people of Vasilika as the corresponding differences do in any middle-class suburb in the United States. Family self-respect is maintained, and family rivalries are carried on in the village partly by demonstrating levels of taste through consumption habits.

511 369 What the villagers admire and try to emulate are standards of living and of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities. Their knowledge of these standards is acquired through the first-hand information brought back by their town relatives and by what they themselves notice on their own visits to urban centers.

The base to which the new standards are adapted, or for which they are substituted, is a set of patterns for rural living customary in the Boeotian countryside.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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[556]
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sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige.

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers' produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the next chapter.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454] ●
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he
had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they
want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the [584]
fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the
management and control of movable and personal property that he received with
his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the standpoint of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control [606]
over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold- [434]
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 523
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know. 621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never 621 178x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 453 435 654

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

433 511 454 556 178x 438

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

/2 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
some nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard
and should not question how and why the money was spent. The
farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen,
implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are
responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the
stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife
and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spend-
ing money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
civilized the more his needs increase.

/23/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
learned to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley.
Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The
wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal.
The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried
and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned
dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they
cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cook-
ing. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the rich
foods. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer
months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and [438]
are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled
cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best
combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed
daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed
oil.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

1 Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma,* found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture. 342 184 [361]

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?" 574 [517] [286]

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern. [514] [457]

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu- 342

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing the income of his family and of raising its social position.

Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the history of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However, emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inheritance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community
[796] gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great, in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
793 He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos*.

346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends [463]
meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and 333
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [464]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construction – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and drastic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and 669
twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and 728
only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of 621
them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and 161
Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead.

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left [842] childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age?

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has 621
been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside 161
world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto 167
and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. 457
The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage.

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in 727
the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been 621
through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly re- 571
laxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. [457] The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, f[illegible] example.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
648
663

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

of local resources were to occur, then restriction of current consumption would be necessary. Money and goods would have to be diverted from consumption to capital construction. Without such diversion, the country was condemned to chronic poverty, unless foreign investment and financing came to the rescue. Up to 1956 Greece had indeed depended upon foreign investment for its capital development; but the United States Congress could scarcely be counted upon to continue its support indefinitely. In fact, between 1954 and 1956 it became clear that American aid to Greece was to be shaped by more narrowly conceived American interests, which would mean that military subsidy and the disposal of surplus American agricultural products would take precedence over industrial or any other sort of capital investment in Greece. Moreover, a Greek government that depended upon American bounty would necessarily surrender a large portion of its effective sovereignty, as happened between 1947 and 1952. Such a policy would expose Greek authorities to charges of acting as craven "yes men" to the Americans, and of betraying Greek national interests, as, for instance, in Cyprus.

Dependence upon foreign funds to finance capital development was therefore a poor substitute for financing such development from local resources. Yet no one in Greece wanted to reduce and few wished to restrict the standard of living. The general public was impatient of austerity and wanted an immediate and miraculous increase in consumption levels. The chronic disbalance of the governmental budget reflected (among other factors) the pressure of these demands – demands for higher pensions and salaries, for better unemployment, medical and old-age benefits, and the like. To offer present hardship in the hope of future amelioration of economic conditions was therefore politically unthinkable, even though this was the only program that could really cope with the prob-

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [177] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [577] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly 556 brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is 457 soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511].

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

 621

land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business 463
(baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these land-
owners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade [423]
such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward
the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their 621
own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land 241
belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, 511
therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for
187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres,
and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon,
it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land.
There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it,
and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for
a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide suffi-
cient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since
other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities
are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural
areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in [369]
search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income 249
from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the
mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own 435
production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order 511
to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of
Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, [458]
had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for,
in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he [204]
also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times,
fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and im-
ported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas 249
variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average
leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first
plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily man-
ured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds
are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered
over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually
morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to
be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located
near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the to-
bacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Harvesting Olives in Southern Greece

During my travels in Greece I have passed countless olive trees, for they hug the coasts, crowd the islands, and thrive inland where the climate is mild enough. But I never really understood the significance of the olive tree until I visited an estate in Southern Greece where three thousand trees of about seven varieties provided the only income. 245

I had already learned that over 12 percent of the caloric intake of the Greek people came from olives or olive oil; that Greece produced in 1948–1950 an annual average of 47,000 metric tons of table olives, chiefly in Thessaly and Central Greece; that the smaller oil olives, grown elsewhere in the country, accounted for 103,000 metric tons annually of this precious oil, which was bought and stored as a financial reserve whenever the currency became the least bit shaky. The oil olives also produced another 12,000 tons of residue oil. Friends had said that olive growing was a story of "from rags to riches," since one year might bring an outstanding crop and the next a disastrously poor one,* but that this was one of the accepted features of growing olives. [146] [454] [458]

Some inquiring students think the olive was in Greece before the goddess Athena, with whom it is so closely associated in myth, and was originally associated with the cult of Erechtheus. Be that as it may, the olive — the "All-Dewy One" — has held a special place in the tradition of the Greek people. They have also come to know that olive growing is much more than storytelling or the writing of descriptive poetry; it is hard work. In Thessaly, around the Gulf of Volos, it was interesting to watch men plow underneath the trees and fertilize the soil to increase the olive crop; to see on the western coast of Greece and in the Peloponnesos how the peasants irrigated the fifteen to twenty trees that each might own, thereby adding to the quality and the size of the fruit. In Attica one could watch the men expertly trimming the tree so that it would bunch as it grew, making harvesting a simpler task. In the Ionian Islands, where the air is humid and growth more lush, the trees reached much higher, causing the people there to wait for the olives to fall after ripening rather than pick them directly from the tree. "A lazy man's way," said a mainland peasant. [824]

Like many things of importance, the olive harvest has a slow beginning. In October, walking through the olive groves of this estate, one could see the table varieties beginning to ripen. The Kalamata olive was one. At first, the few workers on the estate gather the olives falling to the ground, but within a week's time they begin to gather some from the trees. It is then that the girls from the surrounding villages make their gay appearance. Not many are married, for this would show that their husbands were [464]

* Compared to the 1959–60 figure of 156,000 tons of oil, 1960–61 showed 75,000 tons.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

[Village Life]

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas
[701] attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[625] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

[Town Life]

565 generosity and kindliness did something to redeem the balance,
578 but were comparatively rare. The wealthy classes did not, as a
669 rule, show much sign of social conscience or sense of obligation to the poor. Once again, the solidarity and exclusiveness of family sentiment interfered with larger loyalties and sympathies. The result was that antagonism between rich and poor broke out into the open during the war years, and has never since ceased to trouble the political stability of the country.

458 Economic conditions have been acting, for at least fifteen
465 years, to sharpen this feeling. Since 1941 Greece has experi-
578 enced a series of monetary inflations that raised prices, sometimes rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but always faster than adjustments were made in wage and salary scales. As prices outran wages, workingmen faced a series of crises, the more serious because their wage rates were low to begin with. Adjustments of wages, when they came, relieved the problem only temporarily until continuing inflation once again robbed the currency of part of its purchasing power.

The economic plight of white-collar employees was nearly the same as that of manual workingmen, for they, too, had to live on an income that regularly lagged behind the price level.
[554] Moreover, the fact that such persons had gone to school, and therefore felt they had a rightful claim to superior social status, did not make it easier for them to face a life of poverty. The fierce struggle to win a place in the government civil service was only matched by the chronic discontent of those who had succeeded in getting government jobs and then found that they could scarcely live on their salaries.

578 Fortunately for the political stability of the country, wage
669 earners and salaried classes are a minority in Greece. This is no more than a corollary of the small size and family character of
[565] most Greek economic undertakings. Nevertheless, if one adds the hillsmen of the countryside as a third more or less chroni-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

663 471 511 652 [458] lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current running expenses and to finance a modest program of government capital investment proved far more palatable politically, even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

433 511 663 Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped nations in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

647 177 433 645 663 To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of political debate and the planning of technicians in the economic ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems. 241 242

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

123 house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he
574 young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impres-
609 sive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

173 Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be
361 legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

361 Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to
167 rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

361 There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advis-
461 ability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the standpoint of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Fre-
[484] quently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several mem-
[489] bers of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[9]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary. [407] [445]

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type. [407]

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.] [8]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors — [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.

At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.

[476] Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu- [461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that 178
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 461
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 462
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women. Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a [423]
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [556]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. 241
The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with [435]
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [452]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. [439]
Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444]
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the purchasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of 1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

249 year, since there is not sufficient land to permit crop rotation. This means that extensive use has to be made of costly chemical fertilizers, about 260 [242] pounds to the acre. Formerly, when fewer Turkish families lived in the village, they were able to keep more animals and had plenty of animal manure which, according to old-time residents of the area, gave a 40 percent higher yield. Since then the land has become more worn out, and more reliance must be placed on chemical fertilizers.

The transplanting of the young tobacco plants from the seedbed to the regular fields is done in rows which have been marked in the field by straight [412] lines, drawn by a hoe, about a foot apart. For each row the peasant uses a stick to make holes three inches apart, into which he puts the plants and presses the soil firmly down around the plant. He waters them immediately but is careful not to get any water on the tobacco leaves themselves. Ten days later he hoes around the plants and follows this with a second hoeing ten to fifteen days later.

[461] Usually tobacco-leaf collectors start about July 15 and continue their work until the end of October. They are up by 2 A.M. to gather the leaves before sunrise, and gather only once in a while in the evening. There are four or five collections from each plant during the season, with each leaf picked just at its maturity. During the daytime the members of the family string these leaves into long strands which are then hung up to dry in the sun. Once dried, they are hung in dry sheds or on the rafters of the house.

In November, after the first dews fall, the village home manipulation starts and continues until the middle of March. The purpose of this manipulation is to sort out the leaves into three categories: the first category includes the best small leaves; the second includes the larger sound leaves; and the third includes all those that do not meet the previous qualifications and yet are sound. This last class is called *refouzia*. Any broken leaves are thrown away or else made into pipe tobacco. The leaves of each class are made into bales of from 55 to 70 pounds and then stored in a dry, protected place for the merchant. By the time the baling has been completed, the family must begin once more the cycle of preparing and sowing the seedbed to start the next year's crop. The tobacco farmer, whether from [461] Macedonia, Thrace, or Central Greece, largely because of the traditional [221] pattern of manipulation, is on a twelve-month work year somewhat like the American dairy farmer. His year contrasts markedly with that of the Peloponnesian villager whose seasonal change was described at the opening of this chapter, or with the wheat farmer of Thessaly. Furthermore, what he grows he cannot eat but must sell as best he can to buy his food.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

[Harvesting Olives]

245 [464] not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 ● 461 [264] To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled rakes and "combed" the tree.

[412] "Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to [832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come [264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he [466] was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between [264] ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each [521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

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So. Greece

hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends. 245 461 [521]

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground. 245 258 461 [492]

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?" [521] [273] [264]

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re- 258 576

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the [437] priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being 517 produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and 184 embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She [438] and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

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[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula,
178 the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
[313] in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

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provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)
3 medium pans	

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, [581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques. 275 573 521 208 203

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury." [626]

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places. 275 461 [184]

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it [242] [208] [521]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 because of a conversation the previous evening with his cronies at the coffee-
461 house. One villager got to the crux of the matter: "In the coffeehouse we
242 get into arguments over our political leaders and don't attend to our fields.
208 We do this because we are uneducated and people do little to help us, and
521 so we spend our time on foolish things. The government doesn't send people here to instruct us; we are farming the way our fathers did."

With the spread of the program of agricultural extension, perhaps this peasant can no longer legitimately make the same complaint, but the chances are that the men of his village are still arguing about many matters and, perhaps in his opinion, spending their time on "foolish things."

Even the critics admit that there are still many conditions which encourage the men to patronize the coffeehouse quite apart from the attractions already
593 described. For most village men, home is a most unattractive place in the evening. Dimly lit, poorly heated in cold weather, dominated by women and their silly prattle, the home cannot begin to compete with the masculine company found at the coffeehouse. Furthermore, most men can think up perfectly valid reasons (in their opinion, at least) for going to the coffeehouse: they have a business matter to talk over; they want to know how some world crisis is shaping up; they need some advice on a farming decision.

Should they be found at the coffeehouse during the daytime, when conscientious farmers might be finding something worthwhile to do, they do not experience many twinges of conscience. They are not pricked by any Puritan ethic that teaches them constantly to be busy; instead, they save their energies for the time and place where it is unquestionably in their interest to work hard and long. When no such occasion presents itself, what more could a man ask than to enjoy his leisure, unplanned and unsought though it be? Nor does he think that it is up to him to seek out productive uses of his time. If people have good employment opportunities, they will seek him out, and he will respond. If he is from the tobacco-growing districts, the chances are that he has put his only resources (wife and children) to work for him and can take his ease until he must return to see how the work has progressed. He has no idle capital to invest but does his best with the human labor at his command. When heavy work is required, he will do his part, but when that is done others can harvest, string, and manipulate the tobacco. He provides the entrepreneurial skill.

Perhaps the coffeehouse and the attitudes of its habitués clash more strongly with American value orientations than do any other aspects of village life. To the Greek peasant, to be idle is no sin; to converse in the kouvenda can be as satisfying as to be a spectator sportsman; to seek to learn "what's new" if you live in a village is just as worthy as the search for novelty which motivates many in the United States. To get away from the women, the Greek peasant does not have to go on a long hunting trip to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Maine or a fishing shack on the river; he simply goes to his coffeehouse. To feel important, he needs only to provide some morsel of news which others may not have heard or to give words of wisdom to those younger men who seek his counsel. He has a club — something which the middle-class American male does not possess and for which he constantly seeks substitutes.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life. 571 461

As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[14] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance. 665 829

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise. 666 665 829

When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician." 665 829 156

I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back 665 578 666

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a [533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

156 But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality.
181 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
871 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of oppor-
181 tunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some
871 coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well.
[461] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern-
[643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have
872 to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learning. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[3]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
574 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and
574 strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The
178 response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

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parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire 592
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 804
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have 273
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 252
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are 147
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 461
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 412
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling 462
motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[465] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
461 fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
[558] do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[227] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[571] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[461] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[492] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
[445] is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
[465] or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314] trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"[5]

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

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period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465] net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804] per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461] serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

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248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

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and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another, at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

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445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innova-
[178] tions since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

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369 571 796 the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

369 461 A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

[594] [554]

163 842 511 178 Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

[844] [554] [743] [759] [855]

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before,
461 is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
512 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
521 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of
571 ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala*," "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

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the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis.* The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
628 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the
692 question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The
233 question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is,
[622] full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis,* was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis.* Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796 [484]

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

[Good Friday]

796 morning, small boys went from house to house crying, *"Mavros in o uranos,"* [778] "The sky is black," and they were given money or eggs. Meanwhile, the girls [788] of the village worked inside the church covering with wild flowers the sedan-chairlike wooden frame in which an oil painting of Jesus on his bier was to be carried around the village that night. The frame and the icon together are called the *epitafios*. The girls seemed thoroughly to enjoy the morning's work, and they 796 laughed, giggled, jostled each other, and called out orders. Occasionally they 562 sang as they worked. It appeared also as if they were taking particular joy in being inside the church with no men to restrain them. They took turns sprawling over the stalls in which, as females, they rarely sat during a service. They also went up to the chanters' stand and recited some of the cantilations which were to be sung that night—the girls can follow the liturgy only silently during the [778] course of the actual service. Some of the younger girls even dared each other to go behind the panel to the altar, a place forbidden to females, but none actually did. They seemed uneasy and were even frightened at the suggestion.

796 The church bell rang at 2:20 that afternoon. The priest, with one of the chanters and his son, performed the service in the course of which he brought 788 the icon from behind the altar, covered it with a white cloth and placed it in its bower. In accordance with the symbolic re-enactment of the event, only the women and girls (and a few schoolboys) were in the church at the time. Once the icon was in place and strewn with flowers, the priest and then the children [764] went up to kiss it. The priest explained that it should be done slowly and deliberately, exactly as it was done for the dead in the village funeral rituals.

Good Friday services began that night at 9:00. At 11:00 the *epitafios* was carried out of the church by four boys. These marched in procession with the *epitafios* behind boys carrying the *lavara* (standards). Behind the *epitafios* walked the priest and the chanters. The rest of the villagers followed holding candles to light the way as the *epitafios* was carried around the entire village. As the bells of the three village churches pealed, and the children chanted *"Enas ine o theos"* and *"Panayia dhespina,"* "God is one" and "Our Lady, the All Holy One," the villagers picked their way carefully over the stones and ruts as they climbed the hillside, circled the whole settlement, and climbed down again on the other side. When the procession reached the church door once more, the boys held the bier high so that the returning congregation passed into the church under it. The service was over shortly after midnight.

796 On Holy Saturday, sweet Easter breads with red eggs inside were displayed, other eggs were dyed red, last minute finishing touches were given to [262] Easter clothes and last house-cleaning chores were completed. Some people slaughtered the Easter lamb on Saturday, others waited until Sunday. In the [461] meantime, field chores went on as usual. Everyone rested for a few hours, from about 9:00 Saturday night until the Easter Sunday services began shortly after midnight. These lasted until 4:00 in the morning, with two periods of climax. [788] The first occurred when all the lights in the church were put out and the priest [787] kindled the new light. The boys rushed up to see who could be the first to light his own candle from that of the priest's. They said the winner would be the first of the boys to be married. The rest of the congregation then lit its

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461 ●
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing 275
backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in [275]
a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [576]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really pro- [521]
vides the village women with a meeting place where they may
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk [794]
and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silversmiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a prominent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars.

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, almost with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talking and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise.

[Town Life]

437 Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal
609 constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occa-
[571] sionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharp-
463 ness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual oc-
555 cupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to
871 a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of
● 461 education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these at-
[178] titudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

471 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more gen-
554 eral social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near
461 the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will
[427]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work some- 461 times allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 302 as public proof of their privileged status.

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more [366] typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very [441] likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commod- [465] ity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and [466] hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit 472 character of Greek families. The members of a family group are 602 ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and 466 can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the village.

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/37 cont./
help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times 857
of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the [526]
neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek.
When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom [834]
play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard
time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the [872]
children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active
days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is 533
there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance [535]
singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no
books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players
never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the [461]
fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups
returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses,
at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles
and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through [796]
the church services from beginning to the end and when the women [585]
dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any
song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to
generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them
or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part
of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of
nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition
and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of
their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture.
There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that
move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest
songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their
ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced
their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among [765]
the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed
during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the
war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692] what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685] families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626 women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273 but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543 fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621 motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476 in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578 so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461 problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517 to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241 time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578] of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack [574]
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [484]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [178]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, [437]
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces: they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

WORK

183 [828]

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest. [177] [517]

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say some thing about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth. [828] [538] [533] [538]

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion. [167]

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end. 805 461

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act. 805 264 252

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!" 805 195 [269] [855]

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. 805 [405] [301] [353] [855] [804]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other [202]

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after [461] one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then [369] stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal.

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 261 555 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have [369] been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread.

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Attica

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks. 175 423

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica: 175 423 427

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops. [311]

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is increasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years. 178 241 [235] [462]

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start preparing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church; then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manliness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass, we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many, it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re-

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 [426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily [435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Al- [464] strate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with [249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from [273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and [412] potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407] [412]

> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown.
>
> [462] Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[2]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the
178 fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241 311 406 462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by
312 blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated
241 by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is
406 found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of
[433] Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of
422 mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of
178 Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a
[407] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well,
[452] for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; own-
[464] ing one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been
[243] threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however,
[554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary. [407] [445]

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type. [407]

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly.

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.] [6]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors — [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.

At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.

[476] Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu-
[461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. 462
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. 241
The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with [435]
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [452]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the remaining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this [439]
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444]
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, 272 flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437] along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521] 843

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 787

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
184 receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by per-
184 sonal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud [178] stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But [261] everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [8] Therefore, when we de- 146 scribe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

252

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

512 184 178 256

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

273

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

527

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

291 462 294 177 292 184 563

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

184 294 286 292 369 177

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 462

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor. 241 178

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time. [464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world. 758 [462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it: 753

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are [755] [757] [776]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Mutual Aid and Cooperatives in Rural Greece

The Greek village provides many evidences of mutual aid, although the Greeks are not renowned for their cooperative tendencies. Indeed, those commenting on Greek national character usually state that the Greeks cooperate only in a crisis. If there is no crisis at hand, they have to make one in order to get the job done. This view is partially correct, since some examples of mutual aid respond directly to a sense of urgency, while others follow traditional patterns at a leisurely pace. For instance, a group of potato diggers near Neochori were brought together to meet a sudden need. 476 181

A Potato-digging Group near Thebes

It was March 28, 1953. We had turned off the main highway between Thebes and Athens and were headed eastward along a secondary road in search of some villagers whose relatives in California had insisted that we carry their greetings in person. Before we had found the right village, we noticed more than forty people busily harvesting potatoes in a nearby field. We stopped the car, walked into the field, and were greeted by Yannes P. Katseles, the owner, who lives in Neochori, the village just up the way. The men were digging the potatoes; the women were picking them up and cleaning them; and a commission merchant standing on his truck was 244 476 [123] [462]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less
476 interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby
forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at
[462] hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of
[465] what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that
466 we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how
the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close su-
476 pervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The
owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in
[123] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be
[539] noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pic-
[126] tures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is
[785] served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

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parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*. 593

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters. 162 592

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households. 621 592 241 434 433

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two *stremata* (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two 245 221 804 273 372 252 147 461 412 462

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Since the two
245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[465] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[461] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
[558] considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[571] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[461] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[492] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
[445] hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
[465] the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
[314] countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
407
492
[221]

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The
292 weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
● 462 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

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Vasilika

period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465]
net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804]
per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461]
serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

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248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

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and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another, at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

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Vasilika

240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the [221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and [433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the [434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat, 241 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to 454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their 652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac- [583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings [556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from [242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the [462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to [433] produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, [417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

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ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

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353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos,* as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing 275
backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in
a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, some- [275]
thing quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [576]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really pro- [521]
vides the village women with a meeting place where they may
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk [794]
and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584] 562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the
[186] wide world.

The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural
[463] pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are
[702] farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible uni-
829 verse. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of
186 Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from
511 and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out
[829] in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their
184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 1. BUSINESSES AND SERVICES IN EIGHT GREEK VILLAGES*

	Tobacco village near Xanthe	Village A near Mesolongi	Village B near Mesolongi	Village in Central Greece	Mountain village near Lamia	Village near Agrinion	Village A in Macedonia	Village B in Macedonia
Population	1145	1062	2030	1372	1060	2915	1654	2493
Flour mills	6	1			2	3	2	
Bakeries	1		3	1		3		
Groceries	6	8	3	7	6	21	7	8
Barbershops	3	2	3	3	2	5		
Coffeeshops	6	8	5	5	1	7	3	3
Carpenters	5				2			
Masons	12			4	4			
Shoemakers	5	1		2	1	4	1	1
Saddlemakers	1		1	2				
Tinsmiths	1					1		
Blacksmiths	2	1	2	3				
Butchers	2	5		4	3	6		
Tailors	1	1		3	1	1	2	3
Dressmakers	3	6		10	2			
Carriagemakers						2	1	
Yardgoods shops				2		1		
Tobacco-news			2			2		
Restaurants			6			4		

* Includes those services mentioned for two or more villages.
Source: Village studies by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece (mimeographed).

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256
443
445
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443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

●463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

[494] Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
[369] rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
[593] young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the
432 provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional variations are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security.
[166] On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the
[526] houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
●463
423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business (baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[2] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis,* while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[3] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
[166] northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
[463] shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They aug-
[434] ment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
233 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
563 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
511 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
434 wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
[464] women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
[262] shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
[342] in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly
built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
563 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
621 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
555 commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
871 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under
[641] the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
[435] shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more for-
mal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shep-
herd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a
year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm
families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous
in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in
the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people
of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident car-
penters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very
existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time
to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1966 · EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Vasilika's inhabitants and some of the congruent attitudes. The householders of Vasilika take it for granted that they will use part of their produce, in kind or in cash, to pay for the services of various specialists. They rarely make repairs on their houses or on their equipment; they rarely make shelves or simple pieces of furniture. In short, they do not have the habit of pottering and tinkering about the farms either from necessity or because they enjoy it. Vasilika's farmers and shepherds consider themselves specialists; they view themselves with pride as experts in farming and sheepherding, and assign the same dignity to the expertness of others. To say of a man, *"Kseri ti dhulya tu,"* "He knows his work," is a compliment, and the villagers use the phrase often. They do not expect a man to know how to do anyone else's work. One specialty is considered enough.

Such a point of view means that a farmer, if his saddle strap breaks, does without a saddle or borrows someone else's until the saddle-maker comes by, even if it means several weeks of inconvenience. In one of Vasilika's households, the stone wall of one side of an oven was accidentally broken by a tractor plow one day in April of 1956. At the end of July, the wall had still not been repaired —even temporarily—because the stonemason with whom the farmer was accustomed to deal had not yet had time to come to fix it. In the meantime, the women baked their bread in a neighbor's oven. We learned later that the entire oven was finally rebuilt in the spring of the next year.

When a farmer wants to cover his earth floor with cement, or when he wants the walls of his house whitewashed for Easter, he often pays to have these jobs done by a "master." On one occasion, a stonemason was persuaded to put screens on the windows of the house we lived in, but he went to a carpenter to have wooden frame pieces cut to the proper length. A final illustration indicates not only the existence of this point of view, but also the way in which those in Vasilika might greet a different one. The village house in which we lived had several broken windowpanes when we moved into it. Since the winter rains were due, we thought it imperative to get new glass in. My husband went to Levadhia, purchased glass and putty, and replaced the broken panes. The farmer who owned the house watched my husband work. He kept making the sign of the cross and repeated again and again in awed tones, "A professor who is also a master glazier!" The farmer himself had never thought of repairing his own windows, and for anyone in as exalted a position, from Vasilika's point of view, as that of "professor," to make such a repair had for the farmer a touch of the quality of a miracle.

With the increasing use of machinery on the farms, the villagers may be forced into learning mechanical skills; but the emerging pattern seems to be one in which the tractor operators and a village man who learned mechanics in the Greek Air Force have enough skill to make minor repairs and are called on by other farmers when they need help with their pumps. Major repairs must still await a mechanic from Levadhia. For the Vasilika farmers, however, the inconvenience of having to wait for expert personnel to repair machinery is not a source of special irritation. American farmers, who have been accustomed to acting as their own mechanics, are now beginning to deal with machinery so complex as to require expert repairs. Such dependence is new and annoying for

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old patterns.

463 The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and [433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innova- [178] tions since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is 262 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have 438 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro- 178 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these 511 items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a 517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care 356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late 463 fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the 626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations 183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter 241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five 433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Astonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *pdis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *panyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

However, Vasilika is an open community in still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Education beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry system and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is almost impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[2] Such skills are considered real assets, and may again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual, therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a t[illegible]

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it. 369

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956). 602 554 [121

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957. 114

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955–56, supported by a grant made under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. My husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the field work.

[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinos, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia. 463

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5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

 793

take it." In the *Great Euchologion*, or Prayer Book, of the Greek Church 783
the order for confession is in fact immediately preceded by a short office for the making of a *pneumatikos*, or spiritual father, in which the bishop, after he has read the Gospel containing our Lord's words: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained", addresses the would-be *pneumatikos* (who must, needless to say, be in priests' orders) as follows:

"Our mediocrity, through the grace of the all-holy and divine Spirit, promotes thee, the most pious N. *Pneumatikos*, to the ministry of spiritual fatherhood, etc."

Covel quotes ancient canons to the effect that "if any one without [688]
the Mandate of the Bishop of the place shall dare to receive . . . spiritual accounts and Confessions, such a one shall be Canonically punished as a Transgressor of the Divine Canons; because he hath not only destroy'd himself, but all they also who have been Confessed by him are still unconfessed, and whatever things he hath Bound or Loosed, are yet uncorrected". And again: "Let all the Priest-Monks, who take Confessions, or Bind and Loose know that our Holy Fathers will not suffer any Priests to reconcile Penitents without the Archbishop's Order". According to an old canonist "a Bishop may . . . according to his Judgment, give this Right or Power of receiving Confessions to a secular Priest, but this is to be done discreetly, to some choice or well approved Persons only, and upon some extraordinary occasions".

Professor Bratsiotes, in the introduction which he contributed to the English translation of the life of the Archimandrite Eusebius Matthopoulos, observed that "unhappily there are very few confessors, because it is much more difficult to develop confessors than to train preachers; and it requires much individual genius and great maturity in virtue and experience to be a proper confessor". At the time when these words [794]
were written only eight members of the Zoë Confraternity—all trained theologians as they are—were licensed as confessors. In the country dioceses to-day the only clergy who are permitted to assist the bishop as *pneumatikoi* are the priest-monks attached to the metropolis; married priests who are authorised to hear confessions are rare indeed.

What then of the parish clergy? There is no parallel in Greece to the 793
country parson who has "read the Fathers also and the Schoolmen and the later writers", and who has been one of the fairest ornaments of the English Church these many centuries. The Greek country parson is a [463]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who
[463] exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

793 The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age, and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight
465 increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one
[874] of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—
[589] which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of
[659] his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this
792 may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic
[423] property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

793 Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in
[795] work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece.
[589] There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

648 1948, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families com- [162] prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, [463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one realizes that according to this same census the average family farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just 1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year. 241 433 463 [423]

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses. 461 517 275 [521]

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really provides the village women with a meeting place where they may on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus 517 562 [462] [275] [576] [521] [794]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

437 Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal
609 constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occa-
[571] sionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharp-
463 ness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual oc-
555 cupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to
871 a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of
461 education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these at-
[178] titudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

471 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more gen-
554 eral social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near
461 the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will
[427]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] 485 [438] 494 [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children — and this is almost universally the case — the new generation will have to [583] [428]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [463]
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [333]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construc- [464]
tion – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems. 241 242

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

/98 cont./ 796

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

G 175 648 B 175 648 [463] [177] [341] [342] [171] G [342] [171] B 177 341

But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

G [172] [463] [331]

1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1919) pp. 250 foll.

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 871
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are wat ed meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

1:Sanders Z-5,M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500 [426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily [435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Alistrate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; [464] we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with [249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from [273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and [412] potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407] [412]

> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown.
>
> [462] Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[2]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241 311 406 462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a [407 452 464] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, [554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 of Alekos, the first few owners get good income from custom plowing, but
241 with many tractors there is not very much supplementary income to go
around. These steel horses in Greece plow more deeply, give more leisure,
[434] help spread scientific farming throughout the plains, and service an increasingly larger proportion of the 950,000 farms of the land. But with one tractor to every 70–80 farms, it is not surprising that Yannes, the tobacco grower from Alistrate, still waits for his horse so that he will not have to stand idly by while another finishes plowing a field.

The Harvesters of Chalkidike (Macedonia)

Social changes, and especially those connected with mechanization, frequently wear two faces — one bright, the other dark. In Athens I had heard from fellow Americans about the growing use of machinery, the previously mentioned over-all increase in agricultural production to more than 37 percent above the prewar figure, and the steps being taken to rationalize agriculture to an even greater degree. These programs represented not only heavy investments of dollars and drachmas, but also considerable self-sacrifice on the part of American and Greek staff members with a missionary zeal for their work and a willingness to work overtime. There was no question of the need for Greece to become a part of the scientific revolution in farming, but it was at times perplexing to find that little thought was being given to the social effects of this revolution on the people in the rural areas.

178 Once out in the provinces, away from the bright programs of Athens, I
241 saw the dark face of mechanization. While riding with the director of agri-
243 culture of Larissa on the drive previously mentioned, I was somewhat
shocked to hear him say that he was glad the recent storm had visited the
●464 area.

"Why is that?" I asked. "Doesn't it make it harder to harvest the grain?"

"Yes, that's the point," he replied. "Now it will have to be done by hand in many places, giving work to some of the people from the mountain villages in this area who depend upon the harvesting to earn their supply of wheat for much of the year. Without the bread from this wheat they cannot live."

Again, a nomarch of Thessalonike talked to me of the people displaced by mechanization. He tried to see the good as well as the bad, indicating that machines without any question had raised the yields by putting more land under cultivation and by making better farming methods possible. He, too, however, used much the same words as had the official in Larissa, pointing out that he was glad to see the rains in Macedonia since it meant that harvesting would be done by hand.[8]

One bright June morning found us in Niketas, a small coastal village in
243 Chalkidike where mechanical threshing was in progress on the edge of the
124

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

village. We hired a caique, with both sails and motor, to take us on the three-hour trip to Neos Marmaras, a picturesque refugee village. Hardly were we aboard when a group of excited peasants came to ask if they could go with us. Our one crewman seemed to have no objection so we told them to join us. 243 124 [501]

Almost at once these lively individuals explained that they were from the village of Parthenon. They had been spending the past twenty-five days helping the peasants around Niketas harvest their grain and were no longer needed now that threshing had begun. Before talking about their work, however, we had to exchange the rites of hospitality. We had spread out a blanket on which we placed a large piece of bread bought just before departure and a portion of white cheese given me by the teacher in the village. Although the peasants looked thin and hungry, they refused our food. One man, carefully eyeing our bread, said, "Here, take some of my bread; yours isn't well done." [464] [574]

Six or seven of the people of Parthenon, sprawled around the blanket while we ate, tried politely to hide their curiosity. Our lunch finished and the purpose of our trip explained to them several times, it became our turn to ask them questions. We started with a woman in her thirties, a widow. She was dressed in a poor cotton dress, was barefoot, wore a kerchief on her head, but her proud look and direct answers were those of an independent spirit. She was obviously very anxious to get back to Parthenon and several times expressed her gratitude for the lift. "Thank you very much. You have saved us four or five hours of walking on this warm day." She had had to leave her four children at home twenty-five days ago and had had no word from them since then, even though her village was only a relatively few kilometers away. Apparently she had gone on working in the harvest fields for winter bread, clinging to the belief that "no news was good news," but her drawn face showed her long concern: "I left them with only a piece of bread to eat. I don't know how they made out." 243 855

"How old are your children?"

"My eldest child is fifteen, the next is eleven, and the other two quite young."

"Does the fifteen-year-old take care of the rest while you are away?"

"He would if he could, but he must look after the cows of my brother who is a soldier, and so the eleven-year-old takes care of the younger two." [857]

We learned that there were some relatives living in the village who probably kept an eye on the youngsters but did not assume full responsibility for them.

We were told that these villagers did not look forward to this trip. It is a trial, an ordeal that must be endured if they are to have any bread, for the men cannot find work in Parthenon that will provide them with money to buy bread. 243 464

1:Sarders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

ovn tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little 243
likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as 465
a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?"
"Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that
hewill give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agree-
mnt is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat
they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting
it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea.

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in 243
late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals
orsmall family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever 464 ●
there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman 594
aswell as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he
sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls
they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring
back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have
a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home
vilage and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," 243
interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating 466
that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night
aslong as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger [412]
of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker pro-
vided for himself.

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, 124
our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away
onthe slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit
them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the
wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help
they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance
to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When 464
mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested 178
bycombines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many
thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where
their services are no longer needed.

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is nev, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Harvesting Olives in Southern Greece

During my travels in Greece I have passed countless olive trees, for they hug the coasts, crowd the islands, and thrive inland where the climate is mild enough. But I never really understood the significance of the olive tree until I visited an estate in Southern Greece where three thousand trees of about seven varieties provided the only income. 245

I had already learned that over 12 percent of the caloric intake of the Greek people came from olives or olive oil; that Greece produced in 1948–1950 an annual average of 47,000 metric tons of table olives, chiefly in Thessaly and Central Greece; that the smaller oil olives, grown elsewhere in the country, accounted for 103,000 metric tons annually of this precious oil, which was bought and stored as a financial reserve whenever the currency became the least bit shaky. The oil olives also produced another 12,000 tons of residue oil. Friends had said that olive growing was a story of "from rags to riches," since one year might bring an outstanding crop and the next a disastrously poor one,* but that this was one of the accepted features of growing olives. [146] [454] [458]

Some inquiring students think the olive was in Greece before the goddess Athena, with whom it is so closely associated in myth, and was originally associated with the cult of Erechtheus. Be that as it may, the olive — the "All-Dewy One" — has held a special place in the tradition of the Greek people. They have also come to know that olive growing is much more than storytelling or the writing of descriptive poetry; it is hard work. In Thessaly, around the Gulf of Volos, it was interesting to watch men plow underneath the trees and fertilize the soil to increase the olive crop; to see on the western coast of Greece and in the Peloponnesos how the peasants irrigated the fifteen to twenty trees that each might own, thereby adding to the quality and the size of the fruit. In Attica one could watch the men expertly trimming the tree so that it would bunch as it grew, making harvesting a simpler task. In the Ionian Islands, where the air is humid and growth more lush, the trees reached much higher, causing the people there to wait for the olives to fall after ripening rather than pick them directly from the tree. "A lazy man's way," said a mainland peasant. [824]

Like many things of importance, the olive harvest has a slow beginning. In October, walking through the olive groves of this estate, one could see the table varieties beginning to ripen. The Kalamata olive was one. At first, the few workers on the estate gather the olives falling to the ground, but within a week's time they begin to gather some from the trees. It is then that the girls from the surrounding villages make their gay appearance. Not many are married, for this would show that their husbands were [464]

* Compared to the 1959–60 figure of 156,000 tons of oil, 1960–61 showed 75,000 tons.

1:Sanders Z-5,x (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

[Harvesting Olives]

245 not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to
[464] earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village
46! homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to
[264] last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled
[412] rakes and "combed" the tree.

"Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to
[832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come
[264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he
[466] was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between
[264] ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each
[521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

"But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some
[474] other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

"Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and
[157] all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

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[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and
[233] a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[343] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman. Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to
[231] gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula, the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
178 in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

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462 241 178

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

758

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

[462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

753

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

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583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, [581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

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Kalivi, Attica

were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me:

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

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651 specialists think it undesirable to have over 90 percent of all taxes collected
631 by the national government, as is done in Greece, even though much of it is channeled back through various services to the local communities. At the same time, they admit that there is great reluctance on the part of local authorities to take on the tax-collection function and that in those instances where they do collect local funds they do so inefficiently. Obviously, the golden mean has not yet been found in this delicate area of the relationship between local and central government.[13]

647 When the topic of conversation turns from the services to the officials who carry them out, local informants respond fast and furiously, much of the comment in disapproving tones. I have yet to find a description of Greek life, past or present, that deals very kindly with Greek officialdom. This might be said of many countries, but in Greece the lowly and even high-placed official is beset with so many difficulties that it is a wonder he functions at all. His first problem is the low standards traditionally expected
647 of the civil servant. Most Greeks think that it is perfectly proper procedure for them to bestow a favor upon some official so that he will give their case
662 preference, either in considering it before other cases or in recognizing certain extenuating circumstances in their favor. The law may or may not be abrogated and regular channels set aside, but the irregularities deal quite often with rearrangements and interpretations within the scope of the limits set by the law so that one person gets preferential treatment over others. When one comes face to face with the great number of papers that have to be signed to do even a simple transaction involving governmental authority, one realizes how great is the temptation to bribe or bring to bear some other consideration (such as working through the good graces of a relative of the official) to shorten the red tape and wind up the matter more quickly than usual. Not all officials would condone such measures, but they are subjected to much temptation.

647 A second problem, tied in with the first, is the low compensation which officials receive in the face of increased living costs. Since many govern-
[465] ment workers cannot live even modestly on their salaries, they take on
[464] other commitments. These part-time jobs cause them to slight their full-time government employment, for which supervision is frequently lax.

Insecurity in the job is a third difficulty for many of the higher officials.
[661] The ministries, which in countries like France are run by highly skilled civil servants no matter how many cabinet ministers come and go, are
[645] staffed in Greece by people, many quite capable, who are apt to be swept out of office when a new minister comes in. Many, because of sheer competence and skillful legerdemain, manage to survive from one change of ministers to the next, but are never sure that they will weather the next changeover. In some ministries there have been as many as forty different ministers in six years.

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tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

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178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time
178 by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has
511 been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discus-
369 sion of religion, observed:

> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have
[454] stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

178 A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during
433 April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the con-
● 464 nection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change. The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce
241 tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transitional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

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part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

178 433 464 241

In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income. When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

[166]

The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's economic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire.

178 434 [162]

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tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned.

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities.

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments.

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II.

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev-

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177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
653 It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias,* often translated "welfare through employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
207 to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
491 Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
178 mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds
[241] true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
[654] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

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184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern
454 farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
241 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
594 but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away
184 from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization
184 is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [665] [829]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

owners, even having the power to keep the peasants off the land they formerly owned. In Epirus, land redistribution in the 1920s involved finding out who the former Greek owners had been or still were, once the land had been appropriated from the Turks with an indemnity payment. In Thessaly, however, there were no former Greek peasant owners to locate, so the large Turkish-owned estates were merely redistributed to peasants who had worked them as hired workers or tenants.

7. The quotation about the sixth century B.C. comes from *The Cambridge Ancient History*, V, 12.

8. Most of the information on which the description of land tenure in Attica is based comes from P. J. Iliopoulos, *L'Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951).

9. For a discussion of agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages, see the chapter by that title in *The Cambridge Economic History*, I.

10. See K. D. Karavidas, *Agrotika* (Athens, 1931), whose sections on the *tsiflikia* and *kephalochoria* proved particularly helpful in an effort to gain a proper background. In a private conversation, Mr. Karavidas pointed out that some acute problems arose when the tsiflikia were broken up and distributed to the former tenants. Under the landlord, the workers were forced to keep irrigation ditches clear, but when redistribution occurred in 1923 nobody worried about the maintenance of such ditches. Trees fell into them and they became stopped up.

11. *L'Attique*, p. 115.

12. One of the best short descriptions of land ownership in Greece is an article by that title in *Foreign Agriculture*, August 1950. The article is adapted from the book by A. Varvaressos, *The Fulfilment of the Agrarian Reform* (Athens, 1949). Another useful account of land reform in Greece is found in W. E. Moore, *Economic Demography of Eastern and Southern Europe*, appendix 3. D. K. Wogasli wrote extensively on questions of land reform, publishing in 1919 a work entitled *La Solution de la question agraire en Grèce* (Athens, 1919). He also wrote a work in Greek on the agrarian question in Thessaly and especially in the prefecture of Trikkala.

It is interesting to contrast Thessaly of today with that described by Leon Heuzey, *Excursion dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858*. Of the village of Vloko, he writes: "Là, je me renseigne comme à l'ordinaire, sur la condition des paysans. Le propriétaire, Hassan-bey, les déplace à sa volonté, bien que lui-même, à l'heure actuelle, tienne un homme en prison pour avoir cherché à quitter son tchiflik. Malgré les nouvelles lois, le régime de la glèbe existe encore, mais ce n'est pas toujours dans les conditions d'équité qui pourraient le rendre tolerable pour le cultivateur" (p. 76).

13. A common practice on the part of a landlord was to transfer title to various parts of the estate to close relatives, who permitted him to continue to operate the farm as one unit.

14. The Agricultural Section of the United States Mission to Greece and officials of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture have given much study to the problem of consolidation of scattered strips. The great amount of time required for surveying even one village for this purpose is hard to believe. At least twenty villages have been surveyed by Dr. Kypriades and attractive picture displays prepared to show what can be done when consolidation is carried out.

15. For more on the domka system, see O. S. Morgan, ed., *Agricultural Systems of Middle Europe* (New York, 1933), chapter by Georges Servakis and C. Pertountzi entitled "The Agricultural Policy of Greece." On the problem of scattered strips, see the *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1947), in which Recommendation 71 deals with consolidation and land redistribution.

16. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 9.

17. Frederick Strong, *Greece as a Kingdom* (London, 1842), pp. 163–164. But in 1914 Lucy M. J. Garnett, in *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), wrote as follows: "It is . . . foreign emigration that is robbing Hellas of her hardy peasantry, and this constitutes one of the most serious problems with which the Hellenic Gov-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 [167] [464] ernment is at the present confronted. For Greece *has no surplus population*, and, if the country is to prosper, the services of every able-bodied man and boy are needed for the proper development of its natural resources. Weekly emigrant steamers carry large numbers to Western lands and bring but few back . . . with the consequence that many agricultural districts are left without labourers to till the soil" (p. 133).

For more on this emigration, see Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America: The Story of the Re-Patriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956); and Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, 1911).

18. The figures used in this presentation of land use are taken from *Greece Today* (August 1954); from Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954); and from data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. In these three sources the years differ, as do some of the categories of land use, but the details prove interesting.

19. The study on idle lands made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece appeared in mimeographed form in 1952 and was based on detailed reports turned in by the field representatives of the Civil Government Division of the Mission. The report was issued by William M. Tait, who was then deputy director for field service. Other informants point out that in Epirus, and probably elsewhere, thousands of acres are owned by Greek-Americans in the United States, and Greek villagers do not feel free to make use of such idle lands.

20. For a discussion of these exports, see E. J. Bell, "Greece, Exporter of Farm Products," *Foreign Agriculture*, March 1958, pp. 5–6.

[428] 21. The use of lots in dividing up a patrimony among brothers in a Boeotian village is described in an article by Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXVII (1956).

Chapter V. The Peasant at Work

[127] 1. The unpublished manuscript from which this comes is "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria).

2. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 8.

3. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited*, p. 14.

[874] [407] [492] 4. Dr. Charles House, former director of the American Farm School in Salonica, played a great part in preparing the way for mechanization in Northern Greece, since the students at this school were taught how to operate and repair tractors long before they began to appear in so many villages. He said that one argument for the use of the tractor in preference to the draft animal was the fact that the animals ate up too much of the farm produce.

5. For the full World War II picture, see C. S. Stephanides, "Agricultural Machinery in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (November 1948), 250–253.

6. Supplementary labor is an important element in the economy of many families and even whole villages. In the Peloponnesos people from the mountain villages can [465] harvest olives and help with the pressing of the oil, receiving pay in kind. When they help with the vineyards they are paid in money, as they are in Macedonia when [438] they help plant tobacco. Near Ioannina there are villages specializing in certain crafts from which many men go during the winter to ply their trades.

[127] 7. "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," (1952, mimeographed), prepared by A. Argyropoulos. One of the village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The following comment about this village (Dafnon) by John D. Photiadis is helpful: "I have served as a county agent in that area and I think that Dafnon is not a representative village. It is considered the poorest village in the area and the most stricken by the reduction of prices of Turkish tobacco. This is because

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
[221] earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[248] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[465] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
[436] relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[461] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[558] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
[462] *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[626] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
[571] grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[461] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[492] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
[445] tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[465] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314] trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

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steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

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period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465]
net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804]
per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461]
serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers [465]
a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

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231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered [552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them [865] as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of [178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the [373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing 511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small 592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to [422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever, [464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for [422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac- 511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
[166] northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
[463] shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
[434] settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They aug-
ment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
[464] women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
[262] shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
[342] in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly
built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
563 have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
621 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
555 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
87 he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
[641] most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under
the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
[435] shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more for-
mal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shep-
herd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a
year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm
families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous
in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in
the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people
of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident car-
penters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very
existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time
to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Evidence suggests that

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons. 563

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export. 433 13 433 [439] [241]

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks. [505] [651] [464] [505]

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since 648

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families com- [162] prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, [463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

[Village Life]

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else
361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im-
433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill
438 villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads
241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will
433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is
433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving
[464] the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be
[166] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

Hence a sort of symbiosis was established. A large proportion of the able-bodied men of the hill villages descended each year to the plains and worked in the fields of the Turkish landowners, then returned to their homes with wages, either in money or in kind, with which to supplement the produce of the tiny fields they had been able to carve from the mountain valleys and slopes around their homes. 361 464 166 433

Some of the hill villages developed occupational specialties,[1] sending most of their able-bodied men each year to labor as masons or carpenters wherever work was to be found. Groups of villagers sometimes walked as much as a hundred miles to and from the scene of this sort of seasonal employment. Other villages developed what might be called industrial specialties —lime burning, rug weaving, wood carving and the like – and peddled their products far and wide during the summer season. One village even developed an international trade in specially dyed red wool and cloth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, stationing agents in such cities as Vienna, Constantinople and Leipzig. The origins of the modern Greek merchant marine were similar, for sailors were easily recruited among peasant boys of the islands and coasts, who sought seasonal employment to supplement what could be produced on the family farm. 361 438 464 166 433 [505]

Another pattern of migration should be mentioned, up into the higher mountain slopes rather than down to the plains. Each summer herds of sheep and goats were sent to pasture on the high ground, where vegetation stayed green through the summer drought, and then returned to lower altitudes when the snows fell. Quite a few hill villages specialized in sheepherding, accompanying their own sheep, and sometimes sheep entrusted to them by others as well, on this annual round.

As long as the hill villages lay between two relatively unpopulated geographic regions – the plains beneath and the peaks 361 166 464 433

1 [During Turkish times - ANALYST]

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
433 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets. 361 166 464 178 433

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture. 167 464 178 433 [191]

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of [648]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecunious peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results. The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and contributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936, when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by launching an ambitious program of public works, especially road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

621 369 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns [513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 517 275 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied [435] by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 464 166 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from villages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons [434] can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his [602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[P.85]

CHAPTER 3

THE VILLAGES

Since most of the people of Greece still live in villages, peasant life constitutes something of a base level for Greek society. Pressure of population is felt first and most acutely in the villages. Peasant boys from land-hungry villages are driven to seek a livelihood in the towns, thus creating a pool of unskilled but eager labor which deeply affects the conditions of life among the urban working classes. Moreover, agricultural products are the country's major items of export. What happens in the villages therefore fixes limits upon the general prosperity and social stability of the entire national community. It follows that the best criterion by which to measure the impact of Amer- 369 433 178* [464]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

By 1956 "everybody"

×178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
×178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

×178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
●464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees
[245] to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Eleftherohori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[452] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricultural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the 178x
early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor 241
over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long [464]
seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-centered type of agriculture.

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Eleftherohori is to say that during the past five or six years [433] commercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsistence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very 178x
great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabit- 511
ants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has 356
been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-respecting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has [291]
been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, [351]
and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors.

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception [563] to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy members of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done.

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the 178x
desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the 511
world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. 582
One very important consequence is the postponement of mar-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never 163
exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have de- 168
clined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of 621
the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of [162]
the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people 178x
of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circum- 873
stances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys 464
pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that [647]
so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gymnasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as [647]
capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gymnasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of 178x
marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 582
583

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

365 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, perhaps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, [425] supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. [427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several 423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained 428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would 476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth ● 464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others, either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the in- 465 troduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with [427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata [311] (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech [191] was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Mace- [619] donia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends [463]
meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [333]
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [464]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construction – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
727 forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
[669] expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
[653] in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

621 433 animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought [366] their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, [438] where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five [491] miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-[258] pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which em-[464] ployed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the sea-[388] son. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed [258] down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had [491] been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. [438] Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a 621 purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a de-669 crease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabit-722 ants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the [161] village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kala-[162] mata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

/11 cont./ 000

conditions under which they had to move. At the present time there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to anyone else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems of the young men. 464 166 [425] [427]

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is prohibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the members of their family. 602 [596] 178 [621] [582] [736] [737]

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in 1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its importance as a military post. People have come and gone. Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the language they would tell the people of the futility of the differentiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built, 175 621 [712] [136]

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi community is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 241 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435] [464]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manufacturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584] 562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

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[241]
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The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

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[249]
[291]
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[623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

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/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

243 466 "You ought to come harvesting and stay with us for a week and you would have plenty of material for your book," said one of the men good-naturedly. "When working in the wheat we sleep in the fields with only a blanket for a bed. It has been raining and we have been wet through and through. We can't wash ourselves, we can't even wash our plates — we are so busy."

243 "Where do you get your food?"

465 [262] "The person for whom we work feeds us. He gives us garlic, olives, bread, salted fish, and sometimes a bean soup or potatoes. We all lose weight during this period and wish we didn't have to work this way."

"Are you well paid for your work?"

One of the men, unshaven and tired, but gay throughout the conversation, said that the average pay was about 10 okas of grain for 1 stremma of land (28 pounds for one fourth of an acre). A man might get 14 okas and a woman as low as 7 okas, but the average ran about 10. There was no [562] explanation for this different treatment of the sexes except that the bargaining position of the woman was lower. (I compared this figure of 10 okas with the 20 okas that the farmers of Thessaly paid a combine owner for each stremma of land harvested, while they had to pay 30 okas per stremma when the harvesting was done by hand, losing about 10 okas through this less efficient way. Out of the total yield of 150 to 200 okas per stremma in Thessaly, the cost amounted to 7 to 10 percent of the crop in the case of the machine and 15 to 20 percent in the case of hand harvesting.)

511 "Do you get enough wheat during the harvesting period to see you through the year?"

"It all depends. Some years we do and some years we don't. Bread is our only food. It is our milk, cheese, butter, honey, sugar, all in one. What the grass is to the animal, bread is to us. Otherwise we live on air and water."

511 773 Then, as though carried away with some of their troubles, one of the men asked, "Do you know what we say about our village of Parthenon? We say that when Christ walked by our village he left us a curse, for we have only stones there." Another added a variation, "Yes, when Christ passed he blessed what was on his right, but on his left he threw stones." Even this rationalization had no trace of bitterness, but a matter-of-factness that was supposed to help the foreigner understand why they were having difficulties with food. Other villages down on the plains had an easier time of it, but Parthenon, high on its rocks, had to make a living the hard way.

243 465 Coming back to the question of harvesting, we asked them when they would get their wheat, for they were carrying nothing but a woven handbag or a spare jacket. In about a month they would return, for then the grain would be threshed and ready to distribute. Each person had carried his

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?" "Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agreement is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea. 243 465

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker provided for himself. 243 464 594 243 466 [412]

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where their services are no longer needed. 124 464 178

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds
of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to
whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to
be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who
drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and
fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the
lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during
the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance.
"No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil,"
which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was
considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged
in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
[245] Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of
oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of
pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said,
"If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that
house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive
2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition,
their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant pro-
ducers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not
so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan
from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equip-
ment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing,
many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware.
What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit
and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices,
and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

[157] "Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

583 In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were [243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of [465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

"It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of 594 it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee [571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries [438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra,* or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[4] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what [583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of 184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would 178 choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

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Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[4] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

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[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less
476 interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby
forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at
[462] hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of
[465] what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that
466 we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how
476 the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close supervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The
[123] owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in
[539] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be
[126] noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pictures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is
[785] served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

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634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government
[875] although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
[758] rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[465] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit.
[793] We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

651 specialists think it undesirable to have over 90 percent of all taxes collected
631 by the national government, as is done in Greece, even though much of it is channeled back through various services to the local communities. At the same time, they admit that there is great reluctance on the part of local authorities to take on the tax-collection function and that in those instances where they do collect local funds they do so inefficiently. Obviously, the golden mean has not yet been found in this delicate area of the relationship between local and central government.[18]

647 When the topic of conversation turns from the services to the officials who carry them out, local informants respond fast and furiously, much of the comment in disapproving tones. I have yet to find a description of Greek life, past or present, that deals very kindly with Greek officialdom. This might be said of many countries, but in Greece the lowly and even high-placed official is beset with so many difficulties that it is a wonder he functions at all. His first problem is the low standards traditionally expected
647 of the civil servant. Most Greeks think that it is perfectly proper procedure for them to bestow a favor upon some official so that he will give their case
662 preference, either in considering it before other cases or in recognizing certain extenuating circumstances in their favor. The law may or may not be abrogated and regular channels set aside, but the irregularities deal quite often with rearrangements and interpretations within the scope of the limits set by the law so that one person gets preferential treatment over others. When one comes face to face with the great number of papers that have to be signed to do even a simple transaction involving governmental authority, one realizes how great is the temptation to bribe or bring to bear some other consideration (such as working through the good graces of a relative of the official) to shorten the red tape and wind up the matter more quickly than usual. Not all officials would condone such measures, but they are subjected to much temptation.

647 A second problem, tied in with the first, is the low compensation which officials receive in the face of increased living costs. Since many govern-
[465] ment workers cannot live even modestly on their salaries, they take on
[464] other commitments. These part-time jobs cause them to slight their full-time government employment, for which supervision is frequently lax.

Insecurity in the job is a third difficulty for many of the higher officials.
[661] The ministries, which in countries like France are run by highly skilled civil servants no matter how many cabinet ministers come and go, are
[645] staffed in Greece by people, many quite capable, who are apt to be swept out of office when a new minister comes in. Many, because of sheer competence and skillful legerdemain, manage to survive from one change of ministers to the next, but are never sure that they will weather the next changeover. In some ministries there have been as many as forty different ministers in six years.

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875

They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [554] 875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

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793 courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many
[423] cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a
few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from
[441] the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usu-
[571] ally lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a
little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher
standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to
mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest mini-
[554] mum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called
a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

[794] The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop
appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can
raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways
the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the
kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often ac-
[428] quires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his chil-
dren. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service
of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now
off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a
fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When
I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they
pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the
names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family
was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as
a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church
papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all quali-
fied people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible
candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the
notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not
serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he
makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who dis-
cussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

793 In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest
465 and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop
(Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping
[659] his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupa-
tion back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid
by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products
from the parishioners. *Kondota,* or the subscription by families of so much
wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was
[794] widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round
figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

needed to pay the priests' salaries, with the difference coming from state revenue. Also, the local parishes have to pay an amount equal to 6 percent of their priest's salary to the bishop toward the retirement fund for the local priest.

For salary purposes, the priests are divided into four classes: those who have gone through the theological faculty of the university; those who have attended the seminary, perhaps one or two years beyond gymnasium; those who have no seminary but who have finished gymnasium; and those put in a miscellaneous category. There are apparently sufficient candidates for the priesthood now, and some effort is being made to fashion their curriculum to prepare them to serve village needs more effectively; even the older priests are encouraged to come back for periods of study. One member of the Holy Synod thought that the priests ought to know more about agriculture, economics, and first aid, so that they might play a more vital part in community life. His view of the priest's role was that "he is to help people with their problems of all kinds and settle any disputes among the villagers."

But what part does the village priest really play? As has already been indicated, the Greeks are ambivalent toward the priest.[9] "As an individual, he commands respect, and gives advice to those who seek it. However, he is also a figure of ridicule and of ill omen." [10] A great deal depends upon the personality of the priest himself. One informant told me that when he was a boy their village had had a wonderful priest who was very important. Today, even though the people are probably just as much attached to their religion, the present priest is not popular. In the course of an extended conversation with the people in a village near Volos, we asked what kind of priest they had. "Oh, our priest is from around Karpenesi. He has five children and is a good family man." He was not singled out for praise because of any priestly performance, but because of his conformity to basic village values. But children in that same village must have heard many, many times the local account of what happened to some monks who lived in a monastery not far from the village. This had been built in 1714 as an annex of a Mount Athos establishment, but in due course of time the monks became "naughty" in that they called to and teased the women who were on their way to work in the fields. Finally the villagers could stand this no longer, so the men took the monks to a rock overlooking the sea and told them to jump. The monks jumped and were never heard of again. The present priest, unlike the monks, is "a good family man."

Very persistent and widespread is the belief, already mentioned, that an encounter with the priest brings bad luck. If peasants starting on some new venture meet a priest, they will turn back home and not begin it on that day for fear of failure. Anyone who meets a priest, in addition to "giving" the bad luck to a companion by hitting him on the shoulder, can tie a knot

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 [167] [464] ernment is at the present confronted. For Greece *has no surplus population*, and, if the country is to prosper, the services of every able-bodied man and boy are needed for the proper development of its natural resources. Weekly emigrant steamers carry large numbers to Western lands and bring but few back . . . with the consequence that many agricultural districts are left without labourers to till the soil" (p. 133).

For more on this emigration, see Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America: The Story of the Re-Patriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956); and Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, 1911).

18. The figures used in this presentation of land use are taken from *Greece Today* (August 1954); from Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954); and from data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. In these three sources the years differ, as do some of the categories of land use, but the details prove interesting.

19. The study on idle lands made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece appeared in mimeographed form in 1952 and was based on detailed reports turned in by the field representatives of the Civil Government Division of the Mission. The report was issued by William M. Tait, who was then deputy director for field service. Other informants point out that in Epirus, and probably elsewhere, thousands of acres are owned by Greek-Americans in the United States, and Greek villagers do not feel free to make use of such idle lands.

20. For a discussion of these exports, see E. J. Bell, "Greece, Exporter of Farm Products," *Foreign Agriculture*, March 1958, pp. 5–6.

[428] 21. The use of lots in dividing up a patrimony among brothers in a Boeotian village is described in an article by Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXVII (1956).

Chapter V. The Peasant at Work

[127] 1. The unpublished manuscript from which this comes is "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria).

2. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 8.

3. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited*, p. 14.

[874] [407] [492] 4. Dr. Charles House, former director of the American Farm School in Salonica, played a great part in preparing the way for mechanization in Northern Greece, since the students at this school were taught how to operate and repair tractors long before they began to appear in so many villages. He said that one argument for the use of the tractor in preference to the draft animal was the fact that the animals ate up too much of the farm produce.

5. For the full World War II picture, see C. S. Stephanides, "Agricultural Machinery in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (November 1948), 250–253.

6. Supplementary labor is an important element in the economy of many families and even whole villages. In the Peloponnesos people from the mountain villages can harvest olives and help with the pressing of the oil, receiving pay in kind. When they help with the vineyards they are paid in money, as they are in Macedonia when they help plant tobacco. Near Ioannina there are villages specializing in certain crafts from which many men go during the winter to ply their trades. [465] [438]

7. "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," (1952, mimeographed), prepared by A. Argyropoulos. One of the village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The following comment about this village (Dafnon) by John D. Photiadis is helpful: "I have served as a county agent in that area and I think that Dafnon is not a representative village. It is considered the poorest village in the area and the most stricken by the reduction of prices of Turkish tobacco. This is because [127]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
465 wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
461 fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
558 considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
571 sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[461] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[492] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
445 hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
[465] or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
[314] countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

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248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed
[152] when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

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period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465]
net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804]
per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461]
serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers [465]
a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

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Vasilika's inhabitants and some of the congruent attitudes. The householders of Vasilika take it for granted that they will use part of their produce, in kind or in cash, to pay for the services of various specialists. They rarely make repairs on their houses or on their equipment; they rarely make shelves or simple pieces of furniture. In short, they do not have the habit of pottering and tinkering about the farms either from necessity or because they enjoy it. Vasilika's farmers and shepherds consider themselves specialists; they view themselves with pride as experts in farming and sheepherding, and assign the same dignity to the expertness of others. To say of a man, *"Kseri ti dhulya tu,"* "He knows his work," is a compliment, and the villagers use the phrase often. They do not expect a man to know how to do anyone else's work. One specialty is considered enough.

Such a point of view means that a farmer, if his saddle strap breaks, does without a saddle or borrows someone else's until the saddle-maker comes by, even if it means several weeks of inconvenience. In one of Vasilika's households, the stone wall of one side of an oven was accidentally broken by a tractor plow one day in April of 1956. At the end of July, the wall had still not been repaired —even temporarily—because the stonemason with whom the farmer was accustomed to deal had not yet had time to come to fix it. In the meantime, the women baked their bread in a neighbor's oven. We learned later that the entire oven was finally rebuilt in the spring of the next year.

When a farmer wants to cover his earth floor with cement, or when he wants the walls of his house whitewashed for Easter, he often pays to have these jobs done by a "master." On one occasion, a stonemason was persuaded to put screens on the windows of the house we lived in, but he went to a carpenter to have wooden frame pieces cut to the proper length. A final illustration indicates not only the existence of this point of view, but also the way in which those in Vasilika might greet a different one. The village house in which we lived had several broken windowpanes when we moved into it. Since the winter rains were due, we thought it imperative to get new glass in. My husband went to Levadhia, purchased glass and putty, and replaced the broken panes. The farmer who owned the house watched my husband work. He kept making the sign of the cross and repeated again and again in awed tones, "A professor who is also a master glazier!" The farmer himself had never thought of repairing his own windows, and for anyone in as exalted a position, from Vasilika's point of view, as that of "professor," to make such a repair had for the farmer a touch of the quality of a miracle.

With the increasing use of machinery on the farms, the villagers may be forced into learning mechanical skills; but the emerging pattern seems to be one in which the tractor operators and a village man who learned mechanics in the Greek Air Force have enough skill to make minor repairs and are called on by other farmers when they need help with their pumps. Major repairs must still await a mechanic from Levadhia. For the Vasilika farmers, however, the inconvenience of having to wait for expert personnel to repair machinery is not a source of special irritation. American farmers, who have been accustomed to acting as their own mechanics, are now beginning to deal with machinery so complex as to require expert repairs. Such dependence is new and annoying for

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The village council also has initial jurisdiction over monies which are not derived from the taxes already mentioned. There is a levy amounting to two percent a year of the value of the cotton and wheat produced by each farmer, three percent of the value of any inheritance, and three percent of the value of money and property given as a dowry for any village girl. The proceeds of these taxes are deposited in the village account in Amphiklia. A tax on tobacco production is paid to the national government. The amount collected from the tobacco tax is redistributed to all communities in Greece on a per capita basis for schools, roads, and the like. Tobacco-growing villages like Vasilika receive an additional sum in proportion to the quantity of tobacco produced in the community.

Initial jurisdiction in the disposal of all monies belonging to the *kinotis* consists in the preparation of the village budget by the council. The task is done under the close supervision of the nomarch's office. Printed forms for village budgets are available at stationery stores and must be purchased and used. The form includes a list of items for which the community may be expected to spend its money and another list of items from which income is derived. It is the secretary's work actually to fill in the form in quadruplicate. He does so at a meeting of village secretaries called by the nomarch and held in Levadhia. The forms are then checked by the nomarch's office and some changes may be imposed. The expenses listed on the form include the secretary's salary, the salaries of the two village policemen, the salary of an assistant treasurer in Amphiklia, whatever is due the tax collector (who seemed in 1956 to be getting six percent of the amount collected), rent to the church for office space, several newspapers brought by train from Athens each day, books for the school (but not for individual students), road repairs, and the like. The completed document becomes, in fact, a theoretical model for appropriate village income and expenditure rather than a reasonable estimate of future financial transactions. Some of the income actually will be deposited in the account of the village and some of the expenditures will be made, but most will not, and even those transactions that do occur may not be made in the sums designated in the budget.

Let us consider income first. The collection of taxes from the farmers is not carried out regularly. When no collector comes to the village, the farmers are supposed to go to Amphiklia to pay their taxes, but few do so. During our stay in the village, a new collector came to Vasilika and sat in the *agbora* for an entire day accepting money from the farmers. They paid only part of their previous year's assessment, and so remained a year in arrears. The interest charge on late tax payments is only sporadically collected from the farmers. Just as the collection of monies is irregular, so is the payment of salaries and the expenditure of other funds. For example, the secretary at one point had not received his monthly salary of 350 drachmas for several months. The use of monies for other purposes depends on the interest of the villagers in village projects, and for the most part such interest is lacking. The village governing body and the secretary fulfill the formal responsibilities placed upon them by the national government, but do not seem to feel that the forms must reflect reality.

It is clear from the foregoing that in the formal political organization of Greece the village council has little power even over affairs for which it has some

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watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *aghora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who
[463] exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

793 The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age, and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight
465 increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one
[874] of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—
[589] which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of
[659] his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this
792 may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General
[423] Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

793 Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in
[795] work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece.
[589] There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

Great) cannot be said to characterise the Greek clergy of the present day. 793

It is, however, frequently asserted that the town clergy are for the most part ill-educated, worldly, idle, more concerned with fees than with spiritual things; and, while there are, happily, many and notable exceptions to such generalisations, it must be confessed that there is some truth in these charges. The education of many of the urban pastors is woefully inadequate, and a lamentably small proportion of those educated in the ecclesiastical schools—and to whom, one might suppose, the Church would turn in recruiting her ministry for the urban parishes—seem ready to offer themselves for ordination. 369 [871]

This leakage is in part explained by the late canonical age for ordination, but the reluctance of many well-educated men to become parish priests is also due in no small measure to the precarious economic situation of the clergy. "Our diocese", a Greek bishop wrote to me in 1949, "lacks educated clergy . . . no eagerness is to be observed on the part of the laity to attain to the priestly office, on account of the poor, indeed ridiculous stipend which is at present paid to the clergy." Other causes of this lack of eagerness may be discerned in the style of dress, the untrimmed hair and beard, and general manner of life which custom continues to demand of the clergy (and which are often thoroughly distasteful to the young graduate of the ecclesiastical school), as well as in the abundant opportunities open to the lay theologian. It is, perhaps, hardly surprising that the provision of educated priests to serve in the urban parishes of Greece is a matter which in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities is of absolutely primary importance at the present time, and which is receiving the most serious consideration. [465] [178 794]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

159 793 727 669 bands of *andertai* and rumours of terrible deeds wrought in the darkness of long winter nights. In August, 1946, the parish priest of Palaiochori received warning that the Communists planned to murder him as a 'traitor'. Papa Costas fled for the second time within less than three years to Kalambaka. There, at the foot of the limestone cliffs crowned by the hermitages of the ascetics of Staghi, he built a little *kalyva*: a wooden cottage consisting of a single room and a large porch.

Before many months had passed, the whole village was back in the comparative security of Kalambaka, and the mountains were given over to the Accursed of God. Papa Costas and his family (all except Leonidas, who had gone off to the wars) settled down in their new house and the younger boy began to attend the overcrowded school. There were many other refugee clergy in the town: not from the diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone but also from many of the villages lying to the north and west of Kalambaka towards the *comopolis* of Grevena.

The second period of exile lasted until October, 1949. As a refugee [465] priest, Papa Costas was entitled to a monthly stipend of 175,000 dr. (the equivalent of a little more than four pounds sterling) and the usual refugee rations of flour, sugar, etc.; but there was no ground to be tilled, no sheep or goats, no fees from baptisms or weddings to supplement the meagre wages of a 'fourth-class priest'. There was, however, some slight measure of security in Kalambaka, with its garrison and its communications, and Papa Costas' wife and daughter wove gaily coloured rugs, and adorned the little house with lace and tins of basil until any craftsman might have rejoiced in his handiwork.

*

The defeat of the Communists at Florina early in 1949 marked the turning point in the seemingly interminable struggle against an enemy who, when defeated, could always withdraw beyond the northern frontiers of Greece to lick his wounds and build up his strength for another assault. During the summer months the wild region that lies to the westwards of Kalambaka was laboriously combed by units of the Greek army, and in October Papa Costas led the first party of returning refugees back to Palaiochori. His daughter and his younger son remained behind, however, in order that the boy might complete his studies at the high school, and it was in Kalambaka in January, 1950, that we first encountered our country parson.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 461 as public proof of their privileged status. 302

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more [366] typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very [441] likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and [465] hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to [466] work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit 472 character of Greek families. The members of a family group are 602 ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and 466 can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

565 generosity and kindliness did something to redeem the balance,
578 but were comparatively rare. The wealthy classes did not, as a
669 rule, show much sign of social conscience or sense of obligation to the poor. Once again, the solidarity and exclusiveness of family sentiment interfered with larger loyalties and sympathies. The result was that antagonism between rich and poor broke out into the open during the war years, and has never since ceased to trouble the political stability of the country.

458 Economic conditions have been acting, for at least fifteen
465 years, to sharpen this feeling. Since 1941 Greece has experi-
578 enced a series of monetary inflations that raised prices, sometimes rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but always faster than adjustments were made in wage and salary scales. As prices outran wages, workingmen faced a series of crises, the more serious because their wage rates were low to begin with. Adjustments of wages, when they came, relieved the problem only temporarily until continuing inflation once again robbed the currency of part of its purchasing power.

The economic plight of white-collar employees was nearly the same as that of manual workingmen, for they, too, had to live on an income that regularly lagged behind the price level.
[554] Moreover, the fact that such persons had gone to school, and therefore felt they had a rightful claim to superior social status, did not make it easier for them to face a life of poverty. The fierce struggle to win a place in the government civil service was only matched by the chronic discontent of those who had succeeded in getting government jobs and then found that they could scarcely live on their salaries.

578 Fortunately for the political stability of the country, wage
669 earners and salaried classes are a minority in Greece. This is no more than a corollary of the small size and family character of
[565] most Greek economic undertakings. Nevertheless, if one adds the hillsmen of the countryside as a third more or less chroni-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

365 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, perhaps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, [425] supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. [427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several 423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained 428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would 476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth 464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others, 465 either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the introduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with [427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

/98 cont./ 796 571

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor.
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

243 "You ought to come harvesting and stay with us for a week and you
466 would have plenty of material for your book," said one of the men good-naturedly. "When working in the wheat we sleep in the fields with only a blanket for a bed. It has been raining and we have been wet through and through. We can't wash ourselves, we can't even wash our plates — we are so busy."

243 "Where do you get your food?"

465 "The person for whom we work feeds us. He gives us garlic, olives, bread, salted fish, and sometimes a bean soup or potatoes. We all lose
[262] weight during this period and wish we didn't have to work this way."

"Are you well paid for your work?"

One of the men, unshaven and tired, but gay throughout the conversation, said that the average pay was about 10 okas of grain for 1 stremma of land (28 pounds for one fourth of an acre). A man might get 14 okas and
[562] a woman as low as 7 okas, but the average ran about 10. There was no explanation for this different treatment of the sexes except that the bargaining position of the woman was lower. (I compared this figure of 10 okas with the 20 okas that the farmers of Thessaly paid a combine owner for each stremma of land harvested, while they had to pay 30 okas per stremma when the harvesting was done by hand, losing about 10 okas through this less efficient way. Out of the total yield of 150 to 200 okas per stremma in Thessaly, the cost amounted to 7 to 10 percent of the crop in the case of the machine and 15 to 20 percent in the case of hand harvesting.)

511 "Do you get enough wheat during the harvesting period to see you through the year?"

"It all depends. Some years we do and some years we don't. Bread is our only food. It is our milk, cheese, butter, honey, sugar, all in one. What the grass is to the animal, bread is to us. Otherwise we live on air and water."

511 Then, as though carried away with some of their troubles, one of the
773 men asked, "Do you know what we say about our village of Parthenon? We say that when Christ walked by our village he left us a curse, for we have only stones there." Another added a variation, "Yes, when Christ passed he blessed what was on his right, but on his left he threw stones." Even this rationalization had no trace of bitterness, but a matter-of-factness that was supposed to help the foreigner understand why they were having difficulties with food. Other villages down on the plains had an easier time of it, but Parthenon, high on its rocks, had to make a living the hard way.

243 Coming back to the question of harvesting, we asked them when they
465 would get their wheat, for they were carrying nothing but a woven handbag or a spare jacket. In about a month they would return, for then the grain would be threshed and ready to distribute. Each person had carried his

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?" "Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agreement is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea. 243 465

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker provided for himself. 243 464 594 243 466 [412]

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where their services are no longer needed. 124 464 178

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

[Harvesting Olives]

245 not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to
[464] earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up
461 long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to
[264] last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled
[412] rakes and "combed" the tree.

"Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to
[832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come
[264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had
[466] been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in
[264] picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each
[521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 476 [462] directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men [465] working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 466 476 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close supervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in [123] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be [539] noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pic- [126] tures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] [785] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

244 466 476 [262]

being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

124 244 476

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

244 476 602 621 [124]

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

244 476 [562]

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

[578]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

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466 [Town Life]

602 against the clamorous demands of deserving relatives who badly need a job.

466 The strong egalitarian spirit that runs through Greek life
557 works in a somewhat parallel fashion to undermine the effi-
476 ciency of large concerns. When every man feels himself just as good as everybody else, personal loyalty to a superior in a bureaucratic organization is difficult to establish. A bold spirit is sorely tempted to launch some sort of petty intrigue against his immediate boss, in the hope of displacing him and perhaps inheriting the position. More cautious persons are prone to develop a false servility and flattery of their superiors, in the hope
[609] of winning special confidence and favor. Both attitudes interfere with the effectiveness of large-scale organization; and both arise in large part from the underlying distrust Greeks feel toward anyone outside the sacred circle of the family.

Observations such as these are, of course, impressionistic, and it is not difficult to find many exceptions to the rule. Yet no one can deny that petty intrigue, nepotism and a remarkably ruthless pursuit of individual self-interest are far more widespread in Greece than in more industrially advanced countries. Indeed, these psychological characteristics of the Greek people perhaps have much to do with the relatively backward state of their technology, quite apart from the financial and physical difficulties which also hinder the development of large-scale modern industry in the country. Modern technology is, after all, incompatible with small-scale family enterprise; cooperation of larger numbers of men is necessary, and the traditions of the Greek people make such cooperation difficult to achieve.

This psychological attitude clearly makes the position of wage and salary earners less satisfactory than it might otherwise be. Anyone who has had any contact with the fierce intrigue that often disfigures personal relations among a group of Greek employees is likely to wonder how men can endure such ten-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

62: L.L.O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 M1 Middle East
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Provision is made for a special pensions fund for members of the medical professions by Act No. 62 of 16 May 1949. Financed from payments by members and Government subsidies, the scheme provides for retirement, invalidity and survivors' pensions as well as assistance allowances for members of the fund and their dependants.

GREECE

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The basis was laid for a broad scheme of social insurance in Greece by Act No. 6298 of 24 September 1934 which came into effect in 1937. This law provides for the furnishing of medical care in case of sickness, accident or confinement ; and for cash benefits in respect of sickness, accident, maternity, invalidity, old age and death. There are no separate employment injury benefits, these being furnished either under the sickness or pension branches subject to certain special provisions. Unemployment insurance is dealt with under separate legislation.

The 1934 Act created a central social insurance institution (I.K.A.) which is now the largest single administrative fund, but it also authorised the continuance of pre-existing funds. As a result, social insurance in Greece is administered by some 250 different bodies at the present time, including various principal, auxiliary and special funds. Since these funds often have different coverage, benefit, eligibility and financial provisions, the result is a very complex structure, which can be described here only in very broad lines.

General Scheme

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The general social insurance scheme applies, in principle, to all employees except those in agricultural or domestic employment. The original law provided, however, only for gradual extension of the scheme to "insurance centres" in different areas and this policy has been followed in practice. In 1949, new branch offices were established in nine towns, about 15,000 additional persons being covered.

Medical benefits including suitable medical attendance, necessary medicaments and ordinary therapeutic requisites are supplied to all employees and their families belonging to the main fund after the employee has been insured for six months including 50 days in the preceding 12 months. The qualifying period is waived when illness is due to accident. The treatment in general is free except that recipients must pay one fifth of the cost of medical supplies unless the illness is caused by an accident. To receive maternity care, women workers must also have been employed for 200 days in the preceding two years.

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 M1 Middle East
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Maternity care for insured women and wives of insured men consists of pre-natal consultations, necessary medicaments, and a lump-sum grant fixed at 300,000 drachmae [1] from 1 December 1949 to cover expenses of delivery. Employees are also entitled to hospitalisation, ambulance services and certain additional benefits. Medical attendance during incapacity is normally provided for not more than 180 days and hospitalisation for not more than 36 months. The central institution provided care for 11,800 insured persons in hospitals during the first half of 1949 and furnished 348,000 days of hospitalisation. In addition, a total of 1,361,000 visits at dispensaries were recorded.

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Employees covered by the main Greek fund receive cash sickness benefits, subject to the same qualifying conditions as for medical benefits, after a five-day waiting period and for not more than 180 days. Daily benefits were fixed from 1 December 1949 at between 5,500 and 10,000 drachmae, depending upon the worker's wage class, decreasing from 70 per cent. of average earnings for the lowest wage class to 33 per cent. for the highest. A 20 per cent. supplement is paid to tuberculous beneficiaries. Sickness benefits are reduced if recipients are hospitalised. Cash maternity benefits at the same rates as for sickness are payable for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement, and nursing benefits of the same size are payable for an additional 60 days. In case of accident, whether or not connected with employment, there is no qualifying period for cash benefit, the waiting period is reduced to three days, the daily benefit is 20 per cent. higher, and the maximum duration is extended to 750 days. A flat grant of 300,000 drachmae is payable to cover funeral expenses.

At the beginning of 1950 the central fund had 19,000 pensioners and covered 348,000 insured persons ; the other principal funds had 34,000 pensioners and 132,000 insured members. Invalidity pensions are payable by the central fund to employees incapable of earning more than 50 per cent. of usual earnings. Qualifying employment of 750 days with 300 in the preceding four years is required for a full pension, except that a shorter qualifying period or no such period at all is required in the case of incapacity due to a non-occupational or an occupational accident, respectively. The amount of pension varies according to the beneficiary's wage class and the time he has spent in insurance, the minimum being 175,000 drachmae per month since 1 October 1949, when new rates were introduced. A supplement graduated according to the degree of incapacity is payable when incapacity is due to employment injury, and supplements are also provided when invalidity is caused by

[1] 1 Greek drachma equals 0.0002 of a U.S. dollar.

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 Ml Middle East
Greece EHI

745 466 tuberculosis or constant attendance is required. Pensions are commuted into a lump sum equal to three years of pension when pensioners reside abroad more than six months without approval of the insurance institution. Greece ratified the Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation) Convention, 1925, in 1936.

745 Old-age pensions at the same rates as invalidity pensions, and subject to the same qualifying conditions, are payable at the age of 65 for men and that of 60 for women. On the death of an employee meeting the qualifying conditions, pensions are payable to a surviving spouse, orphans, and dependent parents or grandchildren, which are computed as a percentage of the deceased's potential invalidity pension : a widow, regardless of age, receives 40 per cent., each half orphan 20 per cent., and each full orphan 40 per cent., subject to a maximum of 100 per cent.

The medical and cash benefits referred to above are financed, for workers covered by the central fund, by means of an employer contribution of 11 per cent. and an employee contribution of 4 per cent. of wages. Total contributions received by the fund in 1949 averaged about 19,000 million drachmae monthly. A number of principal and subsidiary funds other than the main fund receive the proceeds of various special excise taxes earmarked for their use, as well as employer and employee contributions.

Unemployment Insurance and Special Schemes

745 466 An unemployment insurance scheme for industrial and commercial workers in Greece was established by Act No. 118 of 13 February 1945. This scheme is also being applied only gradually to different regions of the country. Employment for 180 days during the preceding 18 months is normally required to qualify for benefit. There is a five-day waiting period for wage earners and one of 10 days for salaried employees. The basic benefit is equal for wage earners to 40 per cent. and for salaried employees to 50 per cent. of the average wage or salary for the wage class concerned. A 10 per cent. supplement is payable for each dependant (including a wife over 44, a husband over 64 and children under 16), provided that the total benefit may not exceed 70 per cent. of wages. Benefits are usually payable for a maximum of 182 working days. The scheme is financed by a 1 per cent. contribution, of which the employer pays three fourths and the employee one fourth.

In addition to the social insurance and unemployment insurance schemes for industrial and commercial workers in general, special schemes exist for seamen (sickness, pension, unemployment and tuberculosis insurance), miners (sickness and pension insurance), public

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 M1 Middle East
Greece MR1
Iran MA1

employees (sickness, pensions and family allowances), tobacco workers (sickness, maternity, invalidity, old-age, death and seasonal unemployment insurance) and independent workers in commerce and small-scale industry (pension insurance).[1]

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IRAN

Establishment Health and Mutual Aid Funds

In 74J 466

A Labour Code adopted by the Iranian Council of Ministers on 18 May 1946 provisionally required each factory to set up a health fund to assist workers in the event of non-occupational sickness and a mutual aid fund to aid them in respect of marriage, family maintenance, unemployment, incapacity and funeral expenses. A 2 per cent. employer contribution and a 1 per cent. employee contribution were provided for financing the two types of funds.

This 1946 scheme applied in 1950 to about 150,000 workers employed by the larger industrial establishments, including 60,000 employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. and 25,000 railway employees. Employers of over two thirds of these workers had set up their own health services with medical staff, hospitals, dispensaries and pharmacies, and also paid partial or full wages during sickness ; the cost of these services for different firms is thought to be between 2 and 6 per cent. of wages. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. had 70 doctors on its staff, specialists, 45 trained nurses, and other auxiliary personnel ; three hospitals with 620 beds ; laboratories ; and numerous dispensaries. The railways had seven hospitals and 34 dispensaries, while employers in Isfahan maintained a 70-bed hospital. Cash benefits of varying size were also being paid by mutual aid funds functioning in different establishments.

Social Insurance Legislation

On 7 June 1949, the Iranian Parliament approved a new experimental Labour Act which is to continue in force until adoption of another Bill. The latter is to be submitted by the Government within one year and is to take account of experience gained under the temporary law. The new Act establishes a central mutual aid and workers' insurance fund for urban wage earners employed in establishments to be specified by

[1] See INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, Studies and Reports, N.S., No. 12: *Labour Problems in Greece* (Geneva, 1949), Chapter V, for a detailed description and analysis of the Greek social security scheme.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of authority — the boss. With some of the younger migrants, the boss may become a father-surrogate; for others, he may represent a challenge to their independence. 369

Furthermore, a job-focused life means a regimented routine, particularly if fellow workers in an assembly line are dependent upon one's own performance. In such cases, others make decisions which one has to carry out. Along with this, a time consciousness, not necessarily present in the village, has to develop, particularly if factory managers are Western-trained. To live by the clock instead of by the sun calls for a major psychological orientation for many villagers.

Also inherent in this arrangement is the fact that the individual and not the family becomes the economic unit. To be sure, different family members may bring their earnings to a common family purse, but they each must go out to tasks over which the family as a group has no control. And as the individual becomes economically more prominent in his environment, he finds his security increasingly in the skills which he possesses. Industrialization and urbanization, therefore, work out part of their changes simply because jobs loom large and life becomes focused on them.

The villager while changing into an urbanite may need welfare and housing programs, largely governmental in origin. He may try to maintain connections with others in the city who have come from his same area; he may have relatives nearby upon whom he can depend in times of emergency; he may never completely cut off his ties with his home village; but he quite often stands in need of unemployment compensation, his wife may need maternity care in a government-run maternity home, and his children may need shots to protect them from diseases. A foreign-aid program which finances factories but gives little consideration to the welfare needs of the people moving into these factories is overlooking an important social dimension. The developing countries also need help in learning effective welfare and health practices as well as in mastering machine technology at the management level.

For the transplanted villager mass organizations may possess some attraction. He may be persuaded to join a labor union without fully realizing what membership involves; he may be talked into participating in a political-action group with no knowledge of the ideology behind the action; or he may content himself simply with belonging to some regional association made up of people from his own native area. One can safely predict that most villagers will not actively seek out the mass organizations but that many of them will get caught up in them with no clear picture of their nature. Should they find the leaders of these groups voicing their own aspirations or resentments, then the new urbanites gain a sense of belonging in an otherwise alien world. Although not touched upon in preceding pages, the work of the labor specialists in the American Mission to Greece de- [177 467]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

369 [177] 467 serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

From Subject to Citizen

641 [648] Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

[177] One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

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nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

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deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania. A 342 712 177 [463]

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of A [192]

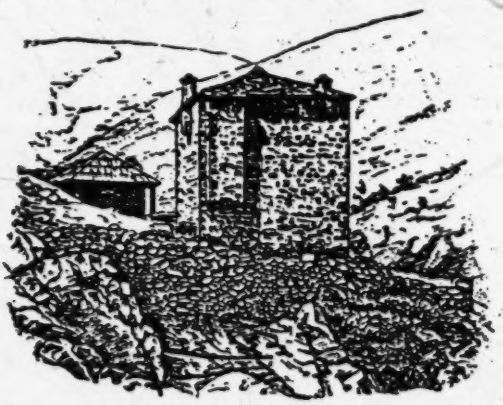

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages[1]), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership A [192] G [331] [467] [484] A [463]

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peniusula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion of the forests, but points out that even in classical times portions of Greek forests were felled to provide lumber for the construction of Athenian triremes.[13] He dates the beginning of the serious destruction of Greek forests during the Roman invasion of Macedonia, when the Greeks lost their fields in the fertile plains and took refuge in the mountains where they were forced to become stock breeders. Other writers fix the most serious destruction at the time of the Greek war of independence, beginning in 1821, when large tracts of forest were burned. This form of devastation has continued ever since, either to clear land for cultivation or to encourage the growth of young palatable shoots which are attractive to stock. An example of what warfare can do is the cutting down of the trees on Mount Parnes, near Athens, and other places during World War II by the Germans pursuing guerrillas and by Athenians in need of fuel.

The remaining land area of Greece which is not arable and not in forest, certainly over 50 percent, is either in scrub oak or is open rocky range, a fact which makes sheep and goat raising an important branch of the economy.

Where there are mountains there should be useful minerals. Greece does have a variety of mineral deposits, including some iron ore of high content, iron pyrites, emery, copper, zinc, lead magnesite, chromite, and lignite. An American company is now exploiting a fairly large deposit of asbestos south of Kozane. There is no coal, but much more extensive use could be made of the "brown coal," or lignite, to reduce or eliminate the heavy import of coal. Even if the resources listed here, as well as others not touched upon, were fully utilized, Greece would still compare unfavorably with most other countries.

These barren, colorful mountains modify the climate.[14] We often tend to think of Greece as having a Mediterranean climate, mindful of its similarity to Florida or California. Actually, what is called a Mediterranean climate — a hot, dry, cloudless summer, frequent north winds, and a mild, rainy, cloudy winter — prevails over only a small portion of Greece, such as the eastern coast of the Peloponnesos, Central Greece and Euboea, Crete and the Aegean Islands. The map of rainfall shows this clearly. On the western side of the Peloponnesos there is a modified Mediterranean climate with much heavier rainfall. Much of Greece, however, has a modified Continental climate with cold winters and hot, usually dry, summers. These conditions of extreme alternations in Thessaly, Central and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace favor the growing of cereals. The dry areas of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, with soils low in humus, are centers for the growing of the small-leaved Oriental or Turkish tobacco.

What is surprising is the prevalence of an Alpine climate, due to the high altitudes, throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

312 or too little water; never is it "just right." If there is too much, a drainage project must be undertaken to make much-needed land available for cultivation.

312 The most noteworthy reclamation project before the turn of this century was the draining of Lake Kopais, just north of Thebes in Central Greece.[18] 471 The work was undertaken by a French company in 1886 and completed by an English company in 1887, which continued to operate the agricultural estate of sixty thousand acres down to its purchase by the Greek government prior to the November elections of 1952. At that time, this large holding, along with its complicated drainage system, was turned over to the former tenants, who had worked for the foreign company. Now as owners, or as members of a cooperative, they face the necessity of making their contribution to the over-all maintenance of the drainage channels so that the water may run off adequately and prevent the land from reverting to its once-marshy condition. According to some foreign technicians, the Greeks are doing a good job of managing this operation.

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312 Much of the time, however, there is too little water through the growing season. One answer to this scarcity has been the recent drilling of hundreds of wells, from which water is pumped to the thirsty fields through irrigation ditches. In addition, a number of ambitious water-control projects have led to considerable storage of water and the spread of irrigation.

312 In villages, usually on the edges of plains watered by streams flowing from a mountain source, the water crier is a unique institution. This individual is encountered, for instance, in the Peloponnesos, where he strides through the streets of the village calling out the name of the person whose patches of land are next in line to receive the flow of water. One of these criers had a voice so powerful that, while standing on the small plain below, he could notify people in the village on the mountainside hundreds of yards away.

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312 A Greek villager, like the Arab, will make much over the merits of the water of his homeplace. To praise the water he will speak of it as *chonephtiko nero,* or "digestive water." He will even fight over it, as the following news item shows.

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> Athens. The Kentucky mountaineers' storied concept of feudin' justice reached here recently and two girls were killed and four men were critically injured.
>
> Two Greek villages — Kerasovo and Papadates — went to war a few days ago to settle a dispute over water rights, and 400 men, women, and children battled for hours with clubs, hoes, knives and hand grenades.
>
> Two army companies were sent to restore order.
>
> The cause of the trouble was water. Sovereignty over Cold Fountain, a spring irrigating the wheat-fields of Kerasovo, was contested by the farmers of neighboring Papadates.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

How strong are cooperatives in Greece today? In 1957, they numbered 7,127 and had a membership of 718,000.[9] They therefore constitute the principal farm organization in Greece. Those who lead the cooperative movement are quick to point out what they hope to achieve: to narrow the ratio between prices received by the farmers and prices paid by the farmers; to market members' products and purchase for them equipment and supplies; to process farm commodities, produce pesticides, farm machinery; and to provide special services for members such as plowing, cultivating, and harvesting.[10] Since many of the Greek farmers are too impoverished to raise sufficient capital on their own to finance a local cooperative, they are therefore dependent upon those cooperatives for which the government, through the Agricultural Bank, provides all the funds and over which it insists on centralized control.

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How the Villagers View Cooperatives

What the FAO study team, the American missioners, and even the Greek government officials think about agricultural cooperatives is secondary to what the Greek peasants themselves think. Their opinions ranged all the way from those of open resentment and hostility to those of great pride in local cooperative achievements. To be told, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, that some villagers whom we wanted to see had hid upon our arrival, for they thought that we were either cooperative officials or connected with the Agricultural Bank, was an object lesson in itself. We asked one of them why he had run away. He replied: "I still owe the Bank a great deal. We have to pay 9 percent interest on what we borrow, 1 percent to the cooperative and 8 percent to the Bank. Last year I hadn't paid off my loan ($70.), so I couldn't get a new loan. I borrowed what I needed from a private individual at 20 percent and paid off this loan to the bank so that I could obtain potato seed on a new loan. Now I have sold my potatoes and the Bank will be after me to pay them what I owe."

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When we asked what happened to people who did not repay their loans, we were told that in such cases the collector came out, wrangled with the people, and if he received no repayment took them to court. To such villagers, cooperatives were chiefly credit agencies and in no sense stood for a local association of farmers pooling their energies and resources to achieve joint goals.

Now and then we found peasants who were anxious to start a cooperative but considered the initiation difficult. In a village near Megalopolis in the Peloponnesos, the people were well aware of the difference between prices received in the village for watermelons and what such products cost in Athens. Like farmers everywhere, they thought the price differences unjust. They blamed bureaucratic red tape for holding up the establishment of a cooperative. Some of the more dubious went on to say: "Even if we do

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
[652] taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agri-
[245] cultural Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance.
Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
[231] this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary
[235] cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this
[434] is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the for-
[471] eigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way cooperatives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the rea-
652 son that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. 407 492 652 423 471 652

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 221 248 464 476 248

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 242 406 426

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator 407 445 427 231 412

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
438 bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the
406 region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
[249] since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the [221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and [433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the [434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance 241 what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat, 454 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to 652 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are [583] exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which accumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to [556] pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from [242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the [462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household [433] and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, [417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/563 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [597]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold- [434]
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 599
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
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Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
594 unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called *vasana,* a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that
[593] their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live
594 well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes,
511 return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

369 437 609 [571] Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 463 555 871 461 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong. [178]

●471 554 461 [427] The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 461 302 as public proof of their privileged status.

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very [441] likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and [465] hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to [466] work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit 472 character of Greek families. The members of a family group are 602 ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and 466 can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

• 471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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of local resources were to occur, then restriction of current consumption would be necessary. Money and goods would have to be diverted from consumption to capital construction. Without such diversion, the country was condemned to chronic poverty, unless foreign investment and financing came to the rescue. Up to 1956 Greece had indeed depended upon foreign investment for its capital development; but the United States Congress could scarcely be counted upon to continue its support indefinitely. In fact, between 1954 and 1956 it became clear that American aid to Greece was to be shaped by more narrowly conceived American interests, which would mean that military subsidy and the disposal of surplus American agricultural products would take precedence over industrial or any other sort of capital investment in Greece. Moreover, a Greek government that depended upon American bounty would necessarily surrender a large portion of its effective sovereignty, as happened between 1947 and 1952. Such a policy would expose Greek authorities to charges of acting as craven "yes men" to the Americans, and of betraying Greek national interests, as, for instance, in Cyprus.

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Dependence upon foreign funds to finance capital development was therefore a poor substitute for financing such development from local resources. Yet no one in Greece wanted to reduce and few wished to restrict the standard of living. The general public was impatient of austerity and wanted an immediate and miraculous increase in consumption levels. The chronic disbalance of the governmental budget reflected (among other factors) the pressure of these demands – demands for higher pensions and salaries, for better unemployment, medical and old-age benefits, and the like. To offer present hardship in the hope of future amelioration of economic conditions was therefore politically unthinkable, even though this was the only program that could really cope with the prob-

471 511 652 663

●471 lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current
511 running expenses and to finance a modest program of govern-
652 ment capital investment proved far more palatable politically,
[458] even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

433 Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped na-
511 tions in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip
663 increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

647 To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of politi-
177 cal debate and the planning of technicians in the economic
433 ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only
645 slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In
663 some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 461 302 as public proof of their privileged status.

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more [366] typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very [441] likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and [465] hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to [466] work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit 472 character of Greek families. The members of a family group are 602 ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and 466 can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

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against the clamorous demands of deserving relatives who badly need a job.

466 The strong egalitarian spirit that runs through Greek life
557 works in a somewhat parallel fashion to undermine the effi-
476 ciency of large concerns. When every man feels himself just as good as everybody else, personal loyalty to a superior in a bureaucratic organization is difficult to establish. A bold spirit is sorely tempted to launch some sort of petty intrigue against his immediate boss, in the hope of displacing him and perhaps inheriting the position. More cautious persons are prone to develop a false servility and flattery of their superiors, in the hope
[609] of winning special confidence and favor. Both attitudes interfere with the effectiveness of large-scale organization; and both arise in large part from the underlying distrust Greeks feel toward anyone outside the sacred circle of the family.

Observations such as these are, of course, impressionistic, and it is not difficult to find many exceptions to the rule. Yet no one can deny that petty intrigue, nepotism and a remarkably ruthless pursuit of individual self-interest are far more widespread in Greece than in more industrially advanced countries. Indeed, these psychological characteristics of the Greek people perhaps have much to do with the relatively backward state of their technology, quite apart from the financial and physical difficulties which also hinder the development of large-scale modern industry in the country. Modern technology is, after all, incompatible with small-scale family enterprise; cooperation of larger numbers of men is necessary, and the traditions of the Greek people make such cooperation difficult to achieve.

This psychological attitude clearly makes the position of wage and salary earners less satisfactory than it might otherwise be. Anyone who has had any contact with the fierce intrigue that often disfigures personal relations among a group of Greek employees is likely to wonder how men can endure such ten-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

312 or too little water; never is it "just right." If there is too much, a drainage project must be undertaken to make much-needed land available for cultivation.

312 The most noteworthy reclamation project before the turn of this century
471 was the draining of Lake Kopais, just north of Thebes in Central Greece.[18] The work was undertaken by a French company in 1886 and completed by an English company in 1887, which continued to operate the agricultural estate of sixty thousand acres down to its purchase by the Greek government prior to the November elections of 1952. At that time, this large hold-
[427] ing, along with its complicated drainage system, was turned over to the former tenants, who had worked for the foreign company. Now as owners,
[474] or as members of a cooperative, they face the necessity of making their contribution to the over-all maintenance of the drainage channels so that the water may run off adequately and prevent the land from reverting to its once-marshy condition. According to some foreign technicians, the Greeks are doing a good job of managing this operation.

312 Much of the time, however, there is too little water through the growing season. One answer to this scarcity has been the recent drilling of hundreds of wells, from which water is pumped to the thirsty fields through irrigation ditches. In addition, a number of ambitious water-control projects have led to considerable storage of water and the spread of irrigation.

312 In villages, usually on the edges of plains watered by streams flowing from a mountain source, the water crier is a unique institution. This indi-
203 vidual is encountered, for instance, in the Peloponnesos, where he strides through the streets of the village calling out the name of the person whose patches of land are next in line to receive the flow of water. One of these criers had a voice so powerful that, while standing on the small plain below, he could notify people in the village on the mountainside hundreds of yards away.

312 A Greek villager, like the Arab, will make much over the merits of the
423 water of his homeplace. To praise the water he will speak of it as *cho-*
628 *nephtiko nero,* or "digestive water." He will even fight over it, as the following news item shows.

> Athens. The Kentucky mountaineers' storied concept of feudin' justice reached here recently and two girls were killed and four men were critically injured.
>
> Two Greek villages — Kerasovo and Papadates — went to war a few days ago to settle a dispute over water rights, and 400 men, women, and children battled for hours with clubs, hoes, knives and hand grenades.
>
> Two army companies were sent to restore order.
>
> The cause of the trouble was water. Sovereignty over Cold Fountain, a spring irrigating the wheat-fields of Kerasovo, was contested by the farmers of neighboring Papadates.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan.

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future.

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem.

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity."

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-5/† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 the smallest holdings, must have found sweet consolation in knowing that now many of their more advantaged village neighbors wish to join the
● 474 cooperative pool. But this poses a problem. "How," the secretary asked
241 anxiously, "can we calculate what arrangement to make with these people? How can we know what to charge them for the risk we took, the major expenses we bore? Certainly, now that we have succeeded, it would not be fair for them to come in and benefit free of cost from the pioneering work that we have done."

As these cooperative members talked of their plans, their eyes glowed with happiness and enthusiasm. The men had concrete proposals to solve other problems. They expect to shift from sole concentration upon grain production to more diversified farming, including livestock and poultry production, the raising of dry legumes and other crops that tend to give employment to the able-bodied members of the cooperating families.

International recognition as well as scientific farming is coming to Nees Karyes. Today there are people from Yugoslavia and Israel, as well as touring Americans, who have seen the way some of the peasant families in this village of Thessaly set about solving their problem of too little land in too many strips cultivated in unscientific ways. The secret of this undertaking, in great part at least, lies in the feeling of responsibility on the part of those who participate, since they originated and now conduct and plan for the cooperative which they jointly own.

Pressure on the Land

761 Most rural Greeks, however, struggle along with insufficient resources and with no cooperative venture such as Nees Karyes to give them hope.
241 A village cobbler from Karpenesi in Central Greece explained the matter
511 in this way: "There has been such an increase in population that the fields are no longer sufficient. The village child today lives more poorly than did his father as a child, because there are more mouths to feed and no added resources."

A well-informed Greek official put the problem in excellent perspective: "Today there is less income per family, less food, and the land values go
[565] up. Those that have more land become better off, leading to totally new economic and social distinctions in the villages. Many of our farmers are trying to make a living on such small farms that all they produce is hate. The main problem of the Greek farm family is the population problem. There are too many people. The villager with nothing to do has no place to go in search of work. That is why you see here in Athens many strong, healthy men selling matches. They have no work to do either in their villages or here in the city."

What the Greek villagers are up against in one part of the Peloponnesos is revealed in *Greece, Ripe for Improvement:*

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. 462
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. 241
The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [435]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the re- [452]
maining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government officials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be imported. [439]
Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444]
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesa:
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

"But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some
● [474] other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

"Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and
[157] all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to
241 locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
[511] get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were
511 anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
[221] their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

G 233 474

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

G 233 241 177 178 [291] [234]

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

G 124 137 G 517 233

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

G 563

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

S V G [233] [221]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlach.3 EH1

words, while their problems are growing, they are now gaining the constitutional means of handling them. They may feel oppressed economically, but they are not politically oppressed.

When I asked Berates if he wanted to settle down, he said that it was all right for the small livestock owners, but that it was impossible for a large owner like himself with eight hundred sheep. He would keep on trying to make a go of it as he had done in the past. When asked how he would feel if he did not have to move up to the mountains, his immediate reply was, "I would get sick," and all of the other men nodded their heads affirmatively. "I even have to go to the same spot, not just anywhere up the mountains. And the sheep need the change, too. They got sick during the war when they were not able to make the change."

The Disappearing Tselingata

One of the interesting types of cooperative organization which I hoped to find in Epirus was that of the *tselingata*. I had heard that, just as the agricultural peasants have their village community, so the shepherds in the past grouped themselves under a chief shepherd who directed their activities and also represented the whole group before the outside world. I had also been told that this form of association was found among the nomadic groups but that it was not necessarily identified solely with them.

A clear account of this primitive but practical shepherds' cooperative is contained in a helpful book by K. Koukkides entitled *The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greece and of Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World.*[18] In this arrangement each sheep and goat owner contributes his flock as capital and his labor. This union is usually governed by the eldest shepherd, who is called *architselingas* (chief shepherd), and who looks after the organization of the union, rents the pasture land, allots land to each according to the quality of land and to the different categories of animals to be grazed, specifies the work that each member will do, and makes payment for all of the necessary common expenses. In addition, he obtains credit to cover the living expenses of each member and the member's family, regulates the amount paid to each shepherd, pays taxes and any field damage done, and acts as the banker and the "grocer" of the union. At the end of each period he subtracts all these expenses from the general income or fund which has accumulated from the sale of the milk, wool, sheep, and cheese, gives back to his colleagues whatever is due each according to the flock he has brought into the union and according to the personal work he has done, such as pasturing, transporting milk to the cheese plant, milking, making cheese and other dairy products, and taking the goods to the market.

The quantity of milk is estimated according to the number of animals each shepherd has, so that if animal diseases occur in the merged flock the loss will be shared by everybody. An important part of the net profit is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

[The Tselingata]

used for public works, especially for the operation of schools. All these accounts are regulated by the general assembly of the members of the union.

In my conversations with Berates, the visit to whom has just been described, I learned that he considered himself an architselingas. True enough, he owned most of the sheep, but he did allow the six men who worked for him to have flocks of their own, say fifty to sixty head, if they could get a start. One of his shepherds was assigned the task of keeping the records of milk production so that each one could have a share prorated on the basis of the number of animals in the common flock. Every six months Berates draws up a contract with those associated with him; he supervises the cheese production up in the highland pastures and even helps process the milk for some of the smaller owners who are not in position to set up their own plant.

Those who knew Epirus a generation or so ago tell of the great authority these chief shepherds had, each ruling in autocratic fashion his people and the area in which they were established. Should one of the shepherds associated with any of these chieftains become dissatisfied and want to move away, he found it impossible to attach himself to any other chief shepherd, for these men of position stuck together. In the days of turmoil and disorder early in this century, it was almost necessary for a small owner to be connected in some way with a leading figure who could protect him and represent him to outside authorities.[14]

The tselingata, from many accounts, were not necessarily based on kinship, though there were interesting examples of the group of relatives being so large that they formed a union by themselves. In such a case, age and generation would usually determine who had the authority and his word would carry great weight among the others.

Even today there are powerful chief shepherds. The mayor of the city of Egoumenitsa, along the Ionian Sea, was the head of the Petoules family which is run on the principles of the traditional tselingata. There are eighty members in the family and all of them obey him. In 1953 I was told that the Petoules family collectively owned from 12,000 to 14,000 sheep, in spite of the fact that on one day in 1948 the Communist guerrillas took 4,200 sheep from them. Although they owned sufficient land to graze at least 14,000 sheep, they were improving the pastures by sowing wild clover. The summer area alone added up to about 3,450 acres and the winter area was additional.

One official in describing this family said that in 1952 some of the governmental representatives in Ioannina were ordered by the central government to go to the head of the Petoules family and take some of the pasture land for the settlement of refugees who needed land. They expected trouble but were pleasantly surprised when the architselingas agreed to give the land and also went with them to select it. Two villages were constructed,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 233 474

but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on an elephant," as one of my informants put it.

Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoules Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

V G 233 178 [474]

The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of the chief shepherd.[15] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grandsons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

Stress and Strain

G 233 241 578 621

The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[16] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests. 233 241 578 621

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in. [423] [474]

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The 233 578 185 [656] [669] [654]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Even when death is there, there is help. Who can bury the dead by himself? The village all cry together, they all suffer together, and the whole village buries him. He too is not far away from them. His soul roams around them and, as they say themselves, he watches them.[2] 476 [764 775]

The Agricultural Cooperative Movement in Greece

One could logically argue that a people with as many kinds of mutual aid as the Greek villagers should take readily to the cooperative organization designed to assist cooperators, through organized efforts, to achieve goals which they could not hope to satisfy individually. But the transition from informal mutual aid to an organized cooperative proves much more difficult than one would at first imagine. In the first place, since the village mutual-aid patterns are a "here and now" undertaking, those participating can see the immediate results of their labor and can hold the person helped accountable to return assistance to them when needed. The formal cooperative organizations, on the other hand, have to set goals which are removed both in time and place from the average peasant. Not only are the centers of financial control and the markets distant, but the member has to wait for benefits to accrue in the case of a marketing cooperative. In a credit cooperative, the loan received is more tangible, but its attainment has probably seemed to the peasant a long, laborious procedure. 474 476 178

The transition from village mutual aid to the formal cooperative organization is difficult, in the second place, because the *formal* organization itself is an urban rather than a village development. To participate in and guide an organization takes as much "know-how" as repairing a tractor or managing a flock. But it is a different kind of skill from any which the peasant has been trained to use, and he is therefore either ill at ease or grossly inefficient when he tries to work with such a new social mechanism. Parliamentary procedure, the keeping of books and membership lists, and the preparation of reports go on around him all of the time, but he is seldom called upon to participate in such activity. This means that, as a member, he is apt to be passive and apathetic; he is also apt not to understand much of what is done in the cooperative organization and is therefore chronically critical of management, the government, and perhaps the whole idea of formal cooperatives in general. Once he has learned to deal with the social mechanism of the organization, he is much more self-assured and agreeable, but getting to this point takes a great deal of time for most villagers. [369]

But perhaps a third difficulty in the transition from local mutual aid to membership in the cooperative society is most crucial. Basically the mutual-aid groups consist of family members and neighbors; only occasionally do they even call upon others in the village. The cooperative association makes an immediate leap beyond family and neighborhood to encompass men from the whole village — men who know each other but who have not

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes closely identified with the central government, which immediately introduces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic greatness because of the well-run association which administered the community's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 to shift away from the village to the national capital, where the Agricul-
177 tural Bank is located, or to the provincial cities, where the bank has
[652] branches to which the individual peasants are supposed to go to "process" their loans.

A second important question touched upon in the FAO report was whether the producers' cooperative ought to be compulsory in one or both of two ways: first, requiring all of those who produce a given commodity (such as tobacco) and who live in a given village to belong to a cooperative and, second, forcing all cooperative members to market their produce and buy their supplies only through the cooperative. The FAO Mission counseled against making the cooperatives compulsory, and the same point of view has been held by most of the American advisers who have worked with the American Aid Mission in Greece. Greek government officials,
[241] however, sometimes think that legal sanctions would strengthen cooperatives and thereby tighten the economic machinery through which 10–12 percent of the Greek tobacco crop and about 80 percent of olive oil, to mention but two crops, reach the market.[7]

474 The cooperative leaders, however, face a problem of social as well as
626 legal sanctions: they would like to guide the cooperative movement from the stage where each cooperative member is a law unto himself to the point where any farmer who fails to sell his produce through his cooperative has to reckon with the disapproval of his fellow farmers. This can only be done through a long-term program of education which stresses not cooperation as an abstract ideal but the fact that a cooperative organization depends upon the support of every member and is not much stronger than its weakest link. It is in this matter of interpretation, of teaching the villager the meaning of cooperation, that the cooperative movement is not very successful. Cooperative officials are so busy being administrators that they do not take time to be interpreters, to be sure their communication strikes a responsive chord in the peasant. Then, too, they tend to feel that they have so much authority (such as fiscal control) in their hands that they do not have to depend upon the subtler forms of authority — namely, pressure by loyal members upon those who would deviate from what is considered good cooperative practice. This is tied in with the psychological problem of making the members feel that the cooperative is theirs rather than the instrumentality of cooperative and governmental officials who live outside the community.

474 One report by A. W. Willis, an American marketing specialist, goes so far as to say: "The Greek cooperative law makes cooperatives an arm of the Government and actually prohibits member control as well as any profit acquiring to members. The entire agricultural economy of this state could profit through true Cooperatives but not through those now in existence under the present law."[8]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

How strong are cooperatives in Greece today? In 1957, they numbered 7,127 and had a membership of 718,000.[9] They therefore constitute the principal farm organization in Greece. Those who lead the cooperative movement are quick to point out what they hope to achieve: to narrow the ratio between prices received by the farmers and prices paid by the farmers; to market members' products and purchase for them equipment and supplies; to process farm commodities, produce pesticides, farm machinery; and to provide special services for members such as plowing, cultivating, and harvesting.[10] Since many of the Greek farmers are too impoverished to raise sufficient capital on their own to finance a local cooperative, they are therefore dependent upon those cooperatives for which the government, through the Agricultural Bank, provides all the funds and over which it insists on centralized control.

474 241 [652] [471]

How the Villagers View Cooperatives

What the FAO study team, the American missioners, and even the Greek government officials think about agricultural cooperatives is secondary to what the Greek peasants themselves think. Their opinions ranged all the way from those of open resentment and hostility to those of great pride in local cooperative achievements. To be told, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, that some villagers whom we wanted to see had hid upon our arrival, for they thought that we were either cooperative officials or connected with the Agricultural Bank, was an object lesson in itself. We asked one of them why he had run away. He replied; "I still owe the Bank a great deal. We have to pay 9 percent interest on what we borrow, 1 percent to the cooperative and 8 percent to the Bank. Last year I hadn't paid off my loan ($70.), so I couldn't get a new loan. I borrowed what I needed from a private individual at 20 percent and paid off this loan to the bank so that I could obtain potato seed on a new loan. Now I have sold my potatoes and the Bank will be after me to pay them what I owe."

474 652 [426]

When we asked what happened to people who did not repay their loans, we were told that in such cases the collector came out, wrangled with the people, and if he received no repayment took them to court. To such villagers, cooperatives were chiefly credit agencies and in no sense stood for a local association of farmers pooling their energies and resources to achieve joint goals.

Now and then we found peasants who were anxious to start a cooperative but considered the initiation difficult. In a village near Megalopolis in the Peloponnesos, the people were well aware of the difference between prices received in the village for watermelons and what such products cost in Athens. Like farmers everywhere, they thought the price differences unjust. They blamed bureaucratic red tape for holding up the establishment of a cooperative. Some of the more dubious went on to say: "Even if we do

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1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
[124] asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
[621] in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

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were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me: 178 243 [293] [751]

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals. [464]

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree. 474 258 [652] [778] [788]

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge. 474 [758]

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative. [652]

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty, [233]

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
[652] taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
[245] In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agricultural Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance. Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
[231] this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
[235] nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary
[434] cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the for-
[471] eigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way coopera-
tives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the rea-
652 son that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In my childhood when the teacher
or priest would pass through the village square people would stand up. The local merchants in the village have changed their status little, for their role in life is still to do commerce. 554 875

The extent to which the priest or the president of the local cooperative, where it exists, is considered important depends today very much upon the personalities of the individuals involved. One person said: 793 622 [474]

The role of the priest should be mentioned along with the teacher and doctor. He should lead because he represents the church and is more educated than the peasants. But there are some priests who play little part in community life. I know of one who drinks too much, shoots off his revolver, and is not respected.

The relative prestige of the village notables has been influenced by the practice of the central government in providing the teacher and the priest. Only the community president comes into office as the result of local initiative, but even his status, though gaining ground, is not what it used to be thirty or forty years ago:

The president of the village is usually a better man than the president of the cooperative because there is more tradition behind his office. But it does not always hold that the best man is picked as president. In Thessaly forty years ago when the president came into the coffeehouse all the men rose in deference to "their president." [474]

A man from a mountain village in Central Greece who is active in the cooperative movement contrasted the various statuses in his community:

I find that the teacher enjoyed more prestige formerly than now. Earlier there was a higher percentage of illiterates, but today many village sons have gone away for a higher education and so people are not so dependent upon the teacher. Since officials do not wish to undermine the position of the teacher, the agronom and other representatives of the nomarchia always consult the teacher when arriving in the village.

This man thought the secretary of the village more important than the president.

When I put the question of relative prestige of the notables to a group of students at the American Farm School in Salonica, I found the anticipated difference of opinion. The majority of the boys, all from villages, said that the president of the community was most important, but others said that the priest would be "if he is from the village itself and has a good reputation." They pointed out that the president of the community becomes involved in politics and is therefore apt to antagonize those who may differ with him politically. Of the twenty villages represented, fourteen had doctors. Only six of these were considered community leaders. These village boys also thought, for the most part, that the wealthy peasants were [759]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

575 For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. [474] They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion
575 of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant
571 of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

621 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life
182 as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is
578 perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in
665 the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These
669 can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search
182

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia.* This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned. 177 178 177 178 874 242

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities. [185]

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments. 178 474 185 242

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II. 178 185 654

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev- 177 464 653

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

184 241 511 [426 474]

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

184 241 178

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

[242]

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

184 423 454

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern
454 farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
241 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
594 but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away
184 from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
184 to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/%3 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill
166 villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

245 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become
439 prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devalua-
[436] tion of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good.

241 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing
• 474 largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in
433 the community, the two cooperatives which were organized
* 178 before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important changes have come to the agriculture of the village. Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent; this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100. The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of money.

241 474 433 178x [242] [407] [427]

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the war.

178x 312 241 406 433 [438] [434]

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

178x [457] [265] [346] [365]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241

1	Harrow	$3	422
1	Plow, iron	1.50	407
1	Wooden plow	1.00	[412]
1	Yoke	1.00	[435]
3	Hoes	0.35	
2	Shovels	0.25	
2	Sickles	0.35	

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

/57 cont./

of the outstanding institution in the village which guides the people in keeping accounts and in taking active part in appointing officers every year. 241 474 [621]

The yearly meeting of the cooperative lasts 2 days and all the men who served in the army take active part. After the committee presents its accounts and accomplishments and its future program, a discussion starts from different members either praising or criticising the work of the existing committee. Different proposals for improvement are made and finally it ends with a vote for a new committee of six. During these two days of discussion people learn from each other how to judge and evaluate certain deeds of the cooperative.

The government, understanding the importance of the cooperative has organized the Ministry of Cooperatives /58/ under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The effect of the cooperative on the people is great not only on the economic life but also on their social life as well. It draws the people close together and they think not in terms of their immediate needs but of their future welfare. [647]

Every year the cooperative sends two students to the high school, gives prizes to the farmers that raise good seed and best animals, gives financial aid to the poor, and helps the unfortunate sick to go to hospitals. These are signs of the role the cooperative can play in the near future. [741]

Besides unifying the whole village into an economic unit it also is becoming a center of spreading higher ideals among the people. The powers at the present are restricted due to the lack of experienced men with foresight. There are possibilities for one to do more in devising community programs by working with the cooperative. [621]

Farm Technique. The biblical type of farming is still the kind that yields the greater return with the least cost. The animal power is composed of oxen with a yoke and an iron plow. The wooden plow still has its /59/ blessings for certain soils. In soil 241 [492] [407]

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems. 241 242

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece. There is pride in the many co-operatives, spread throughout the country; there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there, and there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means, that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village, to be prevented from destroying its resources, and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare. There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government. All this is true. According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units, the Greeks were, and to some extent are now completely co-operative. Families and villages were responsible for their own indigent; a prominent peasant would impoverish himself to build a village school or improve the water system. They made their own decisions and carried them out; they chose their own leaders. The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century. But later, the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern, taking no account of the existing units of co-operation, or of the existing patterns of self-participation. The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact, in co-operating. The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair. Actually the rate, which was eight per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928, and is now as high as 18 per cent, with incidental fees, which peasants get from the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set with the welfare of the farmers in view, or according to their decision. In 1936, more than 3,000 of the 3,761 were credit co-operatives under the central supervision of the state. The others, such as the producers' co-operatives, were mainly compulsory. Such were the citrus growers' associations in Crete, the wine growers' association in Samos, Levkas, Attica, and Chalkis. There are now marketing co-operatives and machine-owning co-operatives, as well as a growing number of processing co-operatives. In general, the co-operatives are firmly controlled by the central government and the farmers are not even allowed to co-operate to the extent of electing their own officers. As a result, the attitude toward external authority has been evoked, and, in most cases, co-operation has to be compulsory as all government legislation has to be compulsory, and the so-called co-operative decisions are circumvented like all government decisions. Another attitude has also been evoked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed the dictatorship; deprived of responsible decision and participation, these people fell into the pattern of accepted dependency; such people, unaware that they are "co-operating", say: "The government is

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

taking good care of us." The government itself, aware of this shifting of responsibility and lack of participation, urges the people, in its organ, *The Battle for Survival*, to work for their own welfare and to turn to the State only for guidance, or when they can do no more for themselves. It tries to put this co-operation on a par with war, both in the title of its bi-weekly publication, and in the phrasing of its admonition. But the disrupting centralization, the hated interference, remains. "Compulsory free labour" is demanded of the farmers, and there is a whole class of compulsory co-operatives for the betterment of the villages. These are circumvented with the ingenuity born of long experience. However we also have a recent report of a village where everyone gets up when the church bell rings at four in the morning, to work, without compulsion, on some village project, with pride and enthusiasm. The work is done under the leadership of a villager respected for his ability and disinterestedness. It appears that when the co-operative pattern which is already present is utilized, the villagers will work together for the common welfare.

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1:Sanders Z-5W (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P.36]

III

The Village Setting

621 Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization.
361 To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and
[369] mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes, or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place,
[491] the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new
[487] roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the more isolated areas.

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him
the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows
[476] him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or
[438] neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture,
[233] frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly.

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are heped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, 'What difference does the machine make?' The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.][6]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors —
> [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his
> [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain
> [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.
>
> At this point his wife who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.
>
> [476] Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu-
> [461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 233 [439] Although before the war Greece had over 8 million sheep and almost 4.5 million goats, these were still insufficient to meet local needs, and additional animals had to be imported each year. The war brought a reduction of about 2 million sheep and over a million goats, but by 1954 the numbers had risen to more than the prewar figures, and by 1957 sheep were estimated at 9.3 million and goats at 4.9 million.[3] From 1922 to 1937, with the resettlement of the 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor, the pasture area in Greece decreased but the number of sheep rose from 6 million to well over 8 million. It takes little stretch of the imagination to see what this has meant in terms of overpasturing and in accentuating the competition for grazing land.

G [167]

The chief concentrations of sheep and goats are found in Thessaly and through the western part of the country (Epirus, Roumele, and the Peloponnesos). Even in Attica, according to P. J. Iliopoulos, a region where numbers are not so dense, the small livestock make the best adaptation to the natural conditions; they provide the peasants with some income to offset farms that are too small or harvests that are insufficient; and they require less capital investment than do large cattle.[4]

G [434]

V G 233 221 [427] There are three different systems of sheep management in Greece.[5] The first is that used by the so-called Vlachs, an interesting nomadic group to be discussed in detail later on. This group of grazers controls about 15 percent of the sheep. They are landless and rent grazing land from private landholders, the church, or the state. It is customary for them to graze their herds in the plains during the rainy winter months, while the lowland pastures are lush, and then drive their flocks into the mountains as spring and summer advance.

The second type of management is that practiced by the village ranchers, who control about 70 percent of the small animals. They own land in the plains, where they singly or cooperatively graze their flocks in the winter; they send them to the mountains in summer, as do the Vlachs. In some instances, farmers in this group will arrange with a Vlach to include their animals in his flock during the summer grazing in the mountains.

G 233 [476] The third type is connected with settled agriculture. Village farmers control the remaining 15 percent of the sheep and goats and keep them on the plains at all times. Usually, the animals of these farmers are combined under the care of Greek shepherds, whose responsibility is to prevent the animals from damaging the crops by restricting their grazing to the rougher foothills or the fallow or idle areas in the plains.

The best way, however, to describe the changing life of the shepherd is not to talk about sheep and goats, but to look him up wherever he is and try to view the world through his eyes. We will do this by visiting him in the Peloponnesos and in Epirus, by which time facts and figures on sheep and goats should have much more meaning.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter
124 in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently
[491] the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under
669 the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist
727 guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

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X

Mutual Aid and Cooperatives in Rural Greece

The Greek village provides many evidences of mutual aid, although the Greeks are not renowned for their cooperative tendencies. Indeed, those commenting on Greek national character usually state that the Greeks cooperate only in a crisis. If there is no crisis at hand, they have to make one in order to get the job done. This view is partially correct, since some examples of mutual aid respond directly to a sense of urgency, while others follow traditional patterns at a leisurely pace. For instance, a group of potato diggers near Neochori were brought together to meet a sudden need. 476 181

A Potato-digging Group near Thebes

It was March 28, 1953. We had turned off the main highway between Thebes and Athens and were headed eastward along a secondary road in search of some villagers whose relatives in California had insisted that we carry their greetings in person. Before we had found the right village, we noticed more than forty people busily harvesting potatoes in a nearby field. We stopped the car, walked into the field, and were greeted by Yannes P. Katseles, the owner, who lives in Neochori, the village just up the way. The men were digging the potatoes; the women were picking them up and cleaning them; and a commission merchant standing on his truck was 244 476 [123] [462]

1:Sanders Z-5#1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less
476 interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby
[462] forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergasia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of
[465] what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that
466 we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how
476 the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close supervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The
[123] owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in
[539] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be
[126] noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pictures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is
[785] served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

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In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

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We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

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In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

244 issuing invitations usually avoid other women with whom they have had
476 a recent quarrel, although they do not hesitate to invite two women on good
578 terms with the hostess but not on good terms with each other. These women can usually stay far enough apart in such a large group that they do not have to associate with each other or air their differences. Men are said to be less inclined to let previous disagreements affect their invitations, even inviting those with whom they may have sharp differences. Their main concern is to get the job done. Just the same, they rely chiefly upon relatives and neighbors. The women in Yannes' living room all agreed that there was no one in the village who had the reputation for not paying back the work that others had contributed, which shows the seriousness with which this obligation is assumed and discharged.

124 But no interview in a Greek village is a one-sided affair. The visitor has to answer questions if he has asked them. Never have I heard questions fly quicker and faster than on this visit to Neochori when the women sensed that I had finished my inquiry about potato diggers. My interpreter was quizzed about her life in Athens, where she got her clothes, how she had learned to drive a car, and about members of her family. I was asked about my income in America, what kind of kitchen my wife had, and about many details which she could have answered much better than I if she had been able to accompany us up from Athens on that particular afternoon. This
[181] occasion showed that when the Greek villagers began to express themselves on their home ground, in a familiar setting, they stood out as inquisitive, interesting personalities who shared many of the same concerns as fellow human beings in other countries despite their noticeable differences of dress, speech, and other cultural manifestations.

000 In driving back to Athens we had to pass the same potato field which had been the cause of this excursion. I thought at the time that a study, at a later date, of changes in the mutual-aid groups would tell much about changes in Greek life in general. Will mechanization eliminate the necessity of group harvesting? Will economic considerations so rule a later day that Yannes will invite only efficient workers from throughout the village, or will he continue to use relatives and neighbors because of his close social bonds with them?

Traditional Patterns of Mutual Aid

476 Throughout rural Greece one finds many examples of mutual aid. Even
539 proverbs attest to the value of cooperation: "bean by bean the bag is filled"; "many streams make up the river"; "many stones knock down the walnut." Union in strength is stressed as well: "where there are many, God's blessing"; "where there are many, many riches"; "the many are the ones who will take Constantinople."

It is understood, too, that each party will live up to his end of the bar-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone." 476 539

Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yannes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need. 476 492

Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd. 476 233

Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakassa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." 476 241 [493]

But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. 476 [339]

Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari* [573]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria,* or the groups of 573 women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring [562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work [574] is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes [535] the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing [533] and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other [589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid [226] activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field [241] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general, [422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Even when death is there, there is help. Who can bury the dead by himself? The village all cry together, they all suffer together, and the whole village buries him. He too is not far away from them. His soul roams around them and, as they say themselves, he watches them.[2]

476 [764] [775]

The Agricultural Cooperative Movement in Greece

One could logically argue that a people with as many kinds of mutual aid as the Greek villagers should take readily to the cooperative organization designed to assist cooperators, through organized efforts, to achieve goals which they could not hope to satisfy individually. But the transition from informal mutual aid to an organized cooperative proves much more difficult than one would at first imagine. In the first place, since the village mutual-aid patterns are a "here and now" undertaking, those participating can see the immediate results of their labor and can hold the person helped accountable to return assistance to them when needed. The formal cooperative organizations, on the other hand, have to set goals which are removed both in time and place from the average peasant. Not only are the centers of financial control and the markets distant, but the member has to wait for benefits to accrue in the case of a marketing cooperative. In a credit cooperative, the loan received is more tangible, but its attainment has probably seemed to the peasant a long, laborious procedure.

474 476 178

The transition from village mutual aid to the formal cooperative organization is difficult, in the second place, because the *formal* organization itself is an urban rather than a village development. To participate in and guide an organization takes as much "know-how" as repairing a tractor or managing a flock. But it is a different kind of skill from any which the peasant has been trained to use, and he is therefore either ill at ease or grossly inefficient when he tries to work with such a new social mechanism. Parliamentary procedure, the keeping of books and membership lists, and the preparation of reports go on around him all of the time, but he is seldom called upon to participate in such activity. This means that, as a member, he is apt to be passive and apathetic; he is also apt not to understand much of what is done in the cooperative organization and is therefore chronically critical of management, the government, and perhaps the whole idea of formal cooperatives in general. Once he has learned to deal with the social mechanism of the organization, he is much more self-assured and agreeable, but getting to this point takes a great deal of time for most villagers.

[369]

But perhaps a third difficulty in the transition from local mutual aid to membership in the cooperative society is most crucial. Basically the mutual-aid groups consist of family members and neighbors; only occasionally do they even call upon others in the village. The cooperative association makes an immediate leap beyond family and neighborhood to encompass men from the whole village — men who know each other but who have not

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes closely identified with the central government, which immediately introduces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a 476 178 psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece 438 was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic 474 greatness because of the well-run association which administered the community's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the 621 guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different 474 in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece 426 today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village [875] of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could 656 be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
[652] In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agri-
[245] cultural Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance.
Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
[231] this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
[235] nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary
[434] cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this
is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the for-
[471] eigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way cooperatives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the reason that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

●476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

representative of the International Red Cross, who arranged with the organizational officials in Athens for an immediate distribution of rice, sugar, and molasses (for children). Momentarily, the representative also secured money for bread, telephoning from Athens to the commandant to buy the bread locally. The Red Cross representative had expected the commandant to buy about eight hundred one-oka loaves of bread, but he had different ideas: "Why not give the people flour and cut down the expense of the salt, water, and manipulation that goes into the baked bread?" So he bought nine hundred and eighty okas of flour and persuaded the flour mills at Volos to contribute another two tons. He also handled the problem of transportation with originality. Since these eight villages are remote, the trucking costs to them are high. The commandant, suggesting that the distribution be at four points, appealed to the local transportation cooperatives to supply the trucks after the Union of Trucks had voted to help. Then the drivers agreed to donate a day's free labor, with the "day" totaling sixteen hours for many of them before the distribution was completed and the trucks were safely back in Volos.

But the role of the village notables should not be minimized. Although the commandant had made a trip through the district to look personally into the condition of many families, he depended upon the president, the priest, the teacher, and the gendarme to prepare the list of the needy in each village. The role of the president came to the fore at the distribution points, to which he brought some men and pack animals. The commandant explained in great detail to each president the basis on which the distribution was being made, who had made the contributions, and what families were to receive how much. The supplies for each village, when weighed out from the trucks, were turned over to the community president. He then supervised the loading of the pack animals and headed the animal train back toward his village. Once arrived, he was to see that the distribution was carried out according to instructions.

Such an experience leaves many impressions: the deep personal interest which the commandant of gendarmerie showed in the welfare of the people in his area; the dignity of the village presidents who asked very intelligent questions to be sure that they properly understood the instructions about distribution; the tattered clothing worn by these quiet, almost impassive villagers. And here, as always in Greece, one sensed deeply the beauty of the natural surroundings: the mountains where patches of snow still lingered, the dark glades through which the road sometimes wound, the occasional olive groves and chestnut forests, with lively pedestrian traffic ready to greet one every few hundred yards. Down on the plain, on a sunny afternoon, the meadows were full of a profusion of wild flowers so delicate in color and stamina that they die soon after they are plucked or after the hot sun of late April and May beats down on the unprotected plain. On

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 736 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing."[13] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[14] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at 783 748 [873]

Pierce College.

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
[435] the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first
time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other
young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no
serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually
themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a
start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to con-
tinue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are in-
volved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary
before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the
practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the
fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort
have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may
even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there
is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that
much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata,* are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings,and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a babytender were needed.

When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neighbors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those potentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to another individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways, for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospitality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to himself, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied relationships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary connections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"gligbord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one.

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants.

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest.

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations.

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too different from each other for that.

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wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality.

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification.

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages.

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized.

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter.

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tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through different organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha*, that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

Kseni, people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages, and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed, both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

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Evidence suggests that

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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602 against the clamorous demands of deserving relatives who badly need a job.

466 The strong egalitarian spirit that runs through Greek life
557 works in a somewhat parallel fashion to undermine the effi-
476 ciency of large concerns. When every man feels himself just as good as everybody else, personal loyalty to a superior in a bureaucratic organization is difficult to establish. A bold spirit is sorely tempted to launch some sort of petty intrigue against his immediate boss, in the hope of displacing him and perhaps inheriting the position. More cautious persons are prone to develop a false servility and flattery of their superiors, in the hope
[609] of winning special confidence and favor. Both attitudes interfere with the effectiveness of large-scale organization; and both arise in large part from the underlying distrust Greeks feel toward anyone outside the sacred circle of the family.

Observations such as these are, of course, impressionistic, and it is not difficult to find many exceptions to the rule. Yet no one can deny that petty intrigue, nepotism and a remarkably ruthless pursuit of individual self-interest are far more widespread in Greece than in more industrially advanced countries. Indeed, these psychological characteristics of the Greek people perhaps have much to do with the relatively backward state of their technology, quite apart from the financial and physical difficulties which also hinder the development of large-scale modern industry in the country. Modern technology is, after all, incompatible with small-scale family enterprise; cooperation of larger numbers of men is necessary, and the traditions of the Greek people make such cooperation difficult to achieve.

This psychological attitude clearly makes the position of wage and salary earners less satisfactory than it might otherwise be. Anyone who has had any contact with the fierce intrigue that often disfigures personal relations among a group of Greek employees is likely to wonder how men can endure such ten-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Paleo Corinthes

[Villages of the Plains]

178 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, per-
365 haps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within the village. As a result, some families have profited far more than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government action, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the country. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements, [425] supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the establishment of extremely complicated property relationships. [427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition, many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several 423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained 428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would 476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion, among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations, such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the complications of remote family and property relationships are something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth
464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others,
465 either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the introduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with [427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal, shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is, men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields, even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

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/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40		
Axes	1	70		
Wagons	1	2,500		
			4,200	
		Grand total	31,510	

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[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

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[484]
[433]
[242]
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We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 594
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. 476
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 621
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built [345]
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [533]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [735]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [314]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [185]
project which was started by this group has led to the development of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable [526]
gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

[Caucasus]

/84 cont./

The village was ruled by "Gerousia", a group composed of old respected people. It is interesting here to note that even today the Greek Senate is called "Gerousia". This "Gerousia" would meet when necessary to discuss certain problems concerning their village. They had no definite calendar for meeting nor approved place for meetings. There were two dates well observed for meetings. One was St. Demeter's day -- October 26th -- for deciding to hire a village shepherd for the cattle and a guard for the fields. Another meeting which was fairly definite, was St. Constantin's day -- May 24th -- at which the redistribution of the land was decided for the coming seven years. It was one of the well-observed economic principles to redistribute the pasture for farming and leave the cultivated land for pasture. Due to the increase or decrease of the family members the land had to be redistributed /85/ according to the number of heads in the family. Once the land was given, the owner could use it as he pleased but could not pass it on to the relatives or friends. The land belonged to the village. There was another order which every one had to follow strictly. No one was allowed to increase his livestock on the community pasture, but he could increase it on hired pasture land from near by villages. 621 623 621 423

Away from every kind of complicated civilization the Caucasians had a world of their own and found it better to preserve it centuries after centuries without adulterating it with the modern civilization. 621

Most of the church, school and community problems were solved by the "Gerousia" without a general meeting or vote. The decision of "Gerousia" on any problem was final. Local conflicts and neighborhood grievances were taken care of by "Gerousia". Repairing school buildings, or church, or taking care of the poor and unfortunate were closely followed up by this group. 621 623

This cooperative spirit for mutual aid is rarely found among any people except the Caucasians. /86/ The rush harvest season is shared alike by all. Building houses, threshing and transportation of agricultural goods is done through borrowed labor. If any, by 476 621

[Caucasus]

/86 cont./

misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178]

/87 cont./ 181 621 [167]

impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit. 621 178 241

Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born 621 476 [533] [152]

/89 cont./
a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of what is right or wrong. [692] The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685] families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. 626 All the men drink, but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. 273 When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543 fairs represent the inception of social organization for the promotion of recreation. 621 The purpose of these fairs was competition in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, 476 which meant so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued 578 these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461 problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517 to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241 time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two [578] months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

/100 cont./

of their occupation but rather because of certain peculiar personal qualities which they possess. Such a cast of characters is very evident in Megali Vrisi. Most of these are due to their ability to speak fluently, or to tell stories, read and interpret the news from the papers or forecast future events. Some of these rank the lowest in the economic scale and their influence is not effective beyond the village boundaries. These personalities become the central guides for the decisions of many persons. Both Thracian and Caucasians have these types of personalities. 156 554

Community organization. The village of Megali Vrisi is a loosely organized village. The various groups and associations are independently organized and function without any cooperation of the other whatsoever. There is competition and constant conflict as to which one is the leading group in the village, but in spite of the conflicts and lack of cooperation among the groups, compared with the neighboring villages /101/ the village is the leading one. This unexplainable progress is mostly due to the constructive and not the destructive type of competition of the different groups, which instead of hindering them is enabling them to get ahead. According to Professor Sanderson, "The coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization insofar as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of community organization in the every day life of its people is apparent." The wholesome competition among the different groups for accomplishing their group projects may be due to the following: 621 476 178

1. Within every member of the different organizations or associations there is an inherent feeling of mutual aid and that the progress of each group is the progress of their village.

2. There are persons who hold office in more than two groups and thus there is this indirect cooperation.

3. It is an accepted principle that each group follows its well-defined program without expecting it to be considered as the only one that needs support.

/102/ 621 476 178

4. The different organizations are a part of the people. Nothing is introduced by outsiders nor advocated by any one person, but through centuries have become an accepted principle of their community life to watch their community improve from all around.

Conclusions to be drawn from the village of Megali Vrisi. 621 105

1. The new village has two distinct type of people with their pattern of customs.

2. The Government's attempt to mould the customs of these groups into one may face difficulties at the beginning.

3. Both groups semi-primitive in the sense of having:

a. Patriarchal pattern type of family.
b. Father having the buying and selling
c. Both women and children doing farm work, unending toil of women.
d. Education or training rests with the grandparents.
e. Agriculture for making a living
/103/ f. Common land and pasture; no ownership.
g. Lack of knowledge of fertilizers.
h. Magic strongly believed by both groups.
i. Purpose of marriage was to have the labor of women and for raising children.
j. Land divided in many patches and scattered.
k. The "Gerousia" as the only powerful and effective group in community government.
l. Religion of paganistic type.
m. Business in its primitive form of exchanging goods.
n. Mutual aid very characteristic.

The low cash income, backward farm techniques, with too much emphasis on the subsidized wheat crop, poor housing and household equipment, inadequately balanced diet, disregard of proper sanitation and other preventive measures against disease, inadequate medical attention, absence of recreational opportunities, impractical religion, slow educational processes without vital

114 Folklore Archives of the Academy of Athens, by the Society «Greek
* 342 Popular Art», by the Ministry of Reconstruction and independently by various Greek or foreign scholars of Folklore and Architecture.

121 When I began these studies at the Didymoteichon area, some 25
* 342 years ago, my purpose was different: it was to study the customs and habits of the people, in relation to their religious practices. But, when I entered the house of the peasants, I had to face a multitude of questions, pertaining to the methods of popular construction, the disposition and arrangement of space, the stabling of the cattle, the storage of cereals and their protection from humidity and rats, questions to be solved not only by reference to climate, soil, biology or history, but which had an immediate relation to the other factor, the one that dominates and regulates all the others, the factor of man.
• [476] Thus, I felt an attraction towards the house as a dwelling and at the same time as a work that came out of the hands of the peasants who build their own houses in this area, as in many other parts of Greece, on the system of mutual social assistance.

My attention was especially drawn to the variety of architectural forms, presenting an interconnection and an inter-relation, and showing an organical evolution, natural to every human activity.

The examination of these houses would help me in discovering the original form, from which the present type of dwelling has gradually evolved. If a house presented a modification or an increase of spaces, I had to find out how these modifications or additions were made, how the new spaces were adjusted to the original nucleus of the house, how they were later included in the house as a whole and formed with it a new and increased type of dwelling. That is why I did not limit my study to one or two most representative types, but extended it to all the modifications and variations, as I tried to find the way followed by popular architecture from the simpler to the more composite forms.

At the same time, I studied the ways and methods of house building, how the roof, the hearth, the storeroom, the oven and the loom were constructed. Thus in spite of the many technical difficulties I had to overcome, I found that the study of popular dwellings was the most interesting and fascinating, and at the same time, the least explored part of my folklore researches. The folklorist may thus clearly see in this study how the man of the people, following traditional types and systems he inherited from his ancestors, adapts them every time to the actual facts and means at his disposal, so that they may satisfy his needs and the needs of his family

are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse. 178

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions. 178 203 831

There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future. 178 184 [789]

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings. 178 476

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 57 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [502] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes [570] a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

180 476 577 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece. There is pride in the many co-operatives, spread throughout the country; there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there, and there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means, that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village, to be prevented from destroying its resources, and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare. There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government. All this is true. According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units, the Greeks were, and to some extent are now completely co-operative. Families and villages were responsible for their own indigent; a prominent peasant would impoverish himself to build a village school or improve the water system. They made their own decisions and carried them out; they chose their own leaders. The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century. But later, the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern, taking no account of the existing units of co-operation, or of the existing patterns of self-participation. The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact, in co-operating. The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair. Actually the rate, which was eight per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928, and is now as high as 18 per cent, with incidental fees, which peasants get from the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set with the welfare of the farmers in view, or according to their decision. In 1936, more than 3,000 of the 3,761 were credit co-operatives under the central supervision of the state. The others, such as the producers' co-operatives, were mainly compulsory. Such were the citrus growers' associations in Crete, the wine growers' association in Samos, Levkas, Attica, and Chalkis. There are now marketing co-operatives and machine-owning co-operatives, as well as a growing number of processing co-operatives. In general, the co-operatives are firmly controlled by the central government and the farmers are not even allowed to co-operate to the extent of electing their own officers. As a result, the attitude toward external authority has been evoked, and, in most cases, co-operation has to be compulsory as all government legislation has to be compulsory, and the so-called co-operative decisions are circumvented like all government decisions. Another attitude has also been evoked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed the dictatorship; deprived of responsible decision and participation, these people fell into the pattern of accepted dependency; such people, unaware that they are "co-operating", say: "The government is

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

taking good care of us." The government itself, aware of this shifting of responsibility and lack of participation, urges the people, in its organ, *The Battle for Survival*, to work for their own welfare and to turn to the State only for guidance, or when they can do no more for themselves. It tries to put this co-operation on a par with war, both in the title of its bi-weekly publication, and in the phrasing of its admonition. But the disrupting centralization, the hated interference, remains. "Compulsory free labour" is demanded of the farmers, and there is a whole class of compulsory co-operatives for the betterment of the villages. These are circumvented with the ingenuity born of long experience. However we also have a recent report of a village where everyone gets up when the church bell rings at four in the morning, to work, without compulsion, on some village project, with pride and enthusiasm. The work is done under the leadership of a villager respected for his ability and disinterestedness. It appears that when the co-operative pattern which is already present is utilized, the villagers will work together for the common welfare.

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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 165 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the
574 agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
527 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two
574 or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and
796 strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

●481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles
[484] through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed
787 jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to
834 men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings.
576 Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the
593 home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this
[492] last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen
[626] riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the
[312] fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is
[482] joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work
[626] and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the
[522] tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

562 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only
593 occasionally with her husband.
521

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack [574]
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [484]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [178]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for [437]
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter,
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

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123 house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he
574 young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impres-
609 sive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

173 Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be
361 legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

361 Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to
167 rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

361 There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advis-
461 ability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the stand-
● [484] point of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Fre-
[489] quently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

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Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

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we ate, we watched the milking going on nearby. There was a rhythmic pitter-patter as the milk was squirted into the big receptacles. Each animal was named according to some physical characteristic, corresponding to "Brownie," "Dotty," "Blackie," or after some person whom the shepherd thought the sheep resembled. As the men sat there we asked them how they milked when it rained. They told us that they simply put on their heavy waterproof capes and kept right on milking.

Some of the sheep were sheared. We learned that the shearing was done below (on the plains) and sold unwashed for "it weighs more with the oil in it." The unsheared animals were simply carrying up to the summer camp the supply of wool that the women would need to use in making their blankets and heavy garments. Some of the animals were sheared in various symmetrical patterns, a style of decoration which pleases the children, so the older people said. These fancy designs are not nearly so common now as formerly, according to Berates.

Despite the magnificent mountain setting and the fascinating activities going on in the fire-lit darkness, the conversation itself — focusing on the present problems facing nomadic peoples — stands out most vividly as I look back upon this evening. Since my central interest was social change, I welcomed the turning of the talk into such a channel.

Without any doubt, the life of the nomad is getting more difficult every year. A major problem had already been brought out in many conversations along the roads of Greece as well as with the people of Valtetsi: land on the plains below is no longer so available as it used to be. Scientific agriculture is winning the day and pastoralism is on the way out. But Berates and his men were most bitter about the difficulties they faced on the road between summer and winter pastures. We had noticed the many signs represented by a pile of stones perhaps a foot high or by tufts of straw twisted onto a branch, warning the nomad not to trespass. These signs were numerous even as one approached and entered the mountain areas. That was why the men had had to drive in one day the sheep all the way from Kalpaki to Konitsa, using routes shorter than the main road but nevertheless arriving late at night. Tired from this experience, they felt such a long march to be most unfair. One man said, "Here in the mountains a peasant will sow only one oka of seed in a field so he will have an excuse to keep us out."

The field policeman, who serves a commune although under the authority of the central government, patrols his beat most vigorously during these days of migration. He not only sees that the animals keep out of the forbidden fields, but also enforces the custom that no nomad family camp in one place longer than twenty-four hours. But most field policemen are quite ready to show the nomads where they can find a camp site in the event some old one is no longer available, for these guards expect a tip — a box of cigarettes or "whatever one has the pleasure to give," as Berates put it.

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the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

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Vasilika

49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.
484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their
443 homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the
484 like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's
484 accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation. But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding
49 hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of
[205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and com-
484 munities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built,
[49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-
[346] tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959,
[245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and an-
[764] other of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

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361 houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

621 156 Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with [594] the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore [484] does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

621 484 494 To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settlement, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore, never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *aghora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the [512] spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

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equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen 512
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads 484
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 512
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 621
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any 512
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 241
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 805
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora,* one sees, first, a man going by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

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Vasilika

245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the
574 agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders, and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two
574 or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the
796 children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's
[535] clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those
[273] who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
796 after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the
[574] adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
[484] the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

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Vasilika

with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

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Athens-Piraeus region—is no more than about 85,000 souls. In terms of parishes there is considerable disparity between different dioceses: that of Ioannina, in Epirus, one of the largest, includes 230 parishes— [162] many of them mere hamlets of forty or fifty families—while that of Nevrokopi, on the frontier of eastern Macedonia, has only fifteen. The average number is rather less than 100. If we take the twenty-four dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace, for example, we find that the average works out at seventy-eight parishes to the diocese, while the metropolitans of Philippi and Neapolis, Xanthi, Nevrokopi, Eleftheroupolis, Nea Zichni, Alexandroupolis and Hierissos all have less than sixty communities committed to their care, and only five bishops—the metropolitans of Salonica, Drama, Kilkis, Serres and Florina—more than 100.

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As against this comparatively low average population and number of parishes one has, of course, to set in the balance the extremely primitive nature of the communications which the Greek bishop can command. To this day the majority of the villages of northern Greece are inaccessible to wheeled transport, at any rate during the winter months; and while the truly remarkable achievements of the last few years—the repair of the shattered railways, and the construction of roads and air-strips—have given Greece a very fair system of long-distance communications, the facilities which most bishops enjoy for travel within their own dioceses remain much as they have been since apostolic days. The metropolitan of a country diocese will think nothing of long journeys by mule or mountain pony across appallingly difficult terrain, his episcopal vestments slung from the high wooden saddle; of fording torrents swollen by the melting snows, and negotiating precipitous slopes where the path seems scarcely to afford adequate foothold for a goat—much less for an elderly ecclesiastic. It is little wonder that many mountain villages saw their father in God but [669] seldom, even in the days before the natural hazards which confronted the traveller had been supplemented by mines and wandering bands of *katsapliades*, as the Communists were styled in the villages.

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When we turn to the internal organisation of the dioceses we find many features which cannot but seem strange to most western Christians. We have come to take for granted the fact that a bishop, charged with the pastoral care of a vast and unmanageable diocese, inevitably delegates most of his priestly functions to his parish clergy. In the small country dioceses of Greece, however, the bishop retains a far greater measure of

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

During the weeks which followed I had occasion to correspond with this prelate as to the state of his diocese, and received a pressing invitation to come and see for myself the desperate conditions resulting from eight years of all but continuous warfare. 727 793

Some months went by before an opportunity presented itself, and then one morning in February, 1950, found me travelling westwards from Kozani in a jeep belonging to the 2nd Army Corps. When I had last come this way, the previous March, we had been constrained to travel in convoy: a seemingly endless line of heavy army trucks laden with provisions, fodder and ammunition for the outlying garrisons of northern Pindos. It had been the eve of the festival of the Annunciation —which is also the day on which Greece commemorates the raising of the standard of revolt by the Archbishop of Patras in 1821—and every vehicle was decked with evergreens and plastered with patriotic slogans: 484 527

ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΖΗΤΩ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ
ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.

The wild, mountainous tract of country that lies south and west of Kozani is a desolate region at all times, and never more so than in early February when the outworks of the great fortress of Pindos are veiled in snow, and icy winds scour the exposed valley which leads westward away from the haunts of men. A mile or two from Siatista the road forked and we turned southwards out of the teeth of the wind, the lightly-laden jeep lurching and jolting over the deeply-scored, rock-strewn surface of a truly Hellenic road—"the worst road in all Macedonia", the driver assured me with emphasis. 491

At Grevena—set drab and cheerless amongst low hills, the gaunt ruin of the orphanage dark against the sky—boulders gave place to mud. It lapped about us as we turned out of the market, where I had a fleeting glimpse of whiskered *papades* in rusty cassocks sprawled round a table amidst the dull gleam of copper pans and cauldrons. A veritable sea of mud, churned by the wheels of heavy vehicles, stretched unbroken from the steps of the regimental headquarters towards the broken line of ramshackle dwellings beyond the river.

Here on the furthermost fringe of Macedonia the road was swallowed up in the muddy deeps; beyond the cottages lay the massive rampart of Pindos, traversed only by mule-tracks winding high among the

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inevitably elapse before the Bishop could hope to be in a position to make a detailed statement. He instructed his secretary to provide me with a report embodying such information as had reached him. Grevena itself had suffered a heavy bombardment during the retreat of 1941 and the cathedral church of the Annunciation had been seriously damaged (the old cathedral of St. George had been destroyed by fire several years earlier). On the outskirts of the town lay a little church dedicated to St. Archelaos of Larissa. This had become the parish church of the refugees. Here, from 1947 onwards, the refugee clergy had assembled daily to sing mattins and evensong, and on Sundays and festivals to celebrate together the divine mysteries. This church, as I subsequently discovered, also served as a centre for the distribution of rations to the vast multitude of the homeless who dwelt in the nissen huts on the edge of the town. On my way back to the metropolis I ran into a large group of refugee clergy. They had got wind of my projected expedition and begged me to visit their villages and to bring back news of their condition after three years' abandonment.

I returned to the regimental headquarters at dusk, armed with my report, and spent an hour poring over maps with a young captain from Volos. We finally decided upon two itineraries, each of several days' duration. The first would enable me to see something of those parts of the diocese which were still uninhabited, and about which the Bishop had little information; the second, to visit several villages north and west of Grevena to which the refugees had lately returned. Arrangements having been made for a nine o'clock start the following morning, I returned to the metropolis for supper and discussed the Zoë movement and the architectural projects of the Metropolitan of Siatista with the Lord Theokletos until it was time for bed.

Saturday, February 4th, dawned fine and dry. The first stage of my journey was accomplished in a jeep driven by an *Epeirotes* who had concealed two British soldiers in his house at Iannina during the occupation. Less than five miles from Grevena the track which we were following gave up the ghost and further progress was impossible. At this point we were met by a sergeant and two soldiers, mounted on mules and leading a handsome bay mare caparisoned after the European manner. It took us an hour to climb to the village of Mavranaioi, which was strongly garrisoned (it had been partly inhabited since the previous October). After lunching with the officers of the garrison I resumed

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727 my journey with an escort of seven soldiers, and with a corporal of the gendarmerie as guide.

At three o'clock we reached Mavronoros, the 'Black Mountain'; a small village, quite deserted and in ruins. Somewhat surprisingly, [346] the church (which was dedicated to St. Theodore) had survived the bombardment. A single projectile had apparently found its mark and a portion of the vault had collapsed, but the walls were sound enough and the paintings which covered them had not as yet suffered greatly from exposure to the elements. A chapel on the hill above the village was completely gutted and almost every house was in ruins. So complete was the destruction that we were unable to identify the remains of the school.

● 484 A brief halt and we set out towards Ziakas, where I was to spend the night. We followed a water-course for some distance before intercepting the mule track. The ground had thawed since morning and the going was laborious. On a ridge commanding a wide prospect of this abandoned countryside we met the relief escort from the Ziakas garrison, and I reluctantly relinquished my handsome mount for a mule saddled after the school of Macedonia. We crossed the Venetikos by an ancient bridge and reached the headquarters of the garrison, a kilometre below the ruins of the village, a little before sunset.

727 It was too late to see anything of Ziakas that day, but the isolated community was delighted to have a visitor and the evening passed merrily enough. The night was chilly and I slept fitfully. From the [136] mountains, which rise to close on 5,000 feet above the village, came the [231] howling of wolves and jackals. Two wolves had ventured into Mavranaioi itself a few nights earlier, and, despite the vigilance of the sentries, had attacked and killed one of the mules picketed amongst the cottages. There had been neither sheep nor goats in these mountains for more than three years.

The morning was cold and cheerless without trace of sun. I took leave of my hosts about half-past nine and was accompanied to the village by a young lieutenant from Salonica. Ziakas had not only been burned by the Germans; it had more than once been the scene of heavy [346] fighting within the last three years. The church stood at the entrance [532] to the village. It was completely ruined, but a few paintings still clung to the walls of the apse, and, amidst the waste and desolation wrought by man's sin, the Son of the Virgin, the Alpha and the Omega, raised His hands in blessing. The destruction of the village—one of the

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largest in the region—was complete and spectacular. The shattered walls were daubed with Communist slogans. We threaded our way amongst the ruined houses to a building on the farthest side of the village which had been roughly repaired to afford shelter for an advanced outpost, drank a glass of cognac whilst my escort laced up their boots and buckled on their equipment, and left for Spelaion and Trikomon shortly after eleven.

The paths were ice-bound and treacherous, the snow deep in places. Spelaion came into view after half an hour, set amongst towering cliffs. A long and laborious ascent between high rocks, the Venetikos murmuring through its gorge far below, the path clinging to precipitous cliffs rising from the dwarf oaks and myrtle to lose themselves in the grey mists that swirled about their summits, brought us to a point immediately below the village. After a stiff climb through massive fortifications of uncertain date, we suddenly found ourselves looking down upon a tiny Byzantine church with twin domes, sharply outlined against the untrodden snow; a sombre red jewel laid in a setting of purest white.

This proved to be the catholicon of a small monastery, dedicated to the Mother of God. The interior of the church was dark and silent as a tomb; within the sanctuary liturgical books, eikons and vestments were strewn in confusion. The book of the Gospels lay closed upon the holy table, between two reliquaries of tarnished silver. We found a few stumps of candle and lighted them before the eikons of the Lord and His Mother; the spluttering flames banished the darkness and disclosed the presence of a host of emaciated figures gazing down upon us from wall and eikonostasis. We said a prayer and withdrew.

Though the church was undamaged, the other buildings which enclosed three sides of the roughly quadrangular space occupied by the monastery were all in ruins. Below, in the centre of the village, we found a second church, dedicated to St. Athanasius. This too had escaped serious damage, though the windows were unglazed and dead leaves lay piled against the eikonostasis and rustled about the throne of the bishop. Inaccessible on the cliffs above the Venetikos, Spelaion seemed built to withstand a siege, and we were not surprised to find that it had apparently served as a base for the *katsapliades*. A large house in the centre of the village had evidently been the Communist headquarters, and party slogans were scrawled over every wall. When we returned to the monastery, where the animals had been tethered, the candles still

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727 flickered within the church. Leaving the saints to their solitary vigil we plunged deeper into the uninhabited wastes that stretched southward toward Metsovo and the Thebaid of Staghi.

During the course of the next four days we worked our way eastwards to Trikomon and Kipouryio, and then turned north towards Mavranaioi and Grevena, to complete the first part of my itinerary. At three of the villages on our route there were isolated garrisons: otherwise the whole district lay abandoned. We passed through hamlet after hamlet where every house was destroyed, where churches stood open to the skies and no living creature broke the three-year silence. At Kipouryio the chapel [669] of St. Paraskeve—a saint whose apparent connexion with the sixth day [346] of the week (in Greek, *paraskeu*, the day of preparation) has given rise to some very singular local cults in the country districts—had been [776] stripped of its furnishings and turned into a hospital by the Communists: empty bottles and boxes which had contained medical supplies lay strewn about the building.

[657] Upon our return to Grevena we encountered a vast multitude of ragged children straggling back towards the refugee camp, grasping huge slabs of bread and honey: more than 4,000 children were being fed daily at the *estia* outside the high school. We found the Lord Theokletos a little concerned lest I should have fallen into the hands of the *katsapliades*—communications in the mountains out beyond Mavranaioi were notoriously unreliable. I waded through the mud • 484 with my captain from Volos to call on the colonel of the local militia, under whose protection I should be travelling for the rest of my itinerary. There was no news to be had anywhere save of the forthcoming elections.

At ten o'clock the following morning we were making slow progress westwards through melting snow: four militiamen, the president of the village of Elatos and myself; a large American mule floundering astern with the baggage. Above the ruins of Doxaras we turned aside to view 727 the pile of stones which was all that remained of the church of St. 346 George. A few families had returned to this hamlet and were living in nissen huts on the hillside below the ruined church. The whole village had been destroyed.

An hour later we found ourselves among the newly built cottages of Elatos. Above a cluster of wretched *kalyvai* rose the fabric of an unfinished church. The village, the president told us, had been burned down in July, 1942, and reduced to ruins. The work of rebuilding was begun

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in 1945, but two years later the people fled to Grevena and all was left 727
unfinished. Some fifty families had returned in November, 1949, and 346
were now settled in their old houses. The church which was to replace that destroyed by the Germans stood roofless: the windows unglazed, the eikonostasis of rough-hewn timbers. There was a tiny chapel dedicated to the prophet Elias on the brow of the hill, half a mile beyond the village, where the holy mysteries had been celebrated for a time. Now the church which was in Elatos assembled Sunday by Sunday for the breaking of the bread in the half-finished structure which dominated the village.

Whilst we were within the church there was a murmuring amongst 484 ●
the crowd that had gathered in the snow outside: shouts of "Behold! [793]
He comes. Make haste, O Papa Iannis!" The parish priest had just returned from Grevena, having followed a more direct route than ourselves. He came scrambling up through the orchard below the church, a ragged figure clad in *kalymmafchion* and tattered overcoat, his boots heavy with mud, his cassock slung across his shoulder, clawing his way up the slope with the aid of a shepherd's staff. We all retired to the *taverna* for a glass of ouzo, and then, after despatching three of the escort with the baggage-mule, the rest of my party (together with two lads from the local militia and the indefatigable Papa Iannis, who, despite his seventy-three years, had already covered the best part of ten miles that morning), set out for the neighbouring village of Anavryta— 727
a deserted hamlet set on the brink of a deep chasm where the inky thread of the Venetikos lay twisted in the pale sunlight. Far away against the towering ramparts of Pindos the ruins of Ziakas could be distinguished: a dark stain on the white vesture which enfolded the silent countryside.

The more enterprising of the Anavrytans had found lodging in the recently reoccupied village of Kallirachi (where we spent the following night) and were planning to return to their houses in the spring. The parish priest at Kallirachi had improvised a temporary oratory where he said the daily offices. The church lay in ruins, and the liturgy was [346]
celebrated in a tiny chapel dedicated to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, a full kilometre from the village. I left my escort at Kallirachi and set out early with a couple of local guides for Megaron, the largest village [484]
of the district and, like Kallirachi, reoccupied by its inhabitants some two months earlier. Here I made but a brief stay, as I was anxious to reach Kydonies (which lay well outside the inhabited zone) and get

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727 back to a populated village before nightfall. The *kapetanios* of the local
484 militia undertook to have an escort ready by noon, and in the meantime the parish priest carried me off to the refectory of the police station (where we broke our fast) and thence to see the parish church: an ancient structure roofed with corrugated iron, the walls bulging and sagging ominously at several points.

By one o'clock I was riding westwards on a handsome white mule, with an escort of local militia, armed to the teeth, in line ahead and astern, and all the mountains of Macedonia spread out around the
727 horizon. Kydonies, where we arrived a little after three o'clock, was utterly deserted. It had been a large village (some 175 families, according to my escort), and the destruction was more restricted than in many
[346] villages of this region. The church, like that at Elatos, had apparently been left uncompleted when the people fled: a temporary chapel which occupied the position of the outer narthex was in a ruinous condition. Several eikons lay half buried amongst the fallen masonry. The whole building, like the ruined school-house adjoining it, was daubed with democratic slogans.

727 The parish priest of Kydonies, Papa Athanasius Toskas, had been
793 murdered by the Germans who fell upon the village on July 7th, 1944. Papa Athanasius, despite his sixty-seven years, had gathered up his skirts and made for the forest as fast as his legs would carry him, in company with the curate of the neighbouring village of Ekklesia, Papa Nicolas Tsabiri. The latter succeeded in making good his escape, but Papa Athanasius was surrounded and captured. His body was found some days later, barbarously mutilated. His ears and hands had been cut off, his beard set on fire, and his chest and back slashed with knives.
727 All about the village were little chapels: one which we passed, as we
[346] recrossed the stream at the foot of the hill and turned towards Rodia, had been burned down.

I lay that night at the house of George Sabbas: the house where his brother had been killed before his eyes three years earlier and whence he had fled into the darkness to blunder about the wooded hills all night before reaching Aghios Georgios and safety. The people of Rodia had returned home only two months earlier. The youngest of my host's three sons had married the daughter of the parish priest, and this
793 young woman now kept house for her father-in-law. After supper who should appear but Father Athanasius, the *ephemerios*, who proved to be an old friend from the Kozani seminary. He had come home for the

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793 while in many churches and halls there are regular sermons at other
796 times during the week.

In the country dioceses, owing to the shortage of qualified preachers, sermons are still all too rarely to be heard outside the cathedral towns. The bishop and the diocesan preacher, with such other assistants as can be mustered from local resources, will visit one or two villages every Sunday, but in a diocese of perhaps 100 scattered communities it may well be that months will pass without the majority of the people having the opportunity to hear a sermon. I remember one Macedonian 'saint', who had taken advantage of the cessation of fighting in his diocese from the spring of 1949 onwards to undertake an intensive preaching campaign, telling me that in some villages it was more than ten years since a sermon had last been heard.

793 An energetic *hierokeryx* will often perform wonders; take for instance
796 this typical week-end itinerary of a lay theologian, a member of Zoë,
who used to be stationed at Kozani; on Saturday afternoon by army
● 484 truck to Amyntaion (a distance of about fifty-five kilometres) and thence to the village of Lechovo, an hour's journey to the westward towards Kastoria. Here he gives an evening address in the church, the greater part of the community present. On Sunday morning a sermon at the liturgy is followed by an address to the young men and women. After a hurried meal he sets off on foot to the neighbouring village of Skydro for an address, not this time in the church but in the square. Thence he climbs to the village of Nymphaion, high on the mountainside, for two further addresses before nightfall—one in church, the other, for the young people, in the school. On Monday morning he proceeds by mule to Aetos and thence to Amyntaion and Kozani. The assistant *hierokeryx* of the diocese will in the meantime have set out for the *comopolis* of Servia to preach, from a cart standing in the midst of the square, to the crowds who have gathered there for the weekly market.

793 The Greek *hierokeryx* can in general assume in his hearers a knowledge
796 of the fundamentals of the Christian faith such as can no longer be
taken for granted in England, at any rate. He and they will speak a
537 common language—even though many have forgotten the reality that lies behind the familiar phrases. The outward tokens of a Christian
[785] society have still survived to a remarkable degree—the fasts of the Church's year, for instance, are still observed as a matter of course by multitudes who would make no claim to piety above the average. In

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THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

He had set out from Palaiochori at half-past two that morning, and with the moon often obscured by clouds and with drifts of snow lying deep in places, it was well past ten before he reached the town. We had taken refuge from the bitter winds that scoured the valley of the Peneios and brought sudden flurries of snow down the pass from the mountains above Metsovo, in one of the dimly lighted taverns that open off the main street, and were deep in conversation with the president and schoolmaster from a village away to the north-eastward of Kalambaka when Papa Costas arrived. We shared a further bottle of ouzo and he invited us to lunch in his cottage. 123 793

He had come down, he told us, to do some shopping, and was off to Trikkala the next morning. He would return to Palaiochori early the following day. Why did we not come with him and see with our own eyes the ruined villages of Pindos? Mitsos—a cousin, we subsequently discovered—would be in Kalambaka with the remaining animals the next evening and there would be mounts to spare if we would come. We were not afraid of *katsapliades*? We fairly jumped at the suggestion —*katsapliades* indeed! I sat down there and then and addressed a hasty note to the Lord Theokletos, Metropolitan of Grevena, which was carried off by Athanasi and put aboard the afternoon bus to Trikkala, informing him that I should be several days later in reaching his diocese on the fringes of Macedonia than I had supposed. We laid our plans for the journey, and the light was failing as we set out to climb to the monastery of St. Stephen where we were expected that evening.

Two days later we left the monastery at daybreak: all the monks were ill, and, since Basil was away in Trikkala, we had ourselves to unbar the massive doors that open on to the encompassing abyss. Forty minutes after leaving St. Stephen we were breaking our fast at Papa Costas' cottage: scraps of pork, bread soaked in oil, cognac and retsina. [262] Our priest-carpenter had brought back from Trikkala a great saw, and a pig to be fattened against the following winter. The pig, despite loud protestations, was tied up in a sack and slung from his owner's saddle: [492]

"He has a splendid voice—we must make a *psaltes* of him when we get him back to Palaiochori."

We led our horses out along the Metsovo road. Papa Costas' niece, Katina, had been staying at the 'town-house' for the festival and was returning with her uncle to Palaiochori. On the outskirts of Kalambaka we overtook a party of homeward-bound refugees, their beasts heavy-laden with bedding and great copper pans. A little way out of the town [484]

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123 we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river
793 Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and
484 screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly difficult stretch of terrain.

About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages
[342] and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins. Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened
[262] one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy ridges of Pindos far above us.

123 It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the
793 tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless.
[875] Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa Costas divested himself of his outer *rason*, and, commending ourselves to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a
[262] few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas,
[346] Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

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727 and horses dispersed and hidden among the rocks; the town occupied
872 by the troops of "a Turkish Binbashi". And yet, amidst all this martial activity and excitement the good people of Metsovo were occupied with repairing one of their schools. "It is incredible", comments this traveller, "how ardent and universal among the Greeks is the desire of instruction . . . even in the wildest spots that man has chosen for a habitation or a refuge." The universal destruction of the village schools during the recent troubled years has done nothing to abate this passionate desire for instruction, which may still be reckoned one of the most striking and attractive features of the Greek character.

123 We did not linger long in Palaiochori. Mitsos was returning to Kalambaka for supplies with a train of pack-animals, and before the
484 sun was fairly round to the south side of the parsonage (where the *psaltes* lay late abed, reflecting upon his astonishing deliverance from the perils to which travellers are subject) the horses were saddled and we were ready to depart.

Some four miles down the valley, where the waters of the Aspropo-
[888] tamos divided, lay the cottage of Nicolas Kokoravas—the *geros*, as he was known in the villages round about. An ancient personage with a great reputation for wisdom, it was whispered that he spoke no less than seven languages. We had made the acquaintance of this venerable polyglot the previous evening, and had paused for a few moments outside his dwelling while one of his numerous grandchildren, a fair girl clad in Vlach costume with two children clinging to her voluminous skirts, had brought us apples as we sat astride our beasts, and Papa Costas had scribbled a hasty note addressed to the president of the village of Chrysomelia (an hour's journey to the eastward) to warn him of our impending visit and asking that an escort might be sent to meet us the following day at the cottage of the *geros*.

"Mitsos will leave you at the house of Papa Nicolas, where the waters divide", explained our priest-carpenter; "there you will await the animals from Chrysomelia."

"At what hour will they come?"

"At twelve, without doubt."

The schoolmistress borrowed Boris' camera and took our *eikon* as we perched upon our high wooden saddles. The children peered out at the door and through the chinks in the United Nations' packing cases. Mitsos led the way down the path between the high drifts of snow towards the bleached plane trees and the polished boulders of the

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torrent bed, and we followed while Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood beneath the great tree in the village square and waved farewell: 123 484

"*Kalo taxidi; o Theos mazi sas!*"

A good journey; may God go with you.

At dusk we rode into Chrysomelia—a large village lying at 900 metres—after a journey which will long linger in my memory. For the best part of an hour Antony the Zealot (our guide) had questioned me relentlessly as to the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the jurisdiction of the *metropolites* of Canterbury, whilst the mules floundered in deep snow as we climbed laboriously towards the village, the buildings of an abandoned monastery far below among the pines. We had been delayed at the cottage of Papa Nicolas, the *geros*, till it was close on three o'clock. There had been a misunderstanding as to the rendezvous, arising, apparently, from the fact that the curate of the neighbouring hamlet of Aidona was also a Papa Costas.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Antony, and the Zealot was preparing to celebrate his name-day. In a tiny chapel on the outskirts of the shattered village vespers was drawing to a close. The village church, dating from 1580 and dedicated to St. George, was a total ruin. We stayed for the liturgy next morning and all the men and boys of the village accompanied us to church. After a distribution of the blessed bread Papa Athanasius Tsergoulas, the pastor of this mountain flock, took us to see his dwelling—a tiny cell of mud bricks set amidst the ruins of the house which he had built some thirty years earlier—and there we sat around a table in the pale sunlight outside the newly-opened tavern and sipped ouzo with the village elders, while crowds of wild, ragged children played amongst the ruins of the church—there were nearly 300 of them and it was eight years since the school had ceased to perform its liturgy. 727 796 346 [342]

Chrysomelia had been one of the most important villages of this region, with a population of 1,050. It had suffered at the hands of the Germans at the same time as Palaiochori. The people had begun to return in October. Scarcely a house in the whole village had escaped destruction. 727 722

The devastation was no less widespread at the hamlet of Kato Perlangion, where we slept the following night, wrapped in rugs on the 727 346 123

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About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. [872] The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had just been released from the army. 875 He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. 123 The priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. [793] For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena.

The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. [484] The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. *This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484●
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do [178]
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in. [165]
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

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/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

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We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [574]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [484]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to [178]
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, [437]
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their « naturalisation » as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called « mastori » in Albania. A 342 712 177 [463]

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word « maistor » has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of « Protomaistor ». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words « maistor » and « protomaistor » that originate in the Latin word « magister » (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of A [192]

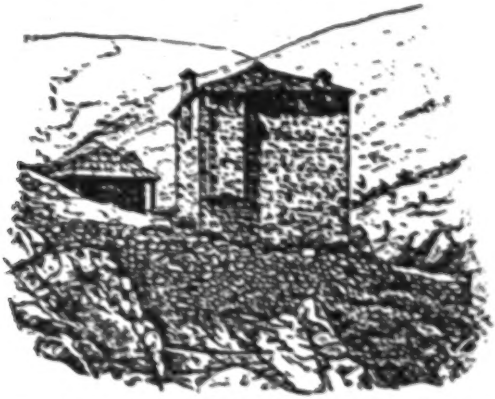

Fig. 75 A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as « Μαστοροχώρια » (builders' villages), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership A [192] G [331] [467] [484] A [463]

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST]

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10 20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan seraja, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν. p. 117.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. 178 179 [1201]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. 184 179 369 [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

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is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

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When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver-headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *triktrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

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[346]

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis.

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The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

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At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

An Ingenious Device

ashore, put off from the wharf. With some difficulty we weathered the hubbub. The usual formalities with passport officials and excisemen caused a little unavoidable delay, but at last I secured a carriage, my suitcases were put in, gratuities were distributed to all and sundry, and off I drove through the sun-bathed streets of Corfu town.

I found comfortable quarters at the Pension Suisse for the equivalent of 6s. per day, including board. The whole place was scrupulously clean. It was, however, tucked away amongst tall houses and had no outlook or view such as the Hotel Angleterre boasts and, incidentally, charges for. Compared with those in which I had been staying of late, my quarters were luxurious in the extreme, and I immediately became the complete tourist. The proprietors spoke French and English; indeed, I found one or other of these languages spoken in all the shops, hotels and cafés in the town. The intending visitor need therefore feel no anxiety on the score of language. Money need not worry him either, as here, unlike Albania, there are banks where circular notes and letters of credit can be cashed—though the process is exceedingly slow, the banking officials and clerks apparently being overcome by the lassitude induced by the climate.

The currency is Greek and consists chiefly of very dirty half-notes of five and ten drachmæ—actual value, of course, two-and-a-half and five. The observant traveller will remark that it is the left portion of the note which is in circulation and never the right, the right half having had to be, at some

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

823 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits
361 about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages
241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos.
433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with
[233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our
[312] village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the
[423] water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired
[487] as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the
[312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P.36]

III

The Village Setting

621 361 [369] Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization. To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes, or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place, the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the more isolated areas. [491] [487]

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 [476] [438] [233] In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture, frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.
484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of
443 fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use
484 them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation.
484 But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or
49 a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of
[205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and com-
484 munities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built,
[49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-
[346] tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959,
[245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and another of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the
[764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
● [487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

pended in the void, without visible contact with the world which we had revisited the previous afternoon. We returned to the *Igoumenos'* cell and sat and talked around a brazier filled with glowing charcoal, while we waited for the weather to moderate. Father Christopher told us of his own experiences during the troubled years of war; how he had been thrown into prison at Trikkala by the Italians and had escaped by jumping from a window; how several years later he had been carried off by the Communists in company with some 300 men, women and children from Kalambaka, and had been in the mountains for six days before his release; he told us too of the great monastery where he had taken the monastic habit, and of its 366 cells. Father Ambrose joined our little circle and catechised us as to our age, our families, were our parents living, were we married or *agamos*: "Certainly marriage is of God; a soldier from England and a *koritsi* from Piraeus, and God joins them. Truly, this is a great mystery, as says the apostle."

So the morning passed and at midday Father Bessarion reappeared with bean soup and bread for our lunch. By one o'clock the snow had somewhat abated, and since the visibility had increased sufficiently to enable us to see the monastery of Rosani, 500 yards distant, we decided to set out for St. Stephen where we were expected that evening. The *Igoumenos* and Father Ambrose advised us to take the easier, though less direct, path by way of Kalambaka; but being reluctant to add two miles or more to our journey in such weather we insisted on following the path which keeps to the high ground. Father Bessarion accompanied us a little way, and then, since the weather seemed to be improving, he left us after giving us precise directions as to our route.

All went well for a time, despite the fact that the path was entirely obscured beneath the drifting snow, and Rosani (formerly the dwelling of an aged female solitary) gradually faded from our view. Shortly afterwards, however, the mist thickened until visibility was but a few yards, and it was not long before we were in difficulties. For a time we crept along the edge of the abyss, edging our way cautiously across expanses of bare rock scoured by the wind, a thin coating of ice affording none save the most precarious foothold, until it seemed that we must be within a stone's throw of Aghia Trias. Alas! there were no monks left to answer our shouts; no slight thinning of the mist afforded us a momentary glimpse of the encompassing heights such as would have sufficed to give us our bearings. For three hours we wandered in an unfamiliar world until, an hour before dark, the mist lifted somewhat,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community. 621 654 178x

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today. 361 [132] [133] [243]

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress. [487] [356] [712]

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the 361 423 [712] ooo

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. 178 177 [120]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. 184 177 369 [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

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1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impressive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advisability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the standpoint of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Frequently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Chapter III. The Village Setting

1. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900), p. 333.

2. In a village of Central Greece (Schematari), for instance, where the people number about 1800, I found in 1953 four small grocery stores, four coffeehouses (any one of which might also serve as a tavern), one bakery, one post office, one elementary school and one secondary school, one church, one motor-driven mill for grinding corn and wheat. There is one telephone, no electricity, four or five battery radios.

3. Numerous references are made throughout this book to information taken from thirteen Greek village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The studies were made in 1951 and 1952 and issued in Athens in mimeographed form, first in Greek and later in English. The first seven were directed by William J. Tudor and the last six by E. J. Kilpatrick. A general summary of content and complete bibliographical data may be found in my article, "Village Social Organization in Greece," *Rural Sociology*, December 1953, pp. 366–375. In most cases this series will be referred to here collectively as "village studies," but the individual titles are as follows: "A Village in Central Greece" (19 pp.), "A Village in the Arta Plains" (8 pp.), "A Macedonian Village" (14 pp.), "A Village in the Agrinion Area" (16 pp.), "A 'Control' Village of the Mesolongi Area" (12 pp.), "A 'Control' Village in Macedonia" (14 pp.), "A Village in the Serres Plain" (9 pp.), "A Mountain Village, Grammos Area" (16 pp.), "A Mesolongi Village (Irrigated)" (19 pp.), "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos" (17 pp.), "A Mountain Village, Lamia Area" (13 pp.), "A Livestock One-Half-Irrigated Village" (15 pp.), and "A Village in the Plain of Veria" (14 pp.). 127

4. T. K. Papaspyropoulos, "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished ms., no date.

5. UNNRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp. 9–10.

6. Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, 1929).

7. H. D. F. Kitto before World War II commented on the peasant's strong desire for good roads: "The village of Proussos is large, but not prosperous, in spite of the fertility of the soil. The only shop contains next to nothing; even the lemons were scraggy. Time after time we were told: 'If only we had a road! Then we could send our stuff away.' Eight hours by mule — transport is slow and expensive, and for the fruit which Proussos produces in profusion, nearly useless." From *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), p. 43. [443] [489]

In 1952 Pierce College students working in their adopted village in Northern Greece invited the Presidents of ten nearby village councils to come to a meeting in the adopted village. They arrived with difficulty, and most complained because their villages were off the road where people didn't see them.

8. *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, revised by Public Health Division, Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece (Athens, June 1952), mimeographed, pp. 12–13.

9. A report prepared by an American engineering firm for the Greek government on a proposed hydroelectric project points out: "The rural villages obtain their water from artesian wells, drilled or driven tube wells, springs and streams. In most of the villages the water supply is both inadequate and subject to contamination. As none of the villages have standard pressure distribution systems, much time and labor is expended in carrying water from wells and springs. Most of the rural homes are small and poorly lighted, and sanitary facilities are primitive."

10. *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, p. 25.

11. Useful works on the Greek house are: K. Doxiades and others, *Dodekanesos: to oikistiko kai plastiko provlema* (The Dodecanese: The Problem of Housing from the Point of Design) (Athens, 1950); D. Loukopoulos, *Aitolikai oikesseis, skeve kai trophai* (Aetolian Housing, Tools, and Food) (Athens, 1926); D. E. Kalitsounakes,

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

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[178]
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Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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1. This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955-56. It was supported by grants made to me under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Dr. Friedl's husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the research throughout.

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2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250.

[113]

3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim*; Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 241.

[p. 24(A)]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are [621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to [361] the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of [423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the [133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece, [134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting [312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently, [134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

241 Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton 312 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural under- [406] ground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasiliki's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for [363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not 621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider- 361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the moustain villages. As will be seen, 182

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.

484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their
443 homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the
484 like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's
484 accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation. But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding
49 hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of
[205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and com-
484 munities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built,
[49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-
[346] tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959,
[245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and another of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the
[764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

Athens-Piraeus region—is no more than about 85,000 souls. In terms of parishes there is considerable disparity between different dioceses: that of Ioannina, in Epirus, one of the largest, includes 230 parishes—many of them mere hamlets of forty or fifty families—while that of Nevrokopi, on the frontier of eastern Macedonia, has only fifteen. The average number is rather less than 100. If we take the twenty-four dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace, for example, we find that the average works out at seventy-eight parishes to the diocese, while the metropolitans of Philippi and Neapolis, Xanthi, Nevrokopi, Eleftheroupolis, Nea Zichni, Alexandroupolis and Hierissos all have less than sixty communities committed to their care, and only five bishops—the metropolitans of Salonica, Drama, Kilkis, Serres and Florina—more than 100.

As against this comparatively low average population and number of parishes one has, of course, to set in the balance the extremely primitive nature of the communications which the Greek bishop can command. To this day the majority of the villages of northern Greece are inaccessible to wheeled transport, at any rate during the winter months; and while the truly remarkable achievements of the last few years—the repair of the shattered railways, and the construction of roads and air-strips—have given Greece a very fair system of long-distance communications, the facilities which most bishops enjoy for travel within their own dioceses remain much as they have been since apostolic days. The metropolitan of a country diocese will think nothing of long journeys by mule or mountain pony across appallingly difficult terrain, his episcopal vestments slung from the high wooden saddle; of fording torrents swollen by the melting snows, and negotiating precipitous slopes where the path seems scarcely to afford adequate foothold for a goat—much less for an elderly ecclesiastic. It is little wonder that many mountain villages saw their father in God but seldom, even in the days before the natural hazards which confronted the traveller had been supplemented by mines and wandering bands of *katsapliades*, as the Communists were styled in the villages.

When we turn to the internal organisation of the dioceses we find many features which cannot but seem strange to most western Christians. We have come to take for granted the fact that a bishop, charged with the pastoral care of a vast and unmanageable diocese, inevitably delegates most of his priestly functions to his parish clergy. In the small country dioceses of Greece, however, the bishop retains a far greater measure of

1:Sanders Z-5W (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P.36]

III

The Village Setting

621 Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization.
361 To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and
[369] mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes, or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place,
[491] the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new
[487] roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the more isolated areas.

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him
[476] the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows
438 him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or
[233] neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture, frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby. [363]

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[1] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece. 491 [521] [619]

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away. [177] [653]

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner." 491 178

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary,
[494] we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of the depressed areas of the country.

Land Use in Greece

What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[18] We may not be able to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest, and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres (double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

Greece Today, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens, in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation; and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Furthermore, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is 63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective average for these countries.

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of which are owned or administered by the state.[19] They were obtained in the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter
123 in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us
124 there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along
[491] the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely
669 off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still
727 stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

462 241 178

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

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Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

[462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

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> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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17. A monk on the ageless journey to Salamis with casks from his monastery to be filled or to sell.

18. Godparents hold the child before the priest for a controlled moment in the exuberance of a baptism, Macedonia.

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[p. 272-K]

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
653 It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias*, often translated "welfare through employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
207 to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
491 Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
178 mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds
[241] true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
[654] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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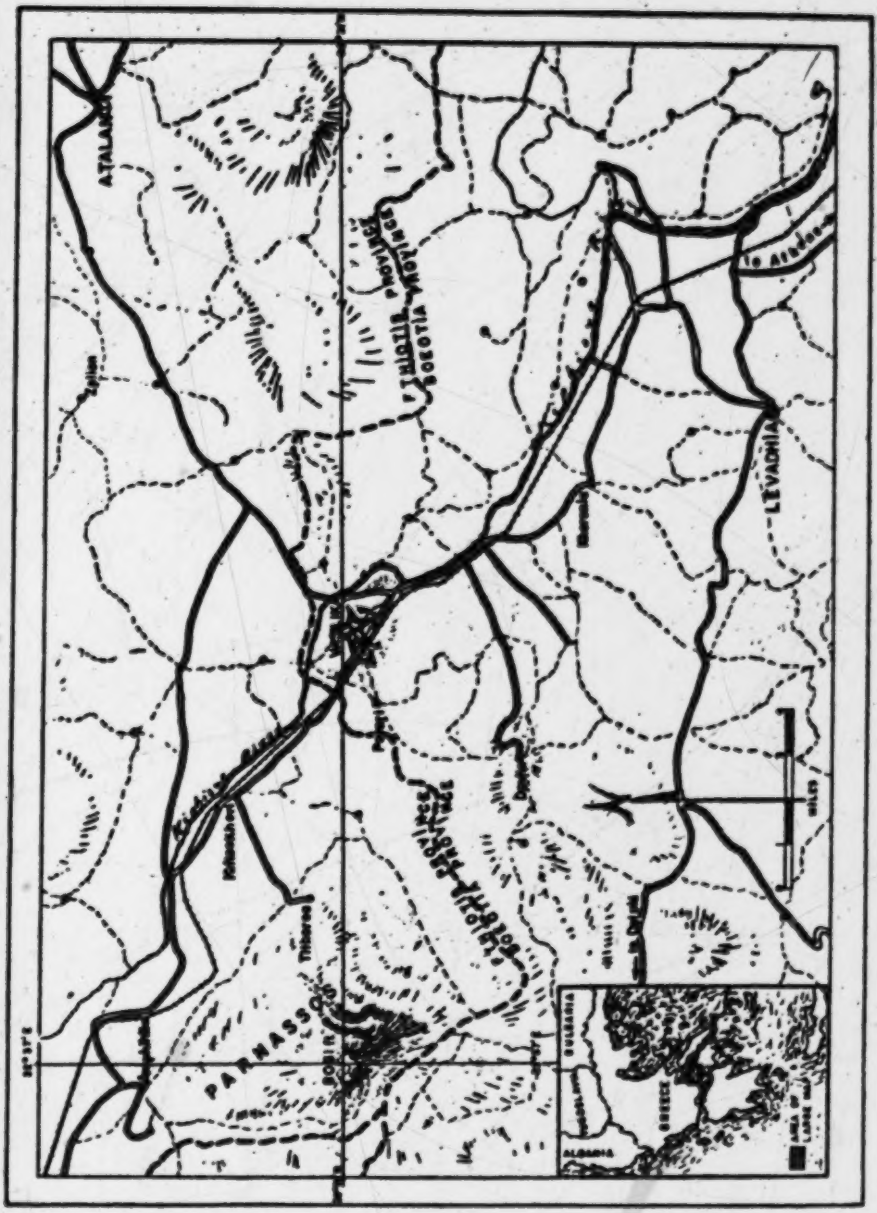
ATALANTE
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to Aliartos
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Thisbe
Zitsa
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Livadhia
Bozhitsa
Thebes
Tanagra
Chaeronea
Delphi
Amphissa
Lamia
Lake Kopais
Lake Yiannitsa
Lake Paralimni
Lake Hylike
Lake Vegoritis
Lake Ohrid
Lake Prespa
Lake Doiran
Lake Ismarid
Lake Volvi
Lake Kerkini
Lake Pamvotis
Lake Trichonis
Lake Kastoria
Lake Mikri Prespa
Lake Doirani
Lake Ismarida

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant. 624 [647]

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget. 65 [622] [623] [217]

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the vilage is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village propety. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such pubic projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are villing to work together to create a village asset. 653 [634] [652] [651] [491]

In the course of our 1955-1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadha be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road. 653 491 [494] [634]

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *agbora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the reponse from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition. [461] [369]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
628 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the
692 question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The
233 question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is,
[622] full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the cords may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
● 491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[527] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

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monks still further reduced to twenty-one. A decade of war has added a catastrophic chapter to this melancholy tale of gradual decline, for it was not possible that the monks should remain aloof from the calamities which have befallen their native land during those terrible years. The day was long since flown when the monks could look down from the security of their rocky retreats upon scenes of slaughter and pillage as armies came and went on the plain below; and, turning away with the sign of the cross and a *Kyrie eleison*, go back to their labours. The unscalable heights were impregnable no longer.

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[491]

I spent several days at the monasteries in January 1950, accompanied by a young theologian from the Russian Academy in Paris. Heavy falls of snow had blocked the Metsovo pass—the one road that leads north-westwards from Kalambaka across the heights of Pindos, connecting the plain of Thessaly with Ioannina and Epirus—and the cold was intense. We had slept the previous night at Trikkala, where the Metropolitan had shown us a number of charred manuscripts which had been salvaged from the monasteries. Our first concern upon reaching Kalambaka the following morning was to seek out the curate of the place, Father Christos Benda, whom we discovered wrapped in a blanket at his fireside. He was not a little startled at the sudden apparition of two Frankish visitors in the doorway of his cottage, and regarded somewhat gloomily our proposal to sleep at the monasteries for the duration of our stay, assuring us (not without reason, as we subsequently discovered), that the monks had little enough bedding to protect their own persons from the bitter winds which swept the exposed summits. He promised, nevertheless, to come with us to look for the *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron who was said to have descended from his airy retreat that morning in order to deal with some piece of monastic business. First, however, we were taken to see the fourteenth-century basilica with its remarkable marble *amkon*, and to visit the school, where we found classes of 150 children overflowing the one available building (which had perforce to serve as primary school in the forenoon and as high school for the rest of the day), and packed into two small chapels which had been furnished with desks. The children were delighted at the diversion caused by the appearance of the *xenoi*. Papa Christos carried us off in search of the abbot who was finally run to earth in a tavern where, monastic business satisfactorily despatched, he was disposing of a dish of vegetables.

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5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

During the weeks which followed I had occasion to correspond with this prelate as to the state of his diocese, and received a pressing invitation to come and see for myself the desperate conditions resulting from eight years of all but continuous warfare. 727 793

Some months went by before an opportunity presented itself, and then one morning in February, 1950, found me travelling westwards from Kozani in a jeep belonging to the 2nd Army Corps. When I had last come this way, the previous March, we had been constrained to travel in convoy: a seemingly endless line of heavy army trucks laden with provisions, fodder and ammunition for the outlying garrisons of northern Pindos. It had been the eve of the festival of the Annunciation —which is also the day on which Greece commemorates the raising of the standard of revolt by the Archbishop of Patras in 1821—and every vehicle was decked with evergreens and plastered with patriotic slogans: 484 527

ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΖΗΤΩ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ
ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.

The wild, mountainous tract of country that lies south and west of Kozani is a desolate region at all times, and never more so than in early February when the outworks of the great fortress of Pindos are veiled in snow, and icy winds scour the exposed valley which leads westward away from the haunts of men. A mile or two from Siatista the road forked and we turned southwards out of the teeth of the wind, the lightly-laden jeep lurching and jolting over the deeply-scored, rock-strewn surface of a truly Hellenic road—"the worst road in all Macedonia", the driver assured me with emphasis. 491

At Grevena—set drab and cheerless amongst low hills, the gaunt ruin of the orphanage dark against the sky—boulders gave place to mud. It lapped about us as we turned out of the market, where I had a fleeting glimpse of whiskered *papades* in rusty cassocks sprawled round a table amidst the dull gleam of copper pans and cauldrons. A veritable sea of mud, churned by the wheels of heavy vehicles, stretched unbroken from the steps of the regimental headquarters towards the broken line of ramshackle dwellings beyond the river.

Here on the furthermost fringe of Macedonia the road was swallowed up in the muddy deeps; beyond the cottages lay the massive rampart of Pindos, traversed only by mule-tracks winding high among the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

491 snows, westwards towards Metsovo and Epirus. To the southward a few paths—impassable save on foot during the winter months—gave access to Kalambaka and the plains of Thessaly.

793 After paying my respects to the colonel in command of the garrison I plunged afresh into the inland sea and struck out for the metropolis: a simple cottage where the Bishop rented a couple of rooms. The Lord Theokletos—a monumental figure in an ungirt robe of indigo—looked strangely out of place in such a setting. The Friday fast was waived out [785] of regard to the presence of a traveller, and when we had eaten the [574] Metropolitan told me something of the state of his diocese. It was a gloomy picture that he outlined.

722 Owing to the remoteness of the district and its poor communications 793 almost every village had been abandoned by its inhabitants from 1947 till the summer of 1949. Grevena itself, a comopolis with a pre-war 727 population in the region of 3,500, had, for more than two years, sheltered five times that number of refugees. During the past six months it had been possible for the people to return to certain villages situated in the northern part of the diocese, but there were reputed to be more than 2,000 families still living in the great refugee camp on the southern fringes of the town, and sixty-four of the diocese's ninety-six villages were still, after three years, uninhabited. Many of the fugitives had fled southwards to Kalambaka, Trikkala and Larissa; others had sought refuge in Kozani.

The refugees had included seventy-five parish priests, only sixteen of whom had as yet been able to return to their villages. Two priests had been done to death by the Germans; three others, as well as three monks, murdered by the Communists. As recently as October, 1949, the solitary occupant of the monastery of St. Athanasius, close to the village of Trikomon, had returned home after two years' exile, despite the advice of the Bishop and others who counselled him to wait two or three months longer, only to be brutally murdered within the space of a [798] few days. It was when matters were at their worst that the Bishop formed his clerical militia and drilled his venerable warriors in the square where stands the monument to his predecessor in the see of Grevena, the Metropolitan Aimilianos, who had suffered death at the hands of the Turks in 1911 and is revered in this region as a martyr. This redoubtable force had never been called upon to take the field against the Accursed of God, but, said the Lord Theokletos, it had served as an example.

As to the destruction of churches, it seemed that some months must

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech [191] was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

727 62 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of young men dressed in homespun.

[571] [657] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the [491] stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] [233] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn almost the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The [492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 241 233 [242] The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

*178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

621 433 animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought [360] their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, [438] where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five [491] miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-[258] pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which em-[464] ployed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the sea-[388] son. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed [258] down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had [491] been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. [438] Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a de-621 crease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabit-669 ants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were 722 insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the [161] village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kala-[162] mata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 293

/10 cont./

Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years. 167

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move. 722 [648] 511 167

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a 221
miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our 82
homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to [186]
eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations 241
under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants [291]
of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My [492]
animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; [427]
the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 [652]
drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Re- [369]
flecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.][9]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors — [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.
>
> At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.
>
> [476] Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu- [461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends. 245 461 [521]

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground. 245 258 461 [492]

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?" [521] [273] [264]

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re- 258 576

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 787 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 834 576 593 Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings. Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this [492] [626] last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

[312] [482] It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry [626] the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the [522] tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

562 593 521 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only occasionally with her husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud [178] stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But [261] everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [6] Therefore, when we de- 146 scribe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948-49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone." 476 539

Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yannes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need. 476 492

Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd. 476 233

Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakassa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." 476 241 [493]

But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. 476 [339]

Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari* [573]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

746 representative of the International Red Cross, who arranged with the or-
625 ganizational officials in Athens for an immediate distribution of rice, sugar,
and molasses (for children). Momentarily, the representative also secured
735 money for bread, telephoning from Athens to the commandant to buy the
bread locally. The Red Cross representative had expected the commandant
to buy about eight hundred one-oka loaves of bread, but he had different
ideas: "Why not give the people flour and cut down the expense of the salt,
water, and manipulation that goes into the baked bread?" So he bought
nine hundred and eighty okas of flour and persuaded the flour mills at
Volos to contribute another two tons. He also handled the problem of
transportation with originality. Since these eight villages are remote, the
trucking costs to them are high. The commandant, suggesting that the dis-
[476] tribution be at four points, appealed to the local transportation coopera-
tives to supply the trucks after the Union of Trucks had voted to help.
[494] Then the drivers agreed to donate a day's free labor, with the "day" total-
ing sixteen hours for many of them before the distribution was completed
and the trucks were safely back in Volos.

746 But the role of the village notables should not be minimized. Although
the commandant had made a trip through the district to look personally
625 into the condition of many families, he depended upon the president, the
735 priest, the teacher, and the gendarme to prepare the list of the needy in
622 each village. The role of the president came to the fore at the distribution
points, to which he brought some men and pack animals. The commandant
explained in great detail to each president the basis on which the distribu-
tion was being made, who had made the contributions, and what families
were to receive how much. The supplies for each village, when weighed
out from the trucks, were turned over to the community president. He then
• [492] supervised the loading of the pack animals and headed the animal train
back toward his village. Once arrived, he was to see that the distribution
was carried out according to instructions.

Such an experience leaves many impressions: the deep personal interest
which the commandant of gendarmerie showed in the welfare of the people
in his area; the dignity of the village presidents who asked very intelligent
questions to be sure that they properly understood the instructions about
distribution; the tattered clothing worn by these quiet, almost impassive
villagers. And here, as always in Greece, one sensed deeply the beauty of
000 the natural surroundings: the mountains where patches of snow still
lingered, the dark glades through which the road sometimes wound, the
[494] occasional olive groves and chestnut forests, with lively pedestrian traffic
ready to greet one every few hundred yards. Down on the plain, on a sunny
afternoon, the meadows were full of a profusion of wild flowers so delicate
in color and stamina that they die soon after they are plucked or after the
hot sun of late April and May beats down on the unprotected plain. On

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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492

6. Plowing an olive grove near Lechonia, Thessaly. The olive harvest will draw a crowd of young people to the grove to rake or beat or gather as their foreman orders.

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133

7. A wheat combine traces the plain of Thessaly, below Mount Parnassus.

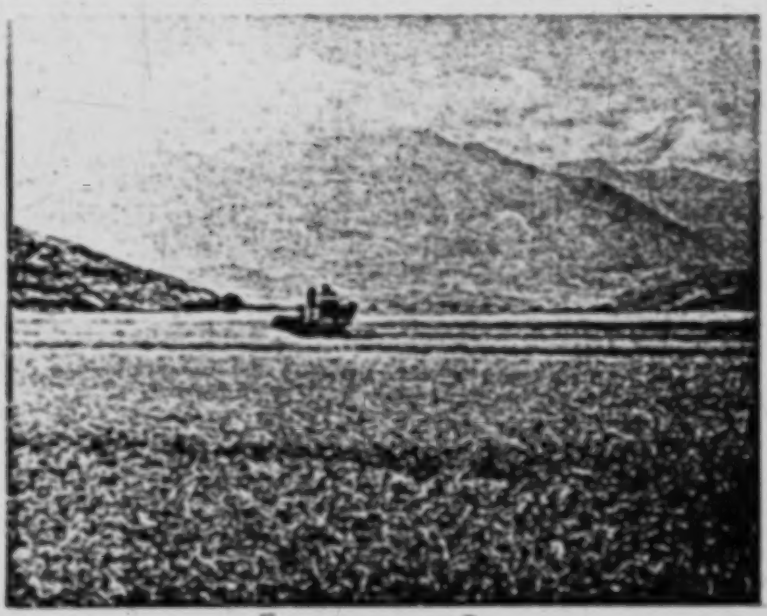

[p. 272 - D]

1:Sanders Z-5√ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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792

17. A monk on the aqueous journey to Salonica with casks from his monastery to be filled or to sell.

18. Godparents hold the child before the priest for a controlled moment in the ambiance of a baptism, Macedonia.

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793

[p. 272-K]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 [167] [464] ernment is at the present confronted. For Greece *has no surplus population*, and, if the country is to prosper, the services of every able-bodied man and boy are needed for the proper development of its natural resources. Weekly emigrant steamers carry large numbers to Western lands and bring but few back . . . with the consequence that many agricultural districts are left without labourers to till the soil" (p. 133).

For more on this emigration, see Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America: The Story of the Re-Patriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956); and Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States* (New Haven, 1911).

18. The figures used in this presentation of land use are taken from *Greece Today* (August 1954); from Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Greece: A Political and Economic Survey, 1939–1953* (London, 1954); and from data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. In these three sources the years differ, as do some of the categories of land use, but the details prove interesting.

19. The study on idle lands made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece appeared in mimeographed form in 1952 and was based on detailed reports turned in by the field representatives of the Civil Government Division of the Mission. The report was issued by William M. Tait, who was then deputy director for field service. Other informants point out that in Epirus, and probably elsewhere, thousands of acres are owned by Greek-Americans in the United States, and Greek villagers do not feel free to make use of such idle lands.

20. For a discussion of these exports, see E. J. Bell, "Greece, Exporter of Farm Products," *Foreign Agriculture*, March 1958, pp. 5–6.

[428] 21. The use of lots in dividing up a patrimony among brothers in a Boeotian village is described in an article by Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXXVII (1956).

Chapter V. The Peasant at Work

[127] 1. The unpublished manuscript from which this comes is "Te Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria).

2. UNRRA, *Greece, Ripe for Improvement: A Study of Marginal Land Farming in Greece* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 8.

3. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited*, p. 14.

[874] [407] [492] 4. Dr. Charles House, former director of the American Farm School in Salonica, played a great part in preparing the way for mechanization in Northern Greece, since the students at this school were taught how to operate and repair tractors long before they began to appear in so many villages. He said that one argument for the use of the tractor in preference to the draft animal was the fact that the animals eat up too much of the farm produce.

5. For the full World War II picture, see C. S. Stephanides, "Agricultural Machinery in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (November 1948), 250–253.

6. Supplementary labor is an important element in the economy of many families and even whole villages. In the Peloponnesus people from the mountain villages can [465] harvest olives and help with the pressing of the oil, receiving pay in kind. When they help with the vineyards they are paid in money, as they are in Macedonia when [438] they help plant tobacco. Near Ioannina there are villages specializing in certain crafts from which many men go during the winter to ply their trades.

7. "A Tobacco Village in Xanthe Nomos," (1952, mimeographed), prepared by [127] A. Argyropoulos. One of the village studies conducted by the Near East Foundation for the Greek Ministry of Agriculture and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration. The following comment about this village (Dafnon) by John D. Photiadis is helpful: "I have served as a county agent in that area and I think that Dafnon is not a representative village. It is considered the poorest village in the area and the most stricken by the reduction of prices of Turkish tobacco. This is because

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Conditions in Greece in 1947 (New York, 1948), p. 111. For a report done ten years later for the same sponsor by one of the earlier authors, see William Hardy McNeill, *Greece: American Aid in Action: 1947–1956* (New York, 1957).

7. See the mimeographed village studies done by the Near East Foundation, *et al.*, "A 'Control' Village of the Mesolongi Area" (Athens, October 1951).

8. John D. Photiadis, "The Coffee House and its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece," p. 25.

9. United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on Greek Local Government, 1952* (Athens, Civil Government Division, 1952), pp. 16–17 (mimeographed).

10. An excellent statement of the problem is found in United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on the Decentralization of Greek Government Services* (Athens, Civil Government Division, June 1953), mimeographed.

11. C. A. Munkman, *American Aid to Greece: A Report on the First Ten Years* (New York, 1958), p. 254. Munkman served for four years as chief of a unit in the United States Economic Mission to Greece which had the responsibility for investigating the effectiveness of expenditures in our aid program.

12. Photiadis, "The Coffee House."

13. Three documents which proved particularly helpful were prepared by O. P. Traylor, Local Tax Specialist, United States Mission: Economic Cooperation Administration, *The Financing of Greek Local Government: Special Supplement*, Report 70 (mimeographed, n.d.); *Summary Analysis of New Interim Local Finance Law* (E. L. 1910/1951, Official Gazette 221), memorandum to Director, FP Division (typed), August 10, 1951, 14 pp.; *Significance of Survey of Turkish Local Finance . . . for Financing Greek Local Units of Government*, memorandum to Joel W. C. Harper, Chief, Public Finance Section, FP Division (mimeographed), September 12, 1951, 18 pp.

14. One of the most penetrating analyses of Greek governmental administration and its problems was made by a Greek at the request of the Greek government: *Report on the Greek Economic Problem*, by Kyriakos Varvaressos (English translation, Washington, D.C., February 12, 1952, mimeographed). He cites five characteristics of the administration: excessive number of employees, particularly in the center; indifference to public interest; lowered standards through appointments of unqualified personnel; narrow bureaucratic spirit; total incapacity and willingness to meet responsibilities imposed on it by the granting of foreign aid. In fairness to all concerned, however, it should be pointed out that this was written in 1952, when Greece was trying to recover from the wounds of war.

15. These are excerpts appearing in the *Athens News*, September 17, 1952. For those preferring a happier note, the following *New York Times* item, December 12, 1955, will prove of interest:

Athens, Dec. 11. Premier Constantin Karamanlis has announced a plan by which free medicines will be made available to 4,000,000 Greek peasants. The plan is expected to become effective at once.

Mr. Karamanlis also announced that his Government had decided to compensate peasants whose beasts of burden had been requisitioned by the State for war purposes since 1942.

The Premier said 120,000,000 drachmas ($4,000,000) had been earmarked in the 1955–56 budget for this ambitious welfare plan. Other Government decisions announced were to increase allocations for land improvement projects; to put aside larger amounts for middle-term loans to the peasantry; and to install a cotton press in Salonika.

16. An account in *Harper's Magazine* in 1872 on "Political Characteristics of Modern Greeks" has a most up-to-date ring. Charles Chaston, in his *Greece in 1887* (London, 1887), points out traits which survive to the present, as does William Miller in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905). Especially appropriate are the comments by Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, 1929), in the section on "The Greatness of the Greeks."

2;Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, 512
whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs
most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just
before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 484
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 512
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming
around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light 621
of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the
end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat
bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of move-
ment diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months
from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of
the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main pat-
terns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through
the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 512
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 241
part of the main street at the east side of the *agbora*, one sees, first, a man going 805
by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its
saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same
direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go
past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a
horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no
movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people
involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morn-
ing may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home
one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the
following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the
timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, ap-
pears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, fami-
lies start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the
situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
465 wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
strema of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
461 fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to
do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
558 considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of
a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned
again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the
grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
279 the grapes. September itself used to be called *trijitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[57] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
461 The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
[492] tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
445 is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-
hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
[465] or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to
the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice.
Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the
must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314] trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek
countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the
ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine pre-
servative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients,
the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine
in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it
was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a
carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of tur-
pentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for
retsina and come to enjoy it very much.

243
427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. 407 492 652 423 471 652

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 221 248 464 476 248

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 242 406 426

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator 407 445 427 231 412

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out 464
when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465]
net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804]
per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461]
serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. [443]
The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban 435
visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

242 178 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to plant on the highway near the village.

[245] [875] [435] [244] [434] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the techniques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with 492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of 231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kawboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and [865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

232 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, [434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt 262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' 233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in [272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but [574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a 236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large 283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

159
793
292
302
492
351

VII Constantinos Photis

[facing p. 158]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

He had set out from Palaiochori at half-past two that morning, and with the moon often obscured by clouds and with drifts of snow lying deep in places, it was well past ten before he reached the town. We had taken refuge from the bitter winds that scoured the valley of the Peneios and brought sudden flurries of snow down the pass from the mountains above Metsovo, in one of the dimly lighted taverns that open off the main street, and were deep in conversation with the president and schoolmaster from a village away to the north-eastward of Kalambaka when Papa Costas arrived. We shared a further bottle of ouzo and he invited us to lunch in his cottage.

He had come down, he told us, to do some shopping, and was off to Trikkala the next morning. He would return to Palaiochori early the following day. Why did we not come with him and see with our own eyes the ruined villages of Pindos? Mitsos—a cousin, we subsequently discovered—would be in Kalambaka with the remaining animals the next evening and there would be mounts to spare if we would come. We were not afraid of *katsapliades*? We fairly jumped at the suggestion —*katsapliades* indeed! I sat down there and then and addressed a hasty note to the Lord Theokletos, Metropolitan of Grevena, which was carried off by Athanasi and put aboard the afternoon bus to Trikkala, informing him that I should be several days later in reaching his diocese on the fringes of Macedonia than I had supposed. We laid our plans for the journey, and the light was failing as we set out to climb to the monastery of St. Stephen where we were expected that evening.

Two days later we left the monastery at daybreak: all the monks were ill, and, since Basil was away in Trikkala, we had ourselves to unbar the massive doors that open on to the encompassing abyss. Forty minutes after leaving St. Stephen we were breaking our fast at Papa Costas' cottage: scraps of pork, bread soaked in oil, cognac and retsina. Our priest-carpenter had brought back from Trikkala a great saw, and a pig to be fattened against the following winter. The pig, despite loud protestations, was tied up in a sack and slung from his owner's saddle:

"He has a splendid voice—we must make a *psaltes* of him when we get him back to Palaiochori."

We led our horses out along the Metsovo road. Papa Costas' niece, Katina, had been staying at the 'town-house' for the festival and was returning with her uncle to Palaiochori. On the outskirts of Kalambaka we overtook a party of homeward-bound refugees, their beasts heavy-laden with bedding and great copper pans. A little way out of the town

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 1]

CHAPTER 1

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Like other countries struggling under the impact of western technology and ideas, contemporary Greece is a land of sharp contrasts. Donkeys with loaded panniers on their backs still jog down the broad avenues of modern Athens oblivious to the stream of automobiles passing them by; and the donkeys' owners daily hawk their wares, with piercing and immemorial cries, to people living in ultra-modern apartment buildings, as well as to others who inhabit the merest hovels, clustered along nar-

77
184
369
[443]
[492]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

727 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of
621 young men dressed in homespun.

[571] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat
[657] from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today
[491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn al-
[233] most the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The
• [492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta
241 is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres
233 of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one
[242] of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

/18 cont./ 241
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [449]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the trans-
action is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniform-
ly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241

1	Harrow	$3	422
1	Plow, iron	1.50	407
1	Wooden plow	1.00	[412]
1	Yoke	1.00	[435]
3	Hoes	0.35	
2	Shovels	0.25	
2	Sickles	0.35	

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/67 cont./

of the outstanding institutions in the village which guides the people in keeping accounts and in taking active part in appointing officers every year. 241 474 [621]

The yearly meeting of the cooperative lasts 2 days and all the men who served in the army take active part. After the committee presents its accounts and accomplishments and its future program, a discussion starts from different members either praising or criticising the work of the existing committee. Different proposals for improvement are made and finally it ends with a vote for a new committee of six. During these two days of discussion people learn from each other how to judge and evaluate certain deeds of the cooperative.

The government, understanding the importance of the cooperative has organized the Ministry of Cooperatives /58/ under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The effect of the cooperative on the people is great not only on the economic life but also on their social life as well. It draws the people close together and they think not in terms of their immediate needs but of their future welfare. [647]

Every year the cooperative sends two students to the high school, gives prizes to the farmers that raise good seed and better animals, gives financial aid to the poor, and helps the unfortunate sick to go to hospitals. These are signs of the role the cooperative can play in the near future. [741]

Besides unifying the whole village into an economic unit it also is becoming a center of spreading higher ideals among the people. Its powers at the present are restricted due to the lack of experienced men with foresight. There are possibilities for one to do more in devising community programs by working with the cooperative. [621]

Farm Techniques. The biblical type of farming is still the kind that yields the greater returns with the least cost. The animal power is composed of oxen with a yoke and an iron plow. The wooden plow still has its /59/ blessings for certain soils. In soils 241 [492] [407]

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [574]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [484]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either [178]
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, [437]
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

342 stables and storage rooms, and in the upper story the living quarters with a verandah, a balcony, and a sink; over them is a flat roof of tiles. The Albanian form of the square fortified tower is to be seen on larger warehouses (Figure 3). The interior displays the customary simple furnishing of the Balkan dwelling; the semicircular chair in Figure 14 is reminiscent of the Albanian styles, while its horn-shaped supports remind one of Turkish influence. The weaving loom and the hatter's bow (Figure 11) that is used for the cleaning of wool and of cotton, have probably come to this country from the Orient, even though the hatter's bow is ancient European (compare the Plate, Estonians II). The baking bell shown in Figure 7, the bagpipes shown in Figure 6, the incense vessel shown in Figure 17, the wooden plow, shown in Figure 15, which is drawn by the team of oxen that are driven on by a goad (not a whip) and which are harnessed with a neck yoke--all these are universally characteristic of the Balkans. The riding donkey shown in Figure 12, on the other hand, points to the Orient. Figures 8 to 9 are illustrations of protective charms--the horse's skull is reminiscent of Kirghiz customs, compare volume 1 of this atlas, Plate, Kirghiz I, Figure 13, that are based upon the knowledge of spiritual forces which are everywhere alive, which are effective in everything that is and has being, and can be utilized for magical purposes, both in a good as well as in a bad sense.

[77] [352] [415] [49] [777]

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/105: Illustrations/

/106/ The Macedonians

II.

000 1. Men and women from western Macedonia. 2. Woman from

[See 2. Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 73a --Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone." 476 539

Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yanoes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need. 476 492

Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd. 476 233

Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakasa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." 476 241 [493]

But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. 476 [339]

Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari* [573]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his throne, is a large village, or *kasabah* (it had a pre-war population of about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward. When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back. In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away, which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.

The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silversmiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a prominent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars. 443 369 [493]

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, almost with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talking and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise. 512 369 [461] [513] [584]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Agricultural

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square. 241 621

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing. 621 609 574 275 [272] [273]

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention. 621 609 574 [312] [275] [494]

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

[494] Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnese

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnese. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance*,[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

746 representative of the International Red Cross, who arranged with the or-
625 ganizational officials in Athens for an immediate distribution of rice, sugar,
735 and molasses (for children). Momentarily, the representative also secured money for bread, telephoning from Athens to the commandant to buy the bread locally. The Red Cross representative had expected the commandant to buy about eight hundred one-oka loaves of bread, but he had different ideas: "Why not give the people flour and cut down the expense of the salt, water, and manipulation that goes into the baked bread?" So he bought nine hundred and eighty okas of flour and persuaded the flour mills at Volos to contribute another two tons. He also handled the problem of transportation with originality. Since these eight villages are remote, the trucking costs to them are high. The commandant, suggesting that the distribution be at four points, appealed to the local transportation coopera-
[476] tives to supply the trucks after the Union of Trucks had voted to help.
[494] Then the drivers agreed to donate a day's free labor, with the "day" totaling sixteen hours for many of them before the distribution was completed and the trucks were safely back in Volos.

746 But the role of the village notables should not be minimized. Although
625 the commandant had made a trip through the district to look personally
735 into the condition of many families, he depended upon the president, the priest, the teacher, and the gendarme to prepare the list of the needy in
622 each village. The role of the president came to the fore at the distribution points, to which he brought some men and pack animals. The commandant explained in great detail to each president the basis on which the distribution was being made, who had made the contributions, and what families were to receive how much. The supplies for each village, when weighed out from the trucks, were turned over to the community president. He then
[492] supervised the loading of the pack animals and headed the animal train back toward his village. Once arrived, he was to see that the distribution was carried out according to instructions.

Such an experience leaves many impressions: the deep personal interest which the commandant of gendarmerie showed in the welfare of the people in his area; the dignity of the village presidents who asked very intelligent questions to be sure that they properly understood the instructions about distribution; the tattered clothing worn by these quiet, almost impassive villagers. And here, as always in Greece, one sensed deeply the beauty of
000 the natural surroundings: the mountains where patches of snow still lingered, the dark glades through which the road sometimes wound, the
[494] occasional olive groves and chestnut forests, with lively pedestrian traffic ready to greet one every few hundred yards. Down on the plain, on a sunny afternoon, the meadows were full of a profusion of wild flowers so delicate in color and stamina that they die soon after they are plucked or after the hot sun of late April and May beats down on the unprotected plain. On

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

361 houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

621 156 Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with [594] the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore [484] does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

621 484 494 To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settlement, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore, never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *aghora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the [512] spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, 512
whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs
most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just
before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 484
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 512
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming
around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light 621
of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the
end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat
bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 512
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 241
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora,* one sees, first, a man going 805
by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its
saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same
direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go
past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a
horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no
movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people
involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home
one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the
following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the
timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the
situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant. [647]

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget. 65 [622] [623] [217]

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset. 653 [634] [652] [651] [491]

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road. 653 491 [494] [634]

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition. [461] [369]

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

Mary". To the simple Greek, however, it is *the* feast of the *Panaghia*, which not the Marys only but also the men and boys named Panaghiotis keep as their name-day: a very much more important occasion in Greece than the mere commemoration of one's birth after the flesh. The importance of the festival is emphasised by a fast of two weeks' duration immediately preceding it.[1] The other liturgical commemorations of the *Theotokos* centre on particular events. March 25th, for example, apart from the national associations which have made it one of the greatest days of the year among Greeks, is essentially the memorial of the Annunciation: "To-day," runs the dismissal hymn, "is the chapter-head of our salvation and the revelation of the eternal mystery. The Son of God becomes the Son of the Virgin, and Gabriel brings the good news of grace". So with the other evangelical commemorations. The liturgy of August 15th, on the other hand, seems to sum up the whole work in the pattern of man's redemption of her who contained Him whom the heavens cannot contain, and who, through the mysterious operation of the life-giving Spirit, herself became the dwelling of the infinite Creator.

796 [527] [785]

All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured;
Both the assembly of the angels and the race of men.
O hallowed temple and logical paradise, the boast of virgins,
From whom God took flesh and became a little child,
Who is from all eternity our God.
For He made thy womb His throne
And fashioned thy body broader than the heavens.
All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured:
Glory to thee!

*

On August 13th, 1949, furnished with a document wherein the officer commanding the Drama gendarmerie called upon all whom I should encounter in my travels to give me all conceivable manner of assistance, I embarked in the antique vehicle which then connected the village of Kato Nevrokopi with the rest of Christendom (it was blown up by a Communist mine a few months later). During the early stages of our somewhat wayward progress through the narrow streets of Drama it became evident, from the sounds which came from overhead that, in addition to the forty-four Greek passengers who occupied the

494 [123] [669]

[1] [i.e. before Aug. 15th41 - ANALYST]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[52] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Nea Eleftherchori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [241] their farming and to increase their cash income by raising mar- [434] ket crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494] instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511] came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback through the countryside should come into the village on a day when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example, would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is *perástikó sas* which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer, several alternatives are possible. Some member of the household may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is accompanied by at least one member of his household and frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifications of the physicians lead one to expect normal American hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limitations of space and of an untrained staff.

But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

[p. 25(A)]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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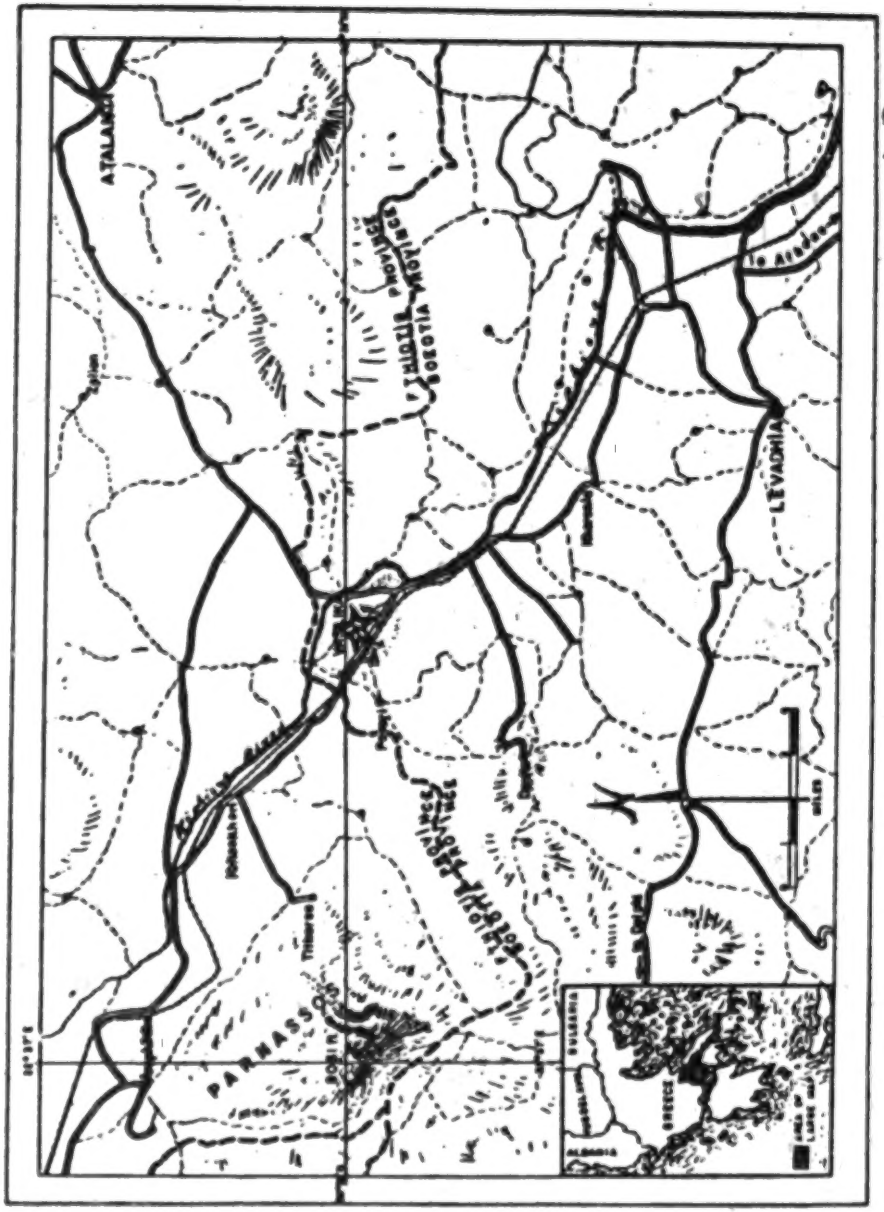

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/5 cont./

The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is surrounded by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys. Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been going on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago. With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the water buffaloes.

496 133 134 [137] [312]

The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the nearby hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters. In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and 60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

134

The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow. The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farming.

132 [241]

The railroad station close to the village enables the village to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location

438 443 [496]

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in.
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death [165]
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to
[434] the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to
[439] 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage.
501 Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

village. We hired a caique, with both sails and motor, to take us on the three-hour trip to Neos Marmaras, a picturesque refugee village. Hardly were we aboard when a group of excited peasants came to ask if they could go with us. Our one crewman seemed to have no objection so we told them to join us. 243 124 [501]

Almost at once these lively individuals explained that they were from the village of Parthenon. They had been spending the past twenty-five days helping the peasants around Niketas harvest their grain and were no longer needed now that threshing had begun. Before talking about their work, however, we had to exchange the rites of hospitality. We had spread out a blanket on which we placed a large piece of bread bought just before departure and a portion of white cheese given me by the teacher in the village. Although the peasants looked thin and hungry, they refused our food. One man, carefully eyeing our bread, said, "Here, take some of my bread; yours isn't well done." [464] [574]

Six or seven of the people of Parthenon, sprawled around the blanket while we ate, tried politely to hide their curiosity. Our lunch finished and the purpose of our trip explained to them several times, it became our turn to ask them questions. We started with a woman in her thirties, a widow. She was dressed in a poor cotton dress, was barefoot, wore a kerchief on her head, but her proud look and direct answers were those of an independent spirit. She was obviously very anxious to get back to Parthenon and several times expressed her gratitude for the lift. "Thank you very much. You have saved us four or five hours of walking on this warm day." She had had to leave her four children at home twenty-five days ago and had had no word from them since then, even though her village was only a relatively few kilometers away. Apparently she had gone on working in the harvest fields for winter bread, clinging to the belief that "no news was good news," but her drawn face showed her long concern: "I left them with only a piece of bread to eat. I don't know how they made out." 243 855

"How old are your children?"

"My eldest child is fifteen, the next is eleven, and the other two quite young."

"Does the fifteen-year-old take care of the rest while you are away?"

"He would if he could, but he must look after the cows of my brother who is a soldier, and so the eleven-year-old takes care of the younger two." [857]

We learned that there were some relatives living in the village who probably kept an eye on the youngsters but did not assume full responsibility for them.

We were told that these villagers did not look forward to this trip. It is a trial, an ordeal that must be endured if they are to have any bread, for the men cannot find work in Parthenon that will provide them with money to buy bread. 243 464

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 186 823 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives, only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 823 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (January 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering himself fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism [755] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — [778] supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of [789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 776 539 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most persistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> [195] "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> [502] When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns."

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea.

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her.

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to
[434] the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

● 505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

marine. As of November 1957, the Greek merchant fleet numbered 541 vessels, whose tonnage totaled 1,510,535 tons. By 1961 its 1,110 ships amounted to 5,893,652 tons. 505

In addition to being a potential economic asset, the sea makes its influence felt in a psychological sense. "The Romans built roads but the Greeks always used the sea" was an observation made to me by a retired Greek admiral. The more one thinks about this simple statement of difference between two great nations of antiquity, the clearer become the varied bases for their greatness. Rome, the conqueror of the European continent and much of the Mediterranean world, held on to her territorial conquests for centuries, but the lasting conquests of ancient Greece were not those of territory, which she also conquered from time to time, but the victory of a superior culture. The Romans were administrators of subject lands; the Greeks became traders and merchants who colonized along the coasts of the whole known world, accumulated their wealth in cities, and maintained a competitive individualism much in evidence even today. 174 823 [157]

From this tradition of the sea the Greek has gained an outward look, sometimes carried to extremes. "He knows about every country but his own" commented a Westerner who had spent many years in Greece. 181 186

An old, old peasant put the way he felt toward the sea and what it meant to him in these words: 823

"Look over the sea," he said, pointing to the shining water in the distance. "Do you know anything farther than that? Going over the sea means going over to America. In the olden days, under the pressure of need, one stole from the other and the other fought back and killed and so got out of the country. Only the goat thieves and the peasants were left. For us village people, 'farther than the sea' means not just emigrating but also means bringing in. We can use it to improve life. Here near our village we have a waterfall and big water supply; we can have electricity and irrigation but we need scientists from across the sea to tell us how to use what we have. Then more people can live on the land and will not need to emigrate."

There are many Greeks, especially women, in isolated villages who have never seen the sea. Even for them it seems to have a deep emotional meaning, for, as one Greek folklorist explained to me, there is an unconscious worship of water all over Greece. A twenty-one-year-old peasant girl on her way to relatives in Athens rode with us from her village in the heart of the Peloponnesos. This was her first trip away from home. We stopped on the brow of a mountain while she had her first view of the sea. She who had ridden with us for many miles, shy and silent, looked out to the wide indigo horizon and cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" (The sea! the sea!), and then subsided, wide-eyed. It was obvious to all of us that she was deeply

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem 563
minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons.

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more 433
than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of 13
Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton 433
and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most im- [439]
portant for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the [241]
cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export.

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one [505]
of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners [651]
are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often re- [464]
cruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of [505]
employment to several thousand Greeks.

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second 648
world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

Hence a sort of symbiosis was established. A large proportion of the able-bodied men of the hill villages descended each year to the plains and worked in the fields of the Turkish landowners, then returned to their homes with wages, either in money or in kind, with which to supplement the produce of the tiny fields they had been able to carve from the mountain valleys and slopes around their homes. 361 464 166 433

Some of the hill villages developed occupational specialties,[1] sending most of their able-bodied men each year to labor as masons or carpenters wherever work was to be found. Groups of villagers sometimes walked as much as a hundred miles to and from the scene of this sort of seasonal employment. Other villages developed what might be called industrial specialties – lime burning, rug weaving, wood carving and the like – and peddled their products far and wide during the summer season. One village even developed an international trade in specially dyed red wool and cloth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, stationing agents in such cities as Vienna, Constantinople and Leipzig. The origins of the modern Greek merchant marine were similar, for sailors were easily recruited among peasant boys of the islands and coasts, who sought seasonal employment to supplement what could be produced on the family farm. 361 438 464 166 433 [505]

Another pattern of migration should be mentioned, up into the higher mountain slopes rather than down to the plains. Each summer herds of sheep and goats were sent to pasture on the high ground, where vegetation stayed green through the summer drought, and then returned to lower altitudes when the snows fell. Quite a few hill villages specialized in sheepherding, accompanying their own sheep, and sometimes sheep entrusted to them by others as well, on this annual round.

As long as the hill villages lay between two relatively unpopulated geographic regions – the plains beneath and the peaks 361 166 464 433

1 [During Turkish times - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the wide world.

[186] The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural [463] pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these [702] island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible universe. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of 829 Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable 186 servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While ● 511 this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life [829] common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their 184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

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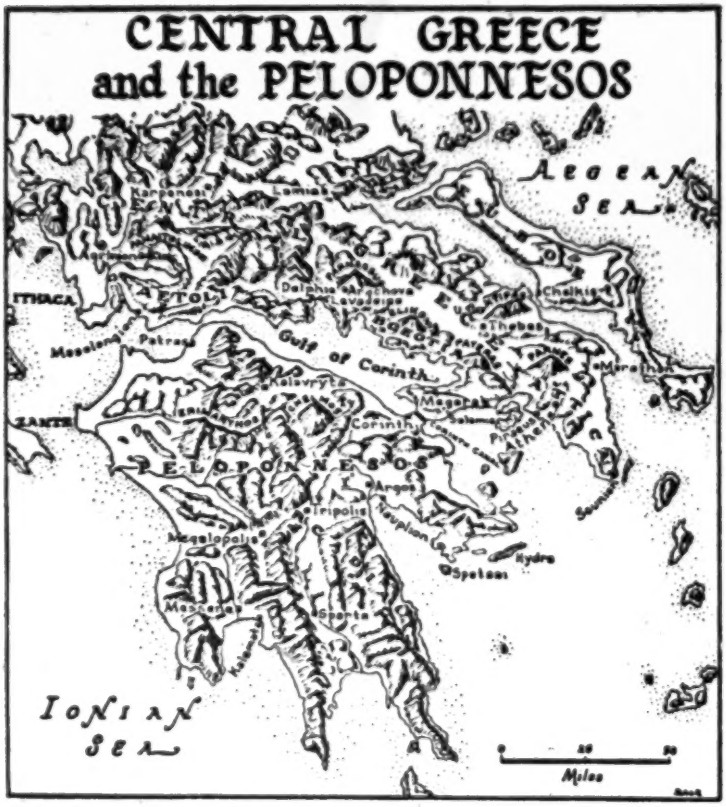

184 would have normally been paid to the mountain people, to Patras and sold it for
433 its weight in gold. As a result, the highland villagers faced serious difficulties.

About this time a band of five young guerrillas came by the village and
511 demanded hospitality. The villagers took them in and killed a lamb so that
722 they could dine in plenty. After a few months, the same band put in another appearance, but this time the people could only provide a cock for the dinner. On the third visit, much later on, a wheat dish had to be the main course. Finally, on a fourth visit, when the members of the band were served only onions and garlic, they turned to the villagers and said: "You are hungry. Do you see those villages on the plain below? Why don't you go down there and take the food away from them, take their land, and let them come up here and live?"

An old villager answered: "Yes, we may be able to go down there and beat

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

them now and begin to live in their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can."

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains.

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are:

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it."

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
[432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary,
because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
[166] rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are
[578] three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

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Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricultural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling people there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Economic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with their land." 178 423 432 [166] [511]

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but "he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on growing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man-land bond is loosening. [249] [439] [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agriculture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits. [511] [167]

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechanization of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern mountains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their land, still cling to peasant values. [241] [242] [166]

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course, if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another [454]

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423 the smallest holdings, must have found sweet consolation in knowing that
474 now many of their more advantaged village neighbors wish to join the
241 cooperative pool. But this poses a problem. "How," the secretary asked anxiously, "can we calculate what arrangement to make with these people? How can we know what to charge them for the risk we took, the major expenses we bore? Certainly, now that we have succeeded, it would not be fair for them to come in and benefit free of cost from the pioneering work that we have done."

As these cooperative members talked of their plans, their eyes glowed with happiness and enthusiasm. The men had concrete proposals to solve other problems. They expect to shift from sole concentration upon grain production to more diversified farming, including livestock and poultry production, the raising of dry legumes and other crops that tend to give employment to the able-bodied members of the cooperating families.

International recognition as well as scientific farming is coming to Nees Karyes. Today there are people from Yugoslavia and Israel, as well as touring Americans, who have seen the way some of the peasant families in this village of Thessaly set about solving their problem of too little land in too many strips cultivated in unscientific ways. The secret of this undertaking, in great part at least, lies in the feeling of responsibility on the part of those who participate, since they originated and now conduct and plan for the cooperative which they jointly own.

Pressure on the Land

161 Most rural Greeks, however, struggle along with insufficient resources
241 and with no cooperative venture such as Nees Karyes to give them hope.
511 A village cobbler from Karpenesi in Central Greece explained the matter in this way: "There has been such an increase in population that the fields are no longer sufficient. The village child today lives more poorly than did his father as a child, because there are more mouths to feed and no added resources."

A well-informed Greek official put the problem in excellent perspective: "Today there is less income per family, less food, and the land values go
[565] up. Those that have more land become better off, leading to totally new economic and social distinctions in the villages. Many of our farmers are trying to make a living on such small farms that all they produce is hate. The main problem of the Greek farm family is the population problem. There are too many people. The villager with nothing to do has no place to go in search of work. That is why you see here in Athens many strong, healthy men selling matches. They have no work to do either in their villages or here in the city."

What the Greek villagers are up against in one part of the Peloponnesos is revealed in *Greece, Ripe for Improvement:*

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> Like many of the older agricultural areas of the world, this area is densely populated and now has far more people than its depleted resources can adequately support. . . . At the present time, nearly 10,000 people are attempting to support themselves on 25,000 hectares (62,500 acres) of land, some of it waterlogged, most of it eroded, and all of it reduced in productivity.[16]

161 241 511

Yet this population pressure is of relatively recent occurrence. One writer in 1842 described the large amount of land then available in the Greece which at that time consisted of the Peloponnesos and Central Greece: [131]

> The industry of the 100,000 persons engaged in agriculture is almost completely lost to view in the extensive wilds of Greece; and the universal remark of tourists is, "What a pity that the cultivation of the soil is so neglected! what a rich and fertile country! what myriads of colonists might prosper here!" [17]

What happened between 1842 and 1952 to change the population picture so drastically? The population of Greece grew not only by natural increase but by the acquisition of new territory. The story can be told most simply by figures contained in the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook* for 1952; in 1861 there were 60 people per square mile in what was then Greece; in 1951 there were 149 people per square mile in what is Greece today. [131]

Students of population remind us quite properly that mere density per square mile is not a safe guide to the actual or the potential standard of living. The highly industrialized areas of Western Europe support several times the density of Greece and their people have many more modern conveniences. In a rural country, the density in terms of arable land is a more revealing indication of living conditions.

In the United States there are 17 acres of arable land for each farm person, but in both Greece and India there are only 1.3 acres. Our major farm problems come from surpluses; Greece, too, has her surpluses, although, like most countries moving away from a peasant economy, she is deficient in certain food supplies. One ray of hope for the less-privileged countries is the possibility that they may increase production per acre from 13 to 14 bushels (the present grain yields in Greece) closer to 30 bushels, a figure surpassed by the United Kingdom, Denmark, and the Netherlands, where scientific agriculture is practiced. But even here basic soil types set certain limits.

The present situation seems likely to become even more acute. In Greece between 1951 and 1961 there was a population increase of 9 percent, a figure which may grow larger if death rates are lowered faster than birth rates. Without a rapidly expanding economy to absorb these added people into productive jobs, the Greeks will feel their economic limitations even

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of the depressed areas of the country.

Land Use in Greece

What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[18] We may not be able to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest, and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres (double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

Greece Today, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens, in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation; and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Furthermore, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is 63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective average for these countries.

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of which are owned or administered by the state.[19] They were obtained in the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

243 466 "You ought to come harvesting and stay with us for a week and you would have plenty of material for your book," said one of the men good-naturedly. "When working in the wheat we sleep in the fields with only a blanket for a bed. It has been raining and we have been wet through and through. We can't wash ourselves, we can't even wash our plates — we are so busy."

243 465 [262] "Where do you get your food?"

"The person for whom we work feeds us. He gives us garlic, olives, bread, salted fish, and sometimes a bean soup or potatoes. We all lose weight during this period and wish we didn't have to work this way."

"Are you well paid for your work?"

One of the men, unshaven and tired, but gay throughout the conversation, said that the average pay was about 10 okas of grain for 1 stremma of land (28 pounds for one fourth of an acre). A man might get 14 okas and a woman as low as 7 okas, but the average ran about 10. There was no [562] explanation for this different treatment of the sexes except that the bargaining position of the woman was lower. (I compared this figure of 10 okas with the 20 okas that the farmers of Thessaly paid a combine owner for each stremma of land harvested, while they had to pay 30 okas per stremma when the harvesting was done by hand, losing about 10 okas through this less efficient way. Out of the total yield of 150 to 200 okas per stremma in Thessaly, the cost amounted to 7 to 10 percent of the crop in the case of the machine and 15 to 20 percent in the case of hand harvesting.)

511 "Do you get enough wheat during the harvesting period to see you through the year?"

"It all depends. Some years we do and some years we don't. Bread is our only food. It is our milk, cheese, butter, honey, sugar, all in one. What the grass is to the animal, bread is to us. Otherwise we live on air and water."

511 773 Then, as though carried away with some of their troubles, one of the men asked, "Do you know what we say about our village of Parthenon? We say that when Christ walked by our village he left us a curse, for we have only stones there." Another added a variation, "Yes, when Christ passed he blessed what was on his right, but on his left he threw stones." Even this rationalization had no trace of bitterness, but a matter-of-factness that was supposed to help the foreigner understand why they were having difficulties with food. Other villages down on the plains had an easier time of it, but Parthenon, high on its rocks, had to make a living the hard way.

243 465 Coming back to the question of harvesting, we asked them when they would get their wheat, for they were carrying nothing but a woven handbag or a spare jacket. In about a month they would return, for then the grain would be threshed and ready to distribute. Each person had carried his

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business (baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance. "No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil," which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
[245] Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said, "If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive 2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition, their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing, many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware. What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices, and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
241 get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble
[511] the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
511 their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and
[221] children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, 562
even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she 593
give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect [574]
or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her.

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from 538
the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in 593
military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local dif- [212]
ferences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula:

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express [858]
> longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will [583]
> say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name].

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one 594
must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. [511]
One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

[584] Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

[654] Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own
[511] money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

[578] These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[831] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

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Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

[462] [574] [511] [369]

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Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

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584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads 577 178 and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day 583 near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were [243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of [465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

"What will happen to the money?"

583 "It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of 594 it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee [571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries [438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra,* or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[8] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what [583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of 184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers 178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

582 583 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony [178] or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no install- [452] ment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furni- [571] ture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

184 583 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla, [425] the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate [178] into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, [581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job.

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed.

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter.

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many
[423] cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a
few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from
[441] the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usu-
[571] ally lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a
little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher
standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to
mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest mini-
[554] mum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called
a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop
[794] appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can
raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways
the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the
kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often ac-
[428] quires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his chil-
dren. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service
of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now
off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a
fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When
I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they
pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the
names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family
was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as
a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church
papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all quali-
fied people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible
candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the
notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not
serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he
makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who dis-
cussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

793 In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest
and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop
465 (Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping
[659] his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupa-
tion back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid
by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products
from the parishioners. *Kondota,* or the subscription by families of so much
wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was
[794] widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round
figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time
178 by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discus-
●511 sion of religion, observed:
369

> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have
[454] stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

178 A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the con-
433 nection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change.
464 The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transi-
241 tional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

1:Sanders Z-5/+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so ur-
369 banized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

From Peasant to Farmer

184 In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards
241 in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs
[178] of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is
241 the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for
511 a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [465 829]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture."

W. Miller, in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), gives a penetrating description of Greek urban life fifty years ago.

7. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Hellas Revisited* (Athens, 1954), p. 35.

8. Bruce Lansdale, director of the American Farm School of Salonica, maintains in a letter that the qualities I have set forth for the city Greek hold for the villages as well: "Almost any villager can give you some very sound ideas on how the Greek government should be run as well as how the American, the Russian, the British, and any government in the world should be run. I remember hearing from villagers at the time of the Dewey-Truman election campaign that they were quite sure that Truman would win the election, which in fact he did. I would furthermore say that the intellectual curiosity of the villager is every bit as great if not greater than that of the urban Greek. This is in part because he does not have the pseudo-sophistication of the urban Greek."

9. For an anecdote illustrating the Athenian attitude toward the peasant, see H. D. F. Kitto, *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), pp. 138–139.

10. One Greek friend, well known for his frankness and objectivity, reacted to my characterization of the city Greeks as follows: "I, as a Greek knowing my Greeks, would add that he is a spendthrift, since a great percentage of the Athens families are living beyond their income; he is an individualist; he is suffering, and has since his appearance, from megalomania which pushes him into starting to build marvelous things without funds." [511]

11. For further information about the islanders, see Andreas Adossides, "Fishermen of the Aegean," *Geographical Magazine* (London), XIV (1941), 86–91. One of the most complete studies in English of the folklore of any Greek island is that by Philip P. Argenti, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949). See also J. Theodore Bent, "On Insular Greek Customs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XV (1885–1886); and Nikolas G. Chaliores, *Hydreika Leographika* (Concerning the Folklore of the Island of Hydra (Hydra, 1931), chiefly a collection of customs surrounding the engagement, wedding, pregnancy and childbirth, death, the church, holidays, the sea, and the building of a house. Peter Gray's *The People of Poros* (New York, 1942) is a highly entertaining account of a sojourn just prior to World War II on this attractive island southeast of the Peloponnesos. See also Osbert Lancaster, "The Island Greeks," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXII (1948), 59–64; and H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean* (London, 1890).

12. Of course, many areas and even villages on the mainland have special characteristics for which they are noted and which have developed through long years of relative isolation. The Maniates from Mani in the southern Peloponnesos afford one such example. See P. L. Fermor, *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (New York, 1958).

13. By far the most helpful book on Greek peasant life was written by Rennell Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892). It has proven a bench-mark against which to gauge my own impressions sixty years later. [127]

Jacques Ancel is one of the few historians writing about the Balkans who takes the peasant into account. See his *Peuples et nations des Balkans* (Paris, 1926), pp. 107–114. Considerable insight into the nonmaterial culture of the mountain people of Thessaly is gained from A. Hadjigakis, *T 'Aspropotamo Pindou* (The Village of Aspropotamo in the Pindus Mountains), 3 vols. (Trikkala, 1946–1950). See also V. Valaoras, "To Helleniko Chorio" (The Greek Village), *Ellin-Ellinitha* [sic] (Hellenic-American Monthly Review), VII (1956).

14. No purpose would be served in a book of this sort in trying to trace the controversy and weigh the arguments for and against the Greek claims of direct descent from the ancient Hellenes. On the one hand, we have the extreme (and today unaccepted) view of Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer that Slavic invaders from the north [114]

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231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered [552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents [865] permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of [178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the [373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing 511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small 592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to [422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever, [464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for [422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac- 511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)A63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

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Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
[166 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
463] shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They aug-
434] ment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
233 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
563 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
511 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
434 wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
[464 longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
262] shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly
342] built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
563 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
621 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
555 commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
871 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under
[641 the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
435] shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more for-
mal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shep-
herd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a
year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm
families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous
in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in
the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people
of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident car-
penters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very
existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time
to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

[433] The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had [178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the 262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is 438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have 178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro- 511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a 517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care 356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on 463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the 626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations 183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

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fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

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3

The Family: Consumption Habits

511 594 [454] INCREASED INCOME resulting from technological advances in Vasilika has given the present generation in the village a wider choice of alternatives for allotting their resources than that enjoyed by their predecessors. The first call upon the family's income, after the needs of subsistence, is felt to be the accumulation of a dowry for the daughters and (since there is rarely land enough for all) the provision of an education or apprentice-training for all the sons except the one or two who could eventually be provided with enough land to farm profitably. The process by which these obligations are fulfilled is the subject of the next chapter. Here, our concern is with the goods and services used by the villagers, with particular emphasis on the overtones of meaning that accompany them.

[574] [556] The differences among the households of Vasilika in furnishings, foods, clothing, and hospitality patterns are not great on an absolute scale, but the small differences have, on the local scale, as much significance to the people of Vasilika as the corresponding differences do in any middle-class suburb in the United States. Family self-respect is maintained, and family rivalries are carried on in the village partly by demonstrating levels of taste through consumption habits.

511 369 What the villagers admire and try to emulate are standards of living and of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities. Their knowledge of these standards is acquired through the first-hand information brought back by their town relatives and by what they themselves notice on their own visits to urban centers.

The base to which the new standards are adapted, or for which they are substituted, is a set of patterns for rural living customary in the Boeotian countryside.

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Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni,* and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [594]

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342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families
[264] have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[365] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[354] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on
[296] wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[513] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its
247 edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
511 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately

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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

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353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos,* as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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Clothing

178 291 [511] [292] [427] Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most important item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is clothing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their childhood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 [177] [369] [620] [292] [177] Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter overcoats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 [184] [511] [302] [765] [554] There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth. They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay. Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

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Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [177] [302] [178] [305] [445]

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 [178] [855]

291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
[286] to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[329] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

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sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, 511
as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige. [556]

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption 454
habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to 433
dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the 178
cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient 511
farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers' produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the next chapter.

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the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
594 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.
[554]

Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

[166] The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[369] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the his-
594 tory of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However,
[123] emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inherit-
369 ance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
428 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown
511 up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
471

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
594 unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called *vasana,* a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the
[593] new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live
594 well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes,
● 511 return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578]
competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on [621]
which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 369
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after [296]
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514]
new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343]
in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the [758]
imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know.

621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never

621 178x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 [453] [435] [654]

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

433 511 454 556 178x [438]

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for [241]
jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [434]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising market crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the 178x
early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor 241
over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long [464]
seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-
centered type of agriculture.

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Elef- [433]
therohori is to say that during the past five or six years com-
mercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsist-
ence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very 178x
great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabit- 511
ants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has 356
been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-re- [291]
specting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has
been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean
and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, [351]
and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine
trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors.

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception [563]
to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress
perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as
careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not
really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has
probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy mem-
bers of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their
homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done.

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the 178x
desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the 511
world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. 582
One very important consequence is the postponement of mar-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured, 511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow 582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it. [583] In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 stremmata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300 gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fifteen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in [589] the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good many men and women in their thirties and some in their early forties remain unmarried.

178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refugees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and 582 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes 583 marry young and before the new family has any assured means [563] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among [626] them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irresponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of social pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

[168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth. Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position; or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster of having too many mouths to feed.

163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom- 168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births 621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
x 178 seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by – a
smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian
[433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield
from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family
[571] can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
x 178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and
[582] hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is
evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in
165 Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been
[744] a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimination of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Pales Corinthes

[Villages of the Plains]

Particularly fortunate conditions in Old Corinth – tourism, irrigation, the proximity to the Athens market, and the effective leadership of the village president – have permitted the villagers to maintain their old family customs almost unchanged, and in spite of the rapid growth of population which such customs entail, they have not had to sacrifice their standard of living. Instead, living conditions have improved, with electricity, tractors and the like. 178x 621 511

This is a situation very rare in Greece. It makes Old Corinth the happiest village I visited, a community at peace with itself and with the world, mildly surprised by the prosperity that has descended upon it, and generally well content with the way things are going. The contrast is strong with the internal condition of the village in 1947, when, like Nea Eleftherohori, the community was sharply divided between left and right. In 1947, indeed, the bitterness between the two political parties was far deeper than in Nea Eleftherohori, for in Old Corinth the political lines were drawn, more or less exactly, between farmers and landless men, that is, between buyers and sellers of labor. Two particularly squalid "political" murders occurred within the village in the last days of the German occupation; and the Communist-inspired regime, which lasted for a few months in 1944, aroused strong revulsion among the substantial farmers. These memories now seem almost forgotten, though the sense of solidarity between rich and poor in Old Corinth is by no means so strong as the community feeling among the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori, where everybody is nearly equal economically. 621 578 565 [669]

The inequalities in landholding, and the existence of a fairly numerous landless class in the village, certainly constitute a potential source of trouble. If currant and tomato prices should fall, or if more migrants from the hills should come to the village and push wages down by competing for jobs in the fields, the existing harmony and general satisfaction could easily

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [463]
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [333]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construction – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 [464]
such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and drastic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and 669
twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and 728
only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of 621
them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and 161
Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead.

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left [842] childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age?

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has 621
been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside 161
world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto 167
and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. 457
The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage.

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in 727
the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been 621
through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly re- 571
laxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. [457]
The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, for example.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

727 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of
621 young men dressed in homespun.

[571] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat
[657] from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today
[491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn al-
[233] most the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The
[492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta
241 is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres
233 of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one
[242] of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

of local resources were to occur, then restriction of current consumption would be necessary. Money and goods would have to be diverted from consumption to capital construction. Without such diversion, the country was condemned to chronic poverty, unless foreign investment and financing came to the rescue. Up to 1956 Greece had indeed depended upon foreign investment for its capital development; but the United States Congress could scarcely be counted upon to continue its support indefinitely. In fact, between 1954 and 1956 it became clear that American aid to Greece was to be shaped by more narrowly conceived American interests, which would mean that military subsidy and the disposal of surplus American agricultural products would take precedence over industrial or any other sort of capital investment in Greece. Moreover, a Greek government that depended upon American bounty would necessarily surrender a large portion of its effective sovereignty, as happened between 1947 and 1952. Such a policy would expose Greek authorities to charges of acting as craven "yes men" to the Americans, and of betraying Greek national interests, as, for instance, in Cyprus.

471 457 648 663

Dependence upon foreign funds to finance capital development was therefore a poor substitute for financing such development from local resources. Yet no one in Greece wanted to reduce and few wished to restrict the standard of living. The general public was impatient of austerity and wanted an immediate and miraculous increase in consumption levels. The chronic disbalance of the governmental budget reflected (among other factors) the pressure of these demands – demands for higher pensions and salaries, for better unemployment, medical and old-age benefits, and the like. To offer present hardship in the hope of future amelioration of economic conditions was therefore politically unthinkable, even though this was the only program that could really cope with the prob-

471 511 652 663

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current running expenses and to finance a modest program of government capital investment proved far more palatable politically, even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped nations in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of political debate and the planning of technicians in the economic ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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Boeotia

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come [593]
to be associated with low social position and low income,
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major [511]
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of [583]
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of 828
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion.
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet 152
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo*
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, 156
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

178 361 367 [211] [883] 178 [312] [103] [527]

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

[342] [247] [621]

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

167 342 722 511 [435]

/10 cont./

Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years.

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move. 167 722 [648] 511 167

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of harvest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family [543]
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and relatives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilometers. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new improved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of community interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is anything which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 744
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East 743
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and intestinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in.
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death [165]
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazingly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was convinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was 744

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

Megali Vrisi

[Inventory at the beginning of the year-
/43 cont./ taken from a representative farmer]

B. Livestock:	Number	Value in drachmas		
Cows	2	5,000		511●
Oxen	2	8,000		422
Poultry	30	900		435
Turkeys	3	300		[231]
Hogs	1	250		
Bees	20	4,000		
			18,450	

C. Family food stuffs in storeroom:	Okes			[251]
Wheat	300	2,100		
Lard	50	3,000		
Honey	10	300	/44/	

D. Animal feed in store:	Okes	Value in Drachmas		[231]
Chick peas	200	800		
Straw	1200	600		
Barley	400	2,000		
			8,800	

E. Agricultural implements	Number			[241] [412]
Plow	1	250		
Yoke	1	90		
Harrow	1	600		
Barrels	3	450		
Harrows	2	70		
Shovels	1	30		
Hatchet	1	60		
Axes	1	80		
Wagons	1	3,000		
Sickles	2	50		
			4,680	
	Total		31,930	

/44 cont./

Inventory at the end of the year. December 31st 1934.

Family, the same members as at the beginning.

511
422
435
[231]

A. Livestock:	Number	Value in Drachmas	
Cows	3	6,000	
Oxen	2	8,000	
Hens	20	600	
Turkeys	3	300	
Pigs	1	600	
Bees	20	4,000	
			19,500

[251]

B. Family food in store:	Okes		
Wheat	350	2,450	
Lard	40	2,400	
Honey	15	450	
Onions	20	60	
Beans	15	150	
Cracked wheat cereal	40	400	
			5,910

[231]

C. Animal feed in store:			
Straw	1,600	800	
Corn	60	300	
Chickpea	200	800	
			1,900 /45/

[241]
[412]

D. Agricultural implements:	Okes	Value in Drachmas
Plow	1	250
Yoke	1	90
Harrow	1	550
Barrels	3	450
Harrows	2	60
Shovel	1	30
Hatchets	1	60

511
241

/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

241
423
[484]
[433]
[242]
[476]
[233]

We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

/51 cont./

Receipts Expenditures and Balances. The following account is more or less representative of the receipts expenditures and balances of the farmer.

241
511
435

General farm accounts of income and expenses.

A. Income	Amount, Okes	Value in Drachmas
Wheat	840	5,040
Wheat seed	400	3,200
Wheat sold	2,560	17,920
Turkeys	36	3,600
Veg. & legumes		560
Watermelons sold		1,760
Milk (consumed at home)	300	2,100
Poultry (consumed at home)	8	320
Poultry sold	20	400
Cereal consumed	30	360
Eggs "	200	200
Eggs sold	700	700
Lard consumed	40	1,600
Wool used	20	600
Wool sold	50	1,500
Corn consumed	100	400
Chick peas used	200	800
Straw used	3,000	1,500
Barley "	200	800
Butter from cows sold		800
Heifers sold	1	1,200
	Total	46,160

/52/

241
511
435

B. Expenses:	Amount in Okes	Value in Drachmas
Bread for the family (produced)	840	5,040
Wheat seed (produced)	400	3,200
Legumes "	60	180
Vegetables "		
Spinach	20	40
Onions	40	80
Beans	2	20
Potatoes	60	240
Vegetables bought		2,540
Milk (produced)	300	2,100
Poultry (produced)	8	320
Cereal "	30	360
Eggs "	200	200
Lard "	40	400
Honey "	20	600
Olives, macaroni sugar salt purchased		2 037
Clothing for family		6,227
General expenses, newspapers, travel, books		1,761
Doctor bills		530
Furniture and repairs		2,500
Animal feed: (produced)		
Corn	100	400
Chick peas	200	800
Straw	3,000	1,500
Barley	200	800
Agricultural implements bought	-	180
Fruit trees bought		400
Fuel (wood & kerosene)		1,085

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6,000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or 2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs. of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little below the average. 511 [262]

In the expense account we find clothing and building construction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average. Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the market. [286] [438]

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and extensiveness of malaria and other diseases. [164]

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by specialized vegetable gardeners. 511 241 244 438 433

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems. 241 242

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

/02 cont./ 511 ●
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard
but should not question how and why the money was spent. The
farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen,
implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are
responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the
stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife
and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spend-
ing money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
civilized the more his needs increase.

/03/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley.
Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The
wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal.
The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried
and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned
dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they
cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cook-
ing. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the starch
foods. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer
months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and [438]
are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled
cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best
combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed
daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed
oil.

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
*342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[591] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bungalow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards improve, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphically on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. (1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein.—I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
577 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
727 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

178 To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of
156 living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as
● 511 a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of
577 God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until
727 the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and
746 to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated
[173] to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [177] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [577] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 556 457 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

821 one of the high schools in Athens. T. K. Papaspyropoulos has written of
[127] his native settlement near Kalavryta in the Peloponnesos.* A literal translation has been used in order to retain some of the flavor of the village informants.

The sky. Our mother told us that the sky was a big dome which covers the earth like a lid of a cauldron. This dome has for ornaments the sun, the moon,
[772] and the stars. High up in this dome God has his throne and sits with Christ, the Virgin, with all the saints and the angels. Near the throne of God is Paradise with the souls of the good people and the saints. Hell is down below in the deepest part of the earth, together with the devils and the sinners. May God protect us!

The sun. The sun is the god of the day. He throws light on the earth and warms the people. The sun brings cereals and all the goods which are upon the earth. Without him we would be dead from cold. The sun does not only warm us but tours the whole world and brings greetings to all those who are away
[533] from their home. He also tells us what he sees. We have many songs for the sun, such as those which begin "My sun, three times my sun, and my world-roamer." "The working people watch for him."

[271] Everybody is afraid of the sun. We do not drink water while facing him, neither do we look straight into him because we get blind. In summer time the sun either burns our cereals or our heads. But in winter we beg him to come out and warm us up. We sit there by the sunny spot and he bakes our bodies. We
[533] also sing him a song: "Come on out, my sun. Just come out a little bit so that we can take a walk near the threshing floor." Sometimes it rains heavily and the sun is out at the same time. Then we sing to him: "Sun, sun and rain, when the poor get married. Sun, sun and moon, when the donkeys get married. Sun, sun and drizzle, when the female teacher gets married."

The moon. Just as the day has for a king the sun, the night has the moon as its king. The moon is a more agile king than the sun. It takes a walk on the sky shining and chasing the clouds and makes people come out of their homes.
[512] With the moon the women spin at night; the children play on the threshing floors; the men water their fields; the muleteers can see and go to their work; and the shepherds enjoy the slopes together with their sheep while playing the flute. But the moon can also harm. The biggest harm is done to the thieves because it throws its light and does not allow them to rob for they can be seen. "The thief enjoys darkness and the wolf the upheaval" [distracting disturbance]. When the moon comes out for the first time we say: "Welcome to the new moon. We are happy to see you. Bring us good." Many seek to find money. They get hold of it and say: "As the moon gets full may my purse get full of coins." When the moon disappears those who are in the mountain and see it set say: "May you fare well and return better and achieve better things." "My moon, my shining moon, and beautifully adorned, did you by any chance see Andrew and his ship?" . . .

[539] *The milky way* (the priest's straw). Do you see those stars that divide the sky into two? We call them the priest's straw. Once upon a time a priest went to stay for a couple of days in a monastery. When he left, because he couldn't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
●512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep.
221 We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their
221 faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease
796 each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their 221
caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered [796]
as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The
man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also [275]
go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly
the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder [241]
or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start prepar-
ing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do [462]
not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To
the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; [275]
they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few
understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not
wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of
wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it
out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others
curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have [796]
Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, [535]
then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help [462]
outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, [241]
beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When
some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes [342]
then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time
because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their [354]
games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a
fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and
get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then 221
onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our 796
work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do
something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church;
then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manli-
ness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass,
we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our 221
tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then 512
the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we
have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children [462]
return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by
themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many,
it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her
hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs
to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re- [275]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their
●512 evening meals before and go afterwards.
[275]

Summer. As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start
[241] preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence
[876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then
[241] we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St.
221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned
796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of
535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool,
221 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever
241 else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts
[438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts
[432] we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we
[273] press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines
[273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and
221 our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot
82 south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare 4o, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

602 tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone [593] to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use [431] or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give [556] generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed [521] a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to [177] which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of 593 villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head 596 of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in [583] the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daugh- [462] ters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; [583] do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the [512] mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> [857] The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not [461] because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away [887] to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than
[146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[6]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person
[146] for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

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It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

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> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

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In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

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But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.

More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.

Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[512]

they spend more than twice as much time during the non-busy period than during the busy period.

Apparently Stavroupolis also follows the pattern generally encountered throughout Greece in which the peasants spend much more time during the day in the coffeehouse in the winter months but more time during the evening hours in the summer. This of course follows the cycle of farm work.

When asked to give the reasons why they go to the coffeehouse, those with high yearly participation in Stavroupolis coffeehouses replied as follows: have nothing else to do (76 percent); to play a game (74 percent); to have a drink (64 percent); to see friends (63 percent); to hear what is new (56 percent); to talk with someone (51 percent); to go to a place where men go (25 percent). On the other hand, when all the men — not just the "high participants" — were asked to check which three of the seven reasons above were most likely to apply in their case, and the checks for each reason were computed as a percentage of all checks, the following distribution was obtained: to hear what is new (32 percent); to meet friends (26 percent); to have a drink (14 percent); to talk with someone (13 percent); to play a game (8 percent); nothing else to do (4 percent); it is the place where men go (3 percent).

These differences in response deserve a word of explanation. Apparently the high participators have gotten to the point where going to the coffeehouse is an end in itself, a habit which requires no justification other than to say that there is nothing else to do. Most men, however, try to give a more logical explanation, since they are aware that there are supposedly serious alternatives to going to the coffeehouse and that there are other things they might be doing. So more than half of all the reasons checked included the two most socially acceptable: to hear what is new and to meet friends.

But what are characteristics of those who are the "high participants"? In Stavroupolis, at least, the following facts hold true:

The higher a man's education, and particularly the higher his wife's education, the less time he spends at the coffeehouse.

Older people participate more than younger people.

People of higher economic efficiency participate more than those of low economic efficiency.

Nonfarmers participate more than part-time farmers, and part-time farmers more than farmers.

The most frequent participants are also apt to be leaders in the village organizations.

Furthermore, more high participants look unfavorably upon farming and living in the village than do low participants.

The native-born participate much less than do the settlers from eastern Thrace

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

361 houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

621 156 Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with [594] the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore [484] does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

621 484 494 To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settlement, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore, never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *agbora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the [512] spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, 512
whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs
most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just
before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 484
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 512
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming 621
around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light
of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the
end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat
bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any 512
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 241
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 805
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora,* one sees, first, a man going
by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its
saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same
direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go
past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a
horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no
movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people
involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home
one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the
following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the
timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the
situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/93 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
● 512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[221] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959):963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth. 356 353 [296]

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping. 356 515 [574] [751] [264]

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters. 356 512 [264]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point
461 of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before,
is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
● 512 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
521 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of
571 ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations
possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala*," "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
[493] before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silversmiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a prominent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars. 443 369 [493]

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, almost with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talking and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise. 512 369 [461] [513] [584]

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

To the Land of the Eagle

000 evening after one of the most delightful walks that could ever fall to one's lot.

177 Ginger-beer is a survival from the time of the British administration which ended more than sixty years ago. The Victorian habit of closing all windows at night—night air being considered poisonous—is another. At sunset all the windows at the Pension Suisse were religiously closed and shuttered, including those of my bedroom which, as the weather was quite warm, I promptly opened again, and kept open. A more satisfactory legacy from the British occupation is the game of cricket, which is popular to this day.

132 There are only two months in the year in which the weather is really hot, and only two of so-called winter. Bathing is possible from April to November. At the beginning of May I found the water quite warm, although the Corfiotes think it madness to venture in before July.

512 In the summer the inhabitants close their shops and places of business during the middle of the day. But at five in the afternoon the town wakes up again and the whole population turns out into the cafés, the squares, the streets, and the esplanade. Here the folk stroll about, or sit at tables under the trees drinking coffee or Greek brandy, until ten or eleven o'clock at night when they go home to supper.

[533] They are fond of dancing. In the dance season they dance for many nights in succession, and no dance breaks up until

545 seven or eight in the morning. They have also a theatre to which a company from Athens or Rome occasionally comes. On these nights the play begins at what is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Variations of this two-story, sloping-roof house occur in all the mountain areas of Greece, which includes most of Epirus, western Macedonia, much of Central Greece, and the Peloponnesos. There is much snow in this region, and the sloping roof keeps it from accumulating on the housetops. The one-story, sloping-roof house can be found in Attica around Athens as well as on the plains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. This house usually has a stone foundation of twenty inches or less on which walls of sun-dried, home-made mud brick are built. The roof is covered with tiles: 342 184 [132]

> In their original and simplest form, these houses consist of one rectangular room, including under one roof the family, their cattle and corn. . . .
>
> The most ancient and the most closely related to the original form of Greek house is the simple narrow-front house, belonging to the type known as "megaron." It has the entrance on one of its narrow sides, having usually in front of it a "prostoon," or wide portico. . . .
>
> The wide-front house, however, is found more frequently in the Greek countryside. This house has its entrance and its "prostoon" on the long side of the rectangular plan.[18]

In many parts of Greece the one-room house has gone through a development which gives a separate space for the family, the stabling of the cattle, and the storage of the cereals. A final development is the separation of the stables from the house proper, leaving two rooms in addition to the granary often located between them. Where these two rooms have been provided, one is kept as a guest room, one as a storage place. In the winter the family moves into one room heated by the hearth or small stove on which the meals are prepared. The hearth, which can still be seen today in the center of some village homes, was moved in course of time to one of the walls — usually the middle wall separating the rooms of the two-room house — or to one of the inner corners of the room where a chimney was built. 342 178 [231] [251] [354]

These village homes, though simple in structure, call for considerable investment of time, money, and thought on the part of the family building a new house. Just what is involved is shown in the following conversation with a peasant woman, whose remarks hold generally true for all of the Greek mainland. Her husband had invited us to his house but had to leave for a short while to take care of his sheep. The woman, bright-eyed and wearing a scarf over her braided hair, moved her head quickly as she talked. 342

This home had one room, with wooden floors. Unlike some of their fellow villagers, this couple had wooden beds and did not have to make use of sleeping platforms, ordinarily found at one end of the room. There was a storeroom underneath the main room. To enter, one came directly into the yard from the street, then into the house after passing under the portico. [352] [513]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who [463] lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, [465] depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She [825] pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives [788] came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we [778] discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a [574] dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the [793] name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, [788] when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person [777] to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The [352] dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, [583] will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

[352] Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung [353] a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the [513] vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even to the extent of sleeping on the portico, on the roof balcony, or anywhere else where they found it comfortable. As a matter of fact, some students of the Greek house think the court the basic element, and the other parts of the house an adaptation to it and to the other needs connected with the individual peasant's kind of agriculture. Where the court is covered with flagstones, it serves for a longer season than do those that turn to mud after the fall or spring rains begin. 351 [513]

The court is separated from the street by some kind of wall or a fence of holm-oak branches. In the plains villages these walls, like the houses, are of mud brick. They too are white-washed a brilliant white on the Monday of Holy Week before Easter. Later on, when the rains come and the white-wash wears away, the walls take on a drabness that made travelers from early times on down to our day describe these plains villages as unattractive. Where the walls are well kept, where there are attractive tiled gateways — as in Macedonia — large enough for the wagon to drive through, the yards behind have a mysterious and richer look. 351 184

The village setting is part of the Greek peasant's physical adjustment to the land. Throughout Greece there are many variations in the appearances of the settlements due to differences in terrain, location, and communication. Villages set in the shadow of a towering mountain and surrounded by a forest of firs have a snug look; those whose green trees and vines are the only cool color in a vast stretch of hot brown fields invite one to stop and rest; those which stand proudly on the brow of a hill seem to be keeping a watchful eye on the farmlands lying around. Others, perched on some airy height, dare you to climb and visit them, and anyone doing so will be surprised to find that behind the village there is a broad shoulder of the mountain which provides good farmland to those willing to live there on the heights. For many villages the dark blue sea is part of the setting, even though none of the villagers may be able to swim a stroke. Whatever the location, the villager has the deep belief that his village site is the best possible one. The water of his village is the best-tasting in the world, and in moments of homesickness when he is away from his native place he would give anything for a drink of that water again and for a chance to see the incomparable view from his village. 361 361 186 271

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaīmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaīmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

feeling the mystery and fear that surrounds the whole discussion of the cause and cure of an illness attributed to the Evil Eye. As they grow older, they understand why the parent of a child or the owner of an animal will say in reply to any words of admiration: *Phtyse* (Spit) or *Phtys' to* (Spit it), at which you must pretend to spit. 869 751 [152]

It is into such an atmosphere of half-truth, and even harmful customs, that those interested in scientific medicine must practice their profession. They quickly find that patients are often brought to them after the priest and the wise women have done their best and failed. They also know that merely giving a prescription is no guarantee that it will be followed as directed, but may even be blended with folk medicine that makes it ineffective. In Greece today there is one physician for every thousand people, a proportion usually considered adequate in the United States. The difficulty comes with their maldistribution, for over 50 percent of all doctors are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area. Consequently, many villagers have to travel long distances to obtain medical treatment, but the improved roads are making such trips less time-consuming.[15] 757 758

Once in a while some member of the family has to be hospitalized. An American, thinking only in terms of scientific sanitation concepts, is often amazed at what he observes if he chances into a small Greek provincial private hospital, one of which has been well described by Dr. Ernestine Friedl: 743 758

One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient. Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.[16] [513] [291]

Before one condemns too quickly such medical practices, it is well to try to understand some of the cultural factors which explain them. These have

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to en-
[356] tertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the
room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living
away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greet-
ing cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed
along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth.
These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets,
pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They
also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the
house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every
housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur
which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items
on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead
owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns
a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also
decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the
photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families
[264] have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[365] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[354] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like
fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on
[296] wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[513] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its
247 edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
511 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately

[263]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

593 571 583 425 sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

574 369 602 593 The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several [874] months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

369 574 513 [571] [593] All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

369 602 [574] [212] [203] [554] Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[521] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *platia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

123 inhabitants malevolently. As we dismounted outside the cottage of Papa Costas we were greeted by a score of old friends headed by Basil the resourceful, just descended from Aghios Stephanos and bound for Trikkala to negotiate some delicate piece of monkish diplomacy. Papa [252] Costas' daughter and two cousins from Trikkala were bent over their sewing, and a dish of bean soup simmered on the stove.

123 Boris bade us farewell that afternoon and set out for Larissa, whence he would travel southwards the following day to sunny Attica and the ● 513 populous cities: back to that strange, mad world where men spent their days poring over antique folios and writing solemn dissertations; effeminate creatures who slept at night between linen sheets and pillowed in soft down, clad in ridiculous garments fit only for infidels: not indiscriminately, men and women together, upon the hard earth, snugly rolled in warm rugs beside a roaring fire; a pampered and degenerate race.

123 As the sun went to his rest that evening amongst the snows of Pindos I sat for the last time amidst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi and related the strange and terrible things that we had seen [252] during the past few days, while Father Anthimos boiled some eggs in an empty salmon tin, the stylite cats lurked in the shadows, and old Papa Iannis stroked his venerable beard and murmured an occasional *Kyrie eleison!*

*

793 The country parson of Pindos, writes an early nineteenth-century traveller, displays a truly primitive simplicity. He is at once the director, adviser, friend and companion of those who till the same fields or pursue the same occupations as himself. The unaspiring *papas*, endued, as it were,

> . . . in spite of his ignorance with an evangelical instinct, sympathised with the sorrows and shared in the joys of his people, and abandoning himself to them, made up for any deficiency of ecclesiastical dignity by a fraternal affection which was rendered doubly dear by the misfortunes and misery of those on whom it was bestowed. In the evening, when the labours of the day were finished, the pastor of the mountain assembled with his parishioners at one of their unadorned chapels on the hills. . . . On the festival and the feast, when

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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milordos Thomas Alcock, comments unfavourably on the attire of the monks: "the want of neatness in the persons of these people", he remarks, "is too conspicuous", a failing our traveller denounces as one of the sure consequences of "an unnatural and unsocial life". Thomas Alcock, it is hardly necessary to add, found the mode of life and habits of Greek monks "little agreeable". "They flatter themselves", he writes, "that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove." Whatever may have been the condition of the monks of Megaspelaion in 1829, certainly to-day the great poverty which afflicts many of the surviving communities is sufficient explanation of some want of neatness in their members. 792 292

The costume which I have thus briefly described, inner and outer *rason* and the appropriate form of *kalymmafchion*, is the customary outdoor dress of the Greek ecclesiastic, regardless of his status or office: of the aspiring archimandrite, in silken gown and with rolled umbrella and brief-case, who hovers discreetly about the chambers of the Holy Synod, as of the village *papas* who labours at his plot of ground, or, with a train of pack-animals picks his way along the boulder-strewn bed of some water-course in trackless Pindos. 793 292 184

Within doors, though the parish priest may put off his tall hat and outer garment, he is seldom to be seen less formally apparelled. And in the mountain villages what more appropriate night-attire for an ecclesiastical person than a thick homespun *rason*: though holy tradition be silent and the Greek country parson abed be subject to no such irksome canonical prohibitions as his brother, tending his flock beneath the vigilant eye of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is strictly charged that in the interests of decency, gravity and order, he shall not wear "any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet". 793 292 [513]

It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed description of the liturgical vestments of the Greek clergy. "It would be impossible", asserts Dr. King, "to give a description of the habits of the clergy . . . to an English reader without the assistance of figures: for as we have none which resemble them so we have no names in our language to express them by." The reader who would learn to distinguish an *epigonation* from an *epitrachelion* or would comprehend the mystical signification of [113]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silver- 443
smiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The 369
market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a promi- [493]
nent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars.

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different 512
from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, al- 369
most with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, [461]
the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops [513]
or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talk- [584]
ing and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

621 369 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life [513] pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 517 275 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied [435] by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 464 166 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from villages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons [434] can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his [602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback through the countryside should come into the village on a day when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example, would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is *perástikó sas* which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer, several alternatives are possible. Some member of the household may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is accompanied by at least one member of his household and frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifications of the physicians lead one to expect normal American hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limitations of space and of an untrained staff.

But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

757 758 [759] 758 574 [576] 758 [513] 757 758 [494] [844] 743 759 [874] 743 758 [p. 25(A)]

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it. 743 758 [513]

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words. [846] [844]

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women. [422] [583]

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in 758 571 156 743 [574]

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital. [144]

p 25(B)

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out. /69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the [515]
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and everything evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned 744
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children. Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost. Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

/70 cont./

Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

*342 The προστῷον[1] is formed by a simple extention of the roof of the
341 house downwards, and consitutes a very useful element for the needs of agricultural life in general, as it not only protects the entrance of the house from the rain, but it also provides a well aired and at the same time a well protected residence, where the family may
[264] gather, especially during the summer months. It is here that the
[513] family takes its meals and sleeps in summer time. It is here that the
[286] women put up their loom, spread and comb the wool, dry the maize
[251] and the sesame, the onions and the other fruits. And it is also here
[252] that the oven is usually built.

Fig. 4 Old house at Ferrai in Thrace
(G. Megas, Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, fig. 5)

The increase of space in the houses of both types is done in two directions: a) by extending the top beam of the roof and b) by extending the roof in the direction of the sides of the gable.

*342 In the first instance, and in the case of narrow-front houses, two succesive rooms are formed in depth, the προστῷον remaining on the front of the house either open or closed (Fig. 5. Plate I b 1-3). In this last case, a new προστῷον is sometimes added, open on its front side (Fig. 1 c. Plate I a 6). In the case of the wide-front houses, two or more rooms are being formed on the same horizontal line (Figg. 3 and 6. Plate III-VII).

In the second instance and in the case of the narrow-front houses,

[1] [prestoon = open portico - Analyst.]

594 accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne
[156] with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like
to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be under-
[513] foot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

594 Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-
593 dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an
156 organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

593 Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of
594 fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to
[589] find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed
[583] sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number
[167] of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for
602 younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions
593 and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserv-
661 ing by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who
156 have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

594 On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some
241 property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry.
423 This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece
425 at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

584 increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in
882 Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so widespread that the family, in effect, has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

842 The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred; traditionally, sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters, it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity, and the woman is held responsible. People say "the poor man", pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept "maternity difficulties" without asking for medical help, lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book
581 on maternal and child care, *For the Mother*, urges that before marriage, both family histories be examined for possible sterility.

For the Mother urges young people to choose mates with a view to progeny. As a sanction, it mentions that the ancient Greeks urged eugenic marriages; and that the term "eugenics" was invented by Xenophon. Young people are advised to see a doctor before making the final decision. They are further advised to choose according to firmness of flesh and orderliness of features and limbs, for seriousness tempered with cheerfulness, for optimism implemented by effective energy. Marriage with kin, and with people having family histories of tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, psychasthenia, is to be avoided.

843 According to this manual, a young woman beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indisposition, accompanied by the non-appearance of the menses: this the husband diagnoses for her with great joy. Next come the food whims and the nausea, and this is the time to go for obstetrical advice. The first two months are the critical ones for the life of the embryo; therefore, a mother is urged to take a vacation in the second month. After that she may resume her normal activities, taking care only to avoid over-exertion and jerky movements
[515] In the last month she should not immerse herself in bathing, because of the danger of infection; for the same reason, she should avoid sexual intercourse in the last three weeks. In the last two weeks she
[513] should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy, never more, lest she become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings, she should not play cards, she should drink nothing stronger than light wine, she should eat meals as balanced as is consistent with her means and her

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

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NUTRITION

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Village Hygiene

364 This closer contact with the ideas and the services of the city is helping
[369] overcome one of the negative aspects of village life from the survival standpoint, namely, its lack of adequate hygienic provisions. When Greek villages are judged in terms of what one finds in many rural settlements throughout the United States and Western Europe, they measure up fairly well. They have their expected quota of flies, their problems of sewage disposal, and the difficulties of obtaining pure drinking water, but these concerns are common to farm people in other parts of the world.

364 When, however, one measures the Greek village by scientific standards
312 of public hygiene — and these should be the goal in the interest of better health for its people — then there are obvious shortcomings. According to *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*:

> many of the rural sections depend on small springs and hand-dug wells for their water supplies. These are usually isolated from inhabited areas and the water is not piped to the villages. It is quite common to see women carrying water in earthenware containers from sources as far as a mile from their homes.
>
> In semi-rural communities, particularly in the lowlands where underground water is more common, public wells, springs and private wells are often in use. Many private wells exist all over Greece and are sometimes the preferred sources of supply, even where safe piped supplies are provided. In some of the smaller Ionian and Aegean Islands and in a few villages in the northeastern Peloponnese and eastern Crete, the complete lack of any surface or underground water has compelled the population to depend on rain water collected from the roofs of their homes.
>
> Many private and public wells and many rural springs are open and unprotected from contamination which may be introduced by the human or animal population which it serves. . . . Even after collection, the water is frequently subject to contamination in containers. . . .[9]

The urban water supplies are more apt to be adequate with proper precautions taken for filtration and chlorination.[9]

364 A description of waste disposal is also contained in the report quoted above:

● 514

> For the disposal of human excreta in the rural areas of Greece either the pit privy or bored-hole latrines are utilized. Defecation on the ground is still widely practiced due to lack of sanitary facilities in residences and schools. However, the sanitary type of bored-hole latrine and pit privy has been installed under various programs at low cost to villagers in rural areas mainly as demonstration projects.[10]

164 In addition to the obvious visible signs of sanitation progress, one can
165 learn much from the list of causes of death for Greece as a whole. Table 2 shows the first fifteen general causes of death for 1950. Some of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma,* found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture.

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?"

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents. 342 [178]

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls. 333 [514] 351

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the 361 [342] [823] [343] [351] 363 361

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578]
competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on [621]
which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 369
So the resources of the vilagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after [296]
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514]
new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343]
in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of [758]
brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is
tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while
the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out.
/69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264] [515]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth
healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any
village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a
doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many
farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing
two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever
is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and every-
thing evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned 744
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house
flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children.
Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the
troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat
them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a
time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the
sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their
families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few
windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost.
Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the
same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

The further evolution of this type mainly concerns the interior arrangement of space. Namely, while on the ground floor the space of the inner basement was left as it was, or was divided into two parts, in the upper floor a narrow corridor is sometimes created between the rooms, leading to the lavatory which is built outside, on the back of this floor(1) (fig. 17, Plate III7) or a middle space is created between 342 × [514]

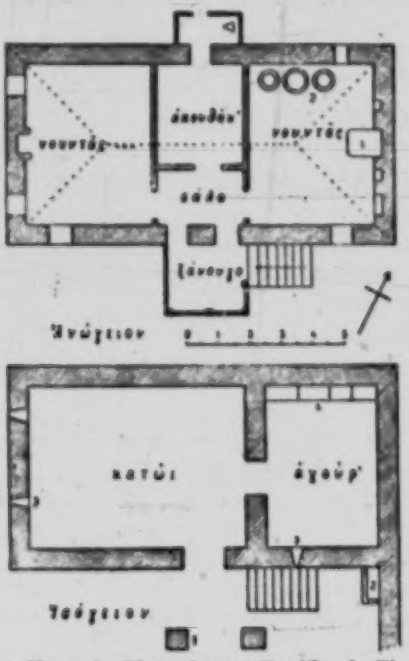

Fig. 19 House in Phanari, near Karditsa in Thessaly
(O. Megas, Θεσσαλικοί οἰκήσεις, fig. 43)

the rooms(2) (Plate III 7a) usually divided by a thin middle wall in two unequal parts (fig. 19). The larger of these is used as a cellar, and the smaller as ante-room or entrance to the rooms on each side, as in the tripartite single floor houses(3) (Plate VIa) or is used as a drawing room (σάλα) where ends the staircase from the lower floor(4) (fig. 20).

1) Ibid. figg. 37, 44a A. 48.
2) Ibid. figg. 42, 44a second floor.
3) See fig. 12, above.
4) Ibid. figg. 45, 46, 47.

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring 272
tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

[184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance
669 for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
166 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did [657] not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as [369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes follow-
[302] ing the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was [657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni,* and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [594]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1-
Vasilika

353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos,* as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959):63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth. 356 353 [296]

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping. 356 515 [574] [751] [264]

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters. 356 512 [264]

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is
tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while
the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out.
/69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the [515]
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth
healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any
village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a
doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many
farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing
two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever
is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and every-
thing evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned 744
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house
flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children.
Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the
troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat
them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a
time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the
sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their
families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few
windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost.
Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the
same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

584 increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in
882 Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so widespread that the family, in effect, has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

842 The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred; traditionally, sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters, it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity, and the woman is held responsible. People say "the poor man", pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept "maternity difficulties" without asking for medical help, lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book
581 on maternal and child care, *For the Mother*, urges that before marriage, both family histories be examined for possible sterility.

For the Mother urges young people to choose mates with a view to progeny. As a sanction, it mentions that the ancient Greeks urged eugenic marriages; and that the term "eugenics" was invented by Xenophon. Young people are advised to see a doctor before making the final decision. They are further advised to choose according to firmness of flesh and orderliness of features and limbs, for seriousness tempered with cheerfulness, for optimism implemented by effective energy. Marriage with kin, and with people having family histories of tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, psychasthenia, is to be avoided.

843 According to this manual, a young woman beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indisposition, accompanied by the non-appearance of the menses: this the husband diagnoses for her with great joy. Next come the food whims and the nausea, and this is the time to go for obstetrical advice. The first two months are the critical ones for the life of the embryo; therefore, a mother is urged to take a vacation in the second month. After that she may resume her normal activities, taking care only to avoid over-exertion and jerky movements
[515] In the last month she should not immerse herself in bathing, because of the danger of infection; for the same reason, she should avoid sexual intercourse in the last three weeks. In the last two weeks she
[513] should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy, never more, lest she become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings, she should not play cards, she should drink nothing stronger than light wine, she should eat meals as balanced as is consistent with her means and her

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

1:Sanders Z-5/f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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291
241
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415
57[illegible]

13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakassa, Central Greece.

142
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291

[p. 272-I]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

252
29

Roasting the paschal lamb

142
291
[302]

A woman of the village

A young girl of the village

[p xviii]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

● 517

/For additional information on leisure time activities see the discussions of the coffeehouse in category 275./

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma,* found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture.

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?"

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing.
[273] When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. 462
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechanization. 241
The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [435]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the re- [452]
maining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government offi-
cials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be im- [439]
ported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of [444]
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*fousstanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the [437] priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women 517 continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She 184 and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such [438] handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[3]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[3] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements. Women should be 18 before marriage.	
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid.
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the

1:Sanders Z-5,X (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves through-
●577 out the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads
178 and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

583 In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were
[243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of
[465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

"It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of
594 it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee
[571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries
[438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra,* or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[8] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what
[583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of
184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers
178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had
[178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
356 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late
463 fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one,
183 as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one realizes that according to this same census the average family farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just 1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year. 241 433 463 [423]

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses. 461 517 275 [521]

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really provides the village women with a meeting place where they may on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus 517 562 [462] [275] [576] [521] [794]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else
361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im-
433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages
438 of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads
241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will
433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is
433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving
[464] the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be
[166] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

621 369 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns [513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is ●517 also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly 275 always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied [435] by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and 464 semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from vil- 166 lages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons [434] can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his [602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Kotta

[Hill Villages]

corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow. 178x 241 233

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise. 669 621 [241] [517] [619]

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the village speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the 621 178x 197 [669] [191] [619]

/29 cont./

leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

/31 cont./

where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political leaders meet their followers. 275 517

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission. [208] [203]

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/ learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to special designated saints whom they think are able to help them. For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line. It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They take their religion seriously and believe in it completely. 794 869 872 [796] [796] 782 776 795 [771]

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the representative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God. Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places. 793 782 [776] 869

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized 517 ●
form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation,
which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to [526]
play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional
customs handed down from generation to generation provide both
group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family
recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger [846]
family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the [851]
whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the cere-
monial feast. When a member of the family gets married the [585]
whole village participated with their musical instruments. The
marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from
children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating
and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name [527]
days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male [562]
person is observed more than the female name day.

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent 796
seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village 628
that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those 574
that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days
takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the
United States. After the church service the people gather around [535]
the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big
circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes
as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the
length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter 796
period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole 574
village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from
the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place.
This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give [735]
to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village [252]
with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry.
The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

/34 cont./

wishers. People are formed into groups and visit every house where the table is set in the center of the main room with different drinks, colored eggs and good food. The groups crack /p. 85 skipped in original numbering/ /36/ an egg and wish the hostess saying, "Christ is risen", and the house owner answers, "Truly he is risen". 796 574

Children run through the streets dressed in their new clothes and carry colored eggs and candies. These are the days when the houses are open to every one. The recreation that these three days offer to these people is far greater than all the rest of the holidays of the year. For the Orthodox church the birth of Christ does not have so much importance as the resurrection of Christ which shows the Athanasia of the spirit. [779]

At this time of the year everything takes life in nature, too. The almond trees, the cherry trees, the pear trees are in blossom. The fields are green and nature takes the appearance of living again. All these combined leave an unresistable influence upon every person. Through such recreation which is a part of their religion, the people forgive each other and old hatreds give way to renewed friendship and forgiveness. It is surprising to note how much influence these holidays have in the lives of the people that live together. The spirit of hospitality, the spirit of giving to those that do not have, the spirit of taking active part in village movements and the blind obedience to the orders of the higher rank, are a result of these traditionally influenced holidays that are represented by different Saints. Recreation is thus closely associated with the /37/religious holidays. 796 571 182 517

Play of Children. Whether at school or outside of school the children do not have organized recreation. At the school the weekly exercises which are more or less military are given by the teacher. The children have two recess periods of ten minutes each from 8-12. At these periods they devise their own play. At home the child has no time for play. He or she will graze the oxen or weed the garden and fields, sweep the yard and help in housework. While very young the children are taught to work and 857 [872]

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control. Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692]
what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685]
families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578]
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [574]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [484]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either [178]
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of community organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked has to go to bazaar. Those that go for
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, [437]
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf, or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages, buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on [436]
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than anything else.

WORK

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest.

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth.

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion.

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[312] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[219] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most
of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[779] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece
the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until
recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics,
well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or
city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where
two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the
Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as
the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two
armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers.
A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on
the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian
monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the
difference.

● 517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[814] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
scholarly standard.

RELIGION

771 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity
among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
Greek Greeks since they do not conform to the tradition of
Greek [illegible]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

369 nians. According to the story, a man reading his newspaper at a café table
829 was studying the battle plans and maps of the Russian command. The more
195 he studied the newspaper details of the Russian army lines, the more excited he became, until he finally called out a warning to the Russian general half a world away in these classic words, "More to the right, Koropotkin! More to the right!" This phrase is repeated with a smile by one Athenian to another when he wants to imply that the other is passing judgment on something a little — but only a little — out of his field of competence. As
369 a matter of fact, a multitude of anecdotes told by city Greeks about them-
829 selves swarm into memory. One way of gaining an insight into the Greek mind is to listen to these stories.

The Greek shows pride in his intellectual curiosity by relating the tale of the Greek walking along a Paris street with a French friend. The Greek in the excitement of a discussion of nationality traits boasted that he could identify any Greek who came down the street. To the Frenchman this seemed impossible in such a cosmopolitan city as Paris.

"Let us wait here for a few minutes and I will find the Greeks for you," said the Athenian, who thereupon began to twist his cane into a nearby wall as though he were boring a hole. Many people passed by without paying any attention, when all of a sudden one man stopped to observe this strange behavior. He looked at the cane, the small hole, and at the man turning the cane as though trying to figure out the reason for the procedure. The Greek with the cane asked, "Are you Greek?" "Yes, I am," said the inquisitive passerby. "What are you doing with that cane?" The performance with the cane was repeated and after an interval a second man — of course, another Greek — stopped to observe. This was enough to convince the Frenchman of his Greek friend's ability to discover his fellow countrymen by tickling their curiosity.

This intellectual curiosity has its other side, too. One Greek social worker with an objective view of herself and her associates said, "When we Greeks face a crucial problem in social welfare or elsewhere, we are inclined to examine it from all sides. We look at it from so many points of view that we finally convince ourselves that it is not a very serious problem and practically explain it away, with the result that we do not feel the need to take any action about it at all."

369 It must be obvious by now that city Greeks are never dull. Conversations
● 521 with them do not merely flow; they roar along. They always have some prin-
[275] ciples to defend, some causes or organizations to promote, or some absorb-
[829] ing hobbies to share. The mark of the true urbanite, as previously implied, is the regular visit to a favorite café, the modern version of the ancient agora, to transact business or to discuss with friends every conceivable facet of the happenings of the past twenty-four hours, not only in his own social group but in the world at large. It is only fair to point out that a few of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

the warm morning sunshine, to watch the sailors of the numerous passenger 123
and cargo ships work aboard ship and then relax in the tiny sea-front cafés, [184]
and to talk with the families of those whose most energetic sons are away
at sea, is an introduction to a world incomprehensible to many peasants in
Central and Northern Greece and strange to the inland American. For me, [521]
the best hours of all were those spent along the quay of a busy port with
a retired sea captain, telling the tales of his misadventures — a 1950 ver-
sion of the trials of Odysseus. All of these seafarers, fishermen, and mer- 184
chant seamen, crews and captains and their island-anchored families, are a
part of the rainbow in the rock. Yet they, along with the city Greeks, so [162]
similar in vitality but different in their life, make up only half of the people
of Greece. The other half are rural. It is with this largest single group that
we shall concern ourselves.

The Greek Villager

Being rural in Greece means living in a village, which is usually a picur- 184
esque collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields. 369
It also means that one is a peasant, since the Greek terms *choriates, cho-*
rikos, derived from the word *choria* (village), are the closest approxima- [361]
tions of *peasant* in the Greek language. But any Westerner, in seeking to
understand the rural Greek, needs to divest himself of many false notions
about the nature of a peasantry, be these on the romantic side of over-
idealization or on the derogatory plane of considering them mere bearers of
burdens and dull plodders through life.[18]

In not all countries do peasants always live in villages, but they do in [101]
Greece. Therefore, in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland,
away from the cities, we can use *villager, peasant,* and *rural population* in-
terchangeably, feeling that if we understand Greek village life, we also shall
have gained a point of comparison for the study of peasantries in other
countries.

The importance of the small village in Greek life can best be shown by 162
a few figures taken from the 1951 census. For instance, 44.6 percent — or 369
almost half of the Greek people — lived in 5,473 communes, or local po-
litical units, of less than 2,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme was Athens,
whose population included 18 percent of the nation's total; by 1961 it had
reached 22 percent. Since 1940 there has been a definite drift toward [166]
Athens and the twenty other towns which in 1940 had a population of over
20,000. Despite this urban trend, one must still recognize that the small
village is an imposing aspect of Greek life which deserves far more atten-
tion than it has received in the past.

Although rural people today are increasingly drawn to the city, the peas- 369
ant in years past has been a man of the land, usually suspicious of city ways.
And herein lies a question: are these millions of peasants, following a daily 184
174

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from 825
the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he 787
will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that
house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to [777]
left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect
bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows
he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or
left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the
following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon [777]
two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will
die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central [776]
Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in
herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make
a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches [422]
cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these
mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts
the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a 825
child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam 773
and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them
first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then
holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep
her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God
the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so [788]
that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human
beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since
the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if 771
these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely
held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say [521]
that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level.
People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them,
while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is
the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a
ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants 82
and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature,
which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the
course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere,
moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the 821
heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the 127
latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

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public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby. [363]

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[7] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece. 491 [521] [619]

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away. [177] [653]

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner." 491 178

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Thessaly

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful,"
[177] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and
[825] for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the
[685] point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever."
● [521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land re-
241 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant became about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the
[311] entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

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[Harvesting Olives]

245 not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to
[464] earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up
461 long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village
[264] homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled
[412] rakes and "combed" the tree.

"Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to
[832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come
[264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had
[466] been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in
[264] picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each
[521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

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hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends. 245 461 [521]

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground. 245 258 461 [492]

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?" [521] [273] [264]

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re- 258 576

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Sara Katsani EH14..
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

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tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

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Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521]

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 843 787

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843 787 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 834 576 593 [492] [626] Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings. Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

[312] [482] [626] It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

[522]

562 593 521 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only occasionally with her husband.

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594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her
[584] husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of
[654] Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the
[511] children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

These two home economists made the further observation that the "mar-
[578] ried couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[581] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good
[831] analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

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535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[a] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos,* another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts,* or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna,* probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina,* which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos,* or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

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[p 205]

XI

The Village Coffeehouse

Eventually the coffeehouse, instead of being merely the setting for many lively conversations about village life, became an object of interest in its own right. It, too, is a village institution which takes its rank along with the school and the church. The coffeehouse, or *kapheneion*, is more than just a structure. Like the English pub, it is a place of assembly, a communication center, a place to transact business, satisfy one's thirst, or find out about the health of one's friend. 275 182

Most coffeehouses are located near the main square or at some crossroads where things are apt to happen. They find their fullest development in the cities. In the early evening, the time of day when Washington "rolls up its sidewalks" and becomes quieter and quieter, the squares of Athens, the Greek capital, literally burst into life. Constitution Square, for instance, after hundreds of chairs, which have been stacked during the day, are set up around small tables, the waiters begin their hazardous dashes back and forth across the busy street to the food shops which line the square. Their frenetic activity contrasts with the leisurely attack by the patrons upon the small cup of sweet, sirupy coffee and glass of water before them, although a conversation at some table may reach such proportions that one becomes oblivious to the automobile horns, the radio blaring out some popular tune, or the clink of spoons on a glass as people try to attract the attention of a waiter. 275 369 [521 201]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[2] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis,* while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[3] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas*, where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

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the Greek coffeehouses we find the equivalent of what Chester Bowles has referred to as the "tea house jury": 275 521 208

> One evening in Taipeh I asked a world-wise old Chinese diplomat what he thought would happen on the mainland. "Have you ever been to China?" he asked. When I said that I had not, he said, "In every one of China's one million villages is a tea house. Every day at the tea hour the people, especially the wise people of the village, gather to talk.
>
> "Chiang lost," the old man continued, "because this great 'tea house jury' decided that he had failed. The villagers came to believe that the Communists could do no worse, and they might be better.
>
> "Someday perhaps the 'tea house jury' will bring a verdict against Mao. Then China will be ready for a change." [3]

Although my study of the Greek coffeehouse never got beyond the introductory stage, I felt fortunate indeed to find that the investigation by John Photiadis of Stavroupolis in Macedonia had addressed itself to many of the specific questions in which I had been interested.[4] No one would claim that all of his findings for one village in Northern Greece would automatically apply to the whole country, but they do possess enough generality to provide some penetrating insight. For example, his discussion * of the coffeehouse attractions are most helpful. 275 521

The primary appeal is *kouvenda*, or conversation, explained as follows: 275

> *Kouvenda* means conversation without any particular purpose, a recognized form of "passing the time." It is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of ideas or description of events, or delving into the past in a quiet manner. But sometimes it is contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud, a statement or a question is countered by a challenging question, tact and gentleness have no part, insults are hurled, but within appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinions, and its end is neither to reach truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech. But whatever impression this occupation of passing the time makes on someone who is a stranger to this custom, to these people it is their enjoyment. It constitutes one of the attractions that makes the coffeehouse a necessity for the villager. 521 571

Photiadis points out that during the kouvenda the participant is involved emotionally, is not only trying to prove his point but is also enjoying this oratory. The irresponsible statements are not to be taken seriously, although they sometimes are, with unfortunate consequences. In this connection, I was always interested in what the men argued about most in the village coffeehouses and found that they did not discuss politics to the same extent as the denizens of the urban coffeehouses. They preferred to talk about community affairs, crops, and personalities, although the announcement about some [369]

* Relying on some of Dorothy Lee's analysis.

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions forcefully expressed.

571 A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis: 1/1

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed
561 to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his convivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

1/1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

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ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend [602] any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes [452] from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 ●521 208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agriculural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques. 275 573 521 208 203

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury." [626]

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places. 275 461 [184]

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it [242] [208] [521]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 because of a conversation the previous evening with his cronies at the coffee-
461 house. One villager got to the crux of the matter: "In the coffeehouse we
[242] get into arguments over our political leaders and don't attend to our fields.
[208] We do this because we are uneducated and people do little to help us, and
[521] so we spend our time on foolish things. The government doesn't send people here to instruct us; we are farming the way our fathers did."

With the spread of the program of agricultural extension, perhaps this peasant can no longer legitimately make the same complaint, but the chances are that the men of his village are still arguing about many matters and, perhaps in his opinion, spending their time on "foolish things."

Even the critics admit that there are still many conditions which encourage the men to patronize the coffeehouse quite apart from the attractions already
[593] described. For most village men, home is a most unattractive place in the evening. Dimly lit, poorly heated in cold weather, dominated by women and their silly prattle, the home cannot begin to compete with the masculine company found at the coffeehouse. Furthermore, most men can think up perfectly valid reasons (in their opinion, at least) for going to the coffeehouse: they have a business matter to talk over; they want to know how some world crisis is shaping up; they need some advice on a farming decision.

Should they be found at the coffeehouse during the daytime, when conscientious farmers might be finding something worthwhile to do, they do not experience many twinges of conscience. They are not pricked by any Puritan ethic that teaches them constantly to be busy; instead, they save their energies for the time and place where it is unquestionably in their interest to work hard and long. When no such occasion presents itself, what more could a man ask than to enjoy his leisure, unplanned and unsought though it be? Nor does he think that it is up to him to seek out productive uses of his time. If people have good employment opportunities, they will seek him out, and he will respond. If he is from the tobacco-growing districts, the chances are that he has put his only resources (wife and children) to work for him and can take his ease until he must return to see how the work has progressed. He has no idle capital to invest but does his best with the human labor at his command. When heavy work is required, he will do his part, but when that is done others can harvest, string, and manipulate the tobacco. He provides the entrepreneurial skill.

Perhaps the coffeehouse and the attitudes of its habitués clash more strongly with American value orientations than do any other aspects of village life. To the Greek peasant, to be idle is no sin; to converse in the kouvenda can be as satisfying as to be a spectator sportsman; to seek to learn "what's new" if you live in a village is just as worthy as the search for novelty which motivates many in the United States. To get away from the women, the Greek peasant does not have to go on a long hunting trip to

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period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465]
net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804]
per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461]
serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the [443]
villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict. [577] [578]

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion. [571]

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard. 521 571 867 868 [829] [865]

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the 521 571 867 [851]

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521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point
of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before,
461 is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
512 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
521 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of
571 ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasiliká.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala*," "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

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Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts. 571 867

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone. 521 [868] [196]

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity. 521 571 156 828 [748]

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kuvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other. 521 156 828 571

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha*," "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

methods is to ask the same questions in different ways at different times, and an outsider is often struck by the persistence with which such questioning on the same issue is carried on over many months. Not to succeed in gathering a choice bit of knowledge is no disgrace—the villagers keep trying and every man stays on the alert to guard his secrets.

There are some kinds of verbal communication that are outside the realm of agonistic relationships and in a sense provide a respite from them. These are the ritual phrases, which constitute proper responses to frequently recurring common life situations.

Village manners require the use of a wide variety of greetings at meeting and at parting. In addition to these, there are a large number of appropriate set phrases for life crisis situations, large and small. For example, one says *"Kali eleftherya,"* "Good deliverance," to a pregnant woman, "May they live for you" to a parent showing you a picture of his children, "May it pass for you" to an ill person or to any member of his family, "To your health" to a person wearing new clothes, and so on. "Many years" is the wish expressed to everyone on saints' days. This list is far from complete, but illustrates the point that although the phrases are formulaic and are most often used without conscious awareness of their literal meanings, they are apotropaic in feeling. In other words, the villagers have a vague sense that the phrases, which are good wishes, may succeed in warding off evil. Certainly the formulas also serve as an immediate expression of the good intentions of the speaker toward another in a potentially stressful situation.

Transmission of Values

Some of the weapons used in agonistic relationships in the village and some of the processes by which children acquire the necessary skills to use them have been considered. It remains to complete the discussion of the kinds of values and attitudes inculcated in children and to show the relationship of all the foregoing to the question: Who are the actors in the contests of Vasilika, and what are the social alignments which form the structural base of these human relationships in the village?

If, as we have seen, obedience to elders is not a virtue which parents stress to regulate the behavior of children, and if affection is interspersed with ridicule so that children cannot depend completely on the parents' support, by what mechanism do the villagers' children acquire the prevailing standards of behavior? It has already been suggested that the villagers act as if they believed that human beings, by virtue of their humanity, have brains. It may now be added that they also believe that inherent in every child is a sense of integrity which, in English, is best translated as shame. Parents do not feel that they have to implant these traits in their children but expect to bring them to the surface and to put to use qualities which the child already has within himself.[2] Each child is believed to have rudimentary intelligence which will develop into rational

[2] I am indebted to Popie Mohring for this phrasing.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

156 is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by
828 overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individ-
571 ual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its mem-
594 bers, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

571 Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not
578 between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

571 Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly
561 as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they
88 have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference
561 toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior
576 among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older
888 men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in
[593] front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the
[276] age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba*
[521] (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and
[793] older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

000 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and
562 women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in
521 the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves,
829 women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the
[834] village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the
[576] kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi-
[594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of
[577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear,
[828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but
[834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working
[594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in
593 the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

623 responsibility. The collection of its monies is undertaken by the central government's financial officers directed from Amphiklia, and the expenditure of its monies is supervised and controlled by the officers of the *nomarchia* centered in Levadhia. Moreover, the council has neither responsibility nor power over other village-wide activities. Law enforcement and the operation of the village school and of the village churches are administered separately both from the council and each from the others. Before turning to these activities, some mention of the council's role in Vasilika apart from the formal expectations is appropriate.

[829] [622] It is indicative of the village attitude toward the council, in contrast with that toward the president, that at no time during our stay in the village was any man pointed out to us as having the status of council member or as having had it in the past. When, accompanied by several villagers, we visited the former schoolteacher of Vasilika, he asked us who was currently the president but did not ask about the council members. The president has an important role to play
622 in the minds of the villagers. He is expected to act as liaison between them and
829 other governmental units and to further the interests of Vasilika in whatever situations may develop. For example, there was some criticism of the president for not arranging more rapidly for the bus to come through the village. In
731 early April 1956, an unexpected and heavy rain flooded the fields and threatened
312 to destroy the wheat if the waters did not drain off quickly. Most of the vil-
208 lagers (not all, however) were agitated, and in the early morning groups of men climbed the hill and looked out over the fields shaking their heads and lament-
521 ing, "*Katastrofes*!" "Catastrophy!" Then came the discussion of why the fields were not draining properly. All day, in the coffeehouse, the men inveighed against the English company which had owned the former Lake Copais land for setting up a drainage system that did not go beyond those lands; against the Greeks who took over the company for continuing a system that, the men insisted, not only did not drain the lands of Vasilika, but even made it subject to flooding; against the government for not having built a proposed dam that would have protected the region; and against the village president for not immediately calling on the nomarch's engineers to suggest remedies for the present situation. For days after, there were rumors that the nomarch's technical staff would meet with the president and councils of Parori and Vasilika to arrange a public works program of low dams to protect the area from possible future disasters from the same cause. The meeting never took place. Some villagers
731 blamed the situation on the unwillingness of the farmers to work together to
312 build their own small dams. One man had earlier tried to protect his own fields by building low earthen dikes around them, but his work was wasted
208 because the surrounding fields were not so protected. The morning after the storm some of the men had quickly built up a two-foot dam at an obviously vulnerable spot near the cemetery. But a villager pointed out that if the water had risen just a little further, the placement of the dam would have made the situation worse rather than better. There was no more rain; the waters gradually receded; each man watched for his own fields to dry out. Those who were left with one or two small plots that were so badly flooded as to be useless for

621
Evidence suggests that 186
an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609
they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574
thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577]
petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828]
expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

[685] [521] [522] [183]

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

621 186 156 828 476

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

[594] [464] [663] [554] [185]

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

619 829 [621] [181]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[521] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing 275
backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in
a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [275]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really pro- [576]
vides the village women with a meeting place where they may [521]
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk [794]
and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

648 668 the summer of 1956. The opposition belabored the government for failing to free the Cypriotes; the government swore that no effort had been spared; and each side rivaled the other in denouncing the stubbornness of Britain, the meddling of Turkey and the indifference of the United States. Events in Cyprus, where nearly every day people were killed as a result of the guerrilla operations of an organization known by the initials EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kypriakou Agonos, or National Organization of Cypriote Fighters), occupied the most prominent place in every newspaper, and speeches or statements about the Cyprus question filled an amazing proportion of the space that remained. Nothing else seemed to matter very much; [521] and this attitude was not confined to newspapers. No conversation could long continue before the Cyprus question came up, and even very casual contacts between a Greek and an American were likely to produce an impassioned plea for Cyprus, together with reproaches against the United States government for failing to act in the matter.

From the point of view of someone interested in confronting and trying to relieve the economic and social difficulties of contemporary Greece, the Cyprus question was bound to appear totally irrelevant. If the Cypriotes were accorded the right to determine their own form of government, and if, as seemed overwhelmingly probable, the majority of the island's inhabitants then elected to unite with Greece, nothing would be helped so far as Greece's own problems were concerned. Yet by 1956 the liberation of Cyprus had become the very stuff and substance of Greek political debate. A more effective red herring would be difficult to imagine.

From the point of view of the Greek public, however, the Cypriote cause was sacred, and far more worthy of attention than merely economic questions. This attitude was deeply rooted in the political tradition of the nation. Indeed, the whole

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

668 and then destroy the parliamentary machinery and civil liberty in favor of Communist dictatorship.

668 In 1956 these things were not apparent. Communism was not an issue; Cyprus had replaced it, and the Communist party had 648 officially endorsed the Cyprus struggle over the radio. No one admitted to being a Communist, since to do so would have been a short way to jail. The people seemed quite genuinely glad to be relieved of the long preoccupation with the Communist question, and to find a cause upon which everyone could unite. This was, indeed, one of the reasons why Cyprus was such a heart-warming cause for the Greeks. Everyone, no matter what his opinions on domestic issues, was behind the Cypriotes. The Greeks had not known what it was to be united on an important public issue since the time of the Albanian war in 1940. Yet if Communists and nationalists were to quarrel in Cyprus, a possibility of which there were already some convincing signs in the summer of 1956, then the Communist question would emerge again in Greece with new bitterness, as each side sought to blame the other for the disruption of the Cypriote struggle.

66 In any analysis such as this it is easy to overemphasize the instability and insecurity of Greek political affairs. Certainly Greek politics are unstable, and the parliamentary regime in Greece is insecure. But it is well to remember that these conditions are not new. Exactly the same could be said of the political scene at any time since 1909, when the current phase of modern Greek political life began. The Greeks have learned to [829] live with such conditions, and even manage to derive lively ex- hilaration from the perpetual uncertainty of their politics. With- [521] out politics, what would there be to talk about in the cafés?

647 The things that are new in Greek public life attract little pub- 829 lic attention. The man in the street and in the village coffee

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

in characteristically Greek fashion, more human-centered than science-centered. They went along with the human necessities of the patients, allowing these necessities to overshadow, for a time at least, what they regarded as the strict requirements of scientific hospital management. 743 759 [181]

Moreover, conversations with the doctors indicated that, although they were far more sophisticated than their village patients, they were nevertheless participants in the same basic culture, and shared many attitudes and expectations with their patients. For example, the lack of regular time scheduling for consultation, rounds of the wards, nursing routines, and the like, is not likely to be as personally irritating to a Greek doctor as it might be to his American counterpart. Greeks actively dislike regularity, and, unlike many Americans, do not derive comfort and security from routines. The Greek doctors are also less likely to be disturbed by the presence of the large numbers of visitors and their, to Americans, relatively boisterous conversations. Long and animated consultations before any decisions are made form a part of Greek life to a greater or lesser degree at all social levels, and conversation for its own sake is a favorite recreation. The fact is that illness and quiet are not inextricably linked concepts in Greek culture. 743 759 805 758 743 759 521 758

What the Greek doctors are apparently unaware of, however, is the extent to which their, to them, makeshift hospital practices conform to the social scientists' recent recommendations for flexibility and for adaptation to traditional methods of handling illness. What careful analysis has pointed out as a desirable method for conscious, planned, and gradual change, 743 758

[5.27 (A)]

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584] 562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

/98 cont./ 796

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger. 156 195 577

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*. 156 577 [521]

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not. [619]

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*. 156 577 578 [762]

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of 156 577 722 727

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

594
602

I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter [855] practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular [852] liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [996] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father [527] leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[212] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[217] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[799] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics, well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers. A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level. Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[814] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and scholarly standard.

RELIGION

779 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
really Greek since they do not conform to the tradition of Greek

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers [407] would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now [445] drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary.

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor [407] instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type.

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 787 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 834 576 593 [492] [626] Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings. Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

[312] [482] [626] It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the [522] home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

562 593 521 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only occasionally with her husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[8] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of Octo-
[292] ber), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in
[541] 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men
[522] of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

621
Evidence suggests that 186
an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609
they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574
thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577]
petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828]
expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of con- [685]
versation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always 521
raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at 522
a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually 183
in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621
identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha,* and it 186
must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156
reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride 828
in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 476
and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594]
family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464]
daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663]
official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554]
his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he [185]
does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619
for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829
as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is [621]
profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181]
with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

Collateral consanguineal relatives of ascending generations and their spouses: thios, thia (uncle, aunt); bárbas (uncle, a familiar term.). 601

Collateral consanguineal relatives of descending generations and their spouses: anepsyós, anepsyá (newphew, niece).

Collateral consanguineal relatives of the same generation and their spouses: (e)xádherfos, (e)xadhérfi (cousin); protoxádherfos (first cousin); xadhérfia (cousinhood, cousinry).

The older collateral relative is presumed to be of an ascending generation, but the technicality can be insisted upon for precision or humor (as when a woman insisted on several occasions that her three-year-old daughter was my aunt). Then, too, fully descriptive phrases can be used in reference, e.g., my uncle, the first cousin of my father. [522]

Member of a family related by marriage: simpétheros, simpethéra (co-father-in-law, co-mother-in-law)

father of spouse	pentherós
mother of spouse	pentherá
brother of spouse	kunyádhos
sister of spouse	kunyádha

For other relatives of spouse, the same terms as spouse uses.

wife of son	nífi (bride)
wife of brother	nífi
husband of sister	ghambrós (groom)
husband of daughter	ghambrós
wife	yinéka (woman), kiría (Mrs.)
husband	ándras(man), kírios (Mr.)
spouse	sízighos
husband of wife's sister	batzanákis
wife of husband's brother	sinifádha (co-bride)
godfather	nonós
godmother	nonú
godson	vaftistikós
goddaughter	vaftistiká

Members of families related by godparenthood: kumbáros, kumbára. [608]

wedding sponsor and spouse	kumbáros, kumbára

Members of families related by wedding-sponsorship: kumbáros, -a.

When a woman marries she customarily takes not only her husband's last name but his first as well, plus a suffix, -ena or -u, depending on the number of syllables and the accentuation of the name; e.g., Dhimítrios-Dhimítrena, Dhiamandís-Dhiamandú. This is not grammatical gender; the suffix means "wife of," and can be added even to nicknames. The given name is still used by the family of procreation and others. The suffix -ítsa added to a woman's maiden name indicates née so-and-so. Family names can form the plural of their respective declensions or add the suffix -éi (ancient *atoi*, "natives of"), 193 551 [553]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bacco-growing parts of Thrace, a child of six may be expected to help to the extent of his ability. In general, by the time he is five or six, he is asked to watch a younger brother or sister or to watch the sheep or turkeys; when not doing this, he can join children's play groups. By the age of fourteen a boy is already a competent field hand. A girl between eight and ten years of age is given little jobs, but between ten and fourteen she assumes much heavier burdens. 857

Yet life is not all work. Children in Greece also have their periods of play, frequently under the watchful eye of some woman in whose yard the children's play groups may be found. Some of the children, however, prefer to play away from home — along the street, around a fountain, or at the school yard — so as not to be called upon to do the chores which would be assigned if they were at hand. It is remarkable how many games can be played without toys. Much can be done with stones and little pieces of broken glass (where no marbles are available), and what dolls can be made by little girls from a few nondescript rags! Occasionally I would find two or three barefooted children damming up a stream near some pigs lying in the mud; or boys would roll iron hoops on the highway while their family worked in a field close by. So intent would the children be on their play that they would seem oblivious to approaching buses or autos. [524]

One of the children's games played throughout much of Greece is a form of jacks. In the village of Laimos, near Lake Prespa, the children playing it called it *vroche* (rain) although elsewhere in Greece it is usually referred to as *pentovola*. Instead of using a ball, on whose bounce the jacks must be picked up and the ball caught, the girls threw a stone in the air and picked up other stones in time to catch the one that had been tossed. Pebbles figure also in the game called "forty stones." Eight stones are put in a straight line, with forty on each side of the center. At a signal all must run to a set place and return before the girl called "the gatherer" picks up all of the stones into a pile. If the gatherer wins, she sits on the pile and pretends to be a setting hen. 524 [192]

There are the familiar games of hide-and-seek (only the Greek children spit on the tree serving as home base rather than touch it), drop-the-handkerchief, cat-and-mouse. Many of the games require special songs which the girls especially seem to enjoy. Boys at play seem much less organized and more apt to argue over the fine points of the game. [526] [533]

Quite often we came upon children simply sitting still. "What are you doing?" we asked. "Oh, we are telling riddles." Not all of these we heard would have much meaning to an outsider, but some of them had almost a universal touch:

My lamb, my little curly lamb, climbs, eats, and gets fed on grass, drinks water, and dies. (A fire on the mountain.)

Around, around it's round and in the middle it is long. (A well.)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

[178] If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food [261] is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [6] Therefore, when we de-scribe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared 146 with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948–49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 [776] [784] [296] [241] [426] [787] [262]

considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[8]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

[533] [824] [777] [431] 796 777

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

[431] [524]

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

796 [788] [574] [524]

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions force-
571 fully expressed.

A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis: 1/1

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

1/1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

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1/1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

/29 cont./

leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

132

Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the
[526] village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
463
423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bacco-growing parts of Thrace, a child of six may be expected to help to the extent of his ability. In general, by the time he is five or six, he is asked to watch a younger brother or sister or to watch the sheep or turkeys; when not doing this, he can join children's play groups. By the age of fourteen a boy is already a competent field hand. A girl between eight and ten years of age is given little jobs, but between ten and fourteen she assumes much heavier burdens. 857

Yet life is not all work. Children in Greece also have their periods of play, frequently under the watchful eye of some woman in whose yard the children's play groups may be found. Some of the children, however, prefer to play away from home — along the street, around a fountain, or at the school yard — so as not to be called upon to do the chores which would be assigned if they were at hand. It is remarkable how many games can be played without toys. Much can be done with stones and little pieces of broken glass (where no marbles are available), and what dolls can be made by little girls from a few nondescript rags! Occasionally I would find two or three barefooted children damming up a stream near some pigs lying in the mud; or boys would roll iron hoops on the highway while their family worked in a field close by. So intent would the children be on their play that they would seem oblivious to approaching buses or autos. [524]

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Around, around it's round and in the middle it is long. (A well.)

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized 517
form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation,
which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to [526]
play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional
customs handed down from generation to generation provide both
group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family
recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger [846]
family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the [851]
whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the cere-
monial feast. When a member of the family gets married the [585]
whole village participated with their musical instruments. The
marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from
children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating
and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name [527]
days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male [562]
person is observed more than the female name day.

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent 796
seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village 628
that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those 574
that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days
takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the
United States. After the church service the people gather around [535]
the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big
circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes
as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the
length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter 796
period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole 574
village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from
the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place.
This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give [735]
to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village [252]
with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry.
The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

/37 cont./
help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times 857
of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the [526]
neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek.
When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom [834]
play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard
time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the [872]
children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active
days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is 533
there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance [535]
singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no
books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players
never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the [461]
fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups
returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses,
at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles
and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through [796]
the church services from beginning to the end and when the women [585]
dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any
song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to
generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them
or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part
of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of
nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition
and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of
their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture.
There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that
move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest
songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their
ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced
their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among [765]
the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed
during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the
war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. 476
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 621
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built [345]
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [533]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [735]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [314]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [185]
project which was started by this group has led to the development [526]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

796 527

796 794 [356] [526] [535] [437] [787] [782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

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/Since engagement and wedding festivities may involve the whole village, reference should be made to categories 584 and 585 for additional information on holiday activities./

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

[292] [294] In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. [461] The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [527] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [286] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-[437] bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being 517 produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and 184 embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She [438] and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[4] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

● 527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards
[357] (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[9] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

[527] [533] [788] [755] [777]

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

[789]

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata,* or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti,* since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

[585] [369] [785] [769] [777]

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

[785] [262] [372] [783]

1. [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ.

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from alcoholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so.

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city.

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are considered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 736 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing." [13] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[14] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at Pierce College. 783 748 [873]

church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *agbora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *agbora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *agbora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *agbora*, and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *agbora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *agbora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
574 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and
574 strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

62 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is 875 a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth- [876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the [609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational [861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of Octo- 527 ber), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic [292] poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the [648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day [541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in [541] 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets, [536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary [522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear [535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-* [621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *agbora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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V

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

000

> If any Art or Polity can be said to have place over the affection of the People, none seems more efficacious than the strict observation of the Fasts and Feasts of their Church, by which the people are taught as in a visible *Catechism* . . . more (I dare say) than by their ill-composed Sermons, or repetition of the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue; for being severely imposed, and observed with much solemnity, they affect the Vulgar with an awe of something divine and extraordinary in them.
>
> PAUL RYCAUT

796 788 A FEW years after the restoration of the house of Stuart to the English throne, the Archbishop of Larissa, in Thessaly, received an unexpected visitor: a certain Père Robert, *Capucin de Saint-Jaques à Paris, et Aumonier de l'Ambassadeur de France*. This reverend personage chancing to be in Larissa during Holy Week (according to the western reckoning), he attended a celebration of what, despite a certain confusedness in his account, was manifestly the liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. Describing this in the journal which was his constant travelling companion during the period 1665-69, he observes that the Archbishop, when he had delivered his sermon, "went in procession about the church, accompanied by nine bishops, his suffragans". To-day, though the traveller may but rarely and with great good fortune chance upon such a mitred assembly as that which Père Robert describes, the divine liturgy is still celebrated, even in the smallest and poorest village of the Greek mountain dioceses, with something of its traditional splendour, and in such fashion as to impress upon the mind of the least sensitive of worshippers that he is a participant in no work of man's devising but in the very worship of heaven; in the praises of those who sing without ceasing to the glory of the holy and consubstantial and life-giving and undivided Trinity.

796 527 The festival which is observed on August 15th is described in the service-books as that of the Dormition, or Falling Asleep (*Koimesis*), "of our most holy, glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

Mary". To the simple Greek, however, it is *the* feast of the *Panaghia*, which not the Marys only but also the men and boys named Panaghiotis keep as their name-day: a very much more important occasion in Greece than the mere commemoration of one's birth after the flesh. The importance of the festival is emphasised by a fast of two weeks' duration immediately preceding it.[1] The other liturgical commemorations of the *Theotokos* centre on particular events. March 25th, for example, apart from the national associations which have made it one of the greatest days of the year among Greeks, is essentially the memorial of the Annunciation: "To-day," runs the dismissal hymn, "is the chapter-head of our salvation and the revelation of the eternal mystery. The Son of God becomes the Son of the Virgin, and Gabriel brings the good news of grace". So with the other evangelical commemorations. The liturgy of August 15th, on the other hand, seems to sum up the whole work in the pattern of man's redemption of her who contained Him whom the heavens cannot contain, and who, through the mysterious operation of the life-giving Spirit, herself became the dwelling of the infinite Creator.

All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured;
Both the assembly of the angels and the race of men.
O hallowed temple and logical paradise, the boast of virgins,
From whom God took flesh and became a little child,
Who is from all eternity our God.
For He made thy womb His throne
And fashioned thy body broader than the heavens.
All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured:
Glory to thee!

*

On August 13th, 1949, furnished with a document wherein the officer commanding the Drama gendarmerie called upon all whom I should encounter in my travels to give me all conceivable manner of assistance, I embarked in the antique vehicle which then connected the village of Kato Nevrokopi with the rest of Christendom (it was blown up by a Communist mine a few months later). During the early stages of our somewhat wayward progress through the narrow streets of Drama it became evident, from the sounds which came from overhead that, in addition to the forty-four Greek passengers who occupied the

[1] [i.e. before Aug. 15th[41] - ANALYST]

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

During the weeks which followed I had occasion to correspond with this prelate as to the state of his diocese, and received a pressing invitation to come and see for myself the desperate conditions resulting from eight years of all but continuous warfare. 727 793

Some months went by before an opportunity presented itself, and then one morning in February, 1950, found me travelling westwards from Kozani in a jeep belonging to the 2nd Army Corps. When I had last come this way, the previous March, we had been constrained to travel in convoy: a seemingly endless line of heavy army trucks laden with provisions, fodder and ammunition for the outlying garrisons of northern Pindos. It had been the eve of the festival of the Annunciation —which is also the day on which Greece commemorates the raising of the standard of revolt by the Archbishop of Patras in 1821—and every vehicle was decked with evergreens and plastered with patriotic slogans: 484 527

ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΖΗΤΩ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ
ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.

The wild, mountainous tract of country that lies south and west of Kozani is a desolate region at all times, and never more so than in early February when the outworks of the great fortress of Pindos are veiled in snow, and icy winds scour the exposed valley which leads westward away from the haunts of men. A mile or two from Siatista the road forked and we turned southwards out of the teeth of the wind, the lightly-laden jeep lurching and jolting over the deeply-scored, rock-strewn surface of a truly Hellenic road—"the worst road in all Macedonia", the driver assured me with emphasis. 491

At Grevena—set drab and cheerless amongst low hills, the gaunt ruin of the orphanage dark against the sky—boulders gave place to mud. It lapped about us as we turned out of the market, where I had a fleeting glimpse of whiskered *papades* in rusty cassocks sprawled round a table amidst the dull gleam of copper pans and cauldrons. A veritable sea of mud, churned by the wheels of heavy vehicles, stretched unbroken from the steps of the regimental headquarters towards the broken line of ramshackle dwellings beyond the river.

Here on the furthermost fringe of Macedonia the road was swallowed up in the muddy deeps; beyond the cottages lay the massive rampart of Pindos, traversed only by mule-tracks winding high among the

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

178 361 367 [211] [883] 178 [312] [103] [527]

Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

[342] [247] [621]

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

167 342 722 511 [435]

/28 cont./ 603 867 702 [538]
always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized 517
form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation,
which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to [526]
play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional
customs handed down from generation to generation provide both
group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family
recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger [846]
family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the [851]
whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the cere-
monial feast. When a member of the family gets married the [585]
whole village participated with their musical instruments. The
marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from
children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating
and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name [527]
days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male [562]
person is observed more than the female name day.

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent 796
seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village 628
that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those 574
that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days
takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the
United States. After the church service the people gather around [535]
the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big
circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes
as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the
length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter 796
period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole 574
village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from
the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place.
This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give [735]
to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village [252]
with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry.
The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

796 527

796 794 [356] [526] [535] [437] [787] [782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

594
602

I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter [855] practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular [852] liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [996] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is be- [527] cause the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in.
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death [165]
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood 796
of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells [793]
jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on [778]
the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I
was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon
of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re- [782]
decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the [531]
interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the
contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the
squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who [361]
had followed us up the stony path from the *mesochori*, or village-square, [782]
crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of [769]
our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ
conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of
relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated
at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers 796
and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office 788
(the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the [782]
chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon [852]
the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured
carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the
church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the
children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced
on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by 796
the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who 794
had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion,
overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which 533
were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in
which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who
now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

/60 cont./

Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the rotation system and may help answer the livestock management problems. 241 242

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds 3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used at harvest time. 444 452 [458] [474] [273]

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time. [241] [463]

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500 drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to start with. 511

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a few handmade embroideries. [352] [415] [353] [531]

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenis: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Delta*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

178 centuries of Turkish dominion. Outwardly they are scarcely dis-
795 tinguishable from the cottages which surround them: only the shallow
346 apse at the east end proclaims the church.

Within, however, one finds oneself in another world. Walls un-
[532] pierced by windows are covered with paintings which set forth the whole story of creation and redemption. Patriarchs and prophets mingle with the saints of the new dispensation; Elias is caught up to heaven in a chariot of fire and Jonah goes down to the bottoms of the mountains with the weeds wrapped about his head; those whose names are honoured throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, Athanasius, Basil and Gregory the Divine, rub shoulders with local saints like St. George of Iannina and the Neo-Martyrs; the Lord Christ is baptised in Jordan, He changes the water into wine and reigns in triumph from the tree of Calvary; the Holy Spirit descends in tongues of fire upon the apostles. Here in these little chapels—"rather like Vaults or Sepulchres than Churches, having their Roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgency of structure should be accused for triumph of Religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the *Mahometan* Moschs"—the mysterious life of the local church was nourished throughout the dark days of oppression; the saints which were in Kastoria, like their brethren at Thessalonica, obeyed the apostolic injunction to hold fast the traditions which they had been taught.

178 Not infrequently, it must be confessed, zeal for the preservation of
795 the faith in the midst of an alien environment gave rise to a certain
788 lack of discrimination. The pure gold of the apostolic tradition has not been handed down from generation to generation without gathering to
771 itself certain accretions of doubtful worth, and the simple Christian is not always able to distinguish the one from the other or prepared even to admit the possibility of such intermingling.

> This Reverence to the Church [observes one of the old writers] produces a firm belief and strict adherence to the Articles of it, and to all the Ceremonies and matters the most minute and indifferent, not suffering the least change or alteration in them. For although they are sensible (as many of their Priests have confessed to me) of the inconvenient length of their Liturgies . . . and of many superstitious Customs and Ceremonies derived to them from the times of *Gentilism*, which are now ingrafted into, and as it were grown up

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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II The church at Ziakas

[facing p. 102]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 my journey with an escort of seven soldiers, and with a corporal of the gendarmerie as guide.

At three o'clock we reached Mavronoros, the 'Black Mountain'; a small village, quite deserted and in ruins. Somewhat surprisingly, [346] the church (which was dedicated to St. Theodore) had survived the bombardment. A single projectile had apparently found its mark and a portion of the vault had collapsed, but the walls were sound enough and the paintings which covered them had not as yet suffered greatly from exposure to the elements. A chapel on the hill above the village was completely gutted and almost every house was in ruins. So complete was the destruction that we were unable to identify the remains of the school.

484 A brief halt and we set out towards Ziakas, where I was to spend the night. We followed a water-course for some distance before intercepting the mule track. The ground had thawed since morning and the going was laborious. On a ridge commanding a wide prospect of this abandoned countryside we met the relief escort from the Ziakas garrison, and I reluctantly relinquished my handsome mount for a mule saddled after the school of Macedonia. We crossed the Venetikos by an ancient bridge and reached the headquarters of the garrison, a kilometre below the ruins of the village, a little before sunset.

727 It was too late to see anything of Ziakas that day, but the isolated community was delighted to have a visitor and the evening passed merrily enough. The night was chilly and I slept fitfully. From the [136] mountains, which rise to close on 5,000 feet above the village, came the [231] howling of wolves and jackals. Two wolves had ventured into Mavranaioi itself a few nights earlier, and, despite the vigilance of the sentries, had attacked and killed one of the mules picketed amongst the cottages. There had been neither sheep nor goats in these mountains for more than three years.

The morning was cold and cheerless without trace of sun. I took leave of my hosts about half-past nine and was accompanied to the village by a young lieutenant from Salonica. Ziakas had not only been burned by the Germans; it had more than once been the scene of heavy [346] fighting within the last three years. The church stood at the entrance [532] to the village. It was completely ruined, but a few paintings still clung to the walls of the apse, and, amidst the waste and desolation wrought by man's sin, the Son of the Virgin, the Alpha and the Omega, raised His hands in blessing. The destruction of the village—one of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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VI Eikon from Edessa in Macedonia

[facing p. 119]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken 793
up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by 797
the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been [874]
particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up [213]
of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The [204]
official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for
the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press.

Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry [874]
out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just [794]
outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses,
a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university,
and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model
schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary move-
ments, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in
the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems [794]
probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish
in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home
Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material re-
sources.

In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, 794
the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now
has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the
movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of
the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and
tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood
could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and
its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary
people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still
young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the
growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed
with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder;
in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a
spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrakes rather than Father Eusebius.

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed [177]
somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of [532]
eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful tradi-
tions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of
feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin
Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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courageous example and one can only hope that the work of Photis Kontoglou, somewhat mannered though it is, may mark the beginnings of return to a tradition that had not wholly perished in the remoter provinces of Greece when the dominion of the Turk was overthrown. 794 [532] [177]

When all is said, however, the fact remains that the Zoë Brotherhood has, under God, been the most potent factor in the spiritual awakening of the Greek people during the last two generations, and the traveller who would form a just estimate of the present situation will, if he is wise, take the trouble to gain a first-hand acquaintance with the labours of this remarkable movement and to enter into its spirit before he pays heed to the strictures of its critics.

One can readily understand the desire of the ecclesiastical authorities to systematise and co-ordinate the evangelistic activity of the voluntary associations: even in reforming circles to-day one is frequently reminded of the saying 'every Greek a *kapetanios!*' It is, however, no less important to remember that the marvellous work of these unofficial bodies has sprung from the consecrated life and example of a handful of men who had given themselves wholly to God that His power might be manifested in them, and it may well be that the new Home Mission will have to learn by bitter experience the lesson that 'the victory of the width' is given only to those who have fought 'the battle of the depth' and have prevailed: the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ will not be brought about through legislation and centralised planning alone. 794 797

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

821 one of the high schools in Athens. T. K. Papaspyropoulos has written of
[127] his native settlement near Kalavryta in the Peloponnesos.[3] A literal translation has been used in order to retain some of the flavor of the village informants.

The sky. Our mother told us that the sky was a big dome which covers the earth like a lid of a cauldron. This dome has for ornaments the sun, the moon,
[772] and the stars. High up in this dome God has his throne and sits with Christ, the Virgin, with all the saints and the angels. Near the throne of God is Paradise with the souls of the good people and the saints. Hell is down below in the deepest part of the earth, together with the devils and the sinners. May God protect us!

The sun. The sun is the god of the day. He throws light on the earth and warms the people. The sun brings cereals and all the goods which are upon the earth. Without him we would be dead from cold. The sun does not only warm us but tours the whole world and brings greetings to all those who are away
[533] from their home. He also tells us what he sees. We have many songs for the sun, such as those which begin "My sun, three times my sun, and my world-roamer." "The working people watch for him."

[271] Everybody is afraid of the sun. We do not drink water while facing him, neither do we look straight into him because we get blind. In summer time the sun either burns our cereals or our heads. But in winter we beg him to come out and warm us up. We sit there by the sunny spot and he bakes our bodies. We
[533] also sing him a song: "Come on out, my sun. Just come out a little bit so that we can take a walk near the threshing floor." Sometimes it rains heavily and the sun is out at the same time. Then we sing to him: "Sun, sun and rain, when the poor get married. Sun, sun and moon, when the donkeys get married. Sun, sun and drizzle, when the female teacher gets married."

The moon. Just as the day has for a king the sun, the night has the moon as its king. The moon is a more agile king than the sun. It takes a walk on the sky shining and chasing the clouds and makes people come out of their homes.
[512] With the moon the women spin at night; the children play on the threshing floors; the men water their fields; the muleteers can see and go to their work; and the shepherds enjoy the slopes together with their sheep while playing the flute. But the moon can also harm. The biggest harm is done to the thieves because it throws its light and does not allow them to rob for they can be seen. "The thief enjoys darkness and the wolf the upheaval" [distracting disturbance]. When the moon comes out for the first time we say: "Welcome to the new moon. We are happy to see you. Bring us good." Many seek to find money. They get hold of it and say: "As the moon gets full may my purse get full of coins." When the moon disappears those who are in the mountain and see it set say: "May you fare well and return better and achieve better things." "My moon, my shining moon, and beautifully adorned, did you by any chance see Andrew and his ship?" . . .

[539] *The milky way* (the priest's straw). Do you see those stars that divide the sky into two? We call them the priest's straw. Once upon a time a priest went to stay for a couple of days in a monastery. When he left, because he couldn't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group which plays at all weddings and festivals.

[494] Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

[157] "Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe. 233 533

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community. 221 621

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis. [623] [622]

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots. [666]

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school. [871] [794] [474] [652] [233]

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous 621 [186] [175] [776] [669] [778]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring 272
tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bacco-growing parts of Thrace, a child of six may be expected to help to the extent of his ability. In general, by the time he is five or six, he is asked to watch a younger brother or sister or to watch the sheep or turkeys; when not doing this, he can join children's play groups. By the age of fourteen a boy is already a competent field hand. A girl between eight and ten years of age is given little jobs, but between ten and fourteen she assumes much heavier burdens. 857

Yet life is not all work. Children in Greece also have their periods of play, frequently under the watchful eye of some woman in whose yard the children's play groups may be found. Some of the children, however, prefer to play away from home — along the street, around a fountain, or at the school yard — so as not to be called upon to do the chores which would be assigned if they were at hand. It is remarkable how many games can be played without toys. Much can be done with stones and little pieces of broken glass (where no marbles are available), and what dolls can be made by little girls from a few nondescript rags! Occasionally I would find two or three barefooted children damming up a stream near some pigs lying in the mud; or boys would roll iron hoops on the highway while their family worked in a field close by. So intent would the children be on their play that they would seem oblivious to approaching buses or autos. [524]

One of the children's games played throughout much of Greece is a form of jacks. In the village of Laimos, near Lake Prespa, the children playing it called it *vroche* (rain) although elsewhere in Greece it is usually referred to as *pentovola*. Instead of using a ball, on whose bounce the jacks must be picked up and the ball caught, the girls threw a stone in the air and picked up other stones in time to catch the one that had been tossed. Pebbles figure also in the game called "forty stones." Eight stones are put in a straight line, with forty on each side of the center. At a signal all must run to a set place and return before the girl called "the gatherer" picks up all of the stones into a pile. If the gatherer wins, she sits on the pile and pretends to be a setting hen. 524 [192]

There are the familiar games of hide-and-seek (only the Greek children spit on the tree serving as home base rather than touch it), drop-the-handkerchief, cat-and-mouse. Many of the games require special songs which the girls especially seem to enjoy. Boys at play seem much less organized and more apt to argue over the fine points of the game. [526] [533]

Quite often we came upon children simply sitting still. "What are you doing?" we asked. "Oh, we are telling riddles." Not all of these we heard would have much meaning to an outsider, but some of them had almost a universal touch:

My lamb, my little curly lamb, climbs, eats, and gets fed on grass, drinks water, and dies. (A fire on the mountain.)

Around, around it's round and in the middle it is long. (A well.)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyme, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *palikari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brotler is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes nany of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her brida dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the tine the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the brile may have gone to a beauty parlor to get a permanent wave. The frizzierher hair, the more beautiful she is thought [305] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into [302] curlers or will wet her hair ant make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, ant it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, muh powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms ant, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The brid's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear andthe wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbarosvary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of thebride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two smal children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their iattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the churo. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the nusician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dnce in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, andanybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use inshowing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in Artotina, the boy may come andsit on her knee and receive a round piece [777] of bread for supposedly bringingher good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

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The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

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[776] considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both
[784] a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of
[296] clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a
[241] neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come
true at this time.[9]

[426] After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and
[787] the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the
[262] traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given
to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint
Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in
the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and
almonds are used for decorations.

[533] On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around carol-
[824] ing again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is
[777] St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the
[431] sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the
shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they
expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the
day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident
796 as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck
777 will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around mid-
night with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a
piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the
job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by
one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in
what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece,
it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family
finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

[431] If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event
[524] on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially
the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say,
"If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be
lucky."

796 The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the
liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are care-
[788] ful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new
icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. Dur-
[574] ing the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community
president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine
with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the
guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to
their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the
[524] card games are taken up again.

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796

The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

[527] [593] [788] [755] [777]

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

[789]

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata*, or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti*, since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

[585] [369] [785] [769] [777]

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

[785] [262] [372] [783]

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

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796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

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476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria*, or the groups of 573 women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring [562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are [574] strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work [535] is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes [533] are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other [589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid [226] activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field [241] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general, [422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

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ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make. 275 204 207

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw. 275 203 521 [208]

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset. 275 305 443 [533]

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis: 275 571 512

Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.

More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.

Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

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181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a [533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

156 But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality.
181 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
871 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of oppor-
181 tunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the
871 corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well.
[461] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern-
[643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have
872 to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learning. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[3]

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not well is ever present; and the dying man laments that he must see the sun no more, nor the light of the moon, the mountains, the shade of plane-trees, and the cool fountain because in Hades there breaks no dawn, and sings no bird, and no fountains of water flow." [19] 761 775

This same theme is brought out in the tradition which the villagers call the "water of forgetfulness."

Each person upon dying goes to the underworld. There he starts crying and is in despair because he died and had to leave the world which still seems so sweet to him. The other dead laugh at him. This happens for just one day because the other dead feel sorry for the newcomer, take him to a spring and tell him to drink some water. After he has had some he in his turn forgets the upper world and laughs at the newcomers who come later on. This happens to all who die.[20]

When a person is believed to be dying, a candle is lit, probably so the soul will be sure to have some light as it moves into the other world. If any of this candle remains after a person dies, according to some village people, for three successive days you must put water in a little coffee cup and light the candle for ten minutes after sunset. You then take the water and throw it outside where nobody will be apt to walk on it. You also cut a narrow piece from the shroud and tie three knots in it, placing it in front of the icon. For three days you untie one of the knots and then sew the piece of cloth in the shirt of one of the male members of the family, who wears this piece until the shirt wears out. In the Naupaktos area, after a person dies all windows and doors are closed so death cannot get out. One person of the household shouts, "Death, leave the old man [or whoever is dead]." This is repeated many times in the hope that death can hear. It is done, the people say, to keep death from coming again to take someone else from that home.[21] Such shouting is not the custom in all parts of Greece, however. 763 764

What one does find quite generally in the rural areas, however, is the *myriologion*, or funeral dirge, which the women of the household and those from the neighborhood begin to sing as soon as death has come. Some of these have been conventionalized to the point that several women may all know the same dirge for a husband, child, or mother, and sing parts of it in turn rocking back and forth; in some parts of Greece the women improvise dirges in keeping with the prescribed musical form. These songs, sung in the house before burial, at the grave at stated intervals after death, or even as a woman is passing by the cemetery, may consist of questions put to the dead: "Why did you leave us?" "Why did you go so soon?" "How do you think the house can get on without you?" [22] Those myriologia that have traditional content passed on from generation to generation are the source of many of the popular beliefs about the afterlife, and they illustrate as well as any aspect of Greek rural life the persistence of pre-Christian 764 533● [763] [769]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlach EH15.

G 764 traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myrio-
533 logia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing,
[562] but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung
[369] in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

G V 764 As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

G 764 775 In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person.[22]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *aghora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora*, and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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581 over his daughter-in-law's land or money.) From the groom's point of view, an
583 industrious young girl also has high value, and if she is healthy, good-looking, modest, virtuous, and amiable as well, she is of still additional worth. Therefore, an ugly older girl with a bad reputation would have to bring a large dowry to compensate for her personal deficiencies. Conversely, an attractive, healthy, virtuous young girl might be able to marry a slightly wealthier man than her dowry would normally be expected to command. Greek folk songs often lament the [533] story of a young girl who attracted a wealthy older suitor to whom her family married her because he was willing to take a smaller dowry. The songs, in this instance, reflect actual situations known on the Boeotian countryside, although they do not occur with any great frequency.

Negotiations, Courtship, and Marriage

584 For the families involved, the marriage negotiations have the quality of participation in a kind of ritualized contest. A young man may have been recommended to a girl's father; the father sends an intermediary with information as to how much dowry he is willing to give; the intermediary then goes off to the groom and his father, to whom he exaggerates the size of the dowry and the qualities of the girl. The villagers assume he will also exaggerate the qualities of the groom to the girl's family. The enjoyment of the game lies in each group's efforts indirectly to get accurate information about the other side. This is done by making inquiries among one's own relatives living in the prospective spouse's village and by asking questions of others who know the family. Secrecy about the very existence of the negotiations is helpful at this point, because the villagers do not believe they can get accurate information if anyone knows they have a direct interest in the matter. Many times a sister in another village will act as informal intermediary for her brother and try to find out how much of a dowry some of the better young men are asking for. Tentative questions of this sort may be asked for years before a serious negotiation is finally fully launched. These tentative steps may be terminated at any time without loss of honor on either side if the young man informs the intermediary that the dowry is not quite enough, or if the girl's father uses the excuse that his daughter is not yet ready to marry because she has not accumulated sufficient *rukha*. In fact, the [583] grooms are not interested in the *rukha*. As one villager phrased it, "It is land and money they burn for around here."

In Vasilika, both in the previous generations and at present, it has been possible for a young man and woman never to have seen each other until the first formal occasion for meeting. However, a young man may have seen an attractive girl at a *paniyiri* or other festival, and may have asked his father to [834] investigate her situation. But, since unmarried village boys and girls do not talk to each other in public unless they are related, the chances are that he has never talked to her. A young girl may, in her turn, know a great deal about the young men in the surrounding villages and may also have had opportunities to see them at the local festivities, but may never have talked to any of them. In any case, it

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583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59
583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of
182 family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re-decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who had followed us up the stony path from the *mesokhori*, or village-square, crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office (the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion, overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

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796 confidence in the familiar chants, had had a hand clapped precisely
794 to his mouth when he rashly ventured upon the uncharted depths of one
533 less familiar, and little by little had attained to his present mastery of his art. This is the universal method for training singers: the Greeks know nothing of the prolonged agony of choir-practices. As a boy gains confidence he will occasionally be permitted to sing the Epistle at the liturgy: it is by no means unusual, even in a big urban parish, to see such a 'reader'—perhaps not more than twelve or thirteen years of age.

796 The Gospel was sung from the throne—not from the pulpit—by the parish priest, and, as is customary, was followed immediately by the sermon. The men and boys parted to allow the Bishop to reach his throne, and then closed in solidly around him: a sea of intent faces stretching from the doors of the sanctuary out through the shadowed narthex into the fierce glare of sunlight beyond. The sermon, as befitted the occasion, was homely both in language and illustration. The Bishop took his text from the Gospel appointed for the feast: "Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it". He pictured the two sisters: Martha, "cumbered about much serving" (a pungent sipasng reference to certain absent members of his flock who were so preoccupied with their chaffering that they could ill spare an hour or two to come to church), and Mary, who "sat at Jesus' feet and heard His word". It was well that we should hearken to the divine word; that we should come to church and hear the holy Gospels read Sunday by Sunday. It was still more to the point, however, that we should be not mere hearers of the word but doers also; that we should not only *hear* the word of God but *keep* it. Therein lay the true holiness of that other Mary, the Mother of the Word. It was on account of her entire conformity to the divine will that we venerated her, the fiery chariot of the word, the bush burning and yet unconsumed, above every creature: above the bodiless powers and the choirs of archangels, above the cherubim and seraphim who veil their faces before the unapproachable glory.

"For us too, my children", the Bishop went on, "this is the sure way of salvation. There are no bounds to the creative energy of the word in the life of the Christian who surrenders himself in simplicity to its power". A series of illustrations followed: the eunuch of Queen Candace, hearing the divine word and straightway being baptised; the converting power of the word as revealed in the life of St. Augustine —a father who figures so infrequently in the discourses of Greek prelates

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as to lead me to suspect the offering of a discreet compliment to western Christendom; the fruits of the word, love, joy and peace, made manifest in the life and death of the blessed Polycarp. 796

"And you boys", said the Bishop, with 'a diligent and busy cast of his eye' toward certain of the more youthful of his auditors; "you who steal eggs and fruit and take other people's food out of the communal oven: there is no reason why you—if you keep the word of God faithfully—should not be as great as St. Peter or St. Paul, or why at the end of your lives you should not be able to echo those ever-memorable words of Polycarp: 'These eighty and six years have I been His servant' . . ."

Looking round that crowded church, my mind went to the Whitsuntide hymn: "Blessed art thou, O Christ our God, who hast made the fishermen wise by the sending down upon them of the Holy Spirit, and through them hast drawn the world into thy net."

The sermon ended, the singers took up the solemn chant of the Hymn of the Cherubim, and a hush fell upon the congregation as the ministers with their attendants emerged from the prothesis chapel and made their slow circuit of the church, the veiled oblations borne aloft, to the accompaniment of that all-embracing appeal: [533]

> May the Lord God be mindful of us all
> in His kingdom, always, now and for ever,
> and unto the ages of ages.

The holy gifts were carried up within the sanctuary and laid upon the altar. The singers resumed their interrupted hymn; the atmosphere was heavy with incense—which, say the commentators, is here an emblem of the mixture of myrrh and aloes which Nicodemus brought for the entombment of the Lord: [782]

> Lo, Christ is crucified, the Life is buried,
> the tomb is made fast, the stone is sealed.

Two shallow alms-baskets piled high with tattered notes were passed slowly round the church, while the sacristan sprinkled perfume from a pewter vessel into the outstretched hands of the more accessible among the male members of the congregation. [794]

The long drawn-out alleluias died away into silence as the parish [788]

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788 oneself. All other considerations apart, such a setting is hardly favourable to
796 the growth of certain individualistic types of piety which flourish amongst
[346] the Franks, who worship their Creator in strange and novel ways, each isolated from his fellow and entrenched within the citadel of his own pew.

In Greece there is but one celebration of the liturgy on a Sunday or holy day in any one church. This is a rule which is waived only in cases
[346] of extreme necessity and then only when a *parekklesion*, or side-chapel, is available so that it is not necessary to use the same altar twice (most
[793] Greek churches have only one altar). A priest may celebrate only once on any given day.

In Greece the times of services are never announced and questions on this score are invariably met with evasive if not actually misleading replies. Services commence earlier in summer than in winter. An hour or two after sunrise the bells will be rung and the priest and a couple of readers will begin to sing the morning offices—*mesonyktikon* (which should, as the name indicates, be read at midnight, as it is in the monastic use), and *ortbros*, or lauds, the office of the dawn. Towards the end of the latter service—perhaps an hour or more after the village's first awakening—the bells will be rung a second time. Still the church is comparatively empty. The holy eucharist follows *ortbros* without a break about nine o'clock, and by the time that the thrice-holy hymn is sung (when the bells summon the faithful for the third and last time) the congregation will have begun to swell, until, at the great entry with the holy gifts, the greater part of the village will be packed within the walls of the church, the men to the right, the women to the left, the air by this time heavy with incense.

788 The whole service is invariably sung. What the west knows as a low
533 mass, the 'early service' or 'eight o'clock', dear to so many English churchmen, is unknown to the Greeks. The traditional Byzantine chant is still more or less universal and is always sung without instrumental accompaniment; only in certain urban parishes has it been partially displaced of recent years by that bastard child of strangely-matched parents, the so-called European chant. In its pure form the traditional plainsong can be quite ravishing in its unearthly beauty. Never shall I forget the singing of the monks of Moni Petraki who gather morning by morning in their tiny church, while Athens lies in darkness and before the first tramcar has gone clanging down the tree-lined avenue of the *Basilissa* Sophia towards the outer suburbs.

HEAVEN UPON EARTH

"Nowhere, either in Greece or the East," observes the Abbé de St. Michon, "do men sing as loud as we do. It is an usage that we owe to the barbarism of our fathers. The oriental psalmody is sweet, low and without effort." Alas! it is not always so. "Their singing", says Thomas Smith, "is very mean and pitifull, without figure and the relishes of art, and is at best but a kind of harsh Plain-song." "We heard the Greek Vespers", wrote Sir George Wheler in 1675, "worse sung than *Hopkins* Psalms used to be in some of our Country Churches." All too frequently the beauty of the traditional chant has been overlaid by accretions and adornment from alien sources; and its delivery, as the Abbé justly remarks, "with nasal sounds which weary European ears". Much of the "tedious and indiscreet length of liturgies" whereof so many Frankish travellers have complained, is due not to any inner necessity of the rite itself but solely to the elaboration of the chant. The restoration of the oriental plainchant to something of its earlier simplicity and directness has therefore become an imperative need in circles where the holy mysteries are celebrated frequently: one cannot expect the laity to spend the greater part of every morning in church. There are churches in Greece to-day where the liturgy is celebrated with great reverence in an hour and a quarter, even when many of the secret prayers are read aloud. 788 533

Concelebration—which has all but disappeared from the west—is still very much a reality in Greece, and is an important factor in enabling the Greek Church to retain the ancient rule of a single eucharist attended by the whole church in each several locality. On a Sunday morning at an important parish church, such as St. Panteleimon, Acharnon (in the suburbs of Athens), one may see five or six priests attended by a deacon concelebrating at the great square altar, often with a bishop (one of the suffragans of the Archbishop, or a provincial metropolitan serving his term of duty as a member of the synod) presiding over the whole assembly. The Greek bishop or priest who finds himself away from his own diocese on the Lord's day does not take his place amongst the laity in the body of the church but joins the other ministers gathered around the holy table and there fulfils his proper liturgy. 788 793

Now there are those who, while recognising that the Orthodox Church has in many respects faithfully preserved the liturgical tradition of the first centuries of our era, would yet ask whether the liturgy of the laity has not—within the bounds of the *oikoumene* no less than in the 788 796

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morning she will set out for the parish church with her loaf, and arriving whilst the singers are still chanting the morning psalms, and taking it to the door of the chapel where the elements are prepared, she will hand it to the priest together with a vessel of wine, the family diptychs —or lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated by name at the holy eucharist—and perhaps a flask of oil for the lamps and a few grains of incense. Even in an urban parish church the faithful may purchase a sealed loaf at the counter in the narthex where candles are sold, and send it to the celebrant with their diptychs.

It is frequently asserted that the offering of the people disappeared from the eastern liturgies at an early date. One can only marvel at the number of eminent scholars who have been led astray in this matter through failure to distinguish clearly between the offertory procession of the Roman rite and the offering itself. The procession never found a place in the Byzantine rite, which retained the older practice of presenting the bread and wine informally before the commencement of the eucharistic liturgy. So widely-used a liturgical handbook as the late Dr. Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy* asserts that "the offerings of the people, which consisted partly of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the eucharist were taken, and partly of alms . . . continued in the west longer than in the east".[1] In actual fact the offering of the people has never disappeared from the Byzantine liturgy and may still be witnessed in any Greek village church on the Lord's day.

But even though it be admitted that the offering of the bread and wine makes the ordinary people something more than mere passive spectators at a gorgeous pageant, it may yet be said that from very early times the rightful liturgy of the laity has in practice been transferred to the choir: the common people hardly open their mouths from one end of the eucharistic liturgy to the other. Now it is true that congregational singing as practised in the west is so rare among the Greeks as to be almost unknown. Only on one of the great festivals of the Church's year will the whole congregation take up the melody of some ancient hymn: the paschal anthem *Christ is risen from the dead*, for example, or the dismissal hymn at the Epiphany. Normally those parts of the liturgy which properly belong to the laity are in fact sung by the *psaltai* or trained singers —and this applies even to the responses to the petitions of the litanies.

[1] 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1949, p. 127. Dom Gregory Dix and Professor Burkitt have already been taken to task on this issue by the Archimandrite Alexis van der Mensbrugghe.

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788 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat,
796 almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy
533 as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary
[782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear
[292] lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an
[369] *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the
788 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way
796 for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the
[175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

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The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

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464
[249]
[291]
[535]
[623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

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583

/37 cont./
help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek. When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard time to express its freedom. 857 [526] [834]

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active days that provide ample time for the children to play. [872]

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses, at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through the church services from beginning to the end and when the women dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture. There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields. 533 [535] [461] [796] [585] [765]

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 476
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built 621
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [345]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [533]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [735]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation
project which was started by this group has led to the development [314]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village [185]
planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable [526]
gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

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[167]

/87 cont./
impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

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178
241

Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

621
476

Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born

[533]

[152]

/89 cont./

a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader.

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold."

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen."

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart."

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that

10: Lee E,1-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

WORK

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest.

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say some thing about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth.

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

To the Land of the Eagle

evening after one of the most delightful walks that could ever fall to one's lot.

Ginger-beer is a survival from the time of the British administration which ended more than sixty years ago. The Victorian habit of closing all windows at night—night air being considered poisonous—is another. At sunset all the windows at the Pension Suisse were religiously closed and shuttered, including those of my bedroom which, as the weather was quite warm, I promptly opened again, and kept open. A more satisfactory legacy from the British occupation is the game of cricket, which is popular to this day.

There are only two months in the year in which the weather is really hot, and only two of so-called winter. Bathing is possible from April to November. At the beginning of May I found the water quite warm, although the Corfiotes think it madness to venture in before July.

In the summer the inhabitants close their shops and places of business during the middle of the day. But at five in the afternoon the town wakes up again and the whole population turns out into the cafés, the squares, the streets, and the esplanade. Here the folk stroll about, or sit at tables under the trees drinking coffee or Greek brandy, until ten or eleven o'clock at night when they go home to supper. They are fond of dancing. In the dance season they dance for many nights in succession, and no dance breaks up until seven or eight in the morning. They have also a theatre to which a company from Athens or Rome occasionally comes. On these nights the play begins at what is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
[431] table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
[534] and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday, but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos, sirtos,* and *tsamikos,* danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village, the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast, after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peleponnesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their 221
caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered [796]
as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The
man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also [275]
go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly
the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder [241]
or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start prepar-
ing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do [462]
not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To
the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; [275]
they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few
understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not
wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of
wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it
out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others
curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have [796]
Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church,
then we enjoy ourselves in the houses. [535]

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help [462]
outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, [241]
beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When
some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes [342]
then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time
because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their [354]
games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a
fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and
get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then 221
onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our
work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do 796
something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church;
then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manli-
ness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass,
we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our 221
tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then
the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we 512
have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children [462]
return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by
themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many,
it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her
hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs
to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re- [275]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 512 [275] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 221 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever 241 else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts [432] we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we [273] press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 82 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare so, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another [788] "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

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of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [305] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into [302] curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance 535
may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece [777] of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-5 ↓ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[835] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings. The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times
[789] to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The godparent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility
608 of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[262] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
[553] fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[4] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed
[252] with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described
573 and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria*, or the groups of women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring
[562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are
[574] strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes
[535] the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing
[533] and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help
[589] which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid
[226] activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have
[241] numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general,
[422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or Asia Minor who moved into the village in the 1920s, thus showing that participation may have something to do with cultural traditions. 275 571

These factors associated with participation may themselves be related to others which have not been spelled out. Then, too, the fact that participation increases with age would also be tied in with the leadership in organizations, since young people seldom attain official positions. Although findings such as these have to be tested in many ways before they become accepted generalizations, they do at least suggest some fruitful leads for further research.

Of equal interest is the reason the peasants give for going to one coffeehouse instead of another. Other accounts of village life had listed cleanliness, reputation, honesty, services provided, and the credit extended as the determining factors in the choice of coffeehouses. [452]

One village study reports as follows:

> Determining factors in the choice of a coffeehouse are the reputation of the owner, his cleanliness, honesty, and the extent of credit given to customers. Social class of an individual does not determine choice of a coffeehouse. An outsider coming to the village for the first time may visit any coffeehouse, but gradually as he becomes acquainted with the village people he will be drawn to a certain shop according to his interests, age, associates, etc.[7]

In this same village one coffeehouse is preferred by aged people. Youngsters, noisy people, and those who play technical games such as cards, chess, and checkers are not found there. A second coffeehouse is preferred by adult and old people, while all the younger people of the village gather in the third coffeehouse, which is popular because of the different games available there and because of its dance floor. This latter innovation means that girls, in the company of their parents or relatives, may visit this particular coffeehouse on Sunday afternoons or holidays in order to dance both the traditional folk dances and what passes in rural areas for modern dances. [535] [562]

One additional study is worth mentioning because it summarizes the type of patronage a village's seven coffeehouses enjoy:

A. Frequented by out-of-towners and employees
B. Employees, strangers, workers in village
C. Dance floor, so attracts mostly young men
D. Adult and old men of village
E. Village residents — not young men
F. Card-playing, so frequented mostly by young men
G. Outdoor coffeehouse — frequented by young men in summer.[8]

A villager will usually patronize the coffeehouse of which a relative is in charge so that he can get credit more easily, or simply give his trade to [602] [452]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *aghora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora*, and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

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The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic
[292] poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos,* the Feast
[541] of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and
[536] by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets, which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 43 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the
796 children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early eve-
[535] ning the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a
[273] glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
796 after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the
[574] adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
[484] the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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796 peculiar Saint, especially those to whom they are particularly devoted. These jolly Easterlings, when they hear . . . that the Christians pretending to be Reformed in the West, do utterly hate and abjure all such Practices as *Heathenish* and *Prophane*, must think them all the vilest Miscreants living.

796 When the last of the *antidoron* had been distributed, Anargyri had
793 replaced the mitre in its brass box, and the Metropolitan had concluded
574 a long conversation with the churchwardens about the best method of shoring up the roof—a section of which was sagging ominously—we left the church and made our way to the dwelling of the parish priest where a vast table had been erected in the shade of a vine. There we feasted until it was high afternoon: the Lord Agathangellos, the president of the community, the *kapetanios* of the militia, the *papas*, the schoolmaster, Anargyri, the churchwardens, the singers and several officers from the garrison of Nevrokopi who had accompanied us to Dasoto that morning.

796 It was not by any means my first experience of a village festival: a
574 few months earlier I might well have been deceived into thinking that the bowls of eggs, goat's milk cheese, olives, and finely-shredded
262 vegetables soaked in oil and lemon which appeared with the *ouzo*
273 constituted the substance of the feast and not a mere *hors d'oeuvre*. Now I knew better, and I was not surprised when the clearing of the table by the *papadia* and her daughters after forty minutes proved to be no more than a prelude to a banquet of an altogether more serious character.

As the dishes came and went and the dark wine flowed freely, I recalled Dr. Covel's description of another such festival at the great Athonite house of Iveron: "The best monkish fare that could be gotten was provided, excellent fish (severall ways), oyl, salet, beanes, hortechockes, beets . . . chees, onions, garlick, olives, caveor, Pyes of herbs, *φακαὶς*, *κτωπόδι*; pepper, salt, saffron in all. At last conserved little oranges, most exquisite, good wine (a sort of small claret), and we alwayes drank most plentifully. . . . He is no Greek that cannot drink twenty or thirty plump glasses at a setting."

[535] After the feast there was dancing, and the sun was low in the west when we drove back to Nevrokopi. The day drew to a close amongst the eikons of those who had finished their course, with those yet in the way of salvation joining with one voice in the ancient canticle, *Hail! Gladdening Light*, to the praise and glory of the Holy Trinity.

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Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

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The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

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The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

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Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized 517
form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation,
which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to [526]
play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional
customs handed down from generation to generation provide both
group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family
recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger [846]
family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the [851]
whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the cere-
monial feast. When a member of the family gets married the [585]
whole village participated with their musical instruments. The
marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from
children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating
and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name [527]
days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male [562]
person is observed more than the female name day.

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent 796
seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village 628
that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those 574
that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days
takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the
United States. After the church service the people gather around [535]
the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big
circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes
as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the
length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter 796
period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole 574
village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from
the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place.
This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give [735]
to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village [252]
with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry.
The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

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help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek. When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard time to express its freedom. 857 [526] [834]

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active days that provide ample time for the children to play. [872]

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses, at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through the church services from beginning to the end and when the women dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture. There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields. 533 [535] [461] [796] [585] [765]

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At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

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Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

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The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

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Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

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/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
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527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic
[292] poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in
[541] 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *agbora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday, but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village, the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast, after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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722 windows had been blocked with masonry and stones, and the church,
712 thus barricaded and surrounded by an elaborate system of trenches,
346 pill-boxes and barbed wire defences, transformed into a citadel. Here
669 the greater part of the population had taken refuge while the militia, with a stiffening of gendarmerie, had fought off an assault on the village which raged for a night and a day on May 8th-9th, 1948. The fabric had suffered extensive damage from mortar and machine-gun fire, but the Communists had eventually been driven off. Earlier, the village had suffered grievously at the hands of the Germans. Though the church had been spared, the school and a large proportion of the houses had been destroyed. The school was now flourishing in a large nissen hut: formerly it had been housed in the nave of the church.

574 On Sunday morning there was great scrubbing and polishing of muddy boots, and at half-past eight I ventured forth, looking as spruce as three weeks of sleeping in my clothes would permit, in company with the *proedros*. The latter was anxious not to be too early at church, and, since the second bell had not yet sounded, we went first to inspect the new school. After smoking a cigarette with the *didaskalos* we proceeded to the church at the third bell, followed by all the children of the village. [537] When the liturgy was ended the president climbed with great dignity to the top of one of the pill-boxes and made an impassioned oration welcoming the representative of Greece's great and traditional ally to their gallant and Christ-loving village, and dwelling at some length on the ties which, despite the infernal machinations of the Accursed of God, would surely bind together for all ages the Hellenic and British nations. The said representative thereupon made a brief, but it is to be hoped fitting, reply to this masterpiece of presidential rhetoric, and the whole company drifted away in high good humour to sip cognac and discuss the latest news which had arrived from Kozani.

After a visit to the family of a young theologian from Salonica I went to feast, first with the president and then—at the dictates of charity rather than of appetite—with the parish priest also. The influence of [794] the Kozani seminary had made itself felt in this village, and the catechetical school was in full swing as I passed the new school-house on my way to the parsonage. There the wine that makes glad the heart of man flowed freely, and it was a drowsy traveller who rode across the hills to the neighbouring village of Kivotos later that afternoon. Communications having proved unreliable, I was constrained to accept the hospitality of one of the churchwardens. Shortly before noon the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 while in many churches and halls there are regular sermons at other
796 times during the week.

In the country dioceses, owing to the shortage of qualified preachers, sermons are still all too rarely to be heard outside the cathedral towns. The bishop and the diocesan preacher, with such other assistants as can be mustered from local resources, will visit one or two villages every Sunday, but in a diocese of perhaps 100 scattered communities it may well be that months will pass without the majority of the people having the opportunity to hear a sermon. I remember one Macedonian 'saint', who had taken advantage of the cessation of fighting in his diocese from the spring of 1949 onwards to undertake an intensive preaching campaign, telling me that in some villages it was more than ten years since a sermon had last been heard.

793 An energetic *hierokeryx* will often perform wonders; take for instance
796 this typical week-end itinerary of a lay theologian, a member of Zoë,
484 who used to be stationed at Kozani; on Saturday afternoon by army truck to Amyntaion (a distance of about fifty-five kilometres) and thence to the village of Lechovo, an hour's journey to the westward towards Kastoria. Here he gives an evening address in the church, the greater part of the community present. On Sunday morning a sermon at the liturgy is followed by an address to the young men and women. After a hurried meal he sets off on foot to the neighbouring village of Skydro for an address, not this time in the church but in the square. Thence he climbs to the village of Nymphaion, high on the mountainside, for two further addresses before nightfall—one in church, the other, for the young people, in the school. On Monday morning he proceeds by mule to Aetos and thence to Amyntaion and Kozani. The assistant *hierokeryx* of the diocese will in the meantime have set out for the *comopolis* of Servia to preach, from a cart standing in the midst of the square, to the crowds who have gathered there for the weekly market.

793 The Greek *hierokeryx* can in general assume in his hearers a knowledge
796 of the fundamentals of the Christian faith such as can no longer be
taken for granted in England, at any rate. He and they will speak a
●537 common language—even though many have forgotten the reality that
lies behind the familiar phrases. The outward tokens of a Christian
[785] society have still survived to a remarkable degree—the fasts of the Church's year, for instance, are still observed as a matter of course by multitudes who would make no claim to piety above the average. In

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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these circumstances it is understandable that contemporary preaching should (to accept the distinction now current in reforming circles) be practical rather than theoretical: should deal less with doctrine than with conduct. 793 796 537

Father Eusebius was wont to insist on the importance of ending every sermon with a clear and distinct conclusion, to bring home the particular moral and spiritual truth with which the preacher had been dealing to the conscience of his hearers, as well as on the need for preaching in a style suited to their condition. His example has been salutary, and in reforming circles to-day one never hears the type of homily still cultivated by a few eccentric saints who bewilder their silly sheep with florid discourses framed in the ornate periods of Psellos or Anna Comnena. I well recall a certain *hierokeryx*, a lovable if idiorrhythmic character, who modelled his festal homilies on the funeral orations of Bossuet (a much-thumbed volume that accompanied him everywhere). These triumphs of rhetoric, which must have left the Epirote peasantry groping in vain for any clear and distinct practical conclusion, would be composed months before the date of their delivery and constantly reworked and polished until they reached the requisite height of literary perfection. Such artistry would be frowned upon in the religious societies.

The work of the preacher is supplemented by that of the confessor. Although the mystery of confession has in practice fallen into sad neglect, owing to the shortage of qualified *pneumatikoi*, there has been no more effective instrument for the reawakening of the Greek Church; none that is more highly prized in reforming circles to-day. While east and west are at one as to the fundamental nature of this 'mystery', there is a certain difference of emphasis. Amongst the Greeks the element of 'ghostly counsel and advice' is far more prominent than is commonly the case amongst western Christians. So marked is this difference of emphasis that Dr. Covel—who is as immoderate in his assaults upon the Romish doctrine of auricular confession as upon any other of the 'seven pretended sacraments'—is yet moved to applaud the Greek practice as a pious and laudable institution: such a confession, he remarks, or rather (lest there should be any misunderstanding) "serious Conference or Discourse as this with a Ghostly Father, or discreet Minister, is justly observed and commended by our own Church". 783 793

In these circumstances it is natural that considerably more importance should be attached to the personal character and qualifications of the

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is
787 lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at
[777] least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

824 Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of
[787] the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed
777 clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk
539 story:

Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony
[844] known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panagias to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the
[789] midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward
[754] off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sta matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[9] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old
82 people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

825 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild
787 animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catcher a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, 562
even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she 593
give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect [574]
or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her.

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from 538
the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in 593
military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from [212]
Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula:

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express 858
> longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will 583
> say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name].

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one 594
must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. [511]
One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Language: Popular or Pure?

The Greek elementary school has been caught in the no-man's land of a controversy which makes the current educational debate between traditionalists and progressives in the United States seem pale by comparison. The epic struggle has involved the particular form of the Greek language to be used in this school. After the Greek savant has established the point that modern Greek is the same language as ancient Greek but that it has been modified over the past thirty centuries, he will then differentiate between the three representations of Greek.

197 [872]

First, of course, is the ancient Greek which was by no means a uniform language. There were four main classic dialects: the Ionic in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were originally written and which came to be identified with epic poetry; the Aeolian which was thought of chiefly in connection with lyric poetry; the Attic which was used for tragic poetry, oratorical art, and philosophical debate; and the Doric, used mainly by Spartans who wrote very little, and which therefore had no significant literary development. With the spread of Greek culture under Alexander the Great, another type of Greek, the Helleniki Koine, was used by many people speaking other languages but united under the same political ruler. It used only the commonest Greek words found in all of the Greek dialects; it also incorporated non-Hellenic words. It was the language in which the four Christian Gospels first appeared. The Koine, however, was not classical Greek and is not studied as such.[15]

Today one finds a popular form of Greek, again in a rich variety of dialects, which is called *demotike*, or the people's language. Just as the educated people in the Hellenistic period continued to use the Attic Greek when all the uneducated people were speaking Koine, so today many of the educated people frown upon the demotike as a vulgar form which is to be avoided.

In its place they would substitute a third form of Greek, the *katharevousa*, or purist language.[16] This is an artificial language, based as much as possible upon classic syntax and vocabulary, which became in effect the official language of the Greek state after the war of independence in 1821. The contrasts between demotike and katharevousa have been clearly explained by Kimon Friar in his discussion of modern Greek poetry:

197 538

> The purist is the official language used on all formal occasions by those in government, business, and university, although the same people speak demotic or some modification of it. By the time of the eleventh century the demotic had closely approximated its present form, which in grammar today varies but slightly from that spoken during the downfall of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century. The purist is condensed and synthetic; the demotic is periphrastic and analytic, rich in many concrete words and phrases but extremely

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

197 538

poor in those abstract words of the arts and sciences which were not the concern of the common people who kept it living. Today, this lack of abstract words is the despair of the modern poet who wishes to express a thought of any metaphysical nicety, and he is driven to paraphase or symbol.

Since the eighteenth century, when the demotic had crystallized in folk poetry, the battle between the use of purist and demotic in prose and poetry has raged, but the battle has finally been won by the demotic, Today the contemporary poet may hold his expression on a living language and borrow his vocabulary as he can from a rich tradition of three thousand years, from Ancient, Hellenistic, Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek and its many dialects, and especially from the purist itself.[15]

Not just poets but almost any literate Greek can construct a private language of his own, within limits to be sure, and use a vocabulary which others may understand and appreciate but which they themselves would never use under the same circumstances. A person is always on safe ground in criticizing the sentence structure, vocabulary, and idiom of a Greek writer, since he is criticizing what is of necessity a personalized [872] style. In other words, the Greek language is still evolving, which means that "the language question" has perennially plagued the school authorities.

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Should, for example, the beginning pupils in the first grade start out learning to read and write the kind of Greek they speak at home (demotike), or should they start out studying a kind of Greek which they cannot understand but which they will have to learn to understand if they are to be considered educated? There seems to have been little disagreement [873] over the matter of teaching the purist Greek in the secondary school. That is an accepted fact. But what about the elementary school?

In the beginning of the new state in 1830, the purist language was supposed to be used throughout the whole school system, even with the beginning pupils. By 1911 people were suggesting that maybe it would be [665] best to use demotike in the elementary school but the Royalists, then a political opposition party, raised such a hue and cry that action was deferred. The Royalists were supported in their stand by some professional men "on the grounds of prestige, and from some teachers who only knew the grammar of the *katharevousa*." [16]

In 1917 Venizelos adopted the proposal, but when the Royalists came to power in 1920,

they forbade the use of *demotike* in schools and made a public bonfire of the new textbooks which had just been written in it. Chaos followed. Every change in government meant a change in the medium of primary education: in 1922 *demotike* was reintroduced by Plastiras; in 1925 Pangelos forbade its use; in 1928, it was restored by the Coalition government with the proviso that *katharevousa* should be taught four hours weekly in the two top forms; in 1932, *katharevousa* was to be taught in all forms; in 1933 the two top forms were to

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626 834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538 702]

/28 cont./ 603 867 702 [538]
always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

WORK

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest.

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth.

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, 602
her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of [195]
"we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the [538]
plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother 594
must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his 593
age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard [507]
or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can [183]
wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in 583
the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often 584
functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned [602]
with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, [607]
with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young 584
men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes 882
or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[I]

The People of Greece

The Legend

When God was building the earth, he lavished all goods such as water, pasture, forests, and rich soil on the countries of the world. Then suddenly he remembered that he had forgotten Greece. What could he give to this country since he had given all the riches to the others? He started stroking his beard thoughtfully. All at once an idea struck him when he saw the rainbow hanging over his head. Reaching up, he chopped a piece off, stooped and picked up a little soil and many stones, and kneaded the whole thing together in the palm of his hand. Then, opening his palm, he blew the mixture into the sea, and Greece came into being.[1] 539 773

In its symbolic meaning, the rainbow of the legend is the Greek people who are as colorful as the sun-drenched rocks on which their nation grew to greatness.

The fact that the Athenian civilization with its poets, philosophers, dramatists, and sculptors had its origin in a city of less than two hundred thousand people on the rocky Attic plain has been a source of wonder to all who know anything of ancient Greece. But today there is also a miracle of Greece at which to wonder. In our twentieth century we see a land of 51,182 square miles supporting eight million people; that is, an area the 175 [131] [161]

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is
787 lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at
[777] least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

824 Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of
[787] the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed
777 clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk story:
● 539

Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony
[844] known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panaglas to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the
[789] midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward
[754] off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sta matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[9] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old
82 people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

825 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild
787 animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

821 one of the high schools in Athens. T. K. Papaspyropoulos has written of
[127] his native settlement near Kalavryta in the Peloponnesos.[6] A literal translation has been used in order to retain some of the flavor of the village informants.

The sky. Our mother told us that the sky was a big dome which covers the earth like a lid of a cauldron. This dome has for ornaments the sun, the moon,
[772] and the stars. High up in this dome God has his throne and sits with Christ, the Virgin, with all the saints and the angels. Near the throne of God is Paradise with the souls of the good people and the saints. Hell is down below in the deepest part of the earth, together with the devils and the sinners. May God protect us!

The sun. The sun is the god of the day. He throws light on the earth and warms the people. The sun brings cereals and all the goods which are upon the earth. Without him we would be dead from cold. The sun does not only warm us but tours the whole world and brings greetings to all those who are away
[533] from their home. He also tells us what he sees. We have many songs for the sun, such as those which begin "My sun, three times my sun, and my world-roamer." "The working people watch for him."

[271] Everybody is afraid of the sun. We do not drink water while facing him, neither do we look straight into him because we get blind. In summer time the sun either burns our cereals or our heads. But in winter we beg him to come out and warm us up. We sit there by the sunny spot and he bakes our bodies. We
[533] also sing him a song: "Come on out, my sun. Just come out a little bit so that we can take a walk near the threshing floor." Sometimes it rains heavily and the sun is out at the same time. Then we sing to him: "Sun, sun and rain, when the poor get married. Sun, sun and moon, when the donkeys get married. Sun, sun and drizzle, when the female teacher gets married."

The moon. Just as the day has for a king the sun, the night has the moon as its king. The moon is a more agile king than the sun. It takes a walk on the sky shining and chasing the clouds and makes people come out of their homes.
[512] With the moon the women spin at night; the children play on the threshing floors; the men water their fields; the muleteers can see and go to their work; and the shepherds enjoy the slopes together with their sheep while playing the flute. But the moon can also harm. The biggest harm is done to the thieves because it throws its light and does not allow them to rob for they can be seen. "The thief enjoys darkness and the wolf the upheaval" [distracting disturbance]. When the moon comes out for the first time we say: "Welcome to the new moon. We are happy to see you. Bring us good." Many seek to find money. They get hold of it and say: "As the moon gets full may my purse get full of coins." When the moon disappears those who are in the mountain and see it set say: "May you fare well and return better and achieve better things." "My moon, my shining moon, and beautifully adorned, did you by any chance see Andrew and his ship?" . . .

●[539] *The milky way* (the priest's straw). Do you see those stars that divide the sky into two? We call them the priest's straw. Once upon a time a priest went to stay for a couple of days in a monastery. When he left, because he couldn't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw. 821 [539]

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . . [245] [243] [132]

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune. 721

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless. 731 133 [361]

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!) 731 821 [123]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the
186 knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives,
823 only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (Jan-
823 uary 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering him-
[755] self fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism
[778] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of
[789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most per-
776 sistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of
539 Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> [195] "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> [502] When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

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One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns."

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea.

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her.

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

831 834 593 577 [533] [539]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?" [276]

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyme, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

184 834

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind
[539] a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve
[777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three
[202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When
[535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the
[535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard.
[203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From
[262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is
[765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get mar-
[262] ried." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to
[535] form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and
[608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another
[788] "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 476 [462] directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men [465] working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 466 476 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close supervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in [123] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be [539] noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pictures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come [126] to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] [785] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

244 issuing invitations usually avoid other women with whom they have had
476 a recent quarrel, although they do not hesitate to invite two women on good
578 terms with the hostess but not on good terms with each other. These women can usually stay far enough apart in such a large group that they do not have to associate with each other or air their differences. Men are said to be less inclined to let previous disagreements affect their invitations, even inviting those with whom they may have sharp differences. Their main concern is to get the job done. Just the same, they rely chiefly upon relatives and neighbors. The women in Yannes' living room all agreed that there was no one in the village who had the reputation for not paying back the work that others had contributed, which shows the seriousness with which this obligation is assumed and discharged.

124 But no interview in a Greek village is a one-sided affair. The visitor has to answer questions if he has asked them. Never have I heard questions fly quicker and faster than on this visit to Neochori when the women sensed that I had finished my inquiry about potato diggers. My interpreter was quizzed about her life in Athens, where she got her clothes, how she had learned to drive a car, and about members of her family. I was asked about my income in America, what kind of kitchen my wife had, and about many details which she could have answered much better than I if she had been able to accompany us up from Athens on that particular afternoon. This
[181] occasion showed that when the Greek villagers began to express themselves on their home ground, in a familiar setting, they stood out as inquisitive, interesting personalities who shared many of the same concerns as fellow human beings in other countries despite their noticeable differences of dress, speech, and other cultural manifestations.

000 In driving back to Athens we had to pass the same potato field which had been the cause of this excursion. I thought at the time that a study, at a later date, of changes in the mutual-aid groups would tell much about changes in Greek life in general. Will mechanization eliminate the necessity of group harvesting? Will economic considerations so rule a later day that Yannes will invite only efficient workers from throughout the village, or will he continue to use relatives and neighbors because of his close social bonds with them?

Traditional Patterns of Mutual Aid

476 Throughout rural Greece one finds many examples of mutual aid. Even
539 proverbs attest to the value of cooperation: "bean by bean the bag is filled"; "many streams make up the river"; "many stones knock down the walnut." Union in strength is stressed as well: "where there are many, God's blessing"; "where there are many, many riches"; "the many are the ones who will take Constantinople."

It is understood, too, that each party will live up to his end of the bar-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone." 476 539

Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yannes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need. 476 492

Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd. 476 233

Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakassa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." 476 241 [493]

But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. 476 [339]

Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari* [573]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 736 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing."[15] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[16] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at Pierce College. 783 748 [873]

THE WATERS OF MARAH

178 795 576 Embrace one another, and join mutually the side of the Mouth or Cheek to the other . . . and since the Resurrection of Christ is the Miracle of Miracles, and the main Pillar of our Christian Faith and Hope, I am much perswaded that this might be the very manner and way of giving the Holy Kiss amongst the Primitive Christians."

178 795 788 [771] Nor is all this a matter of mere outward forms. Through all the vicissitudes of her history the Greek Church has been enabled to preserve something of the very spirit of the first age of Christianity. Her liturgy still enshrines that element of sheer joy in the resurrection of the Lord that we find in so many of the early Christian writings. The spirit of the ancient fathers of the Church lives on in the liturgy and in the piety of the ordinary Greek Christian. To enter into the spirit of the eastern liturgies is to comprehend as is possible in no other way the characteristic notes of Orthodox spirituality.

This is true above all of the liturgy of Holy Week and Eastertide; here one is perhaps most acutely conscious of the revolution that has been wrought in post-mediaeval western piety. It is a far cry from the Byzantine liturgy of the holy passion to that preoccupation with the sufferings of Christ with which we are familiar. Even in the darkness of the holy and great Friday the note of joy is sounded; the narrative of the passion is interspersed with the divine praises: it is the record of the triumph of the King, and Christ the Victor reigns in royal purple from His throne on Calvary.

[539]

To-day is hanged upon the Tree
He who hanged the earth free in the midst of the waters.
A crown of thorns crowns Him who is King of the angels.
He who wraps the heavens in clouds
    is wrapt about with the purple of mockery;
He who freed Adam in Jordan
    is smote with hands;
He who is the Bridegroom of the Church
    is transfixed with nails;
He who is the Son of the Virgin
    is pierced with a spear.
We worship Thy Passion, O Christ;
Show us also Thy glorious Resurrection!

[771] It is because her life is rooted so completely in the liturgy that the

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the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ.

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from alcoholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so.

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city.

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are considered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church.

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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of Octo-
[292] ber), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in
[541] 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

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793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the
796 children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's
[535] clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a
[273] glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
796 after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the
[574] adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
484 the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

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with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in.
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death [165]
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692] what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685] families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626 women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273 but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543 fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621 motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476 in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578 so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461 problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517 to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241 time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578] of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies.

873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too.

789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming.

777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he

353 778 776

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. 178 177 [1207]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. 184 177 369 [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed. 184 186 [487]

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not 184 369 805

To the Land of the Eagle

000 evening after one of the most delightful walks that could ever fall to one's lot.

177 Ginger-beer is a survival from the time of the British administration which ended more than sixty years ago. The Victorian habit of closing all windows at night—night air being considered poisonous—is another. At sunset all the windows at the Pension Suisse were religiously closed and shuttered, including those of my bedroom which, as the weather was quite warm, I promptly opened again, and kept open. A more satisfactory legacy from the British occupation is the game of cricket, which is popular to this day.

132 There are only two months in the year in which the weather is really hot, and only two of so-called winter. Bathing is possible from April to November. At the beginning of May I found the water quite warm, although the Corfiotes think it madness to venture in before July.

512 In the summer the inhabitants close their shops and places of business during the middle of the day. But at five in the afternoon the town wakes up again and the whole population turns out into the cafés, the squares, the streets, and the esplanade. Here the folk stroll about, or sit at tables under the trees drinking coffee or Greek brandy, until ten or eleven o'clock at night when they go home to supper.

[533] They are fond of dancing. In the dance season they dance for many nights in succession, and no dance breaks up until

545 seven or eight in the morning. They have also a theatre to which a company from Athens or Rome occasionally comes. On these nights the play begins at what is

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece E-H1

optimistically called on the bills " 9.30 exact ", which means about 10.15, and continues, with long intervals between the scenes, until towards 2 a.m. Before the outrage (or, in diplomatic language, " incident ") a certain Italian opera

GREEK REFUGEES CARPET WEAVING

company used to come regularly to Corfu and play to crowded houses. It has been once since—and only once. . . . The theatre was empty.

The Italians are, indeed, exceedingly unpopular in Corfu, and it will be a long time before the natural resentment felt

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Eubolas* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hypfainoun kai dynontae oi Aitolol* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Eubolas* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 [548] [589] prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

[184] [197] 4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

[186] 3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a volume in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou choriou mou: Perista, Navpaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessalonike, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith. [171]

9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

Collateral consanguineal relatives of ascending generations and their spouses: thios, thia (uncle, aunt); bárbas (uncle, a familiar term.). 601

Collateral consanguineal relatives of descending generations and their spouses: anepsyós, anepsyá (newphew, niece).

Collateral consanguineal relatives of the same generation and their spouses: (e)xádherfos, (e)xadhérfi (cousin); protoxádherfos (first cousin); xadhérfia (cousinhood, cousinry).

The older collateral relative is presumed to be of an ascending generation, but the technicality can be insisted upon for precision or humor (as when a woman insisted on several occasions that her three-year-old daughter was my aunt). Then, too, fully descriptive phrases can be used in reference, e.g., my uncle, the first cousin of my father. [522]

Member of a family related by marriage: simpétheros, simpethéra (co-father-in-law, co-mother-in-law)

father of spouse	pentherós
mother of spouse	pentherá
brother of spouse	kunyádhos
sister of spouse	kunyádha

For other relatives of spouse, the same terms as spouse uses.

wife of son	nífi (bride)
wife of brother	nífi
husband of sister	ghambrós (groom)
husband of daughter	ghambrós
wife	yinéka (woman), kiría (Mrs.)
husband	ándras(man), kírios (Mr.)
spouse	sízighos
husband of wife's sister	batzanákis
wife of husband's brother	sinifádha (co-bride)
godfather	nonós
godmother	noná
godson	vaftistikós
goddaughter	vaftistiká

Members of families related by godparenthood: kumbáros, kumbára. [608]

wedding sponsor and spouse	kumbáros, kumbára

Members of families related by wedding-sponsorship: kumbáros, -a.

When a woman marries she customarily takes not only her husband's last name but his first as well, plus a suffix, -ena or -u, depending on the number of syllables and the accentuation of the name; e.g., Dhimítrios-Dhimítrena, Dhiamandís-Dhiamandú. This is not grammatical gender; the suffix means "wife of," and can be added even to nicknames. The given name is still used by the family of procreation and others. The suffix -ítsa added to a woman's maiden name indicates née so-and-so. Family names can form the plural of their respective declensions or add the suffix -éi (ancient *atoi*, "natives of"), 193 551 [553]

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

193 indicating the members and partisans of a family or clan; e.g., Tsavaléi, Andro-
551 midhéi, Kolokotronéi, Petimezéi (Cf. Pernot, vol. I, p. 86).

Of the Modern Greek kinship terms listed above, most existed with the
177 same or much the same meaning in Ancient Greek. However, the latter had a
601 much richer and more varied vocabulary in the totality of its literature, and the reduction has been considerable. It included many non-Indo-European loan words of which *theîos* and *anepsiós*, among others, survive today. The modern loan words are kunyádhos, bárbas, yáya, and batzanákis, from Romance, Turkish, etc. The bulk of borrowings and replacements of common Indo-European kin terms had occurred already in ancient times. For instance, *adelphós*, *-é* (modern *adherfós*), literally "co-uterine" (from *delphýs*, womb, a word of uncertain origin), became the sibling terms in place of **phráter* and
[113] **eór* which dropped out before Homer. The full roster of classic and Homeric kin terms can be found in Miller's "Greek Kinship Terminology."

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5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

III

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THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

> Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught.
>
> ST. PAUL to the church in Thessalonica

795
178 IT IS no use beginning one's study of that in many ways anachronistic, yet persistently lively institution, the Church of England, at the sixteenth century: not so can one hope to comprehend the anomalies of her parochial organisation and system of patronage, or to fathom the element of uncertainty that attaches to every archdeacon's prospects
[793] of eternal felicity. No more can the student of the Greek Church expect to enter into the spirit of this venerable institution if he looks no farther than the reading of the *Synodical Tome* whereby, in the year 1850, her autocephalous status was first accorded official recognition.

795 One cannot spend many hours in Greece without being struck by the
178 extraordinary continuity of her history. The girl who shepherds one through the customs at the airport may well rejoice in the name of
● 551 Andromache or Ismene; it is startling to hear a ragged stevedore, one of "that unpolished plebeian race always employed in the hardest labours of the ports and which in every country represents the least noble aspect of a people", being hailed by a passing boatman at the Piraeus as Menelaus or Agamemnon. The traveller arriving at nightfall in a mountain village of Thessaly or the Peloponnese is questioned in terms which have scarcely altered since the prince of swineherds examined the re urned Odysseus: "Who are you and whence do you come? What is your city and your family? Aboard what vessel came you to Ithaca?" New Demetrius often proves to be but old Demeter, and in the country dioceses there linger on observances of immemorial antiquity: local rites connected with birth and death which carry one back to an age infinitely remote from the Lord's coming in human flesh.

178 Though the Greek that is heard to-day in the streets of Athens is
197 scarcely that of Aristotle or Pericles, the continuity of language is

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959,
therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens.
By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues
that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaouboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not re-
[865] move the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy
[434] mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes
262 the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
233 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered [552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents [865] permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of [178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the [373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing 511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small 592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to [422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever, [464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for [422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac- 511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[835] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings. The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times
[789] to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the god-
851 parent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
574 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
608 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The godparent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility
[262] of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[553] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of
[535] wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing, spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the
574 agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders, and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two
574 or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

Collateral consanguineal relatives of ascending generations and their spouses: thíos, thía (uncle, aunt); bárbas (uncle, a familiar term.). 601

Collateral consanguineal relatives of descending generations and their spouses: anepsyós, anepsyá (newphew, niece).

Collateral consanguineal relatives of the same generation and their spouses: (e)xádherfos, (e)xadhérfi (cousin); protoxádherfos (first cousin); xadhérfia (cousinhood, cousinry).

The older collateral relative is presumed to be of an ascending generation, but the technicality can be insisted upon for precision or humor (as when a woman inisted on several occasions that her three-year-old daughter was my aunt). Then, too, fully descriptive phrases can be used in reference, e.g., my uncle, the first cousin of my father. [522]

Member of a family related by marriage: simpétheros, simpethéra (co-father-in-law, co-mother-in-law)

father of spouse	pentherós
mother of spouse	pentherá
brother of spouse	kunyádhos
sister of spouse	kunyádha

For other relatives of spouse, the same terms as spouse uses.

wife of son	nífi (bride)
wife of brother	nífi
husband of sister	ghambrós (groom)
husband of daughter	ghambrós
wife	yinéka (woman), kiría (Mrs.)
husband	ándras(man), kírios (Mr.)
spouse	sízighos
husband of wife's sister	batzanákis
wife of husband's brother	sinifádha (co-bride)
godfather	nonós
godmother	noná
godson	vaftistikós
goddaughter	vaftistiká

Members of families related by godparenthood: kumbáros, kumbára. [608]

wedding sponsor and spouse	kumbáros, kumbára

Members of families related by wedding-sponsorship: kumbáros, -a.

When a woman marries she customarily takes not only her husband's last name but his first as well, plus a suffix, -ena or -u, depending on the number of syllables and the accentuation of the name; e.g., Dhimítrios-Dhimítrena, Dhiamandís-Dhiamandú. This is not grammatical gender; the suffix means "wife of," and can be added even to nicknames. The given name is still used by the family of procreation and others. The suffix -ítsa added to a woman's maiden name indicates née so-and-so. Family names can form the plural of their respective declensions or add the suffix -éi (ancient *atoi*, "natives of"), 193 551 [553]

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [559]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A
861 mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise [184] them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older rela-
tives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The dis- [865] obedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child
553 is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with [608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]
543

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

243 178 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] [311] [406] [462] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow of water.

178 312 241 406 [433] The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

241 422 178 Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a [407] [452] [464] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well, for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

[243] Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however, [554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige. We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)
3 medium pans	

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this [581] line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much [584] to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumu- [426] late a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the re- [626] quired amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [183] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875

They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [554] 875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village,
871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and
[554] gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the
[242] teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia, who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is cherished," he concluded.

571 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the
184 past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a
[231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from Southern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted: "The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in the Peloponnesos."

But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a
[175] verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better education. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the
[875] state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated. But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

be taught exclusively in *katharevousa;* and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17] 197 872

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level. 197 [554]

But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm," [18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medium over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words: 197 212 204 669 197

> If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many
[423] cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a
[441] few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from
[571] the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usually lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest minimum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called
[554] a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop
[794] appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often ac-
[428] quires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his children. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all qualified people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who discussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

793 In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest
465 and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop (Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping
[659] his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupation back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products from the parishioners. *Kondota,* or the subscription by families of so much wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was
[794] widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

needed to pay the priests' salaries, with the difference coming from state revenue. Also, the local parishes have to pay an amount equal to 6 percent of their priest's salary to the bishop toward the retirement fund for the local priest.

For salary purposes, the priests are divided into four classes: those who have gone through the theological faculty of the university; those who have attended the seminary, perhaps one or two years beyond gymnasium; those who have no seminary but who have finished gymnasium; and those put in a miscellaneous category. There are apparently sufficient candidates for the priesthood now, and some effort is being made to fashion their curriculum to prepare them to serve village needs more effectively; even the older priests are encouraged to come back for periods of study. One member of the Holy Synod thought that the priests ought to know more about agriculture, economics, and first aid, so that they might play a more vital part in community life. His view of the priest's role was that "he is to help people with their problems of all kinds and settle any disputes among the villagers."

But what part does the village priest really play? As has already been indicated, the Greeks are ambivalent toward the priest.[9] "As an individual, he commands respect, and gives advice to those who seek it. However, he is also a figure of ridicule and of ill omen." [10] A great deal depends upon the personality of the priest himself. One informant told me that when he was a boy their village had had a wonderful priest who was very important. Today, even though the people are probably just as much attached to their religion, the present priest is not popular. In the course of an extended conversation with the people in a village near Volos, we asked what kind of priest they had. "Oh, our priest is from around Karpenesi. He has five children and is a good family man." He was not singled out for praise because of any priestly performance, but because of his conformity to basic village values. But children in that same village must have heard many, many times the local account of what happened to some monks who lived in a monastery not far from the village. This had been built in 1714 as an annex of a Mount Athos establishment, but in due course of time the monks became "naughty" in that they called to and teased the women who were on their way to work in the fields. Finally the villagers could stand this no longer, so the men took the monks to a rock overlooking the sea and told them to jump. The monks jumped and were never heard of again. The present priest, unlike the monks, is "a good family man."

Very persistent and widespread is the belief, already mentioned, that an encounter with the priest brings bad luck. If peasants starting on some new venture meet a priest, they will turn back home and not begin it on that day for fear of failure. Anyone who meets a priest, in addition to "giving" the bad luck to a companion by hitting him on the shoulder, can tie a knot

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[XV]

The Village Community

A Greek village has a much richer social texture than the casual visitor would imagine. As already indicated, it has its patterns of mutual aid, its church, school, local government, and coffeehouses — which often are the focal points for intense activity — but it also has its neighborhoods, kinship groups, and even a status system according to which people are sorted out by other villagers. Furthermore, if any villager "gets out of line," strong social sanctions can be brought to bear to make him conform. The village notables whom I met enjoyed telling how things got done in their communities and of the factions and cross-pressures at work. Many times, simply by watching them perform their official and unofficial roles in behalf of the community, I observed the community in action. A mother came to ask how she could get her son out of the army long enough to help with the spring plowing because her husband was disabled with a back injury; an official from the Ministry of Agriculture left some forms about crop production for the secretary to fill out; a man who had received a letter in English from a nephew in the United States wanted one of the notables — who had previously been in the States — to translate the contents. The variety of tasks seemed endless, but some village notable was usually able to rise to the occasion.

621 [554] [626]

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The Village Notables

554 Contrary to popular belief, one does not always find the village notables sitting around the coffeehouse. Most of them are usually busy people, working in their fields, around their houses, or in a shop. They do make at least brief appearances around the square some time during the day, most probably after supper. Loafers do not become notables in a Greek village. To learn who these notables were, I asked throughout mainland Greece: "Who are the most important people in your village? Why are they important?"

[622] I was struck by the fact that in 1955 and 1959 more people seemed to stress the high prestige of the community president than they had done in 1953. This impression, if fully verified, would indicate a growing importance of and a re-emphasis upon local government in the Greek scheme of things. One priest in the Peloponnesos attributed this shift to the fact that "interest in religion is not as great as twenty years ago and church attendance has declined." A few typical replies, many contradicting each other in some details, will convey the villager's view of the notables in his community. From Central Greece:

554 875 759 622 793

The greatest honor in our village is to be president of the community. Those who are most respected are those with the most money. Anyone who has money receives a hearty "good morning"; without money he doesn't. This is because our people are not educated. In fact, the priest gets more respect than the teacher, which is not as it should be. The local doctor, too, is respected.

From another village in Central Greece we hear:

The most important people are the most educated, either the doctor or the teacher who, thanks to his education, can solve a problem in which the people are interested. We have some clever people who try to overshadow the teacher in order to influence other villagers, but if they are to do this they must be respected. If an extremely clever person is immoral, he has no great prestige. Two things influence other people: to be just in his judgment and honorable. We respect a man more if he is honorable than if he is rich. Even an uneducated man who is a good farmer and has good judgment and is honorable can have influence.

[665] Party leaders in former times would have been included among the notables, according to a businessman from Thebes:

In my childhood days the party leader would have ranked as most important, particularly if he belonged to the strongest party and would be able to help local people solve their problems. Nowadays in the village the president of the community would play a great part. The doctor, if there is one, has high position, provided that he is respected by the others. In the old days the priest and teacher were more respected than today. In my childhood when the teacher

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In my childhood when the teacher
or priest would pass through the village square people would stand up. The local merchants in the village have changed their status little, for their role in life is still to do commerce. 554 875 793 622

The extent to which the priest or the president of the local cooperative, where it exists, is considered important depends today very much upon the personalities of the individuals involved. One person said: [474]

The role of the priest should be mentioned along with the teacher and doctor. He should lead because he represents the church and is more educated than the peasants. But there are some priests who play little part in community life. I know of one who drinks too much, shoots off his revolver, and is not respected.

The relative prestige of the village notables has been influenced by the practice of the central government in providing the teacher and the priest. Only the community president comes into office as the result of local initiative, but even his status, though gaining ground, is not what it used to be thirty or forty years ago:

The president of the village is usually a better man than the president of the cooperative because there is more tradition behind his office. But it does not always hold that the best man is picked as president. In Thessaly forty years ago when the president came into the coffeehouse all the men rose in deference to "their president." [474]

A man from a mountain village in Central Greece who is active in the cooperative movement contrasted the various statuses in his community:

I find that the teacher enjoyed more prestige formerly than now. Earlier there was a higher percentage of illiterates, but today many village sons have gone away for a higher education and so people are not so dependent upon the teacher. Since officials do not wish to undermine the position of the teacher, the agronom and other representatives of the nomarchia always consult the teacher when arriving in the village.

This man thought the secretary of the village more important than the president.

When I put the question of relative prestige of the notables to a group of students at the American Farm School in Salonica, I found the anticipated difference of opinion. The majority of the boys, all from villages, said that the president of the community was most important, but others said that the priest would be "if he is from the village itself and has a good reputation." They pointed out that the president of the community becomes involved in politics and is therefore apt to antagonize those who may differ with him politically. Of the twenty villages represented, fourteen had doctors. Only six of these were considered community leaders. These village boys also thought, for the most part, that the wealthy peasants were [759]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

554 875 793 622 [729] [561]

not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

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I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

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Social Class in the Village

554 369

The notables just described constitute the village élite; they are at the top of the status system and represent the village's contact with the outside world. If they are originally from outside, they are supposed to possess the qualities that the peasants ascribe to the educated city person. Their reputation in turn is based largely on the traditional classical education which sets them apart from those less fortunate. As one commentator pointed out: "The civil servant or poor lawyer has little out of life other than his prestige. This takes the form of petty autocracy and the assumption of superiority over the nonprofessional classes." Such a person coming to live in the village feels it incumbent upon him to maintain something of a social gulf between him and the peasants, who also share this feeling. But this "assumption of superiority" is in itself not enough. It will wear thin after a while if the individual does not prove himself competent in his job or show an understanding of the problems that the villagers face. Even if he does it arrogantly, he nevertheless must produce some benefits for the villagers. There is a shrewd practicality in the Greek peasant with which any intellectual has to reckon.

[647] [693]

Those notables who are from the village, whether educated or not, must also possess those qualities stressed locally. To some extent, they have to fit into the value systems of both the city and the village, not favoring one so much that they alienate those subscribing to the other.

565 [554]

Very few studies have been made of the status distinctions in Greek villages, with the result that we cannot prove or disprove the existence of regional differences in ascribing status. In a Greek community, as in an American one, people when asked about class differences will be apt to deny them, claiming, "everybody here is as good as everybody else. We have no class distinctions." But as the questioner probes, he learns that one part of the community is considered a very good residential area and another part very poor; some families are at the very top of the social scale for a variety of reasons, others are generally recognized to be at the bottom, and those in between can be sorted out in a loose way according to the criteria (or social values) prevailing in that place. John Photiadis lists the following as the factors for class distinction in the Macedonian village he studied: education; occupation; money; family name; approved achievement; community activities; origin (whether refugee or not); area of residence. On the basis of these he delineates three classes in a larger-than-average village:

The *upper class* consisting of professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers), tobacco merchants, larger storekeepers, and office managers.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

565 The *second class* consisting of small storekeepers, farm owners, and skilled workers.

The *third class* consisting of persons not quite acceptable by society.[8]

Although this scheme is not precise and is difficult to apply in its present form to other villages in Greece, it does tend to stress the economic and occupational factors which play an important part throughout the country. This is particularly borne out in the studies of the Near East Foundation, to which references have already been made in preceding chapters. In two of their villages there seemed to be no class differences, but in others these were recognized and explained as follows, with each paragraph applying to a different community:

The economic position of the person is all-important. Those who are well-to-do and willing to help another in time of need rank high. Family and education play little or no role.

There are no noticeable differences in the village, but the villager who is financially better off than his neighbor is accorded a somewhat higher place.

Although there are no obvious class distinctions, the farmers who are better off are honored if they are not too conservative, which most of them tend to be. The priest, community president, cooperative president and certain village councilmen form the highest social class due to their judgment, diplomacy, education and vision.

Wealth is the only determining factor in this village.

Economic factors are most significant. The richer have the higher position. Shopowners are higher than farmers. People value a person's ability to help others in time of need or to promote the interest of the village. Family background is minor.[8]

565 555 These statements show that in Greek villages it is possible for an individual who is honorable and good to gain recognition even though the reputation of his family might not be very high. Without any doubt, what is most important is the financial ability of a family to afford education for its children which, in turn, provides them with a means for occupational advancement. The status of the family with several highly educated people is almost invariably higher than that of the family where no one has gone beyond grade school.

565 554 One must not assume, however, that the status system in the Greek village is something rigid or exclusively hereditary. It is unusually mobile. This is borne out by Photiadis when he compares the pre- and postwar class structure of his village:

Social mobility became easier after the war except for the upper class. It became much more difficult to move to the upper class. The high prices of tobacco before the war gave a number of people the opportunity to be close to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423 427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

2

The Family: Economic Activities

594 THE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES of the family as the most significant social unit in Vasilika will become clearer in the ensuing discussions. For the present, the family in the village may be defined as what has variously been called the "elementary," "nuclear," or "conjugal" family; that is, a husband and wife and their children. It is the welfare of his own family as a corporate entity which motivates the actions of the villager; and the family is the group whose members work in cooperation to try to maintain or to improve [554] their common position. The villagers measure prestige and honor by the degree 594 to which a family succeeds in fulfilling its obligations. From their point of view, the essential family obligation is to maintain a ratio between property and children such as to enable each child, when the property is divided in equal shares 556 among all the children, to maintain, in turn, a decent standard of living for his 428 family. This goal commonly requires not only an effort to conserve the wealth received from previous generations, but also, if possible, to increase it. The villagers act as if they conceive of the family as a kin group which conserves, accumulates, and transmits wealth from one generation to the next. The ability to transmit wealth is especially important. The villagers consider a man who is rich in lands but has no children an object of pity; the man's wife is considered [593] even more unfortunate. This is because the contemplation of the success of their [583] children gives the life of a married couple a large part of its meaning. In the operation of the inheritance and dowry systems in the region, a son may be given his share of the patrimony in the form of an education and a daughter given hers as her dowry at marriage. An educated son who has a civil service job in a town, or a daughter whose dowry was large enough for her parents to have found a schoolteacher husband for her, can give to the parents lasting inner 593 satisfaction and the joy of being able to tell of their child's exploits. To be able to sit and watch such adult children, or even an industrious farming son, as they talk to visitors of their adventures, or as, on a feast day, they eat the food their

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Vasilika

fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

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Vasilika

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[292] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white
[427] wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[369] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of
[626] the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
[292] up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
[511] They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
[765] to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
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the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

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871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
574 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.

[554] Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

[166] The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[369] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the his-
574 tory of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However,
[123] emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inherit-
369 ance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
428 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown-
511 up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

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596 mother, and any additional properties acquired by their father in the course of
428 his lifetime.

Division of the Patrimony

The division of the property is always a dramatic event in the lives of the villagers. They believe that the separation of brothers is necessitated more by human than by economic considerations. They explain that brothers should be able to get along with each other and work together under the supervision of the eldest. Harmonious relations between brothers are highly approved in the village, and their maintenance is considered a moral obligation. But, the villagers will add, "What can you do?" When the wives and children of several brothers are part of the same household, inevitably they quarrel. One wife complains that her children's shoes are all worn out while her nieces and nephews are wearing new shoes. The matter of the work contributions to the joint household causes dissension; each wife tries to convince her husband that he works harder than the others. The children of one brother may cry at night and keep another brother and his wife from getting proper sleep. There also may be some envy if the dowry received by one brother is larger than that of the others.

The decision to divide the property may be delayed in spite of considerable disharmony in the household for several reasons. First, division implies a kind of moral defeat. Second, there are economic factors which favor the maintenance of a joint household. It cuts down on the consumption expenditures for each of the families; more women are released for work in the fields because the young children may be cared for at home by the grandmother or by only one of the wives; and the amount invested in farm animals and equipment can be held down because they are cooperatively used. Then, too, as one farmer puts it, before brothers divide the patrimony, it seems as if they have a lot of land and are earning a good living, but once the property is divided, each brother has little and then one sees that the family was not so wealthy after all. Appearances
● [554] are important to the villagers, and a group of brothers may be reluctant to reveal the details of their economic condition. But the most important impediment to the separation of the brothers is the house itself. For the house is part of the patrimony, and if the brothers separate, the housing must also somehow be divided among them. There are several ways in which the villagers have solved this last problem.

342 When there are only two brothers involved, the house may be physically
596 divided simply by building a wall between two sets of rooms both upstairs and
428 downstairs. The brothers work together to improve both parts of the house so that each is of equal value and then draw lots to determine which brother gets which part (Levy 1956). Such houses are thenceforth called *dhipla* (double houses), and two or more families live in them as in entirely different establishments. Once the households are separated, a brother who has received cash in his wife's dowry is now able to make further improvements in his side of the house without regard for the other. There were four double houses in Vasilika in 1961.

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watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *agbora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

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an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

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It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

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In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

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But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57). 121 369

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations. 114 369 602

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all. 369 602 554 [571] [571]

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 369 554 433 000

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369 However Vasilika is an open community in
463 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Education beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry system and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is almost impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[2] Such skills are considered real assets, and may again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual, therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a taxi-driver, to

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have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another 369
daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and 602
one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions.

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had 369
achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance 602
of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, 554
they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators.

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult 571
sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have 602
some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this 369
group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or 593
more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children [425]
are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences.

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly [574]
favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction.

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over 571
which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision 583
is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry 425
contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to 593
the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the

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593 571 583 425 sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

574 369 602 593 The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several [874] months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

369 574 513 All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. [571] In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, in- [593] cluding Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

369 602 [574] [212] [203] [554] Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

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ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take sub- 554
stantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of
greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more
than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for
those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578] competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on [621] which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the bound- 369
aries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 511
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after [296]
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to
release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514] new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343] in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of [758] brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen
with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

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369 602 554 [574] 171 369 602 554 [619]

in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepozatlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918:Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957.

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[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinois, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia.

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5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 burdened with the spiritual care of more than 2,000 children belonging
369 to the newly organised Christian Unions of the diocese and a score of
isolated garrisons, yet contriving somehow to find time to train a group
[794] of young men and women to take charge of the village catechetical
schools when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes.

Is it any wonder that in such circumstances the shepherd of one of these mountain flocks will sometimes persuade himself that the populous cities of the south have more than their rightful share of the educated clergy, and picture them as a pleasant haven from the chill blasts that sweep his own desolate pastures; a place where university men "tarry out their time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, and are never used; or, as so many candles, illuminate themselves alone, obscuring one another's light . . . the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some country benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a fair light and be seen over all."

793 Much will depend upon the success of the strenuous efforts now being
871 made to raise the prevailing standards of education among the country
369 clergy and to increase the number of priest-theologians available for
work in urban parishes and as assistants to the provincial metropolitans. So far as the village clergy are concerned, the lower seminaries do, on the whole, meet the needs of the present situation tolerably well. The system whereby the pastor of a small rural community is normally chosen by the village elders ensures that the mountain *papas* is a man of good character and reputation, often the natural leader of the community. The Greek country parson has little need of book-learning, and a lengthy academic training would be wasted upon him.

793 With the parish clergy of the towns the position is less satisfactory.
369 The urban parish priest does not always command that universal respect
and affection normally enjoyed by his rural colleague. This is not to say
[554] that the clergy of the towns are credited with any of the more spectacular
vices. The Greek bishop is not compelled to exercise an unsleeping vigilance to ensure that his priests and deacons do not "being drunk bellow in the streets; or what is worse, in their drink whoop and hollow in the church; or read the church service in a double tone . . . that their upper dress though plain be clean, and not one black and another red; that they walk not in a dronish lazy manner, nor lie down to sleep in the streets; nor tipple in brandy houses and alehouses, nor boast the strength of their heads in drinking at entertainments." Such deplorable failings (though apparently regrettably prevalent in the Russia of Peter the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

437 Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal
609 constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occa-
[571] sionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharp-
463 ness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual oc-
555 cupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to
871 a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of
461 education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these at-
[178] titudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

471 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more gen-
●554 eral social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near
461 the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will
[427]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 461 302 as public proof of their privileged status.

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more [366] typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very [441] likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and [465] hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to [466] work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself.

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit 472 character of Greek families. The members of a family group are 602 ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and 466 can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties?

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

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[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

565 generosity and kindliness did something to redeem the balance,
578 but were comparatively rare. The wealthy classes did not, as a
669 rule, show much sign of social conscience or sense of obligation to the poor. Once again, the solidarity and exclusiveness of family sentiment interfered with larger loyalties and sympathies. The result was that antagonism between rich and poor broke out into the open during the war years, and has never since ceased to trouble the political stability of the country.

458 Economic conditions have been acting, for at least fifteen
465 years, to sharpen this feeling. Since 1941 Greece has experi-
578 enced a series of monetary inflations that raised prices, sometimes rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but always faster than adjustments were made in wage and salary scales. As prices outran wages, workingmen faced a series of crises, the more serious because their wage rates were low to begin with. Adjustments of wages, when they came, relieved the problem only temporarily until continuing inflation once again robbed the currency of part of its purchasing power.

The economic plight of white-collar employees was nearly the same as that of manual workingmen, for they, too, had to live on an income that regularly lagged behind the price level.
[554] Moreover, the fact that such persons had gone to school, and therefore felt they had a rightful claim to superior social status, did not make it easier for them to face a life of poverty. The fierce struggle to win a place in the government civil service was only matched by the chronic discontent of those who had succeeded in getting government jobs and then found that they could scarcely live on their salaries.

578 Fortunately for the political stability of the country, wage
669 earners and salaried classes are a minority in Greece. This is no
[565] more than a corollary of the small size and family character of most Greek economic undertakings. Nevertheless, if one adds the hillsmen of the countryside as a third more or less chroni-

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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Boeotia

which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man, whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 368 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

[p. 26(A)]

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urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come [593]
to be associated with low social position and low income,
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad-
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major 152
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization [511]
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of
land. It has importance also just because the payments are [583]
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. 828
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* 152
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance,
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel 156
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

/70 cont./

Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 544
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

/89 cont./
a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

/98 cont./ 796

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

/100 cont./

of their occupation but rather because of certain peculiar personal qualities which they possess. Such a cast of characters is very evident in Megali Vrisi. Most of these are due to their ability to speak fluently, or to tell stories, read and interpret the news from the papers or forecast future events. Some of these rank the lowest in the economic scale and their influence is not effective beyond the village boundaries. These personalities become the central guides for the decisions of many persons. Both Thracian and Caucasians have these types of personalities. 156 554

Community organization. The village of Megali Vrisi is a loosely organized village. The various groups and associations are independently organized and function without any cooperation of the other whatsoever. There is competition and constant conflict as to which one is the leading group in the village, but in spite of the conflicts and lack of cooperation among the groups, compared with the neighboring villages /101/ the village is the leading one. This unexplainable progress is mostly due to the constructive and not the destructive type of competition of the different groups, which instead of hindering them is enabling them to get ahead. According to Professor Sanderson, "The coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization insofar as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of community organization in the every day life of its people is apparent." The wholesome competition among the different groups for accomplishing their group projects may be due to the following: 621 476 178

1. Within every member of the different organizations or associations there is an inherent feeling of mutual aid and that the progress of each group is the progress of their village.

2. There are persons who hold office in more than two groups and thus there is this indirect cooperation.

3. It is an accepted principle that each group follows its well-defined program without expecting it to be considered as the only one that needs support.

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
[805] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
[177] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
577 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
[643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
186 and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
577 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
145 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
577 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 871
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 59 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [302] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes [370] a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

179 476 517 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a [533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

156 But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality.
181 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
871 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of opportunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some
181 coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the
871 corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well. [46] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern- [643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have
872 to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learning. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[3]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The children in our village are tyrannized. Just as they sit down to study their mother says, "Get up. Break your bones, take your papers and the goat, and take her out to pasture." "Get up, get some water, get some wood, go and bring in the oxen. Don't you hear? In the evening you can study." The children go do their different tasks and in the evening come back broken with fatigue and drop off to sleep. In the morning they are cuffed by the teacher because they haven't written their lesson, and thus it goes. Black letters they learn! As if they had a lamp! Most of them read sitting on the floor; they drop on their stomachs near the fireplace and read in the light of the burning wood. From exhaustion they fall asleep and there is danger that they might get burned if the elders do not pull them away. In spring when the days are longer they read outside; they take the hog and the goat and go here or there and read while the animals pasture. What sort of reading can they do? As soon as they start, the hog escapes here and the goat there; they try to catch the hog, the goat escapes again. They start crying and lost is the reading. They also get beaten if the animals cause damage to the crops. Most of the children work also in the field; they also do some heavier tasks. What sort of letters can they learn? It's lucky they learn as much as they do.

When I discussed parental attitudes toward education with an experienced school man in Northern Greece, he said: "Less land and more knowledge is needed. A farmer can't see the need of educating a son who is to farm. He will keep the one to succeed him at home and send the others off for an education." The people of Vilia, a village in Central Greece, brag that the parents there see to it that the children go through eight grades but indicate that the other villages do not do this. "We do this," they say, "because an educated man commands more respect." But what about the children in the other villages?

From time to time an Athens newspaper comes out with some shocking statistics which cause a sensation and are then forgotten. Such accounts point out that the Article 16 of the Constitution states: "Elementary education is obligatory for all and is supplied gratis by the state." In 1951–52 it was estimated that two hundred thousand Greek children of school age were not in attendance. Conditions have improved considerably since then, but the effects of this nonattendance will be felt for many years to come. At that time it was also stated that at about the third grade the numbers of those who started are halved, a truly high drop-out rate, although other reports place this reduction at the end of the fourth grade.[4] One article comments:

> Although the Constitution states that elementary schooling is supplied gratis, the various stamps and taxes, not to mention the prohibitive prices of schoolbooks, writing materials, and other paraphernalia, make this statement null and void.[4]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

565 The *second class* consisting of small storekeepers, farm owners, and skilled workers.

The *third class* consisting of persons not quite acceptable by society.[8]

Although this scheme is not precise and is difficult to apply in its present form to other villages in Greece, it does tend to stress the economic and occupational factors which play an important part throughout the country. This is particularly borne out in the studies of the Near East Foundation, to which references have already been made in preceding chapters. In two of their villages there seemed to be no class differences, but in others these were recognized and explained as follows, with each paragraph applying to a different community:

The economic position of the person is all-important. Those who are well-to-do and willing to help another in time of need rank high. Family and education play little or no role.

There are no noticeable differences in the village, but the villager who is financially better off than his neighbor is accorded a somewhat higher place.

Although there are no obvious class distinctions, the farmers who are better off are honored if they are not too conservative, which most of them tend to be. The priest, community president, cooperative president and certain village councilmen form the highest social class due to their judgment, diplomacy, education and vision.

Wealth is the only determining factor in this village.

Economic factors are most significant. The richer have the higher position. Shopowners are higher than farmers. People value a person's ability to help others in time of need or to promote the interest of the village. Family background is minor.[8]

565 555 These statements show that in Greek villages it is possible for an individual who is honorable and good to gain recognition even though the reputation of his family might not be very high. Without any doubt, what is most important is the financial ability of a family to afford education for its children which, in turn, provides them with a means for occupational advancement. The status of the family with several highly educated people is almost invariably higher than that of the family where no one has gone beyond grade school.

565 554 One must not assume, however, that the status system in the Greek village is something rigid or exclusively hereditary. It is unusually mobile. This is borne out by Photiadis when he compares the pre- and postwar class structure of his village:

Social mobility became easier after the war except for the upper class. It became much more difficult to move to the upper class. The high prices of tobacco before the war gave a number of people the opportunity to be close to

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)983 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
166 by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
463 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
434 shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
464 wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
262 longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
342 shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
563 have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
621 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
555 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
87 he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
641 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under
435 the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

369 437 609 [571] Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 463 555 871 461 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong. [178]

471 554 461 [427] The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 178
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton. 462
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechaniza- 241
tion. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [435]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the re- [452]
maining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government offi-
cials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be im- [439]
ported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444]
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

2

The Family: Economic Activities

THE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES of the family as the most significant social unit in Vasilika will become clearer in the ensuing discussions. For the present, the family in the village may be defined as what has variously been called the "elementary," "nuclear," or "conjugal" family; that is, a husband and wife and their children. It is the welfare of his own family as a corporate entity which motivates the actions of the villager; and the family is the group whose members work in cooperation to try to maintain or to improve their common position. The villagers measure prestige and honor by the degree to which a family succeeds in fulfilling its obligations. From their point of view, the essential family obligation is to maintain a ratio between property and children such as to enable each child, when the property is divided in equal shares among all the children, to maintain, in turn, a decent standard of living for his family. This goal commonly requires not only an effort to conserve the wealth received from previous generations, but also, if possible, to increase it. The villagers act as if they conceive of the family as a kin group which conserves, accumulates, and transmits wealth from one generation to the next. The ability to transmit wealth is especially important. The villagers consider a man who is rich in lands but has no children an object of pity; the man's wife is considered even more unfortunate. This is because the contemplation of the success of their children gives the life of a married couple a large part of its meaning. In the operation of the inheritance and dowry systems in the region, a son may be given his share of the patrimony in the form of an education and a daughter given hers as her dowry at marriage. An educated son who has a civil service job in a town, or a daughter whose dowry was large enough for her parents to have found a schoolteacher husband for her, can give to the parents lasting inner satisfaction and the joy of being able to tell of their child's exploits. To be able to sit and watch such adult children, or even an industrious farming son, as they talk to visitors of their adventures, or as, on a feast day, they eat the food their

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
[433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
[434] equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
241 what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat,
454 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
652 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their
[583] accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are
[556] exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which accumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields.
This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household
[433] and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few house-
[417] holds fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons. 178 241 433 [434]

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets. [511]

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness. 178 594 554 511 [556]

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

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Vasilika

3

The Family: Consumption Habits

511 594 [454] INCREASED INCOME resulting from technological advances in Vasilika has given the present generation in the village a wider choice of alternatives for allotting their resources than that enjoyed by their predecessors. The first call upon the family's income, after the needs of subsistence, is felt to be the accumulation of a dowry for the daughters and (since there is rarely land enough for all) the provision of an education or apprentice-training for all the sons except the one or two who could eventually be provided with enough land to farm profitably. The process by which these obligations are fulfilled is the subject of the next chapter. Here, our concern is with the goods and services used by the villagers, with particular emphasis on the overtones of meaning that accompany them.

[574] [556] The differences among the households of Vasilika in furnishings, foods, clothing, and hospitality patterns are not great on an absolute scale, but the small differences have, on the local scale, as much significance to the people of Vasilika as the corresponding differences do in any middle-class suburb in the United States. Family self-respect is maintained, and family rivalries are carried on in the village partly by demonstrating levels of taste through consumption habits.

511 369 What the villagers admire and try to emulate are standards of living and of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities. Their knowledge of these standards is acquired through the first-hand information brought back by their town relatives and by what they themselves notice on their own visits to urban centers.

The base to which the new standards are adapted, or for which they are substituted, is a set of patterns for rural living customary in the Boeotian countryside.

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Vasilika

Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [574]

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291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
[286] to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices
406 that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[829] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

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Vasilika

 369

sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige. 511 [556]

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers' produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the next chapter. 454 433 178 511

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 [453] [435] [654]

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

433 511 454 556• 178x [438]

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 break down. The more elaborate social stratification and intri-
578 cate economic integration which the development from simple
565 village into small town involves carries with it a special vulnerability: vulnerability to fluctuations in distant markets, and vulnerability to social stresses within the community itself. This is perhaps the price Old Corinth has to pay for its remarkable economic progress in recent years.

x178 This progress may remind us that there is another sense in
621 which the social structure of Old Corinth shows itself far more
556 flexible and hospitable to innovation than the other villages described. For while family and marriage customs have not undergone important modification, the occupational patterns of the community have shown important changes; and in at least one instance a landless and once very poor man has risen to a position of wealth and importance by becoming a successful merchant. Old Corinth has given far more scope to individual and cooperative enterprise than either Lofiscos or Nea Eleftherohori. Yet this development, too, is in line with old Greek tradition. The self-made man, particularly the self-made merchant or storekeeper, rising to wealth and respectability by virtue of his mother wit and shrewdness in buying and selling, has been a prominent figure in Greek society for at least two centuries; and it has always been the marginal man in the village social hierarchy – the man who has had no land to keep him busy – who has naturally gravitated to such occupations when opportunity has opened. Innovation in Old Corinth has thus taken traditional forms.

x178 Since 1912, rural Greece has been fundamentally divided be-
184 tween villages like Old Corinth, which can look back to genera-
423 tions of substantially undisturbed evolution, and those villages
621 where within recent memory radical governmental intervention entirely transformed earlier landholding patterns. The division is geographical. In Old Greece, meaning Greece within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178* 245 [241] [438]

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [1117] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [577] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 556 457 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizigbos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 557 [581] [582] [612] [369] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors."

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

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relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari,* on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari,* neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those potentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to another individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways, for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospitality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to himself, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied relationships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary connections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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602 against the clamorous demands of deserving relatives who badly need a job.

466 The strong egalitarian spirit that runs through Greek life
557 works in a somewhat parallel fashion to undermine the effi-
476 ciency of large concerns. When every man feels himself just as good as everybody else, personal loyalty to a superior in a bureaucratic organization is difficult to establish. A bold spirit is sorely tempted to launch some sort of petty intrigue against his immediate boss, in the hope of displacing him and perhaps inheriting the position. More cautious persons are prone to develop a false servility and flattery of their superiors, in the hope
[609] of winning special confidence and favor. Both attitudes interfere with the effectiveness of large-scale organization; and both arise in large part from the underlying distrust Greeks feel toward anyone outside the sacred circle of the family.

Observations such as these are, of course, impressionistic, and it is not difficult to find many exceptions to the rule. Yet no one can deny that petty intrigue, nepotism and a remarkably ruthless pursuit of individual self-interest are far more widespread in Greece than in more industrially advanced countries. Indeed, these psychological characteristics of the Greek people perhaps have much to do with the relatively backward state of their technology, quite apart from the financial and physical difficulties which also hinder the development of large-scale modern industry in the country. Modern technology is, after all, incompatible with small-scale family enterprise; cooperation of larger numbers of men is necessary, and the traditions of the Greek people make such cooperation difficult to achieve.

This psychological attitude clearly makes the position of wage and salary earners less satisfactory than it might otherwise be. Anyone who has had any contact with the fierce intrigue that often disfigures personal relations among a group of Greek employees is likely to wonder how men can endure such ten-

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sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

 Since the two

245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[221] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[248] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[465] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[436] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[461] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer
[558] considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any
[462] possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific cir-
[626] cumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[571] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[461] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
[492] tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and
[445] is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual house-hold's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar
[465] or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314] trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

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427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
492
[221]

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

[182] Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[836] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[577] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59
583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of
182 family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

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village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksehazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions forcefully expressed.

571 A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis: 1/1

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

1/1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

554 875 793 622 [729] not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown [561] to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

554 167 177 I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"gligbord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one.

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants.

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest.

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations.

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too different from each other for that.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

243 466 "You ought to come harvesting and stay with us for a week and you would have plenty of material for your book," said one of the men good-naturedly. "When working in the wheat we sleep in the fields with only a blanket for a bed. It has been raining and we have been wet through and through. We can't wash ourselves, we can't even wash our plates — we are so busy."

243 465 [262] "Where do you get your food?"

"The person for whom we work feeds us. He gives us garlic, olives, bread, salted fish, and sometimes a bean soup or potatoes. We all lose weight during this period and wish we didn't have to work this way."

"Are you well paid for your work?"

One of the men, unshaven and tired, but gay throughout the conversation, said that the average pay was about 10 okas of grain for 1 stremma of land (28 pounds for one fourth of an acre). A man might get 14 okas and a woman as low as 7 okas, but the average ran about 10. There was no [562] explanation for this different treatment of the sexes except that the bargaining position of the woman was lower. (I compared this figure of 10 okas with the 20 okas that the farmers of Thessaly paid a combine owner for each stremma of land harvested, while they had to pay 30 okas per stremma when the harvesting was done by hand, losing about 10 okas through this less efficient way. Out of the total yield of 150 to 200 okas per stremma in Thessaly, the cost amounted to 7 to 10 percent of the crop in the case of the machine and 15 to 20 percent in the case of hand harvesting.)

511 "Do you get enough wheat during the harvesting period to see you through the year?"

"It all depends. Some years we do and some years we don't. Bread is our only food. It is our milk, cheese, butter, honey, sugar, all in one. What the grass is to the animal, bread is to us. Otherwise we live on air and water."

511 773 Then, as though carried away with some of their troubles, one of the men asked, "Do you know what we say about our village of Parthenon? We say that when Christ walked by our village he left us a curse, for we have only stones there." Another added a variation, "Yes, when Christ passed he blessed what was on his right, but on his left he threw stones." Even this rationalization had no trace of bitterness, but a matter-of-factness that was supposed to help the foreigner understand why they were having difficulties with food. Other villages down on the plains had an easier time of it, but Parthenon, high on its rocks, had to make a living the hard way.

243 465 Coming back to the question of harvesting, we asked them when they would get their wheat, for they were carrying nothing but a woven handbag or a spare jacket. In about a month they would return, for then the grain would be threshed and ready to distribute. Each person had carried his

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[VII]

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521] 843

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 787

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed
787 jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to
834 men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings.
576 Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the
593 home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this
[492] last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen
[626] riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the
[312] fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is
[482] joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry
[626] the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the
[522] tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

562 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only
593 occasionally with her husband.
521

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her. 562 593 [574]

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula: 538 593 [212]

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name]. [858] [583]

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her. 594 [511]

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594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her
[584] husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of
[654] Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own
[511] money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

These two home economists made the further observation that the "mar-
[578] ried couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[581] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good
[831] analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5)4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural 562
Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by 593
day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband [581]
is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tea dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the [758]
practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that [262]
good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, 593
is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons 576
learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young 276
man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I [124]
went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man [178]
no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffee- 593
house where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. 576
In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or 275
even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of 562
gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing 178
respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, 593
"The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now 576
you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is [524]
patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek [829]
customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

743 been pointed out by Dr. Friedl. The bedclothes from home give the patient
758 a chance not only to show a part of her dowry but they, being familiar, lessen the unfamiliarity of the hospital. Human companionship is considered an absolute good. To be left alone by one's family, especially when one is sick, is dreaded.

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.[17]

Then, too, the presence of relatives overcomes any doubt the patient may have about the doctor, for they can keep a check on him and discuss in constant family conferences the kind of treatment he is giving.

These are only some of the cultural influences surrounding hospital care. They have their advantages and their disadvantages, as Dr. Friedl points out, but they do show the pervasiveness of the family system and the fact that woman's role in medical care, even when a relative is in the hospital, is indispensable.

562 Women in rural Greece today are conscious of their hard lot; they long
593 for an easier physical existence, for their contacts with the cities have been frequent enough to show them the advantages of the conveniences there.
[369] At the same time, they are not discontented in their social relations. They observe that a man honors his mother and is solicitous over his sister's welfare; in the beginning, however, he behaves differently toward his young wife who is less experienced in the world than he and whom he must command if he is to retain the respect of his fellow villagers. Later on, his wife — though still observing the proprieties of deference and obedience — becomes almost his equal in many matters most essential to her. He consults her about the children or about any important shift in agricultural activity, although reserving for himself the final decision.

Rural Greeks would probably not see the intended humor in the sign once posted in an Alabama restaurant — "Keep your wife for a pet, and eat with us" — since the Greek peasant wife still maintains an indispensable economic role in addition to that of sexual companion and the bearer of children. Her chief security in a male-oriented society is her very indispensability, and the more dependent her husband is upon her, the greater her sense of satisfaction. To be merely a pet, even though this carried with it a lightening of physical toil, would threaten the very foundations of her

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

existence. In the Greek cities also, both the sophisticated and unsophisticated men and women agree that a woman's place in life is to cater to the man's desires, to build up his ego, to be "a good wife." As long as there is mutual agreement in this regard, marriages remain stable. Instability begins when there is disagreement over what the roles of husbands and wives should really be.

562 593 [369]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[3]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[3] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria*, or the groups of
573 women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring
[562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work
[574] is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes
[535] the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing
[533] and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other
[589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid
[226] activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field
[241] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general,
[422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 369 Transposed to a rural setting, the coffeehouse seems rude by comparison, its patrons less well dressed, but it meets the same needs. In the village it has a variety of forms.

Coffeehouse Types

275 443 The coffeehouse, as used in this description, comes in at least three assorted forms. One form is the shop or small variety store which sells some merchandise and serves drinks as well. A second form concentrates on drinks alone, alcoholic and nonalcoholic. A third specializes in coffee and sweets and usually serves little if any alcoholic beverages. As one would expect, the larger the village, the greater the likelihood of finding the second and third types. To understand the social utility of the first type one must travel to a small village, such as Psathotopi on the Arta Plains.[1]

[162] Psathotopi, with less than four hundred people, has three coffeehouses which are the only business establishments in the community. Each sells a few articles in addition to the coffee and ouzo. Women who want needles [562] or marcaroni either go or send their children to the shops' windows to make the purchases, for they are not allowed to enter the shops, which are man's 275 domain. The least prepossessing of the shops, interestingly enough, is the meeting place of the community officers. It is a branch-covered hut, four 443 by five yards in size, which has no chairs or tables inside but only benches 347 along the walls. Coffee, ouzo, and a few articles are sold here by the proprietor, who is also the church sexton. A second shop, of mud and reed construction, is larger (four by twelve yards) and contains four tables and six chairs, plus benches around the walls. Again, the merchandise consists of coffee, ouzo, and a few articles. The third shop, considered the best, is rented from the church. It is six by nine yards in size, of mud brick and stone construction. Its stock of merchandise is a little larger and it serves [262] Turkish delight as a special attraction. This shop has five tables, twelve chairs, and more benches than the other two. In other words, these three shops represent the local commerce of Psathotopi.

[162] In the Peloponnesos, when there was a lull in the conversation at a shop of three by five yards in a village of about six hundred, I noted what this emporium contained. On hand were cigarettes, Turkish delight, flints, ouzo, brandy, horseshoe nails, macaroni, kerosene lamp wicks, bobby pins, needles, thread, candy, sugar, and coffee. There was the customary counter, two tables and five benches around the walls. The kerosene lamp cast a kindly [373] glow about the place, contrasting with the dark unlit village streets of a winter night. A wood stove, fed charily, provided warmth. When I passed this same shop in the daytime, I realized what an ideal spot its front courtyard provided for basking when the sun shone in the winter and for shade during the summer when patrons could sit under the plane tree and watch the women come to the fountain for water. All that was needed was a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas*, where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or Asia Minor who moved into the village in the 1920s, thus showing that participation may have something to do with cultural traditions. 275 571

These factors associated with participation may themselves be related to others which have not been spelled out. Then, too, the fact that participation increases with age would also be tied in with the leadership in organizations, since young people seldom attain official positions. Although findings such as these have to be tested in many ways before they become accepted generalizations, they do at least suggest some fruitful leads for further research.

Of equal interest is the reason the peasants give for going to one coffeehouse instead of another. Other accounts of village life had listed cleanliness, reputation, honesty, services provided, and the credit extended as the determining factors in the choice of coffeehouses. [452]

One village study reports as follows:

> Determining factors in the choice of a coffeehouse are the reputation of the owner, his cleanliness, honesty, and the extent of credit given to customers. Social class of an individual does not determine choice of a coffeehouse. An outsider coming to the village for the first time may visit any coffeehouse, but gradually as he becomes acquainted with the village people he will be drawn to a certain shop according to his interests, age, associates, etc.[7]

In this same village one coffeehouse is preferred by aged people. Youngsters, noisy people, and those who play technical games such as cards, chess, and checkers are not found there. A second coffeehouse is preferred by adult and old people, while all the younger people of the village gather in the third coffeehouse, which is popular because of the different games available there and because of its dance floor. This latter innovation means that girls, in the company of their parents or relatives, may visit this particular coffeehouse on Sunday afternoons or holidays in order to dance both the traditional folk dances and what passes in rural areas for modern dances. [535] [562]

One additional study is worth mentioning because it summarizes the type of patronage a village's seven coffeehouses enjoy:

A. Frequented by out-of-towners and employees
B. Employees, strangers, workers in village
C. Dance floor, so attracts mostly young men
D. Adult and old men of village
E. Village residents — not young men
F. Card-playing, so frequented mostly by young men
G. Outdoor coffeehouse — frequented by young men in summer.[8]

A villager will usually patronize the coffeehouse of which a relative is in charge so that he can get credit more easily, or simply give his trade to [602] [452]

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871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban
[212] Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent
among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men).
[369] Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the
women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were
[562] under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of
women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers
that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were
[669] deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war
many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals
[875] they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led
forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived
of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No
wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen
to us if we can't read?"

Local Support for the School

871 Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may
consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if
it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in
school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well
that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for
current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the
building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by
[875] the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satis-
factory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools
but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their
needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the
local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school,
since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many
[875] parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the
board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people
and the community council toward the education of their children.

[634] One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred
schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban sub-
[653] urbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to
pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In
spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board,
the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had
been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious at-
titude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the
uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, be-
cause of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will
[777] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest." [11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires
[754] was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the
794 priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, consisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-
[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other
788 Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending cannot help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross,
[346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome repre-
[778] senting heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*), which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congre-
[562] gate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos,* "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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G 764 533 [562] [369] traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myriologia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing, but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

G V 764 The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

G V [292] [562]

G V 764 152 As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

G 764 775 In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person.[28]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others. They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage. Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women, for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

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church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *aghora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora*, and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
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Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
594 unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called *vasana,* a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that
[593] their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from
594 dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes,
511 return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

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management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them, *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

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a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighora"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [561] [594] [596]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too different from each other for that. [562]

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000 562 521 829 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves, women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 [834] [576] The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activities of men and women in Vasilika. [594] Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of femininity are involved. [577] [828] The women have little patience with, and may even fear, male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but neither are women wholly without rights. [834] For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working neighbors which men do not join. [594] In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 593 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

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wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality.

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification.

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages.

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized.

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter.

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793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the
796 children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's
[535] clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those
[273] who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
796 after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the
[574] adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
[484] the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

[Good Friday]

796 morning, small boys went from house to house crying, *"Mavros in o uranos,"* "The sky is black," and they were given money or eggs. Meanwhile, the girls [778] of the village worked inside the church covering with wild flowers the sedan-[788] chairlike wooden frame in which an oil painting of Jesus on his bier was to be carried around the village that night. The frame and the icon together are called the *epitafios*. The girls seemed thoroughly to enjoy the morning's work, and they 796 laughed, giggled, jostled each other, and called out orders. Occasionally they 562 sang as they worked. It appeared also as if they were taking particular joy in being inside the church with no men to restrain them. They took turns sprawling over the stalls in which, as females, they rarely sat during a service. They also went up to the chanters' stand and recited some of the cantilations which were to be sung that night—the girls can follow the liturgy only silently during the course of the actual service. Some of the younger girls even dared each other [778] to go behind the panel to the altar, a place forbidden to females, but none actually did. They seemed uneasy and were even frightened at the suggestion.

796 The church bell rang at 2:20 that afternoon. The priest, with one of the chanters and his son, performed the service in the course of which he brought 788 the icon from behind the altar, covered it with a white cloth and placed it in its bower. In accordance with the symbolic re-enactment of the event, only the women and girls (and a few schoolboys) were in the church at the time. Once the icon was in place and strewn with flowers, the priest and then the children went up to kiss it. The priest explained that it should be done slowly and [764] deliberately, exactly as it was done for the dead in the village funeral rituals.

Good Friday services began that night at 9:00. At 11:00 the *epitafios* was carried out of the church by four boys. These marched in procession with the *epitafios* behind boys carrying the *lavara* (standards). Behind the *epitafios* walked the priest and the chanters. The rest of the villagers followed holding candles to light the way as the *epitafios* was carried around the entire village. As the bells of the three village churches pealed, and the children chanted *"Enas ine o theos"* and *"Panayia dhespina,"* "God is one" and "Our Lady, the All Holy One," the villagers picked their way carefully over the stones and ruts as they climbed the hillside, circled the whole settlement, and climbed down again on the other side. When the procession reached the church door once more, the boys held the bier high so that the returning congregation passed into the church under it. The service was over shortly after midnight.

796 On Holy Saturday, sweet Easter breads with red eggs inside were displayed, other eggs were dyed red, last minute finishing touches were given to [262] Easter clothes and last house-cleaning chores were completed. Some people slaughtered the Easter lamb on Saturday, others waited until Sunday. In the [461] meantime, field chores went on as usual. Everyone rested for a few hours, from about 9:00 Saturday night until the Easter Sunday services began shortly after midnight. These lasted until 4:00 in the morning, with two periods of climax. [788] The first occurred when all the lights in the church were put out and the priest [787] kindled the new light. The boys rushed up to see who could be the first to light his own candle from that of the priest's. They said the winner would be the first of the boys to be married. The rest of the congregation then lit its

[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one realizes that according to this same census the average family farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just 1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year. 241 433 463 [423]

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses. 461 517 275 [521]

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really provides the village women with a meeting place where they may on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus 517 562 [462] [275] [576] [521] [794]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else
361 unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very im-
433 portant distinction to be made between hill villages and villages
438 of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads
241 behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will
433 frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is
433 largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving the plains comparatively empty. But there was little food to be
[464] found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains
[166] often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

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Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

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a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized 517
form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation,
which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to [526]
play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional
customs handed down from generation to generation provide both
group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family
recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger [846]
family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the [851]
whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the cere-
monial feast. When a member of the family gets married the [585]
whole village participated with their musical instruments. The
marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from
children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating
and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name [527]
days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male [562]
person is observed more than the female name day.

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent 796
seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village 628
that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those 574
that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days
takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the
United States. After the church service the people gather around [535]
the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big
circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes
as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the
length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter 796
period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole 574
village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from
the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place.
This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give [735]
to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village [252]
with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry.
The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as por-
13 trayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where
[249] the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty
[433] and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

Thessaly, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains
[243] which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland
[788] Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

563 differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

S V I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

[342] [361] [162] [291] G [291]

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

V [101] [197] [191] [291] S [101] [197]

Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

S V [101] [361] [342]

The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

V [174] [197] [101] [175] G [175]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

these views during the last century and the early part of this century, when the struggle for independence was reverberating through Epirus, Macedonia, and other areas frequented by these nomads.

A detached assessment of the situation, and yet one without much tangible evidence to support it, would place these Wallachians as descended from Balkanites of Roman times, who were Latinized by colonists, army garrisons, or some other continued type of association. When the Slavs came pushing into the Balkans during the sixth century, the Wallachians retreated to the mountain areas and continued (or took up) sheep raising and remained relatively unmolested. Since they could not wrest an adequate living from their barren surroundings, many of the men found it necessary to migrate elsewhere for work. Some were gone many years, and some would go away for only part of the year, but almost all of them learned some trade, becoming important as builders and artisans all over the Balkans. Of even greater importance was their role as caravan owners and drivers. They raised not only sheep but many horses which they concentrated at certain points such as Thessalonike, loaded them with merchandise, and conveyed the goods through well-defined routes to Vienna or down to the Adriatic. Considerable wealth was amassed in this way. Some of their settlements two hundred years ago — for example, Moschopolis in present-day Albania — were centers of culture and wealth. With the coming of railroads, their caravans were no longer so necessary; and with the growing unrest in the Balkans during the past hundred years, free passage from one country to another was increasingly difficult. Although the various treaties following the Balkan wars and World War I provided for the free movement of these nomads from one country to another, particularly with their flocks, the borders had in effect been closed to them even before the start of World War II.

This, in a brief and general way, is the background of these Vlach nomads. In the days under the Turks, early in the century, when Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece were claiming large chunks of Macedonia, each tried to make a case for large groupings of its own people. The Vlachs, chiefly Greek Orthodox in religion and with a knowledge of Greek as well as their own Romance language, were claimed by the Greeks as their own. Many Vlachs agreed with this, despite the appeals made by Rumanians to the contrary.

My chief contacts with the Koutso-Vlachs during 1953 were in Metsovo, one of their most celebrated villages, and along the roads of Greece. On the road between Arta and Ioannina, for example, one bold young shepherd girl named Maria, seeing women (my wife and the interpreter) in the car with me, asked for a ride. She was Koutso-Vlach and was on a nine-day trip back to the summer village in the mountains which she considered her permanent home. We passed some of her companions leading

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Sara Katsani EH14..
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On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

S V 511 434 233 [433] [262]

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

S V G [427]

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

G 124 521 152

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

G 124 341

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

G 114

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

G 563 162 S V 162

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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162

Sarakatsani	5,956
Arvanito-Vlachs (Karagouni)	786
Koutso-Vlachs	3,409
Greek peasants (like Valtetsi people)	3,549

S
162
V
[162] He also gave the following distribution, by families, of the Sarakatsani, the type of people we had visited at Kalpaki:

Western Thrace	699
Macedonia	1,499
Thessaly	794
Roumele	1,112
Epirus	492
Peloponnesos	1,390
	5,986

V
[162] This book also indicated that there in Epirus I was in the center of the Karagouni group, since relatively few of their 786 families were geographically much farther eastward or southward.

V
123 The next afternoon, with Christos Berates, we headed into the countryside and saw within a mile of town his camp of four tents up on the left.
233 Since his flocks had not yet arrived, he was somewhat disturbed and asked if we could drive back toward Kalpaki to meet them. We passed at least
[361] eight other flocks whose shepherds Berates knew and with whom he talked briefly. These shepherds were very happy to accept the cigarettes we offered, but they were both awed and mystified — to Berates' delight — at seeing him riding in an American car. They kept telling him that his flocks must be quite far behind. Even when a flock came into view at some distance, Berates could tell it was not his by the sound of the bells. His anxiety grew as dusk came on and we saw no more flocks on the road. Then suddenly he asked us to stop. He said, "they are over there!" and pointed far to the left. Sure enough, we heard the faint tinkle of bells and then about two hundred yards away saw the sheep coming. His flock, taking a short cut, had left the main route. He called to the shepherd and found that everything was in good order. Reassured, Berates was ready to go back to the camp to wait for his sheep.

V
342 We had to leave the car along the main highway and scramble up the high bank before finding the path that led us up the hill. There in a row,
361 about ten feet apart, stood the four tents of brown homespun waterproof mohair, each stretched on a frame consisting of three poles tied at the top. The first tent was that of Christos and his son and daughter. A small fire
V of *pournari* (the evergreen oak with hollylike leaves) was replenished with
35 fuel cut by a small, sharp ax. In that tent alone were seven big woven duffel
[372] bags, stuffed full of household goods or clothes. The floor of the tent was

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

words, while their problems are growing, they are now gaining the constitutional means of handling them. They may feel oppressed economically, but they are not politically oppressed.

When I asked Berates if he wanted to settle down, he said that it was all right for the small livestock owners, but that it was impossible for a large owner like himself with eight hundred sheep. He would keep on trying to make a go of it as he had done in the past. When asked how he would feel if he did not have to move up to the mountains, his immediate reply was, "I would get sick," and all of the other men nodded their heads affirmatively. "I even have to go to the same spot, not just anywhere up the mountains. And the sheep need the change, too. They got sick during the war when they were not able to make the change."

The Disappearing Tselingata

One of the interesting types of cooperative organization which I hoped to find in Epirus was that of the *tselingata*. I had heard that, just as the agricultural peasants have their village community, so the shepherds in the past grouped themselves under a chief shepherd who directed their activities and also represented the whole group before the outside world. I had also been told that this form of association was found among the nomadic groups but that it was not necessarily identified solely with them.

A clear account of this primitive but practical shepherds' cooperative is contained in a helpful book by K. Koukkides entitled *The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greece and of Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World.*[18] In this arrangement each sheep and goat owner contributes his flock as capital and his labor. This union is usually governed by the eldest shepherd, who is called *architselingas* (chief shepherd), and who looks after the organization of the union, rents the pasture land, allots land to each according to the quality of land and to the different categories of animals to be grazed, specifies the work that each member will do, and makes payment for all of the necessary common expenses. In addition, he obtains credit to cover the living expenses of each member and the member's family, regulates the amount paid to each shepherd, pays taxes and any field damage done, and acts as the banker and the "grocer" of the union. At the end of each period he subtracts all these expenses from the general income or fund which has accumulated from the sale of the milk, wool, sheep, and cheese, gives back to his colleagues whatever is due each according to the flock he has brought into the union and according to the personal work he has done, such as pasturing, transporting milk to the cheese plant, milking, making cheese and other dairy products, and taking the goods to the market.

The quantity of milk is estimated according to the number of animals each shepherd has, so that if animal diseases occur in the merged flock the loss will be shared by everybody. An important part of the net profit is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 563 578 V 648

These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[12]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

G 563 233 V 233 648

The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

G [241] V [361] G 563 641 V 648

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VII

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

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[602]

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

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[736]
[888]
[431]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[7]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Notes

Chapter I. The People of Greece

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1. This version of the legend was told by an old shepherd to a hunting party which had taken refuge in his hut from a storm brewing over Lake Stymphalia in the northern Peloponnesos. Mrs. Bessie Adossides, who served as my interpreter, had been in the party and told the story to me. For a less colorful version, see A. W. Gomme, *Greece* (London, 1945), p. 11. [124]

2. A prominent subgrouping running through these three divisions is that of the Asia Minor and other refugees who were settled in Greece in the 1920s. Also, divisions among the city Greeks appeared following the French Revolution, when commercial opportunities opened up, creating a new merchant bourgeoisie in contrast to the "old patriarchal class whose members were the political administrators of the Sublime Porte and whose strength lay in landed wealth and special prerogatives." See S. G. Chaconas, *Adamantios Koraïs: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York, 1942), p. 38. [563] [441] [565]

3. S. Manolas, in a personal conversation, pointed out three factors accounting for the settlement in cities of Greeks coming to America: as "late" immigrants, there was little land available to them for homesteading; they came over individually — not as families — and could not run a farm; they were not here to work the land, for Greece was still their home. They wanted to make money and go back, staying on here to take care of "one more dowry, one more acre to buy." For many, time ran out and they did not go back. To these one might also add the Greek's unfamiliarity with the mechanized agriculture found in the United States and the greater ease with which he found employment in the cities.

4. This point of view is borne out in an article by Anton-Hermann Chroust, "Treason and Patriotism in Ancient Greece," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April 1954: "The democrats, like the oligarchs, bore their native city a quite strange kind of love: the desire to dominate it completely and, if necessary, to exterminate their political antagonists. . . . It would be difficult, indeed, to find a prominent Athenian politician, irrespective of his political persuasion, whose public actions were not motivated by partisanship or loyalty to some faction or club within the city rather than by true patriotism," p. 287.

5. The books dealing with the history of Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania usually discuss the role of the Greek clergy in the spread of Greek culture. As one example, see N. Forbes and others, *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford, 1915).

6. A good characterization of the city Greek by Dorothy Lee appears in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 79: "The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. [114]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
166 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
463 shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
434 settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
464 wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
262 women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
342 longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
563 have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
621 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
555 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
871 commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
641 he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
435 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Simi-
184 larly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peas-
369 ants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain
with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next
[243] field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long,
161 least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost
648 continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons. 563

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export. 433 13 433 [439] [241]

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks. [505] [651] [464] [505]

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since 648

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing what they could produce in the immediate locality with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of popu-
[312] lation in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
433 1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks, many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however sat-
178 isfying to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

and thus made good a claim for 27 stremmata. The original squatters' rights had been apportioned on the basis of the amount of land actually tilled by a given family, and as a man or a boy could scarcely cultivate more than about 27 stremmata single-handed with the sort of equipment they had, the old families received about as much land as they had had before. The difference was that the sons escaped from parental control earlier than they would otherwise have done, since title to their share of the land was now vested individually, not, as traditionally, in the parental family as a whole. 423 425 178x

The squatters of 1912 had not occupied all the cultivable land. When they had all received their lots, therefore, almost an equal number of refugees, mostly from the Caucasus area, were settled on the remainder. The two groups stood more or less apart, especially at the beginning. Many of the customs of the Caucasus people seemed wild and barbarous to the old settlers. But because the old settlers felt little or no sense of grievance, and because each family was very nearly on a level of economic equality, with 27 stremmata apiece, the fissure between the two groups was not great. Nevertheless, the houses of the old settlers are still separated by about one hundred yards from those occupied by the refugees, so that the village is physically divided into two quite distinct parts. 621 167 [423] [563]

In 1932 a supplementary land distribution took place, giving families with more than four members an additional 5 stremmata; in 1937 a further adjustment was made when forty-three families removed to a newly drained area in the valley of the Aliakmon River, and left their allotments behind, to be reassigned in chunks of 5 stremmata to the larger families of Nea Eleftherohori. No further official changes have since been made, but the natural processes of death and inheritance have resulted in the splitting up of a few of the allotments into smaller farms, while in some cases formerly separate allotments have been 423 425

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most 428
families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to 423
present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in 621
still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it 669
lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands con- 578
trolled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that 621
village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the 163
wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. 433
Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, consequent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the difference, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some [563]
recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land distributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original [656]
justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-centered type of agriculture. 178x 241 [464]

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Eleftherohori is to say that during the past five or six years commercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsistence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabitants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-respecting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors. [433] 178x 511 356 [291] [351]

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy members of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done. [563]

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. One very important consequence is the postponement of mar- 178x 511 582

[Villages of the Plains]

x 178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured,
511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow
582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it.
[583] In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 stremmata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300 gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fifteen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in
[589] the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good many men and women in their thirties and some in their early forties remain unmarried.

x 178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refu-
582 gees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and
583 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes
[563] marry young and before the new family has any assured means
[626] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irresponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of social pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

[168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth. Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position; or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster of having too many mouths to feed.

163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom-
168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births
621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563] [619] [648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

/7 cont./

makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson. 438 443 [491]

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus. 361 563 241 423

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult. 233

1:Sanders Z-5,Y (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5/† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 the smallest holdings, must have found sweet consolation in knowing that
474 now many of their more advantaged village neighbors wish to join the
241 cooperative pool. But this poses a problem. "How," the secretary asked anxiously, "can we calculate what arrangement to make with these people? How can we know what to charge them for the risk we took, the major expenses we bore? Certainly, now that we have succeeded, it would not be fair for them to come in and benefit free of cost from the pioneering work that we have done."

As these cooperative members talked of their plans, their eyes glowed with happiness and enthusiasm. The men had concrete proposals to solve other problems. They expect to shift from sole concentration upon grain production to more diversified farming, including livestock and poultry production, the raising of dry legumes and other crops that tend to give employment to the able-bodied members of the cooperating families.

International recognition as well as scientific farming is coming to Nees Karyes. Today there are people from Yugoslavia and Israel, as well as touring Americans, who have seen the way some of the peasant families in this village of Thessaly set about solving their problem of too little land in too many strips cultivated in unscientific ways. The secret of this undertaking, in great part at least, lies in the feeling of responsibility on the part of those who participate, since they originated and now conduct and plan for the cooperative which they jointly own.

Pressure on the Land

161 Most rural Greeks, however, struggle along with insufficient resources
241 and with no cooperative venture such as Nees Karyes to give them hope.
511 A village cobbler from Karpenesi in Central Greece explained the matter in this way: "There has been such an increase in population that the fields are no longer sufficient. The village child today lives more poorly than did his father as a child, because there are more mouths to feed and no added resources."

A well-informed Greek official put the problem in excellent perspective: "Today there is less income per family, less food, and the land values go
[565] up. Those that have more land become better off, leading to totally new economic and social distinctions in the villages. Many of our farmers are trying to make a living on such small farms that all they produce is hate. The main problem of the Greek farm family is the population problem. There are too many people. The villager with nothing to do has no place to go in search of work. That is why you see here in Athens many strong, healthy men selling matches. They have no work to do either in their villages or here in the city."

What the Greek villagers are up against in one part of the Peloponnesos is revealed in *Greece, Ripe for Improvement:*

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Social Class in the Village

The notables just described constitute the village élite; they are at the top of the status system and represent the village's contact with the outside world. If they are originally from outside, they are supposed to possess the qualities that the peasants ascribe to the educated city person. Their reputation in turn is based largely on the traditional classical education which sets them apart from those less fortunate. As one commentator pointed out: "The civil servant or poor lawyer has little out of life other than his prestige. This takes the form of petty autocracy and the assumption of superiority over the nonprofessional classes." Such a person coming to live in the village feels it incumbent upon him to maintain something of a social gulf between him and the peasants, who also share this feeling. But this "assumption of superiority" is in itself not enough. It will wear thin after a while if the individual does not prove himself competent in his job or show an understanding of the problems that the villagers face. Even if he does it arrogantly, he nevertheless must produce some benefits for the villagers. There is a shrewd practicality in the Greek peasant with which any intellectual has to reckon.

Those notables who are from the village, whether educated or not, must also possess those qualities stressed locally. To some extent, they have to fit into the value systems of both the city and the village, not favoring one so much that they alienate those subscribing to the other.

Very few studies have been made of the status distinctions in Greek villages, with the result that we cannot prove or disprove the existence of regional differences in ascribing status. In a Greek community, as in an American one, people when asked about class differences will be apt to deny them, claiming, "everybody here is as good as everybody else. We have no class distinctions." But as the questioner probes, he learns that one part of the community is considered a very good residential area and another part very poor; some families are at the very top of the social scale for a variety of reasons, others are generally recognized to be at the bottom, and those in between can be sorted out in a loose way according to the criteria (or social values) prevailing in that place. John Photiadis lists the following as the factors for class distinction in the Macedonian village he studied: education; occupation; money; family name; approved achievement; community activities; origin (whether refugee or not); area of residence. On the basis of these he delineates three classes in a larger-than-average village:

The *upper class* consisting of professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers), tobacco merchants, larger storekeepers, and office managers.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

565 The *second class* consisting of small storekeepers, farm owners, and skilled workers.

The *third class* consisting of persons not quite acceptable by society.[8]

Although this scheme is not precise and is difficult to apply in its present form to other villages in Greece, it does tend to stress the economic and occupational factors which play an important part throughout the country. This is particularly borne out in the studies of the Near East Foundation, to which references have already been made in preceding chapters. In two of their villages there seemed to be no class differences, but in others these were recognized and explained as follows, with each paragraph applying to a different community:

The economic position of the person is all-important. Those who are well-to-do and willing to help another in time of need rank high. Family and education play little or no role.

There are no noticeable differences in the village, but the villager who is financially better off than his neighbor is accorded a somewhat higher place.

Although there are no obvious class distinctions, the farmers who are better off are honored if they are not too conservative, which most of them tend to be. The priest, community president, cooperative president and certain village councilmen form the highest social class due to their judgment, diplomacy, education and vision.

Wealth is the only determining factor in this village.

Economic factors are most significant. The richer have the higher position. Shopowners are higher than farmers. People value a person's ability to help others in time of need or to promote the interest of the village. Family background is minor.[8]

565 555 These statements show that in Greek villages it is possible for an individual who is honorable and good to gain recognition even though the reputation of his family might not be very high. Without any doubt, what is most important is the financial ability of a family to afford education for its children which, in turn, provides them with a means for occupational advancement. The status of the family with several highly educated people is almost invariably higher than that of the family where no one has gone beyond grade school.

565 554 One must not assume, however, that the status system in the Greek village is something rigid or exclusively hereditary. It is unusually mobile. This is borne out by Photiadis when he compares the pre- and postwar class structure of his village:

Social mobility became easier after the war except for the upper class. It became much more difficult to move to the upper class. The high prices of tobacco before the war gave a number of people the opportunity to be close to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423 427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Notes

Chapter I. The People of Greece

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1. This version of the legend was told by an old shepherd to a hunting party which had taken refuge in his hut from a storm brewing over Lake Stymphalia in the northern Peloponnesos. Mrs. Bessie Adossides, who served as my interpreter, had been in the party and told the story to me. For a less colorful version, see A. W. Gomme, *Greece* (London, 1945), p. 11. [124]

2. A prominent subgrouping running through these three divisions is that of the Asia Minor and other refugees who were settled in Greece in the 1920s. Also, divisions among the city Greeks appeared following the French Revolution, when commercial opportunities opened up, creating a new merchant bourgeoisie in contrast to the "old patriarchal class whose members were the political administrators of the Sublime Porte and whose strength lay in landed wealth and special prerogatives." See S. G. Chaconas, *Adamantios Korais: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York, 1942), p. 38. [563] [441] [565]

3. S. Manolas, in a personal conversation, pointed out three factors accounting for the settlement in cities of Greeks coming to America: as "late" immigrants, there was little land available to them for homesteading; they came over individually — not as families — and could not run a farm; they were not here to work the land, for Greece was still their home. They wanted to make money and go back, staying on here to take care of "one more dowry, one more acre to buy." For many, time ran out and they did not go back. To these one might also add the Greek's unfamiliarity with the mechanized agriculture found in the United States and the greater ease with which he found employment in the cities.

4. This point of view is borne out in an article by Anton-Hermann Chroust, "Treason and Patriotism in Ancient Greece," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April 1954: "The democrats, like the oligarchs, bore their native city a quite strange kind of love: the desire to dominate it completely and, if necessary, to exterminate their political antagonists. . . . It would be difficult, indeed, to find a prominent Athenian politician, irrespective of his political persuasion, whose public actions were not motivated by partisanship or loyalty to some faction or club within the city rather than by true patriotism," p. 287.

5. The books dealing with the history of Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania usually discuss the role of the Greek clergy in the spread of Greek culture. As one example, see N. Forbes and others, *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford, 1915).

6. A good characterization of the city Greek by Dorothy Lee appears in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 79: "The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. [114]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the [609]
same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

565 generosity and kindliness did something to redeem the balance,
578 but were comparatively rare. The wealthy classes did not, as a
669 rule, show much sign of social conscience or sense of obligation to the poor. Once again, the solidarity and exclusiveness of family sentiment interfered with larger loyalties and sympathies. The result was that antagonism between rich and poor broke out into the open during the war years, and has never since ceased to trouble the political stability of the country.

458 Economic conditions have been acting, for at least fifteen
465 years, to sharpen this feeling. Since 1941 Greece has experi-
578 enced a series of monetary inflations that raised prices, sometimes rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but always faster than adjustments were made in wage and salary scales. As prices outran wages, workingmen faced a series of crises, the more serious because their wage rates were low to begin with. Adjustments of wages, when they came, relieved the problem only temporarily until continuing inflation once again robbed the currency of part of its purchasing power.

The economic plight of white-collar employees was nearly the same as that of manual workingmen, for they, too, had to live on an income that regularly lagged behind the price level.
[554] Moreover, the fact that such persons had gone to school, and therefore felt they had a rightful claim to superior social status, did not make it easier for them to face a life of poverty. The fierce struggle to win a place in the government civil service was only matched by the chronic discontent of those who had succeeded in getting government jobs and then found that they could scarcely live on their salaries.

578 Fortunately for the political stability of the country, wage
669 earners and salaried classes are a minority in Greece. This is no more than a corollary of the small size and family character of
[565] most Greek economic undertakings. Nevertheless, if one adds the hillsmen of the countryside as a third more or less chroni-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Palec Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

Particularly fortunate conditions in Old Corinth – tourism, irrigation, the proximity to the Athens market, and the effective leadership of the village president – have permitted the villagers to maintain their old family customs almost unchanged, and in spite of the rapid growth of population which such customs entail, they have not had to sacrifice their standard of living. Instead, living conditions have improved, with electricity, tractors and the like. 178x 621 511

This is a situation very rare in Greece. It makes Old Corinth the happiest village I visited, a community at peace with itself and with the world, mildly surprised by the prosperity that has descended upon it, and generally well content with the way things are going. The contrast is strong with the internal condition of the village in 1947, when, like Nea Eleftherohori, the community was sharply divided between left and right. In 1947, indeed, the bitterness between the two political parties was far deeper than in Nea Eleftherohori, for in Old Corinth the political lines were drawn, more or less exactly, between farmers and landless men, that is, between buyers and sellers of labor. Two particularly squalid "political" murders occurred within the village in the last days of the German occupation; and the Communist-inspired regime, which lasted for a few months in 1944, aroused strong revulsion among the substantial farmers. These memories now seem almost forgotten, though the sense of solidarity between rich and poor in Old Corinth is by no means so strong as the community feeling among the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori, where everybody is nearly equal economically. 621 578 565 [669]

The inequalities in landholding, and the existence of a fairly numerous landless class in the village, certainly constitute a potential source of trouble. If currant and tomato prices should fall, or if more migrants from the hills should come to the village and push wages down by competing for jobs in the fields, the existing harmony and general satisfaction could easily

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 break down. The more elaborate social stratification and intri-
578 cate economic integration which the development from simple
565 village into small town involves carries with it a special vulnerability: vulnerability to fluctuations in distant markets, and vulnerability to social stresses within the community itself. This is perhaps the price Old Corinth has to pay for its remarkable economic progress in recent years.

x178 This progress may remind us that there is another sense in
621 which the social structure of Old Corinth shows itself far more
556 flexible and hospitable to innovation than the other villages described. For while family and marriage customs have not undergone important modification, the occupational patterns of the community have shown important changes; and in at least one instance a landless and once very poor man has risen to a position of wealth and importance by becoming a successful merchant. Old Corinth has given far more scope to individual and cooperative enterprise than either Lofiscos or Nea Eleftherohori. Yet this development, too, is in line with old Greek tradition. The self-made man, particularly the self-made merchant or storekeeper, rising to wealth and respectability by virtue of his mother wit and shrewdness in buying and selling, has been a prominent figure in Greek society for at least two centuries; and it has always been the marginal man in the village social hierarchy – the man who has had no land to keep him busy – who has naturally gravitated to such occupations when opportunity has opened. Innovation in Old Corinth has thus taken traditional forms.

x178 Since 1912, rural Greece has been fundamentally divided be-
184 tween villages like Old Corinth, which can look back to genera-
423 tions of substantially undisturbed evolution, and those villages
621 where within recent memory radical governmental intervention entirely transformed earlier landholding patterns. The division is geographical. In Old Greece, meaning Greece within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Villages of the Plains]

boundaries that existed before 1881, village life has not suffered drastic upheaval since 1821, if then. Changes have come slowly and by evolution. The case is far otherwise in New Greece – Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus and Thrace. There the violent elimination of Turkish landlords and peasants through war was followed by governmental creation of egalitarian peasant communities. This amounted to an agrarian revolution from above, in some cases fully satisfying the peasants – as in Lofiscos – but often failing to do so, as in Nea Eleftherohori. 178 x 184 423 621

The slower evolution of village life in Old Greece has meant, at least until the present, the preservation of a fairly firm cake of custom, governing the daily lives of the inhabitants. In this respect, Old Corinth is quite typical. Consequently, in spite of the contrast between rich peasant and landless laborer, the social stratification within these peasant communities has not bred so many revolutionists as have been bred by the hardships of life in an equality of poverty, characteristic of many villages in the north. Conservatism, royalism, traditionalism have all centered in the south; while radicalism, republicanism, restlessness and revolution have found their strongest expression in the north. 178 x 184 621 669 [565]

Yet while these generalizations are true, I must hasten to add that the villages of the plains never were the main centers of political revolt. Too many had too much to lose in such communities. Rather it was in the hill villages, where life was harder and the prospect of maintaining a given standard of life was dimmer, that revolution found its most congenial ground. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, if not before, this has been the really vulnerable point in Greek society, the source of major disturbance and of recurrent civil violence. In the hills, even more than in the plains, the future stability or instability of Greek society is likely to be decided in time to come, as it has in times past. Let us therefore leave the plains and turn to the hills.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
● 565 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed
578 entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecrop-
427 ping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

178x households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423 also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565 The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578 these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 427 hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt [302] from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [142] village.

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 178x 233 Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 241 plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 433 the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 565 part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even 578 today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [579] Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. [461] The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461] spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
433 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
● 565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the
579 need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, represented the extreme right. The president and secretary were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

571

/Information on the coffeehouse and its social function will be found in category 275./

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[8]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [118]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521] 843

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 787

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Village Coffeehouse]

275 443 [427] people without any great difficulty. Many of the buildings are rented by the proprietors either from some owner who built them as an investment or from the community, which derives income from the structure. In a Macedonian village of Kimine, twenty-four miles from Salonica, there are three coffeehouses:

[403] All have adequate furniture, little tables and chairs being the standard coffeehouse equipment. All are fortunate to have battery radios also. . . . The largest coffeehouse is a community building and is rented from the community. Most of the village's middle-aged men frequent here. . . . The second coffeehouse is also rented, this time from a private owner. This coffeehouse is smaller and much neater than the previous one. Here we usually find the old men of the village, sitting around and quietly drinking and talking. The third coffeehouse is the meeting place of all the younger men in the village. This is a new building, pleasant and big.[4]

275 369 443 [562] [273] The third type of coffeehouse, found much more frequently where urban influences are strong, seldom sells ouzo and other alcoholic drinks, not because of any temperance drives, but because it caters to those who prefer coffee and an occasional sweet. This type is much more apt to be patronized by women, often in the company of a husband or father. Elsewhere in the village or town will be found *tavernas,* where wine — often that produced by the owner for his own clientele — is served in an outside courtyard with food. Many travelers to Greece have commented on the moderate use of alcoholic beverages in that country and have often pointed out that they never saw more than one or two drunk people during their whole sojourn.

But all three types of coffeehouses — the combined variety shop, the drink emporium, where liquor is served as well as coffee, and the urban type where only coffee is served — are important for reasons other than what is consumed. That is secondary, for many villagers visit a coffeehouse without buying a single drink or sweet.

Coffeehouse Attractions

275 521 208 [571] As I sat in scores of Greek coffeehouses I wondered, in looking around me, why these particular men were present at this time and what the rest of the village men were doing. I also tried to find out why certain men, perhaps five or six, were talking to each other around one table while another five or six were in earnest conversation around another table. And here and there I would find a smaller group of two or three seriously intent upon some point of discussion. What formed the nucleus of each group? Did the same people tend to cluster together each time they came to the coffeehouse? This was more than idle curiosity on my part, for I knew that the answer to such questions would reveal a great deal about how public opinion was formed in the village, opinion which in turn would be directly related to Greek national policy and even to Greek-American relations. In

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek coffeehouses we find the equivalent of what Chester Bowles has referred to as the "tea house jury": 275 521

One evening in Taipeh I asked a world-wise old Chinese diplomat what he thought would happen on the mainland. "Have you ever been to China?" he asked. When I said that I had not, he said, "In every one of China's one million villages is a tea house. Every day at the tea hour the people, especially the wise people of the village, gather to talk. 208

"Chiang lost," the old man continued, "because this great 'tea house jury' decided that he had failed. The villagers came to believe that the Communists could do no worse, and they might be better.

"Someday perhaps the 'tea house jury' will bring a verdict against Mao. Then China will be ready for a change." [8]

Although my study of the Greek coffeehouse never got beyond the introductory stage, I felt fortunate indeed to find that the investigation by John Photiadis of Stavroupolis in Macedonia had addressed itself to many of the specific questions in which I had been interested.[9] No one would claim that all of his findings for one village in Northern Greece would automatically apply to the whole country, but they do possess enough generality to provide some penetrating insight. For example, his discussion * of the coffeehouse attractions are most helpful. 275 521

The primary appeal is *kouvenda,* or conversation, explained as follows: 275

Kouvenda means conversation without any particular purpose, a recognized form of "passing the time." It is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of ideas or description of events, or delving into the past in a quiet manner. But sometimes it is contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud, a statement or a question is countered by a challenging question, tact and gentleness have no part, insults are hurled, but within appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinions, and its end is neither to reach truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech. But whatever impression this occupation of passing the time makes on someone who is a stranger to this custom, to these people it is their enjoyment. It constitutes one of the attractions that makes the coffeehouse a necessity for the villager. 521 571

Photiadis points out that during the kouvenda the participant is involved emotionally, is not only trying to prove his point but is also enjoying this oratory. The irresponsible statements are not to be taken seriously, although they sometimes are, with unfortunate consequences. In this connection, I was always interested in what the men argued about most in the village coffeehouses and found that they did not discuss politics to the same extent as the denizens of the urban coffeehouses. They preferred to talk about community affairs, crops, and personalities, although the announcement about some [369]

* Relying on some of Dorothy Lee's analysis.

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions forcefully expressed.

571 A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Photiadis:[1]

[521]

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom
571 throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
561 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his convivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money
[273] since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[525] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[578] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Characteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

[1] [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 [512]

they spend more than twice as much time during the non-busy period than during the busy period.

Apparently Stavroupolis also follows the pattern generally encountered throughout Greece in which the peasants spend much more time during the day in the coffeehouse in the winter months but more time during the evening hours in the summer. This of course follows the cycle of farm work.

When asked to give the reasons why they go to the coffeehouse, those with high yearly participation in Stavroupolis coffeehouses replied as follows: have nothing else to do (76 percent); to play a game (74 percent); to have a drink (64 percent); to see friends (63 percent); to hear what is new (56 percent); to talk with someone (51 percent); to go to a place where men go (25 percent). On the other hand, when all the men — not just the "high participants" — were asked to check which three of the seven reasons above were most likely to apply in their case, and the checks for each reason were computed as a percentage of all checks, the following distribution was obtained: to hear what is new (32 percent); to meet friends (26 percent); to have a drink (14 percent); to talk with someone (13 percent); to play a game (8 percent); nothing else to do (4 percent); it is the place where men go (3 percent).

These differences in response deserve a word of explanation. Apparently the high participators have gotten to the point where going to the coffeehouse is an end in itself, a habit which requires no justification other than to say that there is nothing else to do. Most men, however, try to give a more logical explanation, since they are aware that there are supposedly serious alternatives to going to the coffeehouse and that there are other things they might be doing. So more than half of all the reasons checked included the two most socially acceptable: to hear what is new and to meet friends.

But what are characteristics of those who are the "high participants"? In Stavroupolis, at least, the following facts hold true:

The higher a man's education, and particularly the higher his wife's education, the less time he spends at the coffeehouse.

Older people participate more than younger people.

People of higher economic efficiency participate more than those of low economic efficiency.

Nonfarmers participate more than part-time farmers, and part-time farmers more than farmers.

The most frequent participants are also apt to be leaders in the village organizatons.

Furtlermore, more high participants look unfavorably upon farming and living in the village than do low participants.

The native-born participate much less than do the settlers from eastern Thrace

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or Asia Minor who moved into the village in the 1920s, thus showing that participation may have something to do with cultural traditions. 275 571

These factors associated with participation may themselves be related to others which have not been spelled out. Then, too, the fact that participation increases with age would also be tied in with the leadership in organizations, since young people seldom attain official positions. Although findings such as these have to be tested in many ways before they become accepted generalizations, they do at least suggest some fruitful leads for further research.

Of equal interest is the reason the peasants give for going to one coffeehouse instead of another. Other accounts of village life had listed cleanliness, reputation, honesty, services provided, and the credit extended as the determining factors in the choice of coffeehouses. [452]

One village study reports as follows:

> Determining factors in the choice of a coffeehouse are the reputation of the owner, his cleanliness, honesty, and the extent of credit given to customers. Social class of an individual does not determine choice of a coffeehouse. An outsider coming to the village for the first time may visit any coffeehouse, but gradually as he becomes acquainted with the village people he will be drawn to a certain shop according to his interests, age, associates, etc.[7]

In this same village one coffeehouse is preferred by aged people. Youngsters, noisy people, and those who play technical games such as cards, chess, and checkers are not found there. A second coffeehouse is preferred by adult and old people, while all the younger people of the village gather in the third coffeehouse, which is popular because of the different games available there and because of its dance floor. This latter innovation means that girls, in the company of their parents or relatives, may visit this particular coffeehouse on Sunday afternoons or holidays in order to dance both the traditional folk dances and what passes in rural areas for modern dances. [535] [562]

One additional study is worth mentioning because it summarizes the type of patronage a village's seven coffeehouses enjoy:

A. Frequented by out-of-towners and employees
B. Employees, strangers, workers in village
C. Dance floor, so attracts mostly young men
D. Adult and old men of village
E. Village residents — not young men
F. Card-playing, so frequented mostly by young men
G. Outdoor coffeehouse — frequented by young men in summer.[8]

A villager will usually patronize the coffeehouse of which a relative is in charge so that he can get credit more easily, or simply give his trade to [602] [452]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 [602] [452] the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agriculural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

662 replaced. Indications such as these showed the importance of the legislature
664 in keeping the administrative apparatus in check, but did not provide any guidelines as to how this might best be done.

But this approach has its negative overtones as well. Over and over again
665 I was told that such-and-such a thing was impossible for the village because
662 it had not voted in support of the party in power. This was one of the points cited by a prosperous Greek merchant, who travels much throughout the country, when he listed changes he considered necessary in the rural parts of the country:

1. Smaller interest rates so there will be greater ease in handling money.
2. Less red tape so that the peasant when he comes to borrow money for a drill doesn't spend more money waiting than he spends for the pump.
3. State employees must understand that they are in the service of the people, especially the peasants, and not expect to be bribed to get a job done.
4. Greater justice so that the gendarme and judge are not primarily interested in a person's party affiliation but will carry out justice.

In other words, party affiliation may influence the administration of justice. From another point of view, working through a member of parliament is really the peasant's way of trying to get around a law. To do this is considered a great accomplishment, for he thinks that rules are made to be broken and evaded. This is because the rules have been made by others whose criteria for developing them are different from his own. For him, individual criteria are more important than rules others have made.

662 I had an impression, gained from hundreds of conversations with peasants throughout Greece, that the peasant prefers the political to the administrative approach. At first, the explanation was hard to find because it was obvious everywhere that the government agencies, though inefficient at times, were helping him reconstruct his destroyed home, assisting him in the purchase of agricultural equipment, teaching his wife and daughters how to can tomatoes and cook fish, and bringing more water to his parched fields. The reason became apparent, however, when I remembered that the
● 571 Greek peasant is more interested in personal relationships than he is in
662 things or in concrete achievements. He complains if he does not have things, especially if those in other villages are getting them, but does not value them in their own right. They are a measure of how his personal relationships are working out. He honestly feels that he can deal with the politicians sent up from his district to parliament and continues to share this optimistic frame of mind no matter how many times he has been disappointed in the past. Of course, he is content to work through the government official if he can personalize that relationship, to his own advantage, and not be treated as an anonymous citizen who must be dealt with impartially in keeping with the rules. He would rather be dealt with as a person

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and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life. [571] [461]

As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[14] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance. 665 829

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise. 666 665 829

When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician." 665 829 156

I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back 665 578 666

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575 For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. [474] They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion 575 of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant 571 of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

621 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life 182 as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is 578 perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in 665 the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed 669 leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These 182 can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search

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for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo,* or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

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Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

> Everyone has his *philotimo,* as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo.* . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope,* the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo.*[8]

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Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

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observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

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Since the two
245 jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household
464 may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing
[221] earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone,
[248] sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's
[465] land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for
[436] relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily
[461] wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar)
[558] and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one
[462] *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with
[626] fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of
273 the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape har-
[221] vest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the
[571] grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce be-
[461] sides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours.
[492] The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making cer-
[445] tain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash
[465] their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents
[443] of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in
[314] trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina*, and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to
[123] nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

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427 Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early
407 November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a
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[221]

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Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
166 by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
463 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
434 shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They augment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
464 wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
262 shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
342 in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
563 have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
621 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
555 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
87 he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
641 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
435 shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more formal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shepherd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident carpenters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *panigiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

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the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

476 first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among
369 these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board
while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant
602 to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and
608 so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those po-
557 tentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one
person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not
be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to an-
[574] other individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways,
for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospi-
tality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls
from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a
farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and
his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these
extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts
to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

[609] What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct
relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the
network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

● 571 In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects
602 to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from
each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to him-
608 self, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not
identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied rela-
tionships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary con-
nections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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82 777 village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

156 578 621 In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within [593] the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

156 828 571 578 What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the [558] contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only [777] if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksebazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

156 828 867 858 This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict.

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion.

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard.

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the

521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before,
461 is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
512 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
521 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations
571 possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala*," "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

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Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts. 571 867

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone. 521 [868] [196]

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity. 521 571 156 828 [748]

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kuvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other. 521 156 828 571

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha,*" "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their

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521 methods is to ask the same questions in different ways at different times, and an
156 outsider is often struck by the persistence with which such questioning on the
828 same issue is carried on over many months. Not to succeed in gathering a choice
571 bit of knowledge is no disgrace—the villagers keep trying and every man stays on the alert to guard his secrets.

521 There are some kinds of verbal communication that are outside the realm
156 of agonistic relationships and in a sense provide a respite from them. These are
571 the ritual phrases, which constitute proper responses to frequently recurring common life situations.

576 Village manners require the use of a wide variety of greetings at meeting and at parting. In addition to these, there are a large number of appropriate set phrases for life crisis situations, large and small. For example, one says *"Kali eleftherya,"* "Good deliverance," to a pregnant woman, "May they live for you" to a parent showing you a picture of his children, "May it pass for you" to an ill person or to any member of his family, "To your health" to a person wearing new clothes, and so on. "Many years" is the wish expressed to everyone on saints' days. This list is far from complete, but illustrates the point that although the phrases are formulaic and are most often used without conscious awareness of their literal meanings, they are apotropaic in feeling. In other words, the villagers have a vague sense that the phrases, which are good wishes, may succeed in warding off evil. Certainly the formulas also serve as an immediate expression of the good intentions of the speaker toward another in a potentially stressful situation.

Transmission of Values

156 Some of the weapons used in agonistic relationships in the village and
828 some of the processes by which children acquire the necessary skills to use them
867 have been considered. It remains to complete the discussion of the kinds of values and attitudes inculcated in children and to show the relationship of all the foregoing to the question: Who are the actors in the contests of Vasilika, and what are the social alignments which form the structural base of these human relationships in the village?

156 If, as we have seen, obedience to elders is not a virtue which parents
828 stress to regulate the behavior of children, and if affection is interspersed with
867 ridicule so that children cannot depend completely on the parents' support, by
858 what mechanism do the villagers' children acquire the prevailing standards of behavior? It has already been suggested that the villagers act as if they believed
152 that human beings, by virtue of their humanity, have brains. It may now be added that they also believe that inherent in every child is a sense of integrity which, in English, is best translated as shame. Parents do not feel that they have to implant these traits in their children but expect to bring them to the surface and to put to use qualities which the child already has within himself.[3] Each child is believed to have rudimentary intelligence which will develop into rational

[3] I am indebted to Popie Mohring for this phrasing.

152 156 828 867 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

[875 861] When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 828 867 577 [562 574] Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 828 577 777 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 828 574 571 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms.

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece.

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction.

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground, although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo*

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is not to adnit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt suppor even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told vithin the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but heknows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of theconsequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Childen, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. Thecombat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary fanily in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the vorld.

Conguent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The lattle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It israther old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let u consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-schoo children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finishec the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; narried adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are maried. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, butto a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people wih at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older goup treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the ellers are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward oldetmen and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among peope of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winte their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit t right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishmen affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church vhile others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of ther fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the villag: are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, f considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men ae always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majoity of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elder in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and hve the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Gligbora!, gligbora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [5[illegible]] [594] [59[illegible]]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too different from each other for that. [562]

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wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality. 562 593

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification. 571 578 [562] 156 [828]

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages. [593] [621]

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized. [476]

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter. [621]

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621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and
476 the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the
571 life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha*, that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni*, people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages, and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,
123 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
685 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we
621 understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
000 to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

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lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57). 121 369

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations. 114 369 602

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all. 369 602 554 [571] [571]

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 369 554 433 000

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have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another 369
daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and 602
one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions.

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had 369
achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance 602
of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, 554
they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators.

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult 571
sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have 602
some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this 369
group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or 593
more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children [425]
are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences.

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly [574]
favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction.

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over 571
which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision 583
is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry 425
contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to 593
the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
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sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

[p.26(A)]

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words.

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women.

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital.

/34 cont./
wishers. People are formed into groups and visit every house where the table is set in the center of the main room with different drinks, colored eggs and good food. The groups crack /p. 85 skipped in original numbering/ /36/ an egg and wish the hostess saying, "Christ is risen", and the house owner answers, "Truly he is risen". 796 574

Children run through the streets dressed in their new clothes and carry colored eggs and candies. These are the days when the houses are open to every one. The recreation that these three days offer to these people is far greater than all the rest of the holidays of the year. For the Orthodox church the birth of Christ does not have so much importance as the resurrection of Christ which shows the Athanasia of the spirit. [779]

At this time of the year everything takes life in nature, too. The almond trees, the cherry trees, the pear trees are in blossom. The fields are green and nature takes the appearance of living again. All these combined leave an unresistable influence upon every person. Through such recreation which is a part of their religion, the people forgive each other and old hatreds give way to renewed friendship and forgiveness. It is surprising to note how much influence these holidays have in the lives of the people that live together. The spirit of hospitality, the spirit of giving to those that do not have, the spirit of taking active part in village movements and the blind obedience to the orders of the higher rank, are a result of these traditionally influenced holidays that are represented by different Saints. Recreation is thus closely associated with the /37/religious holidays. 796 571 182 517

Play of Children. Whether at school or outside of school the children do not have organized recreation. At the school the weekly exercises which are more or less military are given by the teacher. The children have two recess periods of ten minutes each from 8-12. At these periods they devise their own play. At home the child has no time for play. He or she will graze the oxen or weed the garden and fields, sweep the yard and help in housework. While very young the children are taught to work and 857 [872]

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

796 527 796 794 [356 526 535 437 787 782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

/98 cont./ 796

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor. 571

5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.

6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful 177
in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable 571
changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political 666
bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal 571
loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of 571
humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only 577
recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a 73
plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience 577 867

577 are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to
867 teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to
577 something abstract, like the government, which is equated with
671 impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother
[619] of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

577 Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility,
602 or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty
[661] evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

577 Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person
[476] helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

[867] Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from
[577] birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the
602 parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this
[829] structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is
671 not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience
[875] and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 57 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [802] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing [579] cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

179 476 577 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"gligbord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 172

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [567] 594 [593]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too different from each other for that. [562]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone." 476 539

Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yannes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need. 476 492

Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd. 476 233

Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakassa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." 476 241 [493]

But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. 476 [339]

Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari* [573]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria*, or the groups of 573 women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing and dancing.[1]

[562] [574] [535] [533]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other [589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have [226] numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field [241] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general, [422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 602 452 the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 203 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agricultural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

> The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.
>
> Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

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decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques. 275 573 521 208 203

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury." [626]

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places. 275 461 [184]

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it [242] [208] [521]

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of 241
trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they 621
sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square.

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity 621
and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or 609
police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. 574
The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one
heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception 275
committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's [272] [273]
throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing.

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly 621
see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other 609
youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars 574
to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop [312]
around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group [275]
at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus [494]
from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention.

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impressive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advisability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the standpoint of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Frequently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma,* found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture. 342 184 [361]

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?" 574 [517] [286]

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern. [514] [457]

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu- 342

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who [463] lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, [465] depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She [825] pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives [788] came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we [778] discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a [574] dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the [793] name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, [788] when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good [777] luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The [352] dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, [583] will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

[352] Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung [353] a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the [513] vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

village. We hired a caique, with both sails and motor, to take us on the three-hour trip to Neos Marmaras, a picturesque refugee village. Hardly were we aboard when a group of excited peasants came to ask if they could go with us. Our one crewman seemed to have no objection so we told them to join us. 243 124 [501]

Almost at once these lively individuals explained that they were from the village of Parthenon. They had been spending the past twenty-five days helping the peasants around Niketas harvest their grain and were no longer needed now that threshing had begun. Before talking about their work, however, we had to exchange the rites of hospitality. We had spread out a blanket on which we placed a large piece of bread bought just before departure and a portion of white cheese given me by the teacher in the village. Although the peasants looked thin and hungry, they refused our food. One man, carefully eyeing our bread, said, "Here, take some of my bread; yours isn't well done." [464] [574]

Six or seven of the people of Parthenon, sprawled around the blanket while we ate, tried politely to hide their curiosity. Our lunch finished and the purpose of our trip explained to them several times, it became our turn to ask them questions. We started with a woman in her thirties, a widow. She was dressed in a poor cotton dress, was barefoot, wore a kerchief on her head, but her proud look and direct answers were those of an independent spirit. She was obviously very anxious to get back to Parthenon and several times expressed her gratitude for the lift. "Thank you very much. You have saved us four or five hours of walking on this warm day." She had had to leave her four children at home twenty-five days ago and had had no word from them since then, even though her village was only a relatively few kilometers away. Apparently she had gone on working in the harvest fields for winter bread, clinging to the belief that "no news was good news," but her drawn face showed her long concern: "I left them with only a piece of bread to eat. I don't know how they made out." 243 855

"How old are your children?"

"My eldest child is fifteen, the next is eleven, and the other two quite young."

"Does the fifteen-year-old take care of the rest while you are away?"

"He would if he could, but he must look after the cows of my brother who is a soldier, and so the eleven-year-old takes care of the younger two." [857]

We learned that there were some relatives living in the village who probably kept an eye on the youngsters but did not assume full responsibility for them.

We were told that these villagers did not look forward to this trip. It is a trial, an ordeal that must be endured if they are to have any bread, for the men cannot find work in Parthenon that will provide them with money to buy bread. 243 464

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her. 562 593 [574]

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula: 538 593 [212]

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name]. [858] [583]

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her. 594 [511]

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262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including
[146] the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[6]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person
[146] for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
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462 241 178

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

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Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

[462] [574] [511] [369]

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Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

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The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

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585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

[184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

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A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of godparents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, stillbirth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty-four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People standing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

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851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[835] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings.
[789] The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The godparent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility
608 of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[262] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
[553] fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

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The Annual Village Festival

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The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

776 574 621 535 443 651 796 292

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Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

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An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

535 773

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

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535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[8] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

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796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's
[782] blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

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Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

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[776] considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both
[784] a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of
[296] clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a
[241] neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come
[426] true at this time.[9]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and
[787] the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the
[262] traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

[533] On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around carol-
[824] ing again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the
[777] sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the
[431] shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the
796 day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident
777 as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

[431] If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event
[524] on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

796 The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the
[788] liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. Dur-
[574] ing the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to
[524] their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

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796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

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the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ. 796 [262]

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from alcoholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so. [778] [275] [785] [788]

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city. [262] [541] [778] [785] [262] [574]

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are considered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church. [527] [77]

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476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria*, or the groups of
573 women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring
[562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work
[574] is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes
[535] the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing
[533] and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other
[589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have
[226] numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field
[241] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general,
[422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens. 829 619 [666] [642] [646]

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water. [574]

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

175 623 642

The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

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9. Our hosts in a Peloponnesian village: Χένος is the password for stranger and guest. Their hospitality was radiant; their posing was a serious project.

10. Mr. Papaspyropoulos and his wife. He wrote the account of Ano-Kleitoria, Peloponnesos.

[p. 272-F]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Polmenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

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Vasilika

245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
●574 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and
574 strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

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Vasilika

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

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242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaouboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not re-
[865] move the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy
[434] mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes
262 the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
233 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

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3

The Family: Consumption Habits

511 594 [454] INCREASED INCOME resulting from technological advances in Vasilika has given the present generation in the village a wider choice of alternatives for allotting their resources than that enjoyed by their predecessors. The first call upon the family's income, after the needs of subsistence, is felt to be the accumulation of a dowry for the daughters and (since there is rarely land enough for all) the provision of an education or apprentice-training for all the sons except the one or two who could eventually be provided with enough land to farm profitably. The process by which these obligations are fulfilled is the subject of the next chapter. Here, our concern is with the goods and services used by the villagers, with particular emphasis on the overtones of meaning that accompany them.

[574] [556] The differences among the households of Vasilika in furnishings, foods, clothing, and hospitality patterns are not great on an absolute scale, but the small differences have, on the local scale, as much significance to the people of Vasilika as the corresponding differences do in any middle-class suburb in the United States. Family self-respect is maintained, and family rivalries are carried on in the village partly by demonstrating levels of taste through consumption habits.

511 369 What the villagers admire and try to emulate are standards of living and of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities. Their knowledge of these standards is acquired through the first-hand information brought back by their town relatives and by what they themselves notice on their own visits to urban centers.

The base to which the new standards are adapted, or for which they are substituted, is a set of patterns for rural living customary in the Boeotian countryside.

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Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [594]

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342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at least some token *rukba* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every
[574] housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
[365] evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center
[354] table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

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impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth. 356 353 [296]

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping. 356 515 [574] [751] [264]

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters. 356 512 [264]

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is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment. 584 [581]

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come. [574]

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lires*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years. [836] [626]

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father. 178 585 [621]

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 583 585

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583 wedding to take the *rukba* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukba*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
[431] table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
[534] sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are
[178] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold- [434]
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 583
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

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relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least; it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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476 first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among
369 these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board
while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant
602 to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and
608 so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those po-
557 tentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one
person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not
be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to an-
[574] other individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways,
for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospi-
tality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls
from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a
farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and
his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these
extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts
to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

[609] What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct
relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the
network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

571 In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects
602 to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from
each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to him-
608 self, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not
identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied rela-
tionships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary con-
nections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them, *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

152 156 828 867 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

[875 861] When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 828 867 577 562 574 Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 828 577 777 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 828 574 571 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms. 156 828 574 571

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece. 156 828 577

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction. 156 828 571

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground, although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo* 156 828 571 594 [867] [577]

793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the
796 children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early eve-
[535] ning the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a
[273] glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

796 In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
[574] after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
[484] the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

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with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

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621
Evidence suggests that 186
an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609
they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574
thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577]
petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828]
expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of con- [685]
versation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always [521]
raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at [522]
a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually [183]
in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621
identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it 186
must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156
reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride 828
in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 476
and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594]
family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464]
daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663]
official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554]
his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he [185]
does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619
for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829
as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is [621]
profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181]
with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions. 369 602

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators. 369 602 554

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences. 571 602 369 593 [425]

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction. [574]

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the 571 583 425 593

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593 571 583 425 sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

574 369 602 593 The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several [874] months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

369 574 513 All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. [571] In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, in- [593] cluding Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

369 602 [574] [212] [203] [554] Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

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ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578]
competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on [621]
which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 369
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after [296]
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514]
new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343]
in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the [758]
imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

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369 602 554 [574] 171 369 602 554 [619]

in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepozatlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918:Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

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494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[521] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

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796 peculiar Saint, especially those to whom they are particularly devoted. These jolly Easterlings, when they hear . . . that the Christians pretending to be Reformed in the West, do utterly hate and abjure all such Practices as *Heathenish* and *Prophane*, must think them all the vilest Miscreants living.

796 When the last of the *antidoron* had been distributed, Anargyri had
793 replaced the mitre in its brass box, and the Metropolitan had concluded
574 a long conversation with the churchwardens about the best method of shoring up the roof—a section of which was sagging ominously—we left the church and made our way to the dwelling of the parish priest where a vast table had been erected in the shade of a vine. There we feasted until it was high afternoon: the Lord Agathangellos, the president of the community, the *kapetanios* of the militia, the *papas*, the schoolmaster, Anargyri, the churchwardens, the singers and several officers from the garrison of Nevrokopi who had accompanied us to Dasoto that morning.

796 It was not by any means my first experience of a village festival: a
574 few months earlier I might well have been deceived into thinking that
262 the bowls of eggs, goat's milk cheese, olives, and finely-shredded
273 vegetables soaked in oil and lemon which appeared with the *ouzo* constituted the substance of the feast and not a mere *hors d'oeuvre*. Now I knew better, and I was not surprised when the clearing of the table by the *papadia* and her daughters after forty minutes proved to be no more than a prelude to a banquet of an altogether more serious character.

As the dishes came and went and the dark wine flowed freely, I recalled Dr. Covel's description of another such festival at the great Athonite house of Iveron: "The best monkish fare that could be gotten was provided, excellent fish (severall ways), oyl, salet, beanes, hortechockes, beets . . . chees, onions, garlick, olives, caveor, Pyes of herbs, φακαὶς, κτωπόδι; pepper, salt, saffron in all. At last conserved little oranges, most exquisite, good wine (a sort of small claret), and we alwayes drank most plentifully. . . . He is no Greek that cannot drink twenty or thirty plump glasses at a setting."

[535] After the feast there was dancing, and the sun was low in the west when we drove back to Nevrokopi. The day drew to a close amongst the eikons of those who had finished their course, with those yet in the way of salvation joining with one voice in the ancient canticle, *Hail! Gladdening Light*, to the praise and glory of the Holy Trinity.

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pended in the void, without visible contact with the world which we had revisited the previous afternoon. We returned to the *Igoumenos'* cell and sat and talked around a brazier filled with glowing charcoal, while we waited for the weather to moderate. Father Christopher told us of his own experiences during the troubled years of war; how he had been thrown into prison at Trikkala by the Italians and had escaped by jumping from a window; how several years later he had been carried off by the Communists in company with some 300 men, women and children from Kalambaka, and had been in the mountains for six days before his release; he told us too of the great monastery where he had taken the monastic habit, and of its 366 cells. Father Ambrose joined our little circle and catechised us as to our age, our families, were our parents living, were we married or *agamos*: "Certainly marriage is of God; a soldier from England and a *koritsi* from Piraeus, and God joins them. Truly, this is a great mystery, as says the apostle."

So the morning passed and at midday Father Bessarion reappeared with bean soup and bread for our lunch. By one o'clock the snow had somewhat abated, and since the visibility had increased sufficiently to enable us to see the monastery of Rosani, 500 yards distant, we decided to set out for St. Stephen where we were expected that evening. The *Igoumenos* and Father Ambrose advised us to take the easier, though less direct, path by way of Kalambaka; but being reluctant to add two miles or more to our journey in such weather we insisted on following the path which keeps to the high ground. Father Bessarion accompanied us a little way, and then, since the weather seemed to be improving, he left us after giving us precise directions as to our route.

All went well for a time, despite the fact that the path was entirely obscured beneath the drifting snow, and Rosani (formerly the dwelling of an aged female solitary) gradually faded from our view. Shortly afterwards, however, the mist thickened until visibility was but a few yards, and it was not long before we were in difficulties. For a time we crept along the edge of the abyss, edging our way cautiously across expanses of bare rock scoured by the wind, a thin coating of ice affording none save the most precarious foothold, until it seemed that we must be within a stone's throw of Aghia Trias. Alas! there were no monks left to answer our shouts; no slight thinning of the mist afforded us a momentary glimpse of the encompassing heights such as would have sufficed to give us our bearings. For three hours we wandered in an unfamiliar world until, an hour before dark, the mist lifted somewhat,

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574 and we found ourselves clear of the rocky wilderness, among low hills covered with dwarf oaks, and detected the distant barking of a dog. We struck down the bed of a torrent in the direction of the sound and came, after some forty minutes, upon a fold of muddy sheep guarded by two shepherd-lads, who, startled though they were at our sudden appearance, directed us to the nearby hamlet of Kopraina. In the gathering darkness, and as men with long-barrelled guns converged upon us from all sides, we entered the village, and bursting in upon an astonished assembly in the tavern called for the president. Ten minutes later, elated by several draughts of raw spirits, we were reclining on the presidential hearth, while the maidens of the household unlaced our boots, and our sodden outer garments steamed before a huge fire. The parish priest arrived in breathless haste to welcome the strangers, and the whole village buzzed with the news of our unlooked-for advent.

That night we enjoyed the hospitality of the village president, who had fought with Zervas in the mountains of Epirus, and who slept like a good soldier with a greatcoat for pillow and a loaded rifle beside him on the hearth. Earlier that evening he had told us of the English officer who had once come to the village, during the long years of the occupation, and who had snatched a few hours sleep in that same room where we supped, before slipping away to the mountains at daybreak.
[346] Our own visit to Kopraina was more prolonged: we were taken to see the church, the chapel in the cemetery on the hillside above the village, and the school, where a geography lesson was in progress.

The parish priest excused himself and retired to supervise the preparations which, we gathered, were even then in hand for a festal lunch.
[291] At high noon the *kapetanios* reappeared and led the way to the half-finished parsonage, where we found the parish priest drawing water from the well, his flocks and herds all about him, while his two sturdy daughters laboured excitedly in the kitchen and clattered to and fro in their wooden shoes. "*Kalos orisete*, welcome!" exclaimed Father Apostolos, setting down his bucket in great haste and rubbing his hands on the skirt of his cassock; "Come, all is ready, let us eat! Some wine,
[352] O *Papadia!*" He led the way indoors and we took our places at the festal board—a section sawn from the trunk of a great oak. It was a merry gathering, and as we feasted in this country parsonage and the children listened wide-eyed to our tales of the strange and marvellous ways of the Franks, that other world from which we had so lately descended took on a curious, dream-like quality. It was hard to realise

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that before nightfall we should be back on the windswept heights above Kalambaka and amongst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. 574

A little before three o'clock Father Apostolos and the village president bade us *kalo taxeidi*, after accompanying us as far as the outskirts of the village, and we set out for Aghios Stephanos with a guide. The sun had vanished beneath the jagged rim of Pindos when we at last worked our way gingerly across the icy rocks above the deserted monastery of the Holy Trinity and came suddenly upon Aghios Stephanos, four-square upon its rock like the heavenly Jerusalem, and found the whole of Thessaly lying at our feet. 792 346

Vespers was drawing to a close in the church of St. Charalambos, which stands so close to the brink of the precipice that one could, it seemed, empty the contents of a thurible into Father Christos' chicken-run below in Kalambaka. We spent two nights at this monastery before setting out for the mountain villages of Pindos, and I returned alone for a final visit some ten days later.

Of all the monasteries now inhabited St. Stephen had, it seemed evident, sustained far the greatest calamities as the result of war. Sacked first by the Italians and later by the Communists, it was a mere shell of a building, its unglazed windows affording little protection—as we learned by bitter experience—against wind or snow. Its former guest-rooms were crammed with wrecked furniture and empty ammunition boxes, while the eikons in the smaller of the two churches (the chapel dedicated to St. Stephen) had been wantonly defaced. Almost everything of value had been carried off when the monastery was pillaged: vestments and plate, an ancient gold cross from Mount Athos, five horses and mules, 130 sheep, provisions and fodder, beds and bedding, pots and pans, crockery and cutlery, carpets, even the bee hives, and—needless to add—the excellent wine for which the monastery was renowned in former days. The few surviving monks lacked the barest necessities of life and it was hardly surprising that sickness should have taken a heavy toll of this and the other communities during the winter months. The *Igoumenos* of St. Stephen's was the Deacon Anthimos, who came to the Meteora between the wars from the great Athonite house of Vatopedi—"a good house and garden . . . snakes very big and long in it", notes Dr. Covel. There were also living at St. Stephen three simple monks—lay-brothers, as they would be called in the west—Ephrem, who had been a monk for twenty years, Eusebius, who was formerly a policeman, and Cyril. Whilst we were staying at the 792 727 346 792

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491 snows, westwards towards Metsovo and Epirus. To the southward a few paths—impassable save on foot during the winter months—gave access to Kalambaka and the plains of Thessaly.

793 After paying my respects to the colonel in command of the garrison I plunged afresh into the inland sea and struck out for the metropolis: a simple cottage where the Bishop rented a couple of rooms. The Lord Theokletos—a monumental figure in an ungirt robe of indigo—looked [785] strangely out of place in such a setting. The Friday fast was waived out of regard to the presence of a traveller, and when we had eaten the [574] Metropolitan told me something of the state of his diocese. It was a gloomy picture that he outlined.

722 Owing to the remoteness of the district and its poor communications 793 almost every village had been abandoned by its inhabitants from 1947 till the summer of 1949. Grevena itself, a comopolis with a pre-war 727 population in the region of 3,500, had, for more than two years, sheltered five times that number of refugees. During the past six months it had been possible for the people to return to certain villages situated in the northern part of the diocese, but there were reputed to be more than 2,000 families still living in the great refugee camp on the southern fringes of the town, and sixty-four of the diocese's ninety-six villages were still, after three years, uninhabited. Many of the fugitives had fled southwards to Kalambaka, Trikkala and Larissa; others had sought refuge in Kozani.

The refugees had included seventy-five parish priests, only sixteen of whom had as yet been able to return to their villages. Two priests had been done to death by the Germans; three others, as well as three monks, murdered by the Communists. As recently as October, 1949, the solitary occupant of the monastery of St. Athanasius, close to the village of Trikomon, had returned home after two years' exile, despite the advice of the Bishop and others who counselled him to wait two or three months longer, only to be brutally murdered within the space of a [798] few days. It was when matters were at their worst that the Bishop formed his clerical militia and drilled his venerable warriors in the square where stands the monument to his predecessor in the see of Grevena, the Metropolitan Aimilianos, who had suffered death at the hands of the Turks in 1911 and is revered in this region as a martyr. This redoubtable force had never been called upon to take the field against the Accursed of God, but, said the Lord Theokletos, it had served as an example.

As to the destruction of churches, it seemed that some months must

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722 windows had been blocked with masonry and stones, and the church,
712 thus barricaded and surrounded by an elaborate system of trenches,
346 pill-boxes and barbed wire defences, transformed into a citadel. Here
669 the greater part of the population had taken refuge while the militia, with a stiffening of gendarmerie, had fought off an assault on the village which raged for a night and a day on May 8th-9th, 1948. The fabric had suffered extensive damage from mortar and machine-gun fire, but the Communists had eventually been driven off. Earlier, the village had suffered grievously at the hands of the Germans. Though the church had been spared, the school and a large proportion of the houses had been destroyed. The school was now flourishing in a large nissen hut: formerly it had been housed in the nave of the church.

• 574 On Sunday morning there was great scrubbing and polishing of muddy boots, and at half-past eight I ventured forth, looking as spruce as three weeks of sleeping in my clothes would permit, in company with the *proedros*. The latter was anxious not to be too early at church, and, since the second bell had not yet sounded, we went first to inspect the new school. After smoking a cigarette with the *didaskalos* we proceeded to the church at the third bell, followed by all the children of the village. [537] When the liturgy was ended the president climbed with great dignity to the top of one of the pill-boxes and made an impassioned oration welcoming the representative of Greece's great and traditional ally to their gallant and Christ-loving village, and dwelling at some length on the ties which, despite the infernal machinations of the Accursed of God, would surely bind together for all ages the Hellenic and British nations. The said representative thereupon made a brief, but it is to be hoped fitting, reply to this masterpiece of presidential rhetoric, and the whole company drifted away in high good humour to sip cognac and discuss the latest news which had arrived from Kozani.

After a visit to the family of a young theologian from Salonica I went to feast, first with the president and then—at the dictates of charity rather than of appetite—with the parish priest also. The influence of [794] the Kozani seminary had made itself felt in this village, and the catechetical school was in full swing as I passed the new school-house on my way to the parsonage. There the wine that makes glad the heart of man flowed freely, and it was a drowsy traveller who rode across the hills to the neighbouring village of Kivotos later that afternoon. Communications having proved unreliable, I was constrained to accept the hospitality of one of the churchwardens. Shortly before noon the

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following day I rode into Vatolakkos with an escort of six militiamen and fell straight into the hands of the parish priest, who was sunning himself on a bench outside the gendarmerie station. This *papas* was a graduate of the Kozani seminary; his father had been a priest in Smyrna (like Kivotos, this was a refugee village). He spoke with pride of the catechetical school which had been flourishing in the village since the previous autumn.

Vatolakkos, like Aghios Georgios, had never been abandoned by its inhabitants. Owing to its important position—astride the main road from Grevena to Kozani—it had been strongly garrisoned throughout the troubles, and had offered sanctuary to the fugitives from no less than ten neighbouring communities, despite the fact that the greater number of the houses had been destroyed in the German advance of 1941—there were bomb craters all along the road from Kivotos southward. The parish priest had sheltered five refugee families in his house for more than two years. The church, which had never been completed, had, according to the Bishop's report, been pillaged by the Germans. It had moreover been damaged by mortar fire during an attack on the village by the Communists. A new school had just been opened to take the place of the one destroyed by the Germans.

From Vatolakkos I succeeded in telephoning to army headquarters at Grevena, and shortly after three o'clock I was picked up by my friend from Iannina. After attending the evensong of the refugee clergy, in company with the Bishop's deacon, and a long talk with the fugitive *ephemerioi* of Spelaion and Kosmati, I paid a final visit to the metropolis. The Bishop was unwell: he had been ill for some time past, and I took my leave early. Some months later, after a letter enclosing photographs of the ruined churches of the diocese had remained long unanswered, I saw from a notice in *Ekklesia* that the Lord Theokletos had passed to his rest.

Like Father Ioakeim, his deacon, he was a native of the Piraeus and had laboured there for thirty-three years as vicar of the parish of St. Constantine before being called to take charge of the see of Grevena in the third year of the occupation. The state of the diocese even in those days was serious enough, and had the new *despotes* been able to foresee the full extent of the catastrophe which was to overwhelm the widely scattered communities committed to his charge within the space of another five years, he might understandably have shrunk from the heavy burden of responsibility that he was called to bear.

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[p. ix]
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the willingness of literally hundreds of people in Greece to answer questions and search their records on my behalf, this little book could not have been written. The warmth and extravagant hospitality with which Greeks of every rank and station receive a stranger is, indeed, a source of never ending surprise to one accustomed to the atmosphere of an American city, and I wish hereby to thank all those, both friends and casual acquaintances, who thus contributed to my knowledge and understanding of the Greek scene. 123 [574] [609]

More particularly, I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of busy officials of the Greek government who took time to talk with me, and more than once set wheels in motion to provide statistics and other special information I requested of them. In Salonika, Mr. Orphanides of the Agricultural Bank, and in Athens Mr. Leviratos of the Ministry of Coordination and Mr. Liakis of the National Statistical Services were especially helpful. 115

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[Town Life]

369 437 609 [571] Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occasionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 463 555 871 461 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharpness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual occupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which could only perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these attitudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong. [178]

471 554 461 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more general social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will

[427]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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Boeotia

or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback through the countryside should come into the village on a day when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example, would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is *perástikó sas* which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

757 758 [759] 758 574 [576] 758 [513]

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer, several alternatives are possible. Some member of the household may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is accompanied by at least one member of his household and frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

757 758 [494] [844]

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifications of the physicians lead one to expect normal American hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limitations of space and of an untrained staff.

743 759 [874] 743 758

But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it. 743 758 [513]

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words. [846] [844]

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women. [422] [583]

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in 758 571 156 743 [574]

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital. [744]

[p 25 B]

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation, which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional customs handed down from generation to generation provide both group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the ceremonial feast. When a member of the family gets married the whole village participated with their musical instruments. The marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male person is observed more than the female name day.

517 [526] [846] [851] [585] [527] [562]

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the United States. After the church service the people gather around the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

796 628 574 [535]

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place. This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry. The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

796 574 [735] [252]

/34 cont./
wishers. People are formed into groups and visit every house where the table is set in the center of the main room with different drinks, colored eggs and good food. The groups crack /p. 35 skipped in original numbering/ /36/ an egg and wish the hostess saying, "Christ is risen", and the house owner answers, "Truly he is risen". 796 574

Children run through the streets dressed in their new clothes and carry colored eggs and candies. These are the days when the houses are open to every one. The recreation that these three days offer to these people is far greater than all the rest of the holidays of the year. For the Orthodox church the birth of Christ does not have so much importance as the resurrection of Christ which shows the Athanasia of the spirit. [779]

At this time of the year everything takes life in nature, too. The almond trees, the cherry trees, the pear trees are in blossom. The fields are green and nature takes the appearance of living again. All these combined leave an unresistable influence upon every person. Through such recreation which is a part of their religion, the people forgive each other and old hatreds give way to renewed friendship and forgiveness. It is surprising to note how much influence these holidays have in the lives of the people that live together. The spirit of hospitality, the spirit of giving to those that do not have, the spirit of taking active part in village movements and the blind obedience to the orders of the higher rank, are a result of these traditionally influenced holidays that are represented by different Saints. Recreation is thus closely associated with the /37/ religious holidays. 796 571 182 517

Play of Children. Whether at school or outside of school the children do not have organized recreation. At the school the weekly exercises which are more or less military are given by the teacher. The children have two recess periods of ten minutes each from 8-12. At these periods they devise their own play. At home the child has no time for play. He or she will graze the oxen or weed the garden and fields, sweep the yard and help in housework. While very young the children are taught to work and 857 [872]

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading news- 517
papers, chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack [574]
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [484]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [178]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of com-
munity organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, [437]
wheat, oats, barley, chickpea, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned [435]
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they [492]
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [437]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different com-
modities. For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use [436]
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than any-
thing else.

On the upper floor, this open space between the rooms constitutes a kind of ancient «ἐξέδρα» (a recess) or spacious «sofa», whose floor is slightly higher than the remaining floor, and is used, especially in the 342x [574]

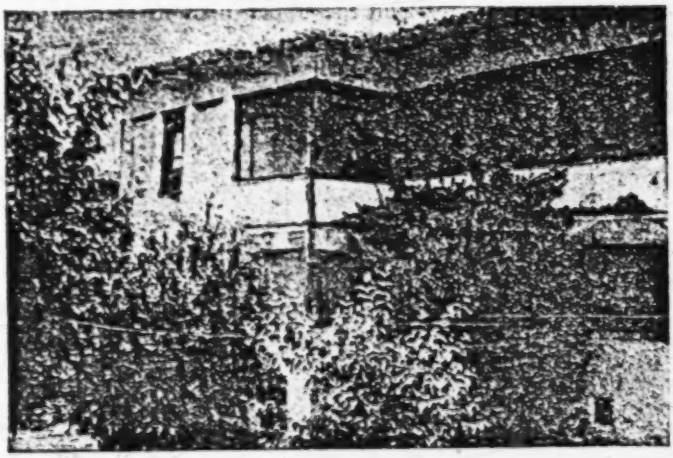

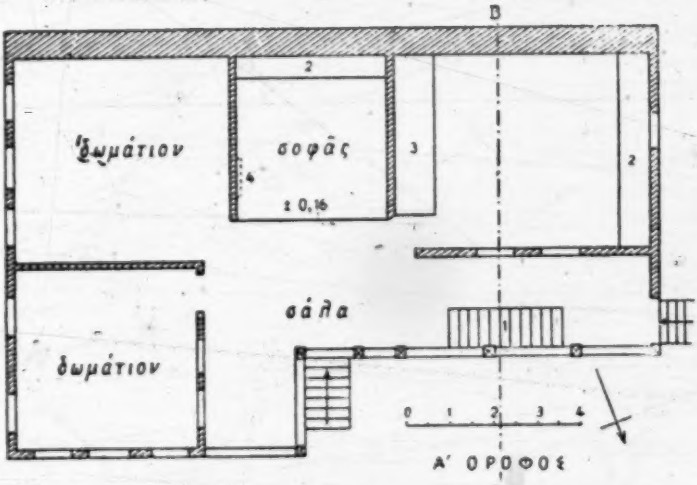

Fig. 21 House with a « sofa » between the rooms and a portico in front of them at Tyrnavos, in Thessaly

(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκίαι, fig. 62)

×342 summer months, for the relaxation of the family or for reception of guests during holidays (1) (fig. 21, Plate V 3, 3a, etc).

●[574] This great evolution and variety of forms of Greek houses is, however, due to the different formation which one of the house's first elements, the προστῷον, took on the upper floor in certain urban or

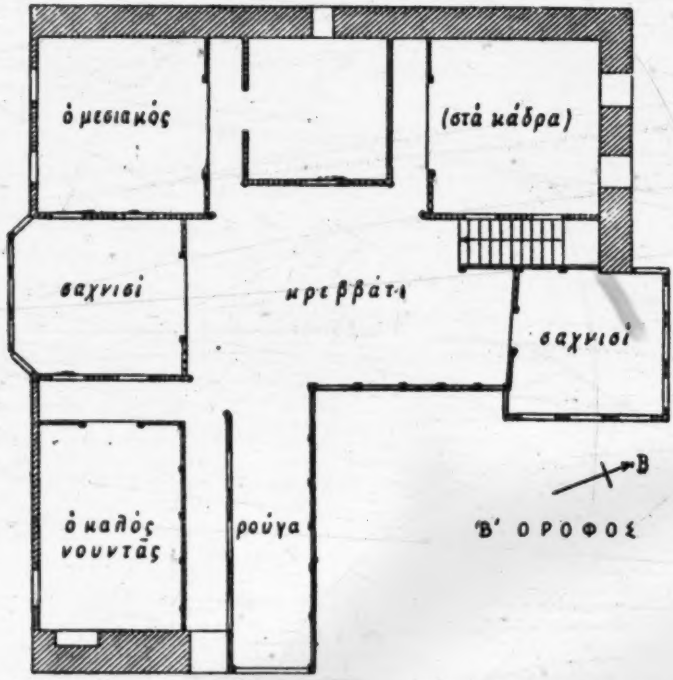

Fig. 22 The upper floor in the house of D. Sfortzos at Ambelakia
(G. Megas, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκίαι, fig. 81a)
κρεββάτι (crevati) — veranda ρούγα (ruga) = coridor σαχνισί (sahnisi) — sofa

semi-urban centres of Northern Greece, for climatic, historical or cultural reasons.

That is, in areas where the climate is mild and where the orientation of the house is more favorable, such as on the slopes of

1) See **G. Megas**, ibid. p. 68 figg. 60, 62, 63, 66, 67. Cf. the «platform» of the Hellenistic houses of Priene and Delos. **Chr. Tsountas** Ἱστορία Ἑλληνικῆς Τέχνης pp. 389, 482.

is not only elevated from the rest of the floor, but is separated from it by a wooden fence made of beautifully turned bars and by slender pillars connected at their top by a light arc. This «sofa» usually extends slightly over the exterior wall of the building and often takes the form of a beautiful octagonal kiosk, giving a view on the street and used as a special living space or as a drawing room for the reception of guests during holidays, (Figg. 22, 25 Plate V 5b, 6a b c). With their decoration of carved wood and drawings the sofas and the «good rooms» give the house an accent of ease and urban comfort (1). 342x 353 [574]

Thus by various intermediate stages, we arrive from the rural house to the urban house, which combines practical with aesthetic and sanitary purposes. Such developed forms of houses are the noble houses of the urban centres of Epirus, Thessaly and Western Macedonia, dating from the 18th century, which are the result of the economic and spiritual prosperity of that period and constitute treasures of an unparalleled Greek art as regards harmony and decorative wealth. 342x

2. FLAT-ROOFED HOUSES

The visitor to the Aegean Islands, as well as to the islands of Crete and Cyprus, keeps a very pleasant impression from the view of the houses there. The island houses, with their cubic forms, beautiful arches and their white, plain appearence, are pleasing to the eye, and much more so because not one among them appears to make an effort of surpassing the others in height or size.

The main characteristic of these island houses is the flat roof, called δῶμα. This is made of overlaid layers of insulating material (seaweeds, clay etc.) spread to a thickness of 20—25 cm. over the horizontal beams and the reeds or thorny bushes that fill up the gaps between the beams of the roof (2). (See figg. in p. 36). In some islands of the Cyclades (Kimolos, Thera, Antiparos) the houses do not belong to

1) See **G. Megas** op. cit. p. 97. **Angh. Hagimihali,** L'art populaire grec 1937 pp. 9 foll. Pl. 62-66.

2) The fact that in the Byzantine years the use of flat roofs was current can be seen from the following extract of Eustathios of Thessaloniki (Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς Ὁμήρου Ὀδύσσειαν κ 559) «πίπτει ὁ Ἑλπήνωρ διὰ τὸ τὰ δώματα μὴ κεραμωτὰ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὁποῖα καὶ νῦν ὡς εἰκὸς μυριαχοῦ, ὧν ταῖς δοκοῖς γῆ ἐπαμᾶται, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὴν στέγην χρήσιμον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι». **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Οἰκίαν (Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρ. Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 12, 98).

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
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of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after [461] one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then [369] stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal.

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 261 855 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such [369] things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread.

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423] [427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

575 [474] For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

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Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

621 182 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 578 665 669 182 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

life, as well as individual life, has its evaluative mechanisms which are brought into play in problem solving. The local institutions, described so fully in previous chapters, either have certain kinds of problems which they are supposed to treat, or the institutional leaders are sometimes called in to help deal with situations too grave for any single institution to handle. Again, the sense of community which a Greek villager develops is based in part not only upon sharing with others the activities which these institutions perpetuate, but also in knowing that he and his family are dependent upon them for meeting many of life's basic needs and aspirations. 621 182

The introduction of formal organizations into the Greek village, although they may accomplish certain specific goals, can also have the net effect of introducing new cleavages. The local institutions as described have been inclusive in that almost everyone in the village who wanted to could participate in them, with some allowances made for sex and age differences. But organizations bring in the idea of members and nonmembers. Some belong; others do not. Where membership is interpreted as signifying that the member is superior to or better than the nonmember, it causes resentment within that village where organizations are relatively new and not much appreciated. This may even run counter to the local value system. Yet experience in other societies, and even in the urban sectors of Greek society, has shown that economic development — which many peasants ardently desire — is based on specialization. This, in turn, is promoted by organizations which encourage and sustain this specialization. Society, even in the village, becomes more heterogeneous as the level of living rises, as the number of alternative choices (occupational, recreational, and such) increase, and as greater reliance is placed upon the individual. 575 621 182

Therefore, in understanding the traditional sense of community one must see the countervailing tendency to organize along specialized lines and to promote individual rather than community interests. In an industrialized society this means that a new kind of solidarity, based on functional interdependence, replaces that solidarity based on homogeneity and a common view of world and work.[7] Very often in the shift from the traditional to the more complex type, individuals and communities experience disorganization which, in time, leads to a reorganization better adapted to new needs. Closely related to the degree and type of disorganization is the system of social control and how it operates.

Social control. In Greece, as elsewhere, the most effective social controls are built into the personality structure of a person as he grows up. He learns what his society considers to be morally right and wrong and, if "well brought up," does not question these standards and, more often than not, abides by them; he also learns what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior at given times and places; he knows, too, that in a particular situation some people (say, the oldest men present) behave differently from 577 626

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The people speak against the person.

If a woman gossips, people ignore her.

If a man drinks too much, they beat him.

People give advice, for there are usually two or three older people who have the role of advisers and to whom people turn.

Sometimes the solution is by means of knives.

The village people threaten the person who does not conform and may drive him out of the village.

They may take the person to church and make him say special prayers.

They may take revenge on the person by injuring his animals, or by burning his house if his conduct is too much of a threat to the rest.

This last item illustrates that at times the people can behave cruelly to other villagers who threaten the safety, morality, or even reputation of the village. Individuals as individuals seek personal revenge, but much of the time such an action is collective, discussed by several leaders in advance, and carried out with dispatch by a group. [627]

Apparently, living in a Greek village is a great deal like living in a goldfish bowl. One writer comments of his village:

> Here in our village one has no secrets from the others. Someone asks about something and we reply. Even if we want to hide something we cannot. Everybody knows about it. . . . We say: "The whole world announces it with drums, while we think it's a secret." [9]

But the sense of community grows not only out of the acceptance of the same "thou shalt nots" but also is related to the systems of rewards held out by the community to those who conform. This is the positive side of social control. To have the esteem of the villagers is to enhance one's own self-esteem, to win an election because others think well of you, to be sought out when others need advice, to have your sons or daughters considered as good "catches" for marriage, all indicate that one has conformed to the code of accepted behavior. It may also mean that one has used individual initiative in behalf of the community when situations arose for which the code gave no specific prescription.

One villager summarized the sense of community well when he pointed out that people were loyal to their village because they lived there and their interests were connected with it, adding, "one is loyal to whatever is close to one's birth certificate and death certificate." 621

Although the life of the villager centers in most details upon the settlement where he lives, his range of interests may go far beyond it. True enough, he is apt to be loyal to his village; but he is also loyal to his region. Those who come from Arcadia, whether they are residing in Athens or in 619 [575]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

619 the United States, feel a close bond with the others who come from Arcadia. [575] They form societies to continue this association and to give an opportunity to dance and sing the folk arts of that region.

A Greek villager is, moreover, a Greek. Villages can be uprooted and destroyed, their families dispersed, but Greece goes on as a living spirit and as a mighty cultural heritage. The fact that so many Greek families have [602] relatives living in other parts of the country, including Athens, means that they keep in fairly close touch with the body politic. They are not merely dependent upon what some village notable or visiting politician tells them; they can hear directly from their relatives just what the state of affairs really [203] is. This means that kinship plays a part in the communication network on which the national community rests. In conclusion, it is important to look 178 briefly at the role of the villager in the total society, taking our eyes from the village scene and viewing the larger picture. This is necessary if one 619 is to understand the Greek village of the next few years — the one which is emerging — because the changes being introduced come for the most part from outside the village. They are promoted to a considerable degree by national authorities or impersonal forces over which the peasants have relatively little control.

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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. 178 179 [1267]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. 184 179 369 [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed. 184 186 [487]

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not 184 369 805

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hands moved busily to fill more sacks as the afternoon wore on. At five o'clock, when it was getting chilly once more with the setting of the sun, the girls would collect their brightly colored jackets and bundles from a tree where they hung and move down toward the mill to wait for next day's instructions and, incidentally, to have a further chat with friends. 245 461 [521]

"How many sacks did you fill today?"

"Oh, Maria and I picked 70 okas," which we learned was a fair average for medium-sized olives for two pickers.

"Yes, you picked larger olives today but we had to pick the small ones. That's why we got only 40 okas."

After hearing about the work for the following day the girls formed in groups and headed back home for a well-earned rest. This daily round lasts well into January in Southern Greece, with February being the end of the harvest farther north.

When the day's harvesting is done, the focus of attention shifts to the mill. Somewhat against their will, the men who have been working in the warm air inside are asked to go out and gather the sacks the girls have left under the trees. These are tied onto pack animals and brought into the mill, each sack having been identified by the girl filling it as to whether its olives were from the tree or from the ground. 245 258 461 [492]

The peasants, whose womenfolk have been harvesting their own trees during the day, bring their olives to the mill, weigh them in, empty the bags into the place allotted each person, and then hang around for a chat with the mill workers and with the other peasants who show up. Here the day's news is exchanged to the accompaniment of barking dogs, the noisy impatience of donkeys and horses, and the cries of a small child perched precariously on a wooden saddle which formerly had been carrying the bags of olives. If the men in the mill have stopped for their evening meal, the peasant may have a drink with them. Eventually he will ask: "When do you think you'll get to my batch of olives?" [521] [273] [264]

"About one o'clock tomorrow, for we have some real ripe olives that Panagiotes just brought in which must be pressed before they turn rancid. Hey, Panagiotes, why didn't you bring these olives two days ago? They are already beginning to turn." In reply to the foreman, now running the mill instead of directing the work of the girls, Panagiotes gives some lame excuse about having to use his donkey to do some other kind of work, but agrees to be more careful in the days ahead.

The peasant who learns that his olives will have been pressed by one o'clock on the next day will probably arrive about noon and wait; he does not consider it good etiquette for him to watch the olives go through the various stages: the grinding into pulp by the big millstone, the putting of the pulp into the goat hair or jute "folders," the pressing of these folders under 150 pounds of pressure, the pulling out of the folders and their re- 258 576

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance. "No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil," which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged
[245] in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned. Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said, "If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive 2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition, their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not
511 so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing, many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware. What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices, and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 787 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 834 576 593 [492] [626] Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings. Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

[312] [482] [626] It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

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562 593 521 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only occasionally with her husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece
[591] at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions force-
571 fully expressed.

A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis: ½

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
●576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed
561 to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his convivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

½ [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 137–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

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Vasilika

245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
574 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and
574 strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

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Vasilika's inhabitants and some of the congruent attitudes. The householders of Vasilika take it for granted that they will use part of their produce, in kind or in cash, to pay for the services of various specialists. They rarely make repairs on their houses or on their equipment; they rarely make shelves or simple pieces of furniture. In short, they do not have the habit of pottering and tinkering about the farms either from necessity or because they enjoy it. Vasilika's farmers and shepherds consider themselves specialists; they view themselves with pride as experts in farming and sheepherding, and assign the same dignity to the expertness of others. To say of a man, *"Kseri ti dhulya tu,"* "He knows his work," is a compliment, and the villagers use the phrase often. They do not expect a man to know how to do anyone else's work. One specialty is considered enough. 463 [445] [465] [356] [576] 463

Such a point of view means that a farmer, if his saddle strap breaks, does without a saddle or borrows someone else's until the saddle-maker comes by, even if it means several weeks of inconvenience. In one of Vasilika's households, the stone wall of one side of an oven was accidentally broken by a tractor plow one day in April of 1956. At the end of July, the wall had still not been repaired —even temporarily—because the stonemason with whom the farmer was accustomed to deal had not yet had time to come to fix it. In the meantime, the women baked their bread in a neighbor's oven. We learned later that the entire oven was finally rebuilt in the spring of the next year. 445 356

When a farmer wants to cover his earth floor with cement, or when he wants the walls of his house whitewashed for Easter, he often pays to have these jobs done by a "master." On one occasion, a stonemason was persuaded to put screens on the windows of the house we lived in, but he went to a carpenter to have wooden frame pieces cut to the proper length. A final illustration indicates not only the existence of this point of view, but also the way in which those in Vasilika might greet a different one. The village house in which we lived had several broken windowpanes when we moved into it. Since the winter rains were due, we thought it imperative to get new glass in. My husband went to Levadhia, purchased glass and putty, and replaced the broken panes. The farmer who owned the house watched my husband work. He kept making the sign of the cross and repeated again and again in awed tones, "A professor who is also a master glazier!" The farmer himself had never thought of repairing his own windows, and for anyone in as exalted a position, from Vasilika's point of view, as that of "professor," to make such a repair had for the farmer a touch of the quality of a miracle. [123]

With the increasing use of machinery on the farms, the villagers may be forced into learning mechanical skills; but the emerging pattern seems to be one in which the tractor operators and a village man who learned mechanics in the Greek Air Force have enough skill to make minor repairs and are called on by other farmers when they need help with their pumps. Major repairs must still await a mechanic from Levadhia. For the Vasilika farmers, however, the inconvenience of having to wait for expert personnel to repair machinery is not a source of special irritation. American farmers, who have been accustomed to acting as their own mechanics, are now beginning to deal with machinery so complex as to require expert repairs. Such dependence is new and annoying for 445 463

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521 156 828 571 methods is to ask the same questions in different ways at different times, and an outsider is often struck by the persistence with which such questioning on the same issue is carried on over many months. Not to succeed in gathering a choice bit of knowledge is no disgrace—the villagers keep trying and every man stays on the alert to guard his secrets.

521 156 571 There are some kinds of verbal communication that are outside the realm of agonistic relationships and in a sense provide a respite from them. These are the ritual phrases, which constitute proper responses to frequently recurring common life situations.

576 Village manners require the use of a wide variety of greetings at meeting and at parting. In addition to these, there are a large number of appropriate set phrases for life crisis situations, large and small. For example, one says *"Kali eleftherya,"* "Good deliverance," to a pregnant woman, "May they live for you" to a parent showing you a picture of his children, "May it pass for you" to an ill person or to any member of his family, "To your health" to a person wearing new clothes, and so on. "Many years" is the wish expressed to everyone on saints' days. This list is far from complete, but illustrates the point that although the phrases are formulaic and are most often used without conscious awareness of their literal meanings, they are apotropaic in feeling. In other words, the villagers have a vague sense that the phrases, which are good wishes, may succeed in warding off evil. Certainly the formulas also serve as an immediate expression of the good intentions of the speaker toward another in a potentially stressful situation.

Transmission of Values

156 828 867 Some of the weapons used in agonistic relationships in the village and some of the processes by which children acquire the necessary skills to use them have been considered. It remains to complete the discussion of the kinds of values and attitudes inculcated in children and to show the relationship of all the foregoing to the question: Who are the actors in the contests of Vasilika, and what are the social alignments which form the structural base of these human relationships in the village?

156 828 867 858 152 If, as we have seen, obedience to elders is not a virtue which parents stress to regulate the behavior of children, and if affection is interspersed with ridicule so that children cannot depend completely on the parents' support, by what mechanism do the villagers' children acquire the prevailing standards of behavior? It has already been suggested that the villagers act as if they believed that human beings, by virtue of their humanity, have brains. It may now be added that they also believe that inherent in every child is a sense of integrity which, in English, is best translated as shame. Parents do not feel that they have to implant these traits in their children but expect to bring them to the surface and to put to use qualities which the child already has within himself.[2] Each child is believed to have rudimentary intelligence which will develop into rational

[2] I am indebted to Popie Mohring for this phrasing.

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is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighora"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [567] 594 595

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562] different from each other for that.

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000 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and
562 women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in
521 the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves,
829 women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the
[834] village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the
[576] kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi-
[594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of
[577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear,
[828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but
[834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working
[594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in
593 the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

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nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios*!" 178 197

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language in which they were written. 178 793 795 178 788 795 198

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the triumphant *Christos anesti*! Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is risen*! As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they 178 788 795 178 795 576

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

178 795 576 Embrace one another, and join mutually the side of the Mouth or Cheek to the other . . . and since the Resurrection of Christ is the Miracle of Miracles, and the main Pillar of our Christian Faith and Hope, I am much perswaded that this might be the very manner and way of giving the Holy Kiss amongst the Primitive Christians."

178 795 788 [771] Nor is all this a matter of mere outward forms. Through all the vicissitudes of her history the Greek Church has been enabled to preserve something of the very spirit of the first age of Christianity. Her liturgy still enshrines that element of sheer joy in the resurrection of the Lord that we find in so many of the early Christian writings. The spirit of the ancient fathers of the Church lives on in the liturgy and in the piety of the ordinary Greek Christian. To enter into the spirit of the eastern liturgies is to comprehend as is possible in no other way the characteristic notes of Orthodox spirituality.

This is true above all of the liturgy of Holy Week and Eastertide; here one is perhaps most acutely conscious of the revolution that has been wrought in post-mediaeval western piety. It is a far cry from the Byzantine liturgy of the holy passion to that preoccupation with the sufferings of Christ with which we are familiar. Even in the darkness of the holy and great Friday the note of joy is sounded; the narrative of the passion is interspersed with the divine praises: it is the record of the triumph of the King, and Christ the Victor reigns in royal purple from His throne on Calvary.

[539]

To-day is hanged upon the Tree
He who hanged the earth free in the midst of the waters.
A crown of thorns crowns Him who is King of the angels.
He who wraps the heavens in clouds
    is wrapt about with the purple of mockery;
He who freed Adam in Jordan
    is smote with hands;
He who is the Bridegroom of the Church
    is transfixed with nails;
He who is the Son of the Virgin
    is pierced with a spear.
We worship Thy Passion, O Christ;
Show us also Thy glorious Resurrection!

[771] It is because her life is rooted so completely in the liturgy that the

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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

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793 garrison, it makes no difference—bow to kiss the hand of their father
[576] in God and greet him with the word *proskyno*, 'I worship': with that same *proskynesis* which is offered to the eikons of the saints, and which is not to be confounded with the *latreia* which we accord to the Three Persons of the consubstantial Trinity alone.

For the Greek bishop is not merely 'the Despot'. He is moreover 'the Saint'. Thus, one may frequently hear the country people refer to their metropolitan as ὁ ἅγιος Ἐδέσσης, ὁ ἅγιος Ἐλευθερουπόλεως, 'the Saint of Edessa, the Saint of Eleftheroupolis', etc., in recognition of the objective sanctity which attaches to the episcopal office, quite independently of the moral character of him who occupies it. If the bishop is the despot, tracing his ancestry back to those local potentates who flourished during the last days of the Byzantine Empire, he is also the successor of the apostles, the bearer of more than temporal power; binding and loosing and wielding an anathema which can arrest the normal processes of dissolution to which the body is subject after death; a father in God to whom the humblest member of his scattered flock can turn in need or perplexity, for ghostly counsel or for material aid.

For all the dignity attaching to his high office the Greek bishop is commonly the most approachable of men; the sheer accessibility of the generality of the bishops of the country dioceses is a matter for wonder and rejoicing in a world fallen beneath the curse of an impersonal
[794] and irresponsible bureaucracy. Every morning, his liturgy fulfilled, the metropolitan takes his seat in his office and all the world comes to see him: Papa Iannis, who needs a new cassock, and Papa Athanasi who wants to go to the recently established seminary, although he forsook the scholars' bench to look after his father's sheep while he was yet in the second class of his village school; an elderly widow whose son requires medical attention comes to ask for help from the Fund for the Poor.

[438] Go almost any forenoon to the metropolis at Salonica, a few yards from the windy quays where gaily painted caiques discharge their cargoes of charcoal and resinated wine, timber from the slopes of Athos, and lemons and pottery from the islands of the Aegean, and observe the crowds who throng the steps awaiting an opportunity to dart into the office of 'the Saint of Myra', who sits at his desk beneath an eikon of the Pantocrator, questioning, counselling, reproving and writing letters of commendation, while a stalwart archimandrite leans against the door with outstretched arm to keep the multitude without at bay.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

THE ORGANIC BODY

Dr. Holland, who was travelling about Greece in the year of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, relates that when he visited the Archbishop of Larissa the metropolis was filled, both in the morning and also after dinner, with people approaching the Archbishop, either as petitioners or to obtain an adjustment of differences; and describes how "on entering the apartment, each person knelt before him, kissed his hand, and frequently after rising repeated this ceremony a second time". The Archbishop's manner, in fulfilling this part of his pastoral office, was, he says, "mild and ingratiating, without any loss of dignity proper to his station". 793 [576]

The bishop, though he must be unmarried, need never have lived as a member of a religious community in the technical sense. The great majority of the Greek metropolitans are chosen from the archimandrites attached, in one capacity or another, to episcopal households. The title of archimandrite was originally confined to the superior of a monastery—the literal meaning of the word is 'ruler of a fold' (*mandra*)—nowadays, however, it is commonly conferred upon any priest-theologian. The Greek archimandrite is almost invariably a graduate either of the theological faculty of the University of Athens or of the Academy at Halki (the theological school at Salonica has been in existence only a few years). He may have taken the monastic habit on Mount Athos, or elsewhere, when scarcely more than a boy, and, showing promise of more than the average ability, have been sent to the university by his monastic superiors as a young deacon. Alternatively, he may have come to the theological faculty after completing the ordinary course at a *gymnasium* or hieratic school, in which case he will not, in all probability, be ordained deacon until he has finished his studies. 793 792 [874]

After taking his degree he will normally pass to the household of a bishop, whom he will serve either as personal deacon or as chaplain and *hierokryx* of the metropolis. He will doubtless become an archimandrite and will be addressed not merely as 'Reverend Sir' but as 'Altogether-most-blessed'! (*Panosiologiotate!*) In due course he may be called to take charge of a large parish in Athens, to undertake administrative work of some kind, or to serve as a secretary to the Holy Synod. It is from this category of the clergy that most of the bishops are chosen —though a monk may be summoned from his community to be consecrated, and an unmarried lay theologian or professor is also eligible for election to the episcopate. 793

A small minority of the present metropolitans of the Church of [874]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sit- 275
ting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in [275]
a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [576]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really pro- [521]
vides the village women with a meeting place where they may [794]
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback through the countryside should come into the village on a day when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example, would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is *perástiká sas* which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer, several alternatives are possible. Some member of the household may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is accompanied by at least one member of his household and frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifications of the physicians lead one to expect normal American hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limitations of space and of an untrained staff.

But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 457 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we 443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get [577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 178 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The [494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the [804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly. [438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer [735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 156]

[VIII]

Courtship and Marriage

177 A young woman, who had grown up in the traditionally sheltered way
834 in a Greek village, after spending several months in an American university,
581 made these comments:

593 The father here in America is like a brother instead of a father.

I like the way the American mother reasons with the children and doesn't order them around.

In Greece you never tell anybody about your boy friend — not even your parents. Over here people talk about private matters. If you should do so in Greece, your parents would throw you out of the house.

In Greece we marry for love; in America you love without marrying.

831 One may question the last statement as far as the Greek villager's marry-
834 ing for love is concerned; but there is no question about the Greeks' stress
593 upon keeping the boys and girls apart until they are married. The honor,
[581] or chastity, of the bride is a value of great importance, and any breach of the sex mores may have dire social consequences. To be sure, there are violations of this taboo and in many areas a gradual erosion of the rigid enforcement, but in rural Greece one can count upon parents and brothers
[577] actively to try to safeguard a young woman's honor. This is even institutionalized in what is called *e time tou adelphou* (the honor of the brother),

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyma, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

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Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo*, or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

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> Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*. . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.[8]

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Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. . . .

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One may well ask how this trait of self-esteem is related to a sense of community. The connection is twofold: first, the adult member of the community participates as a free agent and as an expression of his own individuality; he can cooperate because he feels free, and by the same token he can refuse to cooperate. But the second connection makes him think seriously before refusing to cooperate, for he would be shaming himself and others if he let his village down. Yet the sense of community need not be limited to formal cooperation; it can be a state of mind as well, a feeling of loyalty one carries about, and a deep psychological identification with the village where one was born and in which one grew up.

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A common living space. One writer attributes the unity of the Greek village to the residents' dependence upon their physical environment:

[423]

First, the people are directly dependent on the land, hence their interests are all one. Second, the village owns grazing lands and meadows used in common by the farmers. Third, the people are highly interdependent in respect to water supply. Thus a sense of cooperation pervades the village. Fourth, the people of the village are limited in their actions by the very village's physical structure; the width of the streets, the pavement or lack of pavements, and degree of crookedness of same. Lastly, the whole physical lay-out is such that ceremonials and rituals as repeated year-in and year-out by slow processions, must change even if the ceremonials were to become mechanized.[6]

An earlier chapter on the village setting has discussed this factor, which must be taken into account in considering the identification people feel with their village. People develop a "sense of belonging" with those who walk the same village lanes, send their animals to the same community pastures, draw water from the same wells or fountains, and share the same living space. This propinquity does not necessarily produce a liking for everyone frequently encountered, but it calls for the recognition that these neighbors or fellow villagers must be dealt with in solving many of the ordinary affairs of life.

Shared institutions. Partly related to the physical pattern of the village are the church, the school, and the office of the local government, whose very structures are visible and concrete signs of the institutional complex which they embody. But these institutions are more than a material expression; they are also the focal points of the values which the people inherit and pass on to their children. On the basis of these, people ascribe rank to each other; on the basis of these, people make decisions relative to what activities are most worthy and which are least worthy. Community

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

life, as well as individual life, has its evaluative mechanisms which are brought into play in problem solving. The local institutions, described so fully in previous chapters, either have certain kinds of problems which they are supposed to treat, or the institutional leaders are sometimes called in to help deal with situations too grave for any single institution to handle. Again, the sense of community which a Greek villager develops is based in part not only upon sharing with others the activities which these institutions perpetuate, but also in knowing that he and his family are dependent upon them for meeting many of life's basic needs and aspirations. 621 182

The introduction of formal organizations into the Greek village, although they may accomplish certain specific goals, can also have the net effect of introducing new cleavages. The local institutions as described have been inclusive in that almost everyone in the village who wanted to could participate in them, with some allowances made for sex and age differences. But organizations bring in the idea of members and nonmembers. Some belong; others do not. Where membership is interpreted as signifying that the member is superior to or better than the nonmember, it causes resentment within that village where organizations are relatively new and not much appreciated. This may even run counter to the local value system. Yet experience in other societies, and even in the urban sectors of Greek society, has shown that economic development — which many peasants ardently desire — is based on specialization. This, in turn, is promoted by organizations which encourage and sustain this specialization. Society, even in the village, becomes more heterogeneous as the level of living rises, as the number of alternative choices (occupational, recreational, and such) increase, and as greater reliance is placed upon the individual. 575 621 182

Therefore, in understanding the traditional sense of community one must see the countervailing tendency to organize along specialized lines and to promote individual rather than community interests. In an industrialized society this means that a new kind of solidarity, based on functional interdependence, replaces that solidarity based on homogeneity and a common view of world and work.[7] Very often in the shift from the traditional to the more complex type, individuals and communities experience disorganization which, in time, leads to a reorganization better adapted to new needs. Closely related to the degree and type of disorganization is the system of social control and how it operates.

Social control. In Greece, as elsewhere, the most effective social controls are built into the personality structure of a person as he grows up. He learns what his society considers to be morally right and wrong and, if "well brought up," does not question these standards and, more often than not, abides by them; he also learns what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior at given times and places; he knows, too, that in a particular situation some people (say, the oldest men present) behave differently from 577 626

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one
[577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life.
627 Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught
[685] stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in
[834] turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you."

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw.

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision.

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[8] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[8] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

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583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59
583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of
182 family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

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855 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways
865 as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders.
867 However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and
[593] when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

577 Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and
867 falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies, *psemata,* is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a
156 milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end
[578] of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"ponyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly
577 one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village.
578 An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict.

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion.

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard.

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the

152 156 828 867 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

875 861 When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 828 867 577 562 574 Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 828 577 777 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 828 574 571 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms.

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece.

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction.

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground; although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo*

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000 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and
562 women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in
521 the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves,
829 women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the
[834] village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the
[576] kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi-
[594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of
[577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear,
[828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but
[834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working
[594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in
593 the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

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Evidence suggests that 186
an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609
they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574
thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577]
petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828]
expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always [685]
raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at [521]
a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually [522]
in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers [183]
began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621
identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it 186
must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156
reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride 828
in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 476
and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594]
family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464]
daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663]
official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554]
his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he [185]
does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619
for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829
as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is [621]
profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181]
with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

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[484]
[433]
[242]
[476]
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We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
[BCS] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
[177] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
577 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
[643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
186 and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
577 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
195 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
577 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger. 156 195 577

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*. 156 577 [521]

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not. [619]

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*. 156 577 578 [762]

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of 156 577 722 727

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
●577 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
722 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

178 To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of
156 living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as
511 a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of
577 God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until
727 the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and
746 to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated
[173] to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader. 195 826 156 828 577

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold." 533

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen." 195 826 828 854 855

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart." 195 828

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that 152 828 577

579 752 828 [855] he grew straight a· . nard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and [961] dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

826 195 The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here [954] eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

826 191 Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful 177
in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable 571
changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political 666
bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal 571
loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of 571
humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only 577 ●
recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a 73
plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience 577 867

577 are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to
867 teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to
577 something abstract, like the government, which is equated with
67 impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother
[619] of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

577 Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility,
602 or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty
[661] evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

577 Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person
[476] helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

[867] Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from
577 birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the
602 parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this
[829] structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is
[671] not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience
[875] and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [199] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [577] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 556 457 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, 602
her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of [195]
"we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the [538]
plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother 594
must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his 593
age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard [577]
or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can [183]
wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in 583
the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often 584
functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned [602]
with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, [607]
with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young 584
men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes 832
or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 829 [195] The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a precedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the [854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 178 577 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remembered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relationships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There [312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water [365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 57 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [807] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing [577] cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

190 476 577 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
[432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
[166] rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

[511] One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[578] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
246 of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi-families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
464 around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

[157] "Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
533 morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 563 578 V 648

These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[13]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

G 563 133 648 G [241] V [361] G 563 641 V 648

The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on an elephant," as one of my informants put it.

Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoules Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of the chief shepherd.[15] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grandsons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

Stress and Strain

The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[16] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

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to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests.

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in.

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The

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233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which
578 has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep,
654 which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas-
[241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and
[249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

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594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her
[584] husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of
[654] Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own
[511] money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

These two home economists made the further observation that the "mar-
[578] ried couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[831] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited dis-
[521] cussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

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being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

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244 issuing invitations usually avoid other women with whom they have had
486 a recent quarrel, although they do not hesitate to invite two women on good
578 terms with the hostess but not on good terms with each other. These women can usually stay far enough apart in such a large group that they do not have to associate with each other or air their differences. Men are said to be less inclined to let previous disagreements affect their invitations, even inviting those with whom they may have sharp differences. Their main concern is to get the job done. Just the same, they rely chiefly upon relatives and neighbors. The women in Yannes' living room all agreed that there was no one in the village who had the reputation for not paying back the work that others had contributed, which shows the seriousness with which this obligation is assumed and discharged.

124 But no interview in a Greek village is a one-sided affair. The visitor has to answer questions if he has asked them. Never have I heard questions fly quicker and faster than on this visit to Neochori when the women sensed that I had finished my inquiry about potato diggers. My interpreter was quizzed about her life in Athens, where she got her clothes, how she had learned to drive a car, and about members of her family. I was asked about my income in America, what kind of kitchen my wife had, and about many details which she could have answered much better than I if she had been able to accompany us up from Athens on that particular afternoon. This [181] occasion showed that when the Greek villagers began to express themselves on their home ground, in a familiar setting, they stood out as inquisitive, interesting personalities who shared many of the same concerns as fellow human beings in other countries despite their noticeable differences of dress, speech, and other cultural manifestations.

000 In driving back to Athens we had to pass the same potato field which had been the cause of this excursion. I thought at the time that a study, at a later date, of changes in the mutual-aid groups would tell much about changes in Greek life in general. Will mechanization eliminate the necessity of group harvesting? Will economic considerations so rule a later day that Yannes will invite only efficient workers from throughout the village, or will he continue to use relatives and neighbors because of his close social bonds with them?

Traditional Patterns of Mutual Aid

476 Throughout rural Greece one finds many examples of mutual aid. Even
539 proverbs attest to the value of cooperation: "bean by bean the bag is filled"; "many streams make up the river"; "many stones knock down the walnut." Union in strength is stressed as well: "where there are many, God's blessing"; "where there are many, many riches"; "the many are the ones who will take Constantinople."

It is understood, too, that each party will live up to his end of the bar-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions forcefully expressed.

571 A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis:[1]

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

[1] [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built. He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

> Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[19] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

631 634

> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

[828] [578]

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631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many argu-
578 ments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the
individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order
to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his
farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the
advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several
villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
634 come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
623 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The
653 nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other
by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One
man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guer-
rillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file
for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office
75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had
dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were
four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over
their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out
what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary
contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state
had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the
village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get
another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some
much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
634 nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a
275 truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile
away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive
fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted,
"did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sun-
days before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The
crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would
handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go
on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to
go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
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and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life. 571 461

As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[16] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance. 665 829

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise. 666 665 829

When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician." 665 829 156

I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back 665 578 666

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665 578 666 the rival party the other sixty percent support. However, should occasion seem opportune, a great number of them might switch to the support of a third party simply as a means of expressing disapproval of the performance of the ones they have been supporting. But let the men of a village find some common denominator, such as the erection of a school or a church building, and they will forget their political differences.

829 66 369 In conclusion, the best way to characterize "the peasant and politics" is in terms of indifference. This is especially true if one looks on politics as an organized way of bringing certain measures to pass through the election of officials committed to carrying them out. This has never worked for the Greek peasant in the past, and he is dubious about its merits in the future. If one means by politics the utilization of personal and family contacts with politicians and officials to get some gain for oneself, then the peasant can understand its significance and see its value. For, after all, politics and politicians are associated with the city and especially with Athens. Villagers are caught up in the backwash and, in their view of the world, have little importance as active agents. Political phenomena, like the weather, have to be endured, although now and then some useful protection from each might be sought in personal initiative, but not by group effort.

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575 For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings
[474] are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion
575 of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant
571 of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

621 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life
182 as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is
578 perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in
665 the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These
669 can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search
182

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo*, or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

> Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*. . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.[8]

Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

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mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454]
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he
had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they
want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the [584]
fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the
management and control of movable and personal property that he received with
his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the standpoint of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control [606]
over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

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relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksehazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

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855 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways
865 as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders.
However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next
867 room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and
[593] when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

577 Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and
867 falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies, *psemata,* is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a
156 milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end
[578] of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"ponyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly
one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village.
577 An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains
578 have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict.

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion.

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard.

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the

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is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Gligbora!, gligbora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighora"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [561] [594] [596]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562] different from each other for that.

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wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality.

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification.

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages.

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized.

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter.

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ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take sub- 554
stantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of
greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more
than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for
those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578] competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on [621] which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the bound- 369
aries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern.
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after [296]
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to
release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514] new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343] in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the [758] imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 602
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen 554
with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

[Town Life]

565 generosity and kindliness did something to redeem the balance,
578 but were comparatively rare. The wealthy classes did not, as a
669 rule, show much sign of social conscience or sense of obligation to the poor. Once again, the solidarity and exclusiveness of family sentiment interfered with larger loyalties and sympathies. The result was that antagonism between rich and poor broke out into the open during the war years, and has never since ceased to trouble the political stability of the country.

458 Economic conditions have been acting, for at least fifteen
465 years, to sharpen this feeling. Since 1941 Greece has experi-
578 enced a series of monetary inflations that raised prices, sometimes rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but always faster than adjustments were made in wage and salary scales. As prices outran wages, workingmen faced a series of crises, the more serious because their wage rates were low to begin with. Adjustments of wages, when they came, relieved the problem only temporarily until continuing inflation once again robbed the currency of part of its purchasing power.

The economic plight of white-collar employees was nearly the same as that of manual workingmen, for they, too, had to live on an income that regularly lagged behind the price level.
[554] Moreover, the fact that such persons had gone to school, and therefore felt they had a rightful claim to superior social status, did not make it easier for them to face a life of poverty. The fierce struggle to win a place in the government civil service was only matched by the chronic discontent of those who had succeeded in getting government jobs and then found that they could scarcely live on their salaries.

578 Fortunately for the political stability of the country, wage
669 earners and salaried classes are a minority in Greece. This is no more than a corollary of the small size and family character of
[565] most Greek economic undertakings. Nevertheless, if one adds the hillsmen of the countryside as a third more or less chroni-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping 578
of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present- 669
day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of
the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in [178]
the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the bal- 669
ance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of [703]
the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Com- 669
munist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by finan- 648
cial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
x 178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
[433] 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
[423] surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
x [178] tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
x 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most 428
families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to 423
present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in 621
still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it 669
lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands con- 578
trolled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that 621
village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the 163
wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. 433
Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, conse-
quent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the differ- [563]
ence, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land dis- [656]
tributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947,.1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohc

[Villages of the Plains]

621 therohori and plundered an UNRRA storehouse which had
669 been set up there. This was bad enough from the point of view
578 of the villagers; but what was far more awkward was the fact that sentiment was seriously divided within the village itself. Approximately half the population sympathized more or less completely with the guerrillas, and in 1947–48 about twenty young men and women from the village fought in their ranks. Only three of them returned. In 1947, when I first visited Nea Eleftherohori, the atmosphere was exceedingly tense. No one was quite sure of his neighbor, and no one was sure whether the government or the guerrillas would win in the end. Armed men patrolled the village at night on behalf of the government, and felt free to pay disconcerting calls upon families known or believed to be sympathetic with the guerrillas. Fifteen persons were arrested by the nearby gendarmes after the raid of 1947, and one of them was executed; the rest returned only after two and a half years of detention. The general mood of the village at that time was one of fear and frustration. No one could see any solution to the difficulties of the present, still less those of the future. What could the young boys do who were not needed at home? With no land available in the village, and no jobs obtainable in town, the situation seemed nearly hopeless.

By 1956 the outlook had changed. First of all, the political division within the village had healed over, leaving almost no trace. The renewed solidarity of village feeling dated from 1950, when the president and council of the community – who, as appointees of the Ministry of Interior, were of course leading anti-Communists – asked the local police to release two of the village boys who had returned from serving with the guerrillas and had been arrested on general suspicion. The police acted favorably upon this request, and allowed their prisoners to go free without further punishment. This affair, which showed a degree of magnanimity on the part of the anti-Communist lead-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste
to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based
on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger
sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for
jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [241]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising mar- [434]
ket crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the
proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), lo-
cated in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling
boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home.
Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books
and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By
1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were
attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every
boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost
every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of
all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather
they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to
pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was
abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

Particularly fortunate conditions in Old Corinth – tourism, irrigation, the proximity to the Athens market, and the effective leadership of the village president – have permitted the villagers to maintain their old family customs almost unchanged, and in spite of the rapid growth of population which such customs entail, they have not had to sacrifice their standard of living. Instead, living conditions have improved, with electricity, tractors and the like. 178x 621 511

This is a situation very rare in Greece. It makes Old Corinth the happiest village I visited, a community at peace with itself and with the world, mildly surprised by the prosperity that has descended upon it, and generally well content with the way things are going. The contrast is strong with the internal condition of the village in 1947, when, like Nea Eleftherohori, the community was sharply divided between left and right. In 1947, indeed, the bitterness between the two political parties was far deeper than in Nea Eleftherohori, for in Old Corinth the political lines were drawn, more or less exactly, between farmers and landless men, that is, between buyers and sellers of labor. Two particularly squalid "political" murders occurred within the village in the last days of the German occupation; and the Communist-inspired regime, which lasted for a few months in 1944, aroused strong revulsion among the substantial farmers. These memories now seem almost forgotten, though the sense of solidarity between rich and poor in Old Corinth is by no means so strong as the community feeling among the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori, where everybody is nearly equal economically. 621 578 565 [669]

The inequalities in landholding, and the existence of a fairly numerous landless class in the village, certainly constitute a potential source of trouble. If currant and tomato prices should fall, or if more migrants from the hills should come to the village and push wages down by competing for jobs in the fields, the existing harmony and general satisfaction could easily

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 break down. The more elaborate social stratification and intri-
578 cate economic integration which the development from simple
565 village into small town involves carries with it a special vulnerability: vulnerability to fluctuations in distant markets, and vulnerability to social stresses within the community itself. This is perhaps the price Old Corinth has to pay for its remarkable economic progress in recent years.

x 178 This progress may remind us that there is another sense in
621 which the social structure of Old Corinth shows itself far more
556 flexible and hospitable to innovation than the other villages described. For while family and marriage customs have not undergone important modification, the occupational patterns of the community have shown important changes; and in at least one instance a landless and once very poor man has risen to a position of wealth and importance by becoming a successful merchant. Old Corinth has given far more scope to individual and cooperative enterprise than either Lofiscos or Nea Eleftherohori. Yet this development, too, is in line with old Greek tradition. The self-made man, particularly the self-made merchant or storekeeper, rising to wealth and respectability by virtue of his mother wit and shrewdness in buying and selling, has been a prominent figure in Greek society for at least two centuries; and it has always been the marginal man in the village social hierarchy – the man who has had no land to keep him busy – who has naturally gravitated to such occupations when opportunity has opened. Innovation in Old Corinth has thus taken traditional forms.

x 178 Since 1912, rural Greece has been fundamentally divided be-
184 tween villages like Old Corinth, which can look back to genera-
423 tions of substantially undisturbed evolution, and those villages
621 where within recent memory radical governmental intervention entirely transformed earlier landholding patterns. The division is geographical. In Old Greece, meaning Greece within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
423 doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored. The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
423 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
565 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed
• 578 entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecrop-
427 ping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich" families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were still poor) were each represented in the village by a single household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation, and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the village.

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
433 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

162 worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as 217 against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the 621 village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that 178 x is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until 582 the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young [583] man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the 621 officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, 666 represented the extreme right. The president and secretary 669 were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble 565 in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to 578 use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

/20 cont./ In 443

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, 438
buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it 436
safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else.

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and 443
in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one 452
crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from [433]
one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps [451]
any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two [578]
groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the [652]
merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The ooo

/29 cont./
leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

/48 cont./ Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 241

1	Harrow	$3	422
1	Plow, iron	1.50	407
1	Wooden plow	1.00	[412]
1	Yoke	1.00	[435]
3	Hoes	0.35	
2	Shovels	0.25	
2	Sickles	0.35	

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [474] [326] [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows. 233 [492] [578] [423]

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/89 cont./

a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

/91 cont./ 623
general approval of all. The punishment of the "Gerousia" is 627
ostracism until the person repents and asks forgiveness. The fear 578
and respect towards "Gerousia" is greater than to anybody or group of people. One of the young men planning to divorce his wife because she could not bear any child, told of his experience with the "Gerousia". "Their words are sharper than the sharpest sword".

Latent Neighborhood Conflict Attitudes. The jealousy of the 621
nearby villages toward the successful cooperation of the villagers 628
of Megali Vrisi was noticed many times. The success of Megali Vrisi in bringing the doctors who serve the area to their village, and in making it the center for the health project, naturally created hard feelings with the competing villages. The success with which the Caucasians of Megali Vrisi worked /92/ in organizing a young men's organization, increasing the number of teachers, building their church and having one of the well-organized cooperatives, has made it the leading village of the area.

Active Conflicts. One of the active conflicts that exists in 621
Megali Vrisi is the one between the Thracians and Caucasians. 578
Each group in trying to preserve its identity tries to dominate the other by having more power in controlling the village council and cooperative. The Thracians as a minority, have never had any chance to get to any office for the last 16 years. The strong opposition they had from the Caucasians, united them on every question raised, and their inability to compete with the Caucasians has developed within every Thracian the illogical type of opposition. "Vote it down if it is a Caucasian proposal, whether good or bad." Regardless of this opposition, the Caucasians undertook to carry on their constructive community work by bearing the share of the Thracians too. Conflicts among different kinship groups were of a minor type and never developed to such a magnitude as to have destructive results. The "Gerousia" checked them. 627
The conflict between the Thracians and the Caucasians was beyond [623]
the power of the "Gerousia". The Thracians never had any [692]
"Gerousia" and as a result took more cases to the court and spent more /93/ money and time for it. The conflicts among the

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692] what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685] families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626 women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273 but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543 fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621 motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476 in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578 so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461 problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517 to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241 time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578] of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger. 156 195 577

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*. 156 577 [521]

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not. [619]

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*. 156 577 578 [762]

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of 156 577 722 727

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

When the second world war came, followed by Italian and German occupation and drastic derangement of the national economy, the situation of the hill villages became truly desperate. Starvation visited many of them. 433 731

Famine in time of war was age-old; and the response of the hillsmen of Greece also had very ancient precedent behind it, for they took gun in hand, and attempted to seize forcibly what they could no longer gain peaceably from the plains. They formed the backbone of the wartime ~~resistance forces~~, and justified their violence by patriotism, quite in the spirit their forefathers had shown in attacking the Turks. Yet the resistance movement was not merely a reassertion of old patterns. Its leadership was mainly provided by Communists, who in earlier years had been a small and not very significant group, largely confined to the towns.[1] [579] 726 669 433 [668]

In the wartime resistance movement the inhabitants of the hill villages found a sort of economic relief, inasmuch as the guerrilla bands lived by raiding the plains, taking by force a part of the agricultural surplus of those regions in order to feed themselves. A young man, without any real occupation in his native village, and without any hope of a career at home which could satisfy even the traditionally low level of expectation among the hillsmen, could, by joining a guerrilla band, hope to feed himself and relieve his family of the burden of his presence. In addition, he could become a hero, fighting for freedom and liberty, social justice and a better life for all.

For most peasant boys, the ulterior aims of their Communist leaders meant little or nothing. Indeed, the Communists were at very considerable pains to play down any plans they had for social revolution, and welcomed persons of widely differing social views into the ranks of the resistance. This was, of course, 669

1. There were a number of non-Communist resistance bands also, but most of them did not last long, and the successful ones were confined to Epirus, in the northwest.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

178x households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423 also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565 The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578 these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 427 hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [302] village. [142]

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 178x 233 Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 241 plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 433 the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 565 part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even 578 today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [579] Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. [461] The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy. A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461] spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
433 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

the village joined the resistance during the occupation period; 726
but my guess is that practically every able-bodied man took 669
part at some time or other in guerrilla actions, even though
some of the villagers remained ostensibly civilian. A conse- [727]
quence was that in 1943 a German expedition burnt all the
houses of the upper village and made it uninhabitable. The people of Cherasia, fortunately, saw them coming and had time to escape over the mountain.

The "liberation" of Greece in 1944 brought no liberation to 669
Cherasia. Quite the contrary, it interfered with the process by
which armed men from the village had been able during the [579]
occupation to get grain and other goods from the plains. Consequently, when three men appeared on Mount Pelion in 1946 and summoned the young men of the village to take arms again, the response was immediate. When I visited the village in 1947, a guerrilla band, some thirty strong, was encamped in the ruins of the upper village. A detachment descended each evening to gather supplies from the inhabitants of the lower village and from other villages out in the plain. Most of the members of the band were sons of families living in lower Cherasia, although the leaders of the band came from elsewhere.

During the day, the Greek army, from a strong point in a neighboring plains village, took possession of Cherasia. Each morning a patrol of soldiers came to the village and demanded to know who had been collaborating with the guerrillas; each evening the guerrillas came down from the mountain and demanded to know who had been helping the soldiers. Under the circumstances, life was difficult, to say the least. The army sometimes beat those suspected of sympathizing with the guer-
rillas. In addition, irregular rightist bands visited the commu- [727]
nity several times and indulged in greater violence, killing several people and burning down seven houses. The guerrillas,

However Vasilika is an open community in
369 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
463 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
871 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
[873] any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
[166] gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
[702] barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the
[873] town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
554 tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is al-
● 58 most impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[2] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual, therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of
602 his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a taxi-driver, to

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

[584] Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

[654] Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the
[511] children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

[578] These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[831] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited dis-
[521] cussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5,A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 156]

[VIII]

Courtship and Marriage

177 834 581 593 A young woman, who had grown up in the traditionally sheltered way in a Greek village, after spending several months in an American university, made these comments:

The father here in America is like a brother instead of a father.

I like the way the American mother reasons with the children and doesn't order them around.

In Greece you never tell anybody about your boy friend — not even your parents. Over here people talk about private matters. If you should do so in Greece, your parents would throw you out of the house.

In Greece we marry for love; in America you love without marrying.

831 834 593 [581] One may question the last statement as far as the Greek villager's marrying for love is concerned; but there is no question about the Greeks' stress upon keeping the boys and girls apart until they are married. The honor, or chastity, of the bride is a value of great importance, and any breach of the sex mores may have dire social consequences. To be sure, there are violations of this taboo and in many areas a gradual erosion of the rigid enforcement, but in rural Greece one can count upon parents and brothers [577] actively to try to safeguard a young woman's honor. This is even institutionalized in what is called *e time tou adelphou* (the honor of the brother),

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Syros (island): I will not marry if my parents object.

Central Peloponnesos: In my village the young people pick their own mates. Twenty years ago the parents picked the mates but we still have to get parental consent as a matter of courtesy. We have no matchmaker in our village. You find these near the cities where people make money in such matters. 584 184 178

Macedonia: I would marry whom I picked out for I am going to have to live with her. I don't see why my parents will object, for I am going to pick out someone who is respectable. [Second speaker:] I have loved a girl from an early age and, if my father objects, I will marry her anyway since I am the one who has to live with my wife and my father can live with his old woman. "But what if your father disinherits you?" I will marry and do without his fields.

Northern Peloponnesos: If I see a girl whom I want to marry I will go directly to the girl's parents. If the girl accepts me, then my parents will go to arrange for the marriage. "What do you say when you talk to her parents?" I have seen your daughter and would like her for a wife. Could you find out if she likes me and if so would you accept me? By doing it this way, the rest of the village does not know that a boy has been turned down. But boys are always accepted unless they have done something very bad.

These comments from the young men themselves illustrate that one could divide the villages of Greece, and the families within the villages, according to the way mate selection is carried out. First, there are still villages where the young people have almost nothing to say about whom they are to marry and leave the matter up to the parents entirely. For example, in another group interview of nineteen young men, five said that they would expect their fathers to select their wives. One young man said, "I'll follow my father's selection since no father would want bad for his son." Villages where such views predominate are becoming fewer all of the time and tend to be found where the economy is based upon livestock production, including the nomadic shepherd tribes. Second, there are villages where parental consent is essential but where the young men are expected to take the initiative, suggest to their parents the names of the prospective bride, and let them carry on the negotiations from there. Almost nowhere does the girl have the right of initiative, although in some villages she would not be forced to marry anyone to whom she had strong objection, unless there were overriding family or economic considerations. Third, there are villages where the young people make the decision almost entirely on their own but expect their parents to agree, nevertheless being ready to strike out on their own should the parents prove "unreasonable" and try to prevent the marriage.

The peasants look at the changing marriage scene in terms of "marriage for love" and "arranged marriages." What they really mean by the first term is active participation of the young people in mate selection, but they 584 581 178 831

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584 do not mean that the young people subscribe to the romance of the Holly-
581 wood movies where love is glorified as an end unto itself. By "arranged
178 marriages" is meant the lack of initiative on the part of the young and the
willingness on the part of the boy or girl to give up a preferred mate if the
[831] parents strongly object.

It is safe to say that the pendulum is swinging from the arranged to the marriage for love. But in most Greek villages the parents still play an active role in negotiating with each other on behalf of their children and in trying to forestall what they would consider an unfortunate selection. Where par-
[626] ents and children disagree in such cases the situation becomes known to the village at large, and public opinion sometimes supports the young people. The father may be told at the coffeehouse, "Why don't you let your daughter marry Theodore? He is not such a bad boy after all." And the neighboring women take the mother to task, reminding her that her husband was not such a wonderful catch when they first married but that he had worked hard, had done well, and had earned everybody's respect.

The Dowry

581 What are the criteria of a fortunate and an unfortunate selection? Young
583 people were very explicit about this, although by no means unanimous in their answers. Looming large throughout most of Greece is the dowry, or economic resources which the girl brings to the new union.[1] One father from a village near Thebes summarized the situation as follows: "If you have gold sovereigns, you marry off your daughter; if not, you don't." In the
[162] villages the surplus of girls, existing since World War I, has been increasing. This came to light when we asked where the men sought their mates — in the home village or elsewhere. Often the reply would be: "Wherever the men can get the best *proika* [dowry]." But there were those who disagreed with this emphasis on money: "If you marry just for money, all day long the wife will hold the purse strings and then where will you be?" In the case of the girl, honor or chastity ranks high as does good health, without which the wife cannot be a good worker. Beauty and good looks are also most welcome, although now and then one would say that "beauty is not too important if the girl has a good heart." As for the man, wealth, education, and position make him a proper risk as a husband if he has a good reputation as well.

These traits which prospective mates should possess have much meaning because in Greece marriage unites two families, and dowry arrangements are contracts between families and not just between two individuals. One keen observer of village life pointed out that "in a village one always hears people speak of families as 'good family' or 'not a good family.'" The standard of *good* is largely in terms of money. The individual from a good family has a big head start in life in a country where financial resources are

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so limited. In the village of Laina, near Thessalonike, people said of a girl: "Every boy in the village wants to marry her; she is from a good family and has five hundred golden sovereigns as a dowry." 583

Another informant, describing the village from which she came, also cited the importance of family background. In her village "the boy wants a mate who will be a good tidy housewife, attractive, strong enough for field work; money comes in but is last. The family background is very important. If there are two girls, equally attractive, and one brings a bigger dowry and the other comes from a better family, the boy will choose the latter. The girl, on the other hand, wants a fast worker and does not mind too much about his family's reputation or even his own if she thinks him kind and considerate enough not to make her go out and work; he shouldn't gamble or drink (too much); his looks don't matter, but he should be loyal and not more than five or six years older. If a woman marries a man younger than herself, there is a lot of gossip at first but it then quiets down. The girl knows about a man from hearsay." [582]

There are undoubtedly regional differences in the emphases placed upon the traits most sought after in one's prospective mate, as was borne out when I asked sixteen soldiers stationed near the Albanian border what they would rank first in choosing a wife. Those from around Kavalla and in other parts of Northern Greece placed honor first, being a good housekeeper second, and beauty third. Those from the Peloponnesos and the island of Chios stated beauty, honor, and money in that order, while a man from Thessaly said that in his village the dowry or money would be first. A Cretan listed beauty at the top. But the danger of an easy generalization from such comments as these should be avoided, even though they do correspond fairly well to those made by well-informed Greek home economists for two of the areas mentioned above: "Around Kavalla, for instance, if a girl's father offers a big dowry, she will first want someone from outside the village and does not care too much about his looks. He doesn't have to be an Apollo. If she is considering someone from her own village she asks about his family, his looks, and his reputation.[8] The village man pays more attention to looks and wants to be sure that his wife will be a good worker. In the bigger towns he is more concerned with the dowry. Around Larissa (Thessaly) questions of love are secondary, for the man there is more interested in the dowry. If the girl has a 'fortune,' or large dowry, she is apt to choose someone from the town and may expect the husband to come and live in her village. But it is not uncommon for a man and wife to sell her land to build a house in the city." 581 583 184 [591]

Some of these regional differences in emphasis take on new light when one sees that the dowry consists of different property in various parts of Greece.

Usually, the eldest sister is supposed to marry first, followed by the next 582 583

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, [581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

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Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter.

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies:

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown.
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life.
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10]

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the

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share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *paniyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

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584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

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mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581 ●
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454]
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he
had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they
want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the [584]
fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the
management and control of movable and personal property that he received with
his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the stand- [606]
point of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

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581 over his daughter-in-law's land or money.) From the groom's point of view, an
583 industrious young girl also has high value, and if she is healthy, good-looking, modest, virtuous, and amiable as well, she is of still additional worth. Therefore, an ugly older girl with a bad reputation would have to bring a large dowry to compensate for her personal deficiencies: Conversely, an attractive, healthy, virtuous young girl might be able to marry a slightly wealthier man than her dowry
[533] would normally be expected to command. Greek folk songs often lament the story of a young girl who attracted a wealthy older suitor to whom her family married her because he was willing to take a smaller dowry. The songs, in this instance, reflect actual situations known on the Boeotian countryside, although they do not occur with any great frequency.

Negotiations, Courtship, and Marriage

584 For the families involved, the marriage negotiations have the quality of participation in a kind of ritualized contest. A young man may have been recommended to a girl's father; the father sends an intermediary with information as to how much dowry he is willing to give; the intermediary then goes off to the groom and his father, to whom he exaggerates the size of the dowry and the qualities of the girl. The villagers assume he will also exaggerate the qualities of the groom to the girl's family. The enjoyment of the game lies in each group's efforts indirectly to get accurate information about the other side. This is done by making inquiries among one's own relatives living in the prospective spouse's village and by asking questions of others who know the family. Secrecy about the very existence of the negotiations is helpful at this point, because the villagers do not believe they can get accurate information if anyone knows they have a direct interest in the matter. Many times a sister in another village will act as informal intermediary for her brother and try to find out how much of a dowry some of the better young men are asking for. Tentative questions of this sort may be asked for years before a serious negotiation is finally fully launched. These tentative steps may be terminated at any time without loss of honor on either side if the young man informs the intermediary that the dowry is not quite enough, or if the girl's father uses the excuse that his daughter is not yet
[583] ready to marry because she has not accumulated sufficient *rukha*. In fact, the grooms are not interested in the *rukha*. As one villager phrased it, "It is land and money they burn for around here."

In Vasilika, both in the previous generations and at present, it has been possible for a young man and woman never to have seen each other until the first formal occasion for meeting. However, a young man may have seen an attractive girl at a *paniyiri* or other festival, and may have asked his father to
[834] investigate her situation. But, since unmarried village boys and girls do not talk to each other in public unless they are related, the chances are that he has never talked to her. A young girl may, in her turn, know a great deal about the young men in the surrounding villages and may also have had opportunities to see them at the local festivities, but may never have talked to any of them. In any case, it

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is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment.

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come.

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lires*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years.

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father.

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged.

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500.

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs.

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement.

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

583 454 369 427 434 606

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

578 369 166

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

581 425 602 574 484

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

574 602 369 758 571 513

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

369 433 583 471

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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aunt, uncle, niece, and nephew are directly translatable into the English words, 601
except that the linguistic forms vary for males and females, and that, in fact, 171
the villagers refer to distinctions between first and second cousins more frequently than Americans do.[4] Like ours, the system is characterized by the distinctness of elementary family terms, the separation of generations, and the equal consideration of both father's and mother's line of descent in the terms for all consanguineal (blood) relatives. So far the Greek terms are also entirely congruent with the actual functioning distinctiveness of the elementary family and the existing bilateral descent in the country. There is special interest for us, [581]
however, in the Greek terms for affinal relatives (that is, relatives by marriage) which, in some instances, differ from those in English and are, in turn, congruent with the particular significance of marriage in Greek social structure.

Petheros (masculine) and *pethera* (feminine) are equivalent to English 601
father-in-law and mother-in-law, but there is an additional, reciprocal Greek 581
term which two sets of in-laws use in referring to each other: *simpetheros* and *simpethera*. In English these must be rendered as "my son's or daughter's father- or mother-in-law." The Greek terms, then, group together the parents of a husband and wife with a term of reference roughly translatable as "co-in-laws." The Greek word for son-in-law, *ghambros*, is also used to mean groom, and that for daughter-in-law, *nifi*, is also used for bride. Moreover, all the members of a man's elementary family, not only his parents, but also his brothers and sisters, all refer to his wife as their *nifi*, and all the members of a woman's elementary family refer to her husband as their *ghambros*. The terms *nifi* and *ghambros*, then, are not equivalent to any English kin terms, but must be translated as "that man or woman who has married a member of my elementary family." At least two generations, that of parents and their children, use the same terms to refer to people normally in the younger generation. In other words, the generational distinctiveness characteristic of terms for blood relatives is replaced by the status designation for a person who has married into an elementary family. This disregard of generation is not reciprocated, however, by the spouses of one's children or by one's brothers and sisters. As we have seen, mother and father of one's spouse are called *petharos* and *pethera;* now we can add that brothers and sister of one's spouse are referred to as *kunyadhos* and *kunyadha*, that is brother- and sister-in-law.

The status category of marriage into a particular elementary family appears again, however, in the existence of distinct terms by which men who have married two sisters refer to each other, *badzanakidhes*, and by which women who have married two brothers refer to each other, *sinifadhes*. Men who have married sisters and women who have married brothers have to deal with the same sets of in-laws and this constitutes a common bond which is signalized by the terms just given. Another way of saying this is that those women who are referred to as *nifi* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *sinifadha*, and those men who are referred to as *ghambros* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *badzanakis*.

[4] See Andromedas (1957) for a complete list of modern Greek kinship terms.

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 557 [581] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types [582] of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since [612] the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be [369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584] 562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing together. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance [602]
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is, "God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of preventing birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

584 increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in
882 Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so widespread that the family, in effect, has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

842 The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred; traditionally, sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters, it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity, and the woman is held responsible. People say "the poor man", pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept "maternity difficulties" without asking for medical help, lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book
● 581 on maternal and child care, *For the Mother*, urges that before marriage, both family histories be examined for possible sterility.

For the Mother urges young people to choose mates with a view to progeny. As a sanction, it mentions that the ancient Greeks urged eugenic marriages; and that the term "eugenics" was invented by Xenophon. Young people are advised to see a doctor before making the final decision. They are further advised to choose according to firmness of flesh and orderliness of features and limbs, for seriousness tempered with cheerfulness, for optimism implemented by effective energy. Marriage with kin, and with people having family histories of tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, psychasthenia, is to be avoided.

843 According to this manual, a young woman beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indisposition, accompanied by the non-appearance of the menses: this the husband diagnoses for her with great joy. Next come the food whims and the nausea, and this is the time to go for obstetrical advice. The first two months are the critical ones for the life of the embryo; therefore, a mother is urged to take a vacation in the second month. After that she may resume her normal activities, taking care only to avoid over-exertion and jerky movements
[515] In the last month she should not immerse herself in bathing, because of the danger of infection; for the same reason, she should avoid sexual intercourse in the last three weeks. In the last two weeks she
• [513] should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy, never more, lest she become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings, she should not play cards, she should drink nothing stronger than light wine, she should eat meals as balanced as is consistent with her means and her

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed 164
gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors 759
in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village 562
image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much 554
freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. [831]
There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many
women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance
of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the
reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, 732
blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even
jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is
therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete.
Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability
to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from [58]
marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect,
and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people
are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA
one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he
could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted
on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the
Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through 178
lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the 744
energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT 164
campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware [513]
of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer
nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds
were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and
has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes,
since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and 751
health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a 515
matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is
a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing
underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face
and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the 514
situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported
that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a com- 264
munion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special 594

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[3]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[3] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements. Women should be 18 before marriage.	
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid.
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 581

so limited. In the village of Laina, near Thessalonike, people said of a girl: 583
"Every boy in the village wants to marry her; she is from a good family and has five hundred golden sovereigns as a dowry."

Another informant, describing the village from which she came, also cited the importance of family background. In her village "the boy wants a mate who will be a good tidy housewife, attractive, strong enough for field work; money comes in but is last. The family background is very important. If there are two girls, equally attractive, and one brings a bigger dowry and the other comes from a better family, the boy will choose the latter. The girl, on the other hand, wants a fast worker and does not mind too much about his family's reputation or even his own if she thinks him kind and considerate enough not to make her go out and work; he shouldn't gamble or drink (too much); his looks don't matter, but he should be loyal and not more than five or six years older. If a woman marries a man younger than herself, there is a lot of gossip at first but it then quiets down. The girl knows about a man from hearsay." [582]

There are undoubtedly regional differences in the emphases placed upon the traits most sought after in one's prospective mate, as was borne out when I asked sixteen soldiers stationed near the Albanian border what they would rank first in choosing a wife. Those from around Kavalla and in other parts of Northern Greece placed honor first, being a good housekeeper second, and beauty third. Those from the Peloponnesos and the island of Chios stated beauty, honor, and money in that order, while a man from Thessaly said that in his village the dowry or money would be first. A Cretan listed beauty at the top. But the danger of an easy generalization from such comments as these should be avoided, even though they do correspond fairly well to those made by well-informed Greek home economists for two of the areas mentioned above: "Around Kavalla, for instance, if a girl's father offers a big dowry, she will first want someone from outside the village and does not care too much about his looks. He doesn't have to be an Apollo. If she is considering someone from her own village she asks about his family, his looks, and his reputation.[8] The village man pays more attention to looks and wants to be sure that his wife will be a good worker. In the bigger towns he is more concerned with the dowry. Around Larissa (Thessaly) questions of love are secondary, for the man there is more interested in the dowry. If the girl has a 'fortune,' or large dowry, she is apt to choose someone from the town and may expect the husband to come and live in her village. But it is not uncommon for a man and wife to sell her land to build a house in the city." 581 583 184 [591]

Some of these regional differences in emphasis take on new light when one sees that the dowry consists of different property in various parts of Greece.

Usually, the eldest sister is supposed to marry first, followed by the next 582 583

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

●582 583 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony [178] or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no install- [452] ment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will [571] only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furniture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

184 583 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla, [425] the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate [178] into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter. 582 [178] [608]

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 581 779 795 584 585

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon. 779
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown. [301]
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life. [273]
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9] [788]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10] 585

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the [587]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[843] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[835] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be con-
[582] sidered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in
determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings.
The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times
[789] to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters
four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the
child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question
from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the
priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed
the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it
into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion
has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its
body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next
dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds
a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony
concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words
of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the god-
parent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The god-
608 parent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility
of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[262] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
[553] fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not
only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of
wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and
sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end
up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general
merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing chil-
dren, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry
because this promise has been fulfilled.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

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584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

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tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw. 596 594 428

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision. 596 594 428 592

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist- 596 594 173 162 582

596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
425 further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 559 [581] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal [582] connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since [612] the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be [369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the 178x
early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor 241
over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long [464]
seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-
centered type of agriculture.

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Elef- [433]
therohori is to say that during the past five or six years com-
mercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsist-
ence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very 178x
great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabit- 511
ants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has 356
been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-re-
specting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has [291]
been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean
and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, [351]
and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine
trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Elefthero-
hori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a
fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea
Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to
present a good front to the neighbors.

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception [563]
to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress
perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as
careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not
really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has
probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy mem-
bers of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their
homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done.

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the 178x
desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the 511
world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. 582
One very important consequence is the postponement of mar-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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x 178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured, 511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow ● 582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it. [583] In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 stremmata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300 gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fifteen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in [589] the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good many men and women in their thirties and some in their early forties remain unmarried.

x 178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refu- 582 gees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and 583 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes [563] marry young and before the new family has any assured means [626] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irresponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of social pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

[168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth. Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position; or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster of having too many mouths to feed.

163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom- 168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births 621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never 163
exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have de- 168
clined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of 621
the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of [162]
the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people 178x
of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circum- 873
stances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys 464
pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that [647]
so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gymnasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as [647]
capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gymnasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of 178x
marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 582
583

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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×178 of older peasant customs. The dowry has always been a part of
● 582 marriage customs in Greece, but it used to be relatively small
583 and easily within the means of the average family. Moreover, not to marry off one's daughters at a rather early age – before twenty-two or so – was regarded as a disgrace. It was felt that something must be wrong, either with the girl or with her parents; that she was running a grave risk of immorality and consequent loss of reputation; and that the parents were delinquent in their duty if they failed to marry her off in the bloom of her youth. Because the new customs run contrary to these older attitudes, a very special tension exists among the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori. They feel it is wrong that their young people cannot marry when they should; they feel even more strongly that marriages must wait until the means of livelihood are assured. This requires the new dowry and land inheritance pattern. But no one is happy with the way the system has worked out, particularly the young people themselves, who see a long and dreary time of waiting ahead before they can hope to start families of their own.

×178 This discontent is compounded by the feeling, which seems
369 very strong in the village, that people in the towns have the best of everything: less work, more income; less boredom, more excitement. City standards of dress and manners have made extraordinary inroads in recent years, and aspiration toward a more comfortable and less laborious life is very strong.

×178 Consequently, although by economic criteria the village is
621 very much better off than before, and although the political
669 tensions within the village have sunk back into insignificance, discontent is much alive and near the surface. It no longer takes
433 political form as it did during and immediately after the war, when the Communists appealed to, and found a response among, many of the young people. As long as the majority of families in the village continue to see a path by which they

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621 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
x 178 seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by – a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian
[433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family
[571] can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
x 178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For
• [582] them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is
165 evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimina-
[744] tion of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, represented the extreme right. The president and secretary were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili
[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper [illegible] Mani, these processes have gone much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

/11 cont./ 000

conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and 602
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [596]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the [178]
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [621]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro- [582]
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [736]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under [737]
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in. 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm." [463] [465]

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone. [825] [788] [778] [574]

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in. [793] [788] [777]

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant. [352] [583]

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture. [352] [353]

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season, [513]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Vlachs EH15

covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring 272
tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then pro- [462]
ceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437]
along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

602 tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone [593] to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use [431] or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give [556] generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed [521] a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to [177] which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which 593 they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of 596 villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in [583] the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daugh- [462] ters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; [583] do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the [512] mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> [857] The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not [461] because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away [887] to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521] 843

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 787

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her. 562 593 [574]

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula: 538 593 [212]

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name]. [858] [583]

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her. 594 [511]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[3]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[3] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

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582
589

Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements. Women should be 18 before marriage.	
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid.
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

[583] [583] [162]

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the

584
517
[178]

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

"What will happen to the money?"

"It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra,* or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[4] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 do not mean that the young people subscribe to the romance of the Holly-
581 wood movies where love is glorified as an end unto itself. By "arranged
178 marriages" is meant the lack of initiative on the part of the young and the
willingness on the part of the boy or girl to give up a preferred mate if the
[831] parents strongly object.

It is safe to say that the pendulum is swinging from the arranged to the marriage for love. But in most Greek villages the parents still play an active role in negotiating with each other on behalf of their children and in trying to forestall what they would consider an unfortunate selection. Where par-
[626] ents and children disagree in such cases the situation becomes known to the village at large, and public opinion sometimes supports the young people. The father may be told at the coffeehouse, "Why don't you let your daughter marry Theodore? He is not such a bad boy after all." And the neighboring women take the mother to task, reminding her that her husband was not such a wonderful catch when they first married but that he had worked hard, had done well, and had earned everybody's respect.

The Dowry

581 What are the criteria of a fortunate and an unfortunate selection? Young
● 583 people were very explicit about this, although by no means unanimous in their answers. Looming large throughout most of Greece is the dowry, or economic resources which the girl brings to the new union.[1] One father from a village near Thebes summarized the situation as follows: "If you have gold sovereigns, you marry off your daughter; if not, you don't." In the
[162] villages the surplus of girls, existing since World War I, has been increasing. This came to light when we asked where the men sought their mates — in the home village or elsewhere. Often the reply would be: "Wherever the men can get the best *proika* [dowry]." But there were those who disagreed with this emphasis on money: "If you marry just for money, all day long the wife will hold the purse strings and then where will you be?" In the case of the girl, honor or chastity ranks high as does good health, without which the wife cannot be a good worker. Beauty and good looks are also most welcome, although now and then one would say that "beauty is not too important if the girl has a good heart." As for the man, wealth, education, and position make him a proper risk as a husband if he has a good reputation as well.

These traits which prospective mates should possess have much meaning because in Greece marriage unites two families, and dowry arrangements are contracts between families and not just between two individuals. One keen observer of village life pointed out that "in a village one always hears people speak of families as 'good family' or 'not a good family.'" The standard of *good* is largely in terms of money. The individual from a good family has a big head start in life in a country where financial resources are

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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so limited. In the village of Laina, near Thessalonike, people said of a girl: "Every boy in the village wants to marry her; she is from a good family and has five hundred golden sovereigns as a dowry." 583

Another informant, describing the village from which she came, also cited the importance of family background. In her village "the boy wants a mate who will be a good tidy housewife, attractive, strong enough for field work; money comes in but is last. The family background is very important. If there are two girls, equally attractive, and one brings a bigger dowry and the other comes from a better family, the boy will choose the latter. The girl, on the other hand, wants a fast worker and does not mind too much about his family's reputation or even his own if she thinks him kind and considerate enough not to make her go out and work; he shouldn't gamble or drink (too much); his looks don't matter, but he should be loyal and not more than five or six years older. If a woman marries a man younger than herself, there is a lot of gossip at first but it then quiets down. The girl knows about a man from hearsay." [582]

There are undoubtedly regional differences in the emphases placed upon the traits most sought after in one's prospective mate, as was borne out when I asked sixteen soldiers stationed near the Albanian border what they would rank first in choosing a wife. Those from around Kavalla and in other parts of Northern Greece placed honor first, being a good housekeeper second, and beauty third. Those from the Peloponnesos and the island of Chios stated beauty, honor, and money in that order, while a man from Thessaly said that in his village the dowry or money would be first. A Cretan listed beauty at the top. But the danger of an easy generalization from such comments as these should be avoided, even though they do correspond fairly well to those made by well-informed Greek home economists for two of the areas mentioned above: "Around Kavalla, for instance, if a girl's father offers a big dowry, she will first want someone from outside the village and does not care too much about his looks. He doesn't have to be an Apollo. If she is considering someone from her own village she asks about his family, his looks, and his reputation.[8] The village man pays more attention to looks and wants to be sure that his wife will be a good worker. In the bigger towns he is more concerned with the dowry. Around Larissa (Thessaly) questions of love are secondary, for the man there is more interested in the dowry. If the girl has a 'fortune,' or large dowry, she is apt to choose someone from the town and may expect the husband to come and live in her village. But it is not uncommon for a man and wife to sell her land to build a house in the city." 581 583 184 [591]

Some of these regional differences in emphasis take on new light when one sees that the dowry consists of different property in various parts of Greece.

Usually, the eldest sister is supposed to marry first, followed by the next 582 583

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

582 eldest. Nor is a young man supposed to undertake marriage on his own
583 account until those sisters near his own age have all been provided with a suitable husband, which means with a dowry. Sometimes this may take a man until his fortieth year, after which he begins to contemplate matrimony
[178] or forego it altogether. A reverse twist, somewhat in evidence today, is for a man to marry a woman with a good dowry and then turn around and use that dowry for the marriage of his sister. But, in reality, this defeats the main purpose of the dowry which is to enable the young couple to have the necessary wherewithal to start a home of their own. There is no install-
[452] ment-buying procedure on which they can rely; the husband's income will only be enough to meet daily expenses and not large enough to cover furni-
[571] ture or payment on a house. These should be provided when one marries or the family will never have any economic security.

184 It should be pointed out that among some of the shepherd groups there
583 is no dowry requirement at all. The same holds true for some villages in the Grammos Mountain area and in villages around Kozane, on the Macedonian-Thessalian border. In fact, near Kozane money may even be given to the girl's father because he is losing part of his labor supply (his daughter) which he had produced "with the sweat of his brow." In other villages such as Litohoron, near Katerine in the shadow of Mount Olympus, few young men demand a dowry, but people there recognize that they are exceptional in this regard. Around Arta, dowries are given but are not considered important in some of the villages.

Throughout most of Northern Greece, certainly in Macedonia and Thrace, a girl's dowry consists only of the necessary household furniture, mattresses, linens, blankets, and clothing. In some places, such as Kavalla,
[425] the girl upon marriage may be given the share of her father's estate (land), which would normally be hers at his death; but throughout other parts of Macedonia, such a division may not be made until long after her marriage upon her father's disablement or death. She may have some money, but that is not stressed as a part of her dowry unless she is angling for someone from a large town or city. The demand for cash is beginning to infiltrate
[178] into the villages around Serrai (where a small holding or a pair of oxen has usually been considered sufficient), as it will eventually throughout many of the areas where it is not now customary.

As one moves southward, the importance of land as an element in the dowry increases. In Thessaly, for instance, land and perhaps some livestock are sought in addition to the household and linen contributions. Where there is no land, the girl may offer from fifty to one hundred and fifty sovereigns, depending upon the value of the land in the village from which she comes.

[178] But, more and more, gold sovereigns are considered the basic element in the dowry, with the understanding that household goods and linens are

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 [432] [461] articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] [594] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, [581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] [454] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

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The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 ence. On the island of Salamis, not far from Athens, while visiting in a village home we asked a young woman to tell us about her engagement. This is her account, which highlights some of the points previously made:

A matchmaker arranged our marriage. When my mother finally decided that it was time to have a man in the house, we discussed with which family we wanted to affiliate. We had heard my father say before his death that he wanted his daughter to marry one of the sons of a retired chief petty officer in the village. My mother and sisters named one of the sons who was still single and I said, "All right. Whatever you decide," even though I didn't know the boy. So my brother-in-law (my oldest sister's husband), as head of the family, arranged the contact through a third person. I had said that I would take anything but a bald-headed man. [At this point everyone laughed for the one selected was prematurely bald.] On a Tuesday both families had said *Entaxei* [all right], and on Saturday the groom-to-be was supposed to visit me. He didn't try to see me in advance, for he had faith in his parents and, besides, we all live in the same village. But he sent word that he couldn't come on Saturday, for as a petty officer he was on duty. Instead he came on Thursday with a friend. He sent his friend in first to announce that he was here and to ask if he could come in. I said certainly but spoke in the plural form; he said not to do this for it annoyed him. We looked at each other for the first time. He asked, "Do you like me?" I said, "Of course." What else could I say? I shrieked when I saw his bald head, shrieked with disappointment. He came and sat near me. My mother said, "You see, he has already become very bald." [The fiancé, who was present during the interview, was asked what had been his thoughts when the match was made. He replied, "Since her father and my father had known each other, I said what is the use of pretending."]

On the Saturday following his visit to me I went to pay my first visit to my in-laws. I took candied almonds and flowers to my mother-in-law and we all ate, drank, and were merry. Then he and I started visiting each other. But the people began to say, "How does such traffic go on since they don't have an engagement ring?" So we decided to have the formal engagement. We were going to do it on his name day, but he got sick and we postponed it to Easter. The groom bought the ring and gave me a silk dress, shoes and stockings, and his relatives gave me some earrings and beads. I gave him slippers, pajamas, shirts, and handkerchiefs. On the day of the engagement, I sent his mother a large [262] bread ring with thirty-one red Easter eggs on top and she sent a cake containing five eggs to my home. At the engagement ceremony the fathers of the couple usually place the rings on the fingers, but since my father was dead his father put the rings on both of our fingers.

Engagements in this Salamis village last two years or more unless the families are rich and can hurry the matter along. The length of time is based on the dowry that the girl must accumulate. Not only must she bring the [583] house but must furnish it with a bureau (or chiffonier), a buffet, six dining-[352] room chairs, four kitchen chairs, and a mattress. The groom provides the dining-room table, a cupboard, and a bed.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a [177] few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

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000 "Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412–413; and Angelike Chatzemichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826–827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

Chapter IV. Land as a Birthright

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece*, Oct.–Nov. 1947 (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166–167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

[186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

[245] [185] [583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugee from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame.

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice.

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few.

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous."

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula.

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 23.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of

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The Family: Economic Activities

594 THE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES of the family as the most significant social unit in Vasilika will become clearer in the ensuing discussions. For the present, the family in the village may be defined as what has variously been called the "elementary," "nuclear," or "conjugal" family; that is, a husband and wife and their children. It is the welfare of his own family as a corporate entity which motivates the actions of the villager; and the family is the group whose members work in cooperation to try to maintain or to improve [554] their common position. The villagers measure prestige and honor by the degree to which a family succeeds in fulfilling its obligations. From their point of view, 594 the essential family obligation is to maintain a ratio between property and children such as to enable each child, when the property is divided in equal shares 556 among all the children, to maintain, in turn, a decent standard of living for his 428 family. This goal commonly requires not only an effort to conserve the wealth received from previous generations, but also, if possible, to increase it. The villagers act as if they conceive of the family as a kin group which conserves, accumulates, and transmits wealth from one generation to the next. The ability to transmit wealth is especially important. The villagers consider a man who is rich in lands but has no children an object of pity; the man's wife is considered [593] even more unfortunate. This is because the contemplation of the success of their children gives the life of a married couple a large part of its meaning. In the [583] operation of the inheritance and dowry systems in the region, a son may be given his share of the patrimony in the form of an education and a daughter given hers as her dowry at marriage. An educated son who has a civil service job in a town, or a daughter whose dowry was large enough for her parents to have found a schoolteacher husband for her, can give to the parents lasting inner 593 satisfaction and the joy of being able to tell of their child's exploits. To be able to sit and watch such adult children, or even an industrious farming son, as they talk to visitors of their adventures, or as, on a feast day, they eat the food their

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240 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

407 A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
433 if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
434 equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat,
241 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their
652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are
exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac-
[583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to
pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings
[556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields.
This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens
to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds,
but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household
[433] and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to
produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides
the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few house-
[417] holds fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions,
lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

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into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

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342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
594 uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
[356] because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
[215] white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[353] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

[583] Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

[574] A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
353 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
511 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
511 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families
[264] have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[365] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like
[354] fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
511 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on
[296] wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[513] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

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The Family: Dowry and Inheritance; Formal Structure[1]

182 THE DOWRY AND INHERITANCE SYSTEM in Vasilika is primarily a mecha-
428 nism by which property is transferred from one generation to the next.
It is this kind of mechanism, but it is also more. By reason of the context
583 of values in which they operate and because of their specific characteristics,
dowry and inheritance patterns as they function in Vasilika have ramifications not only for the Boeotian countryside but also for Greece as a whole.

Inheritance by Sons

428 Both the Greek laws of inheritance and village custom require that
583 property be divided equally among all the children, sons and daughters alike.
Some receive their shares through inheritance or by gifts while the parents are
[671] still alive, but the daughters of a family are entitled to their share at marriage in
the form of a dowry. Since, from the standpoint of the villagers, a man's most
[594] compelling obligation is to arrange for the successful marriage of his daughters,
and since no girl in Vasilika can normally expect to marry without at least a
token dowry, the girls have first lien on the family's property. For most of
[423] Vasilika's families, land holdings are the most valuable assets, and dowries are,
therefore, calculated ordinarily as a transfer of a share of the land from parents
to a daughter and through her to the jurisdiction of her husband. However, if
a family's land holdings are such that it is obvious that by giving daughters their

[1] Portions of this chapter were presented as a paper at a conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean held at Burg Wartenstein in July 1959, and will appear in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, scheduled for publication in 1962.

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share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *paniyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

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584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

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mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454]
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he
had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they
want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the [584]
fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the
management and control of movable and personal property that he received with
his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the stand- [606]
point of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

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581 over his daughter-in-law's land or money.) From the groom's point of view, an
583 industrious young girl also has high value, and if she is healthy, good-looking, modest, virtuous, and amiable as well, she is of still additional worth. Therefore, an ugly older girl with a bad reputation would have to bring a large dowry to compensate for her personal deficiencies. Conversely, an attractive, healthy, virtuous young girl might be able to marry a slightly wealthier man than her dowry
[533] would normally be expected to command. Greek folk songs often lament the story of a young girl who attracted a wealthy older suitor to whom her family married her because he was willing to take a smaller dowry. The songs, in this instance, reflect actual situations known on the Boeotian countryside, although they do not occur with any great frequency.

Negotiations, Courtship, and Marriage

584 For the families involved, the marriage negotiations have the quality of participation in a kind of ritualized contest. A young man may have been recommended to a girl's father; the father sends an intermediary with information as to how much dowry he is willing to give; the intermediary then goes off to the groom and his father, to whom he exaggerates the size of the dowry and the qualities of the girl. The villagers assume he will also exaggerate the qualities of the groom to the girl's family. The enjoyment of the game lies in each group's efforts indirectly to get accurate information about the other side. This is done by making inquiries among one's own relatives living in the prospective spouse's village and by asking questions of others who know the family. Secrecy about the very existence of the negotiations is helpful at this point, because the villagers do not believe they can get accurate information if anyone knows they have a direct interest in the matter. Many times a sister in another village will act as informal intermediary for her brother and try to find out how much of a dowry some of the better young men are asking for. Tentative questions of this sort may be asked for years before a serious negotiation is finally fully launched. These tentative steps may be terminated at any time without loss of honor on either side if the young man informs the intermediary that the dowry is not quite enough, or if the girl's father uses the excuse that his daughter is not yet
[583] ready to marry because she has not accumulated sufficient *rukha*. In fact, the grooms are not interested in the *rukha*. As one villager phrased it, "It is land and money they burn for around here."

In Vasilika, both in the previous generations and at present, it has been possible for a young man and woman never to have seen each other until the first formal occasion for meeting. However, a young man may have seen an attractive girl at a *paniyiri* or other festival, and may have asked his father to
[834] investigate her situation. But, since unmarried village boys and girls do not talk to each other in public unless they are related, the chances are that he has never talked to her. A young girl may, in her turn, know a great deal about the young men in the surrounding villages and may also have had opportunities to see them at the local festivities, but may never have talked to any of them. In any case, it

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is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment. 584 [581]

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come. [574]

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lirat*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years. [836] [626]

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father. 178 585 [621]

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 583 585

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583 wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is ex-
[286] pected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets,
two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen
blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental
table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth
with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two
long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before
baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town,
are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
[431] given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men
crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning
the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the
house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find
the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside
giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining,
the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*,
[262] the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with
a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
534 and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[3] But even among farmers these customs are
changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few
years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's vil-
lage and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[3] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm holdings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income [434]
from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordinary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for 523
some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

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596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their
182 fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the
425 Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 621 458

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. 593 873

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

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369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
471

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called
594 *vasana,* a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the
new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that
[593] their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live
594 well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from
dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings
to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes,
511 return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

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management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

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583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
583 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of
182 family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

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653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had
628 been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
692 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
233 no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had
[622] been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
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have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another 369
daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and 602
one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions.

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had 369
achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance 602
of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, 554
they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators.

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult 571
sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have 602
some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this 369
group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or 593
more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children [425]
are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences.

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly [574]
favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction.

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over 571
which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision 583
is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry 425
contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to 593
the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

x 178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured,
511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow
582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it.
In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 strem-
[583] mata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300
gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family
in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency
and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fif-
teen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so
much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in
the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good
[589] many men and women in their thirties and some in their early
forties remain unmarried.

x 178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refu-
582 gees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and
583 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes
marry young and before the new family has any assured means
[563] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among
[626] them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain
envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irre-
sponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of so-
cial pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

[168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use
of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth.
Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their
numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position;
or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined
not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and
by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster
of having too many mouths to feed.

163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom-
168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births
621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never 163
exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have de- 168
clined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of 621
the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of [162]
the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people 178x
of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circum- 873
stances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys 464
pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that [647]
so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gymnasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as [647]
capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gymnasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of 178x
marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 582
583

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Villages of the Plains]

x178 of older peasant customs. The dowry has always been a part of
582 marriage customs in Greece, but it used to be relatively small
583 and easily within the means of the average family. Moreover, not to marry off one's daughters at a rather early age – before twenty-two or so – was regarded as a disgrace. It was felt that something must be wrong, either with the girl or with her parents; that she was running a grave risk of immorality and consequent loss of reputation; and that the parents were delinquent in their duty if they failed to marry her off in the bloom of her youth. Because the new customs run contrary to these older attitudes, a very special tension exists among the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori. They feel it is wrong that their young people cannot marry when they should; they feel even more strongly that marriages must wait until the means of livelihood are assured. This requires the new dowry and land inheritance pattern. But no one is happy with the way the system has worked out, particularly the young people themselves, who see a long and dreary time of waiting ahead before they can hope to start families of their own.

x178 This discontent is compounded by the feeling, which seems
369 very strong in the village, that people in the towns have the best of everything: less work, more income; less boredom, more excitement. City standards of dress and manners have made extraordinary inroads in recent years, and aspiration toward a more comfortable and less laborious life is very strong.

x178 Consequently, although by economic criteria the village is
621 very much better off than before, and although the political
669 tensions within the village have sunk back into insignificance, discontent is much alive and near the surface. It no longer takes
433 political form as it did during and immediately after the war, when the Communists appealed to, and found a response among, many of the young people. As long as the majority of families in the village continue to see a path by which they

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits. 241 464 465

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite. 178* 463 [366] [485] [438] [494] [474] [871] 621 178*

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to [583] [428]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

162 worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as 217 against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the 621 village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that 178* is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until 582 the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young [583] man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the 621 officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, 666 represented the extreme right. The president and secretary 669 were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble 565 in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to 578 use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from 178x
neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I 621
was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of 873
gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea 178x
Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry 582
system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming 583
in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease 621
in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no 161
more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any [744]
change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The [582]
more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone 178x
much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I 166
was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have 369
gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words.

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women.

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital.

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[513]
[846]
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[574]
[744]
[p 25(B)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come
to be associated with low social position and low income, [593]
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major [511]
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers [583]
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of 828
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. 152
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* 156
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance,
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel 759
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

/21 cont./ The

one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they get live poultry and eggs. 443 437 433

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing together. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is, "God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of preventing birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then. 834 [872] [602] 582 883 583 286 294 [581] 842 [521] [867] [165]

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3 members in the family. The compound family makes farming 596 [178] [241]

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

178 583

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
*342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[591] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bungalow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards improve, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphically on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can find each of these forms in the explanations given at them [1].

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein.—I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

x 342 the genuine flat-roof type, but have their origin in the stone covered house, having a cylindrical dome for a roof.

[433] In the smaller islands (Cyclades, Dodecanese), where agricultural
[231] production is very moderate and where, owing to the peaceful man-
[251] ners and to the existing security, the stables of cattle and even the stores of cereals and of wine, oil etc. are mostly away from the dwelling places (see G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, pp. 5 and 45), the house is meant only to the purpose of sheltering the family and
[583] partly to the keeping of the agricultural and animal products. Owing
[592] to the fact that the house is an essential element for the dowry and for the housing of a couple with their unmarried children, the single house, that is the house which consists of one rectangular room, is the most common form in these islands. It is understood that there are also
[231] some rural houses, especially in Rhodes, where the cattle is stabled (or has been stabled) at one end of the house under the same roof with the inhabitants (fig. 28).

This «single» house belongs to both forms of houses, the narrow and the wide form.

The first form mainly prevails in certain islands, such as Skyros, Amorgos, Kythnos, and sporadically in many other islands of the Cyclades, of the Dodecanese, and sometimes in Crete and Cyprus. This house has mainly a ἀροστῷον on its narrow side, but, instead of supporting roof poles it has an arch on its front part (Plate VIIIa 5)(1), and more often it is enclosed on the front part as well, forming a real ante-room or a roofed yard (Cf. fig. 13, 14)(2). In several places, more over as in Crete, even in this form, it keeps the name of the open portico «γαγιάτι», as we have seen it in the case of the narrow-front houses of Thrace with the inclined roof. Consequently, the narrow-front house of the islands, in its simplest form, preserves the form of the ancient megaron.

The cylindrically-covered houses of Kimolos, Thera and Antiparos are also of the narrow-front type(3).

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1) See the Cypriot Rural House, in Laographia vol. 11 p. 81. Cf. the House of Nissyros (Fig. 26 above) and the House of Amorgos (Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδομία Λήμνου Fig. 15). In front of their covered yard, whose roof is supported by an arch, these houses have another open courtyard (Plate VIIIa 6).

2) **G. Megas,** Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 26.

3) **A. Wace,** The towns and houses of the archipelago, in the Burlington Magazine 26, 1914/15, 99 foll. **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus u. Hof im Altertum p. 64 where there is also a plan of a «Tonnendachhaus» of Kimolos.

594 accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne
[156] with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like
to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be under-
[513] foot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

594 Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-
593 dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an
156 organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

593 Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of
594 fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to
[589] find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed
[583] sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number
[167] of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for
602 younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions
593 and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserv-
661 ing by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who
156 have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

594 On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some
241 property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry.
423 This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece
425 at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, 602
her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of [195]
"we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the [538]
plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother 594
must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his 593
age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard [577]
or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can [183]
wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in 583
the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often 584
functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned [602]
with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, [607]
with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young [584]
men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes [582]
or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 871
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
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covered with homemade blankets. The necessary water cask was also there. 35
As we sat in front of the tent, we saw a scene of unusual beauty. The sun, 133
setting in a red splash behind the Albanian mountains, was reflected in the Aoos River flowing in a small stream through its broad gravel bed; off to our right, the town of Konitsa spread like a jeweled fan up the hill. When we stood to warm ourselves at the fire, we saw a three-quarter moon rising behind the black mountain which towered just behind the tents, the moonlight on its patches of snow. The smoke of the campfire, the dogs barking, [231] the puppies and lambs romping in the tent, the occasional neighing of the hobbled horses, made a scene that was distinct from the usual Greek evening landscape. It was incredibly different in time, too, from the atomic age, although in space only a score of miles from the Iron Curtain and twenty-eight flying hours from New York.

Berates' daughter, Vasilike, had been engaged for two years to a boy 584
whom she had never seen but who was picked out for her by her father. As the father phrased it, "the word is given." At this point in the conversation, 272 flustered and greatly embarrassed, Vasilike went into the neighboring tent to make some sirupy coffee. When we asked our host if his people had 583
a dowry system, he grunted and said: "Ten years ago women took only 177
their household equipment as a dowry; now they've started giving flocks as dowries. This accursed custom of the dowry has come up to us from the cities." Later, while we were sipping the coffee Vasilike brought, one of 533
the shepherd boys came to play his flute for us. Because this was Saturday, the women two tents down the line had all washed their hair, with the ex- 515
ception of one little girl who was even then doing so in a small, shallow 302
oven pan. The others had gotten to the stage of having their hair plaited. We could hear them at it, laughing and talking. But as the time dragged 233
on, as darkness came down, and the sheep had not arrived, a nervousness became apparent in the camp. Everyone was marking time, waiting for the sheep.

At long last, the tension broke as we heard the flocks come nearer. They
arrived at 9:30, and the available men, six in all, began the milking. A 234
barricade of saddles, firewood, and thistles had already been made in which there was a small opening. The men seated themselves, three on a side, at the opening. The sheep were driven slowly up to the opening, and as a ewe came through one of the men would grab her by the hind leg and then proceed to milk her. Here, as elsewhere in Greece, the women never milked [462] the sheep, nor the men the goats, although extra hands would have shortened considerably the tedious job that extended far into the night.

After the milking was well under way, Vasilike put a frying pan full of 262
strained milk on the fire to boil. She then brought us a bowl of this warm, rich liquid to eat with bread and cheese. The bread had been purchased [437] along the way and was paid for by cash from the milk sold en route. While 234

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

[584] Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

[654] Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the
[511] children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

[578] These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[581] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good
[831] analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[8]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[9] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[9]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[9] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES (about 1951)

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Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements. Women should be 18 before marriage.	[583]
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid. [583] [162]
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the [178]

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1:Sanders Z-5,X (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

583 In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were [243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of [465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

594 "It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee [571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries [438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra*, or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[6] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what [583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of 184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers 178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Syros (island): I will not marry if my parents object.

Central Peloponnesos: In my village the young people pick their own mates. Twenty years ago the parents picked the mates but we still have to get parental consent as a matter of courtesy. We have no matchmaker in our village. You find these near the cities where people make money in such matters. 584 184 178

Macedonia: I would marry whom I picked out for I am going to have to live with her. I don't see why my parents will object, for I am going to pick out someone who is respectable. [Second speaker:] I have loved a girl from an early age and, if my father objects, I will marry her anyway since I am the one who has to live with my wife and my father can live with his old woman. "But what if your father disinherits you?" I will marry and do without his fields.

Northern Peloponnesos: If I see a girl whom I want to marry I will go directly to the girl's parents. If the girl accepts me, then my parents will go to arrange for the marriage. "What do you say when you talk to her parents?" I have seen your daughter and would like her for a wife. Could you find out if she likes me and if so would you accept me? By doing it this way, the rest of the village does not know that a boy has been turned down. But boys are always accepted unless they have done something very bad.

These comments from the young men themselves illustrate that one could divide the villages of Greece, and the families within the villages, according to the way mate selection is carried out. First, there are still villages where the young people have almost nothing to say about whom they are to marry and leave the matter up to the parents entirely. For example, in another group interview of nineteen young men, five said that they would expect their fathers to select their wives. One young man said, "I'll follow my father's selection since no father would want bad for his son." Villages where such views predominate are becoming fewer all of the time and tend to be found where the economy is based upon livestock production, including the nomadic shepherd tribes. Second, there are villages where parental consent is essential but where the young men are expected to take the initiative, suggest to their parents the names of the prospective bride, and let them carry on the negotiations from there. Almost nowhere does the girl have the right of initiative, although in some villages she would not be forced to marry anyone to whom she had strong objection, unless there were overriding family or economic considerations. Third, there are villages where the young people make the decision almost entirely on their own but expect their parents to agree, nevertheless being ready to strike out on their own should the parents prove "unreasonable" and try to prevent the marriage.

The peasants look at the changing marriage scene in terms of "marriage for love" and "arranged marriages." What they really mean by the first term is active participation of the young people in mate selection, but they 584 581 178 831

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 do not mean that the young people subscribe to the romance of the Hollywood movies where love is glorified as an end unto itself. By "arranged marriages" is meant the lack of initiative on the part of the young and the willingness on the part of the boy or girl to give up a preferred mate if the parents strongly object.

581 178 [831]

It is safe to say that the pendulum is swinging from the arranged to the marriage for love. But in most Greek villages the parents still play an active role in negotiating with each other on behalf of their children and in trying to forestall what they would consider an unfortunate selection. Where parents and children disagree in such cases the situation becomes known to the village at large, and public opinion sometimes supports the young people. The father may be told at the coffeehouse, "Why don't you let your daughter marry Theodore? He is not such a bad boy after all." And the neighboring women take the mother to task, reminding her that her husband was not such a wonderful catch when they first married but that he had worked hard, had done well, and had earned everybody's respect.

[626]

The Dowry

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What are the criteria of a fortunate and an unfortunate selection? Young people were very explicit about this, although by no means unanimous in their answers. Looming large throughout most of Greece is the dowry, or economic resources which the girl brings to the new union.[1] One father from a village near Thebes summarized the situation as follows: "If you have gold sovereigns, you marry off your daughter; if not, you don't." In the villages the surplus of girls, existing since World War I, has been increasing. This came to light when we asked where the men sought their mates — in the home village or elsewhere. Often the reply would be: "Wherever the men can get the best *proika* [dowry]." But there were those who disagreed with this emphasis on money: "If you marry just for money, all day long the wife will hold the purse strings and then where will you be?" In the case of the girl, honor or chastity ranks high as does good health, without which the wife cannot be a good worker. Beauty and good looks are also most welcome, although now and then one would say that "beauty is not too important if the girl has a good heart." As for the man, wealth, education, and position make him a proper risk as a husband if he has a good reputation as well.

[162]

These traits which prospective mates should possess have much meaning because in Greece marriage unites two families, and dowry arrangements are contracts between families and not just between two individuals. One keen observer of village life pointed out that "in a village one always hears people speak of families as 'good family' or 'not a good family.'" The standard of *good* is largely in terms of money. The individual from a good family has a big head start in life in a country where financial resources are

1:Sanders Z-5¼ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most familes have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she wil bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this [581] line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 ence. On the island of Salamis, not far from Athens, while visiting in a village home we asked a young woman to tell us about her engagement. This is her account, which highlights some of the points previously made:

A matchmaker arranged our marriage. When my mother finally decided that it was time to have a man in the house, we discussed with which family we wanted to affiliate. We had heard my father say before his death that he wanted his daughter to marry one of the sons of a retired chief petty officer in the village. My mother and sisters named one of the sons who was still single and I said, "All right. Whatever you decide," even though I didn't know the boy. So my brother-in-law (my oldest sister's husband), as head of the family, arranged the contact through a third person. I had said that I would take anything but a bald-headed man. [At this point everyone laughed for the one selected was prematurely bald.] On a Tuesday both families had said *Entaxei* [all right], and on Saturday the groom-to-be was supposed to visit me. He didn't try to see me in advance, for he had faith in his parents and, besides, we all live in the same village. But he sent word that he couldn't come on Saturday, for as a petty officer he was on duty. Instead he came on Thursday with a friend. He sent his friend in first to announce that he was here and to ask if he could come in. I said certainly but spoke in the plural form; he said not to do this for it annoyed him. We looked at each other for the first time. He asked, "Do you like me?" I said, "Of course." What else could I say? I shrieked when I saw his bald head, shrieked with disappointment. He came and sat near me. My mother said, "You see, he has already become very bald." [The fiancé, who was present during the interview, was asked what had been his thoughts when the match was made. He replied, "Since her father and my father had known each other, I said what is the use of pretending."]

On the Saturday following his visit to me I went to pay my first visit to my in-laws. I took candied almonds and flowers to my mother-in-law and we all ate, drank, and were merry. Then he and I started visiting each other. But the people began to say, "How does such traffic go on since they don't have an engagement ring?" So we decided to have the formal engagement. We were going to do it on his name day, but he got sick and we postponed it to Easter. The groom bought the ring and gave me a silk dress, shoes and stockings, and his relatives gave me some earrings and beads. I gave him slippers, pajamas, shirts, and handkerchiefs. On the day of the engagement, I sent his mother a large [262] bread ring with thirty-one red Easter eggs on top and she sent a cake containing five eggs to my home. At the engagement ceremony the fathers of the couple usually place the rings on the fingers, but since my father was dead his father put the rings on both of our fingers.

Engagements in this Salamis village last two years or more unless the families are rich and can hurry the matter along. The length of time is based on the dowry that the girl must accumulate. Not only must she bring the [583] house but must furnish it with a bureau (or chiffonier), a buffet, six dining-[352] room chairs, four kitchen chairs, and a mattress. The groom provides the dining-room table, a cupboard, and a bed.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter. 582 [178] [608]

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 581 779 795 584 585

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon. 779
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown. [301]
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life. [273]
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9] [788]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10] 585

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the [587]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumelas* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xantbe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanosbikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *aysazmos*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454]
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the [584]
fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the management and control of movable and personal property that he received with his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the stand- [606]
point of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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581 over his daughter-in-law's land or money.) From the groom's point of view, an
583 industrious young girl also has high value, and if she is healthy, good-looking, modest, virtuous, and amiable as well, she is of still additional worth. Therefore, an ugly older girl with a bad reputation would have to bring a large dowry to compensate for her personal deficiencies. Conversely, an attractive, healthy, virtuous young girl might be able to marry a slightly wealthier man than her dowry
[533] would normally be expected to command. Greek folk songs often lament the story of a young girl who attracted a wealthy older suitor to whom her family married her because he was willing to take a smaller dowry. The songs, in this instance, reflect actual situations known on the Boeotian countryside, although they do not occur with any great frequency.

Negotiations, Courtship, and Marriage

584 For the families involved, the marriage negotiations have the quality of participation in a kind of ritualized contest. A young man may have been recommended to a girl's father; the father sends an intermediary with information as to how much dowry he is willing to give; the intermediary then goes off to the groom and his father, to whom he exaggerates the size of the dowry and the qualities of the girl. The villagers assume he will also exaggerate the qualities of the groom to the girl's family. The enjoyment of the game lies in each group's efforts indirectly to get accurate information about the other side. This is done by making inquiries among one's own relatives living in the prospective spouse's village and by asking questions of others who know the family. Secrecy about the very existence of the negotiations is helpful at this point, because the villagers do not believe they can get accurate information if anyone knows they have a direct interest in the matter. Many times a sister in another village will act as informal intermediary for her brother and try to find out how much of a dowry some of the better young men are asking for. Tentative questions of this sort may be asked for years before a serious negotiation is finally fully launched. These tentative steps may be terminated at any time without loss of honor on either side if the young man informs the intermediary that the dowry is not quite enough, or if the girl's father uses the excuse that his daughter is not yet
[583] ready to marry because she has not accumulated sufficient *rukha*. In fact, the grooms are not interested in the *rukha*. As one villager phrased it, "It is land and money they burn for around here."

In Vasilika, both in the previous generations and at present, it has been possible for a young man and woman never to have seen each other until the first formal occasion for meeting. However, a young man may have seen an attractive girl at a *paniyiri* or other festival, and may have asked his father to
[834] investigate her situation. But, since unmarried village boys and girls do not talk to each other in public unless they are related, the chances are that he has never talked to her. A young girl may, in her turn, know a great deal about the young men in the surrounding villages and may also have had opportunities to see them at the local festivities, but may never have talked to any of them. In any case, it

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Vasilika

is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment. 584 [581]

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come. [574]

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lires*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years. [836] [626]

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father. 178 585 [621]

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 583 585

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silver- 443
smiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The 369
market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a promi- [493]
nent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars.

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different 512
from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, al- 369
most with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, [461]
the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops [513]
or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talk- [584]
ing and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise.

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584]

562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/23 cont./

more economical. It distributes the work among all members of the family. The cost of living is low and the depreciation on machinery and working animal is low. The difficulties that usually arise here are as follows: 596 [241]

1. One leader in the family who has the right to command all.

2. Mother-in-law has the complete house work organization. She tells the rest what each has to do. In case she has a special inclination to favor one, the rest have to bear the burden of the work without objection. This usually creates hard feelings and starts the division of the family.

3. Usually the older son has more children than the younger son, and in case one of the sons does not have any, he has to work just as hard for the support of his /24/ brother's children. Things of this sort usually create hard feelings and lead to the disorganization of the family.

4. Often the father of the family, taking advantage of the good cooperation of his sons, spends money for his own good time, like drinking, dressing better and traveling. With the increase of modern facilities and modern customs the compound family is disappearing. [178]

Marriage and Courtship.

It was the custom for many years for the parents to hunt and find a suitable wife for their son. Usually the girl had to satisfy the parents' desires. The son had to consent whether he wanted her or not. That was the accepted custom. This is still true with only 40% of the marriages and is rapidly disappearing. The young men are looking ahead of the time for their future partner. In dancing squares, during holiday celebrations and at wedding ceremonies they have a chance to express to each other their admiration and their preference. Nothing is done publicly so as to avoid gossip since the old customs still prevail. The young men very often form a group and sing by the window of their girl friend. If the father suspects anything the punishment is heavy. 584 178 [626] [832]

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

178 583

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

584 increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in
882 Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so widespread that the family, in effect, has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

842 The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred; traditionally, sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters, it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity, and the woman is held responsible. People say "the poor man", pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept "maternity difficulties" without asking for medical help, lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book
581 on maternal and child care, *For the Mother*, urges that before marriage, both family histories be examined for possible sterility.

For the Mother urges young people to choose mates with a view to progeny. As a sanction, it mentions that the ancient Greeks urged eugenic marriages; and that the term "eugenics" was invented by Xenophon. Young people are advised to see a doctor before making the final decision. They are further advised to choose according to firmness of flesh and orderliness of features and limbs, for seriousness tempered with cheerfulness, for optimism implemented by effective energy. Marriage with kin, and with people having family histories of tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, psychasthenia, is to be avoided.

843 According to this manual, a young woman beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indisposition, accompanied by the non-appearance of the menses: this the husband diagnoses for her with great joy. Next come the food whims and the nausea, and this is the time to go for obstetrical advice. The first two months are the critical ones for the life of the embryo; therefore, a mother is urged to take a vacation in the second month. After that she may resume her normal activities, taking care only to avoid over-exertion and jerky movements
[515] In the last month she should not immerse herself in bathing, because of the danger of infection; for the same reason, she should avoid sexual intercourse in the last three weeks. In the last two weeks she
[513] should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy, never more, lest she become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings, she should not play cards, she should drink nothing stronger than light wine, she should eat meals as balanced as is consistent with her means and her

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece
[591] at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter. 582 [178] [608]

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 581 779 795 584 585 779

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown. [301]
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life. [273]
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9] [788]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10] 585

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the [587]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

groom's relations. There is gay music and much shooting, which continues once the party has reached the bride's home. There the flag bearer puts the flag on the bride's roof and receives a ring biscuit from the bride in return. The groom gets off his horse and goes up the steps. As he reaches the top step, the bride's mother offers him wine and a boutonniere of basil, marjoram, or other plants, wrapped in a white handkerchief. The groom kisses her hand and she kisses him on both cheeks. She offers him wine, which he drinks, asking for her blessing. He returns the glass and puts the boutonniere in his lapel. The groom now enters the bride's home whereupon all relatives join him and, if they follow the old custom, give a small sum of money to the bride, who now turns toward the east and bows, then west, north, and south, so as to form the sign of the cross.

585 [788] [788]

As soon as the relatives have received some sweet, the bride, usually leaning on the arm of a cousin, starts for the church. The others, including the groom's relatives, follow on foot. Then comes the church ceremony. When the couple have arrived at the altar, the priest begins to read the liturgy and then takes from a box the two wreaths of artificial blossoms, tied together by a ribbon, which the koumbaros has brought; the priest puts them together and says, starting with the man, "the Lord's servant [name] engages the Lord's servant [name]." He touches the foreheads of each as he says his or her name. He then holds the wreaths between the couple and makes the sign of the cross, "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," three times for the groom and three times for the bride. The koumbaros, who is standing between the couple, receives the wreaths from the priest and, as the priest starts a chant, holds the wreaths over the heads of the couple and starts crossing them back and forth. When this is done, he puts the proper wreath on the proper person though the ribbon still connects the two wreaths. The same thing happens with the rings. After the koumbaros puts the rings on the correct fingers, the priest reads from the Bible, "what God hath joined together let no man put asunder" and separates the couple, who have been holding hands by the little fingers, by moving his hand between them. He next administers the communion — a sip of wine to the groom, the bride, and the koumbaros.

585 608

Perhaps the liveliest part of the whole proceeding is the "dance of Isaiah" which follows next. With the priest holding the Bible in one hand and the hand of the groom in the other, with the groom holding the bride, and the bride the koumbaros, the principals go around the table where the wreaths were laid before the ceremony started. They make the circuit three times, stopping four times in each circuit. During the course of this procession everybody is throwing bonbons and rice at the principals, sometimes with such telling force that the priest stops to warn the people not to be so energetic. The circuits completed, the couple and koumbaros resume their earlier position before the altar and listen to the priest read the final Scripture and receive his blessing.

In Artotina, the procession goes from the church to the bride's home. She is led by the groom and the koumbaros. The dowry is then loaded onto the pack animals to the accompaniment of traditional songs. The bride climbs upon the best animal and the groom, when mounted, takes a stand on her right. He takes a golden coin out of his pocket and hands it to her after making the sign of the

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1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

[184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get [305] a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [302] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece [777] of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a [177] few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

[527] [593] [788] [755] [777]

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

[789]

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata*, or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti*, since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

[585] [369] [785] [769] [777]

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

[785] [262] [372] [783]

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

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The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *aγιασμος*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment. 584 [581]

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come. [574]

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *liras*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years. [836] [626]

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father. 178 585 [621]

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 583 585

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583 wedding to take the *rukha* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
[286] so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukha*. A Vasilika girl is expected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
[431] table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*, the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
[534] sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are
[178] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 557 [581] [582] [612] [369] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized 517
form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation,
which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to [526]
play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional
customs handed down from generation to generation provide both
group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family
recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger [846]
family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the [851]
whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the cere-
monial feast. When a member of the family gets married the [585]
whole village participated with their musical instruments. The
marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from
children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating
and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name [527]
days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male [562]
person is observed more than the female name day.

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent 796
seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village 628
that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those 574
that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days
takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the
United States. After the church service the people gather around [535]
the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big
circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes
as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the
length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter 796
period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole 574
village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from
the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place.
This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give [735]
to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village [252]
with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry.
The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

/37 cont./
help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times 857
of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the [526]
neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek.
When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom [834]
play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard
time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the [872]
children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active
days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is 533
there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance [535]
singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no
books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players
never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the [461]
fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups
returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses,
at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles
and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through [796]
the church services from beginning to the end and when the women [585]
dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any
song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to
generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them
or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part
of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of
nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition
and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of
their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture.
There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that
move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest
songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their
ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced
their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among [765]
the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed
during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the
war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

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As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Eubolas* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Eubolas* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

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Vasilika

lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between 574
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, [602]
land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a
divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm holdings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and
unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income [434]
from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordinary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for 583
some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their [591]

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626] [834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538] [702]

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household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

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Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter. 582 [178] [608]

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 581 779 795 584 585

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon. 779
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown. [301]
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life. [273]
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9] [788]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10] 585

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the [587]

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[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

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As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

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Vasilika

or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[3]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[3] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

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[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula,
178 the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
[313] in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[464] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness
[745] and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

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TABLE 4. AGE OF MARRIAGE IN TEN GREEK VILLAGES
(about 1951)

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Village location	Age for men	Age for women
Near Veroia	From 18 and over; median age, 22.	From 17 and over; median age, 20.
Near Lamia	Age differences play a minor role due to heavy emphasis upon financial arrangements. Women should be 18 before marriage.	[583]
In Macedonia	Between 20–25, even before completing military service.	From 18–22. At 25 girl is an old maid.
In Macedonia	Usually after 23. Men wait until they finish military service. Shortage of women here so men marry girls from two nearby villages.	From 18–25. In some cases girls under 18 elope. After 26, girl is an old maid. [583] [162]
Near Serrai	No information.	From 17–25, but usually around 20. After 25, girl is an old maid.
In Grammos	Serve in army first and marry older.	18 and above; at 25 girl considered old.
In Central Greece	After 25 when completing military service.	Can marry at 16, but usually do so at 20.
Near Agrinion	Complete army service and marry about 30.	From 21–25, seldom before 20. Old maids after 30.
Near Mesolongi	Cannot marry if they have unmarried sisters near their own age.	No strong restrictions about age.
Near Mesolongi	Generally complete military service. In 43 families studied, 30 unmarried men were 20–37.	Average age, 23. In 43 families studies, 14 unmarried women were 20–50.

Source: Village studies conducted by Near East Foundation, Greek Ministry of Agriculture, and United States Mission to Greece.

people get a chance to see each other at a fountain, on the street, or at some festival dance, although any conversation may still have to be surreptitious. Other social events where boys and girls meet occur at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the gathering of grapes, and the harvesting of olives. But once a few more daring young people have successfully flaunted the

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1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 176]

IX

Ceremonies and Holy Days

593 182 Greek family life also has its serious overtones. In such a closely knit unit the illness or death of a member may be more keenly felt than in a family system where one's own security is not so closely tied in with the fate of the others. In a society such as rural Greece, where there is so little [589] room for the unmarried woman, the task of finding a suitable husband for a daughter or sister can become an overriding consideration coloring all of life's relationships. Where the family is the economic and producing unit, economic ups and downs are intimately geared with the ups and downs of the family. Should the bond between husband and wife become strained, [369] the home increasingly becomes the center of tension with fewer outlets than exist in an urban setting. In such cases, the man stays around the house as little as possible and the wife seeks the company of the neighboring women or of some relatives.

Fortunately for all, just when home life has become a bit ruffled, some ceremony or holiday appears to make the family forget for a while their differences in order to carry off the ceremony with the proper flair. The housewife can immerse herself with good conscience in the time-consuming preparations; the father knows that certain duties are exclusively in his domain; and the children wait expectantly for their cues from the adults so that they, too, may participate.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

476 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria,* or the groups of 573 women who work together in the evening:

> In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring [562] biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work [574] is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes [535] the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing [533] and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other [589] family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have [226] numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field [241] and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general, [422] these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money for services rendered. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[548] [589] prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), p. 93.

[184] [197] 4. Around Phlorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

Chapter IX. Ceremonies and Holy Days

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

[186] 3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January–March 1953), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a volume in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou choriou mou: Perista, Navpaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessalonike, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken latreian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659–677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith. [171]

9. For further details about the kallikantzari, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who
[463] exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

793 The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age,
465 and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one
[874] of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—
[589] which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of
[659] his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this
792 may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic
[423] property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

793 Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in
[795] work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece.
[589] There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 874 only one parish priest from each group of three inhabited villages to be away from his flock at any given time. In such circumstances it was not always possible for a priest to complete the full course at the seminary, and many had to be content with twelve months at Kozani.

Despite all these difficulties, however, the seminary had already, by the spring of 1950, established itself as a real centre of pastoral and liturgical teaching in the dioceses of western Macedonia, and its influence could be detected in several score of parishes dispersed throughout this barren region. In remote hamlets of northern Pindos, catechetical schools were flourishing for the first time under the direction of a priest trained at Kozani. The holy sacrifice was being offered week by week with renewed fervour in many a village church; and there were not a few country parsons (not all of them young men) who had gone back to their parishes after spending two years at the seminary with a quickened realisation of the high dignity of their calling.

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Not all the clergy, it is hardly necessary to add, are as yet fully convinced of the utility of the new training school. I well recall meeting one old gentleman who was highly indignant at his metropolitan's suggestion that he might profitably spend a year or two at Kozani, and who maintained with some heat that after thirty-three years in the sacred ministry he could learn only "from the Lord". There has been much hilarity in many a rural tavern that some grave *papas* should have been sent back to school for a couple of years. It will doubtless be a long time before these seminaries for parish clergy (which are still something of an innovation) win universal acceptance and approval, and it would be idle to pretend that they offer a wholly satisfactory solution to the problem of how best to train married priests not ordained till many years after they have completed their ordinary schooling.

The seminaries do, nevertheless, meet an urgent need, and it is to be hoped that they will exert an ever increasing influence upon the country dioceses of Greece, and will send forth into the villages a steady stream of true pastors—men who are not "witty, or learned, or eloquent, but *holy*"—for in Greece, as in other countries, that is perhaps the greatest need of all.

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[589] As I stressed in an earlier chapter, the Greek clergy fall into two sharply defined categories: on the one hand the married *papades*, on the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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other the celibate clergy from whose ranks the chief ministers of the Church are normally chosen. In the training of the former book-learning plays but little part. The seminaries aim at providing no more than an elementary grounding in pastoralia for a race of craftsmen and peasant-farmers who, with few exceptions, are more at home with a plough than a pen, and are wholly unequipped for academic pursuits. The higher clergy, however, are almost invariably graduates, well versed in the disputations of the schools. 793 874 [589]

While the married clergy receive their training in the seminaries, the potential bishop is fashioned in the theological schools of the universities of Athens and Salonica. The theological faculty of the northern university was established only a few years ago. In former days many of the higher Greek clergy went to the theological academy at Halki, near Constantinople: a celebrated institution which, in the days of its prosperity, attracted students from every part of the Orthodox world. After the first world war, however, this sank to the level of a provincial seminary, and it is only in recent years (under the guiding hand of a new Oecumenical Patriarch) that it has regained something of its old prestige. Thus, the great majority of the present Greek bishops and archimandrites are graduates of the University of Athens.

In considering the place occupied by the theological schools of the universities within the framework of training for the ministry, it must not be forgotten that the clergy account for only a small proportion of the students of these faculties, far the greater number of whom are lay men and women (there are quite a few girls amongst the theological students of Athens and Salonica, and their number is steadily increasing). In the universities, moreover, as in the seminaries and the ecclesiastical schools, the majority of the teaching staff are laymen. The only cleric among the Athens professors—the Archimandrite B. Stephanides (whose *Ecclesiastical History* seems likely to be a standard work for every Greek student for many years to come)—retired in 1950 and was succeeded by a layman; while at Salonica likewise, only the professor of ecclesiastical history—an archimandrite who was formerly in charge of the Greek church in Paris—is in orders. Although the lay theologian has a long and distinguished ancestry in eastern Christendom and is often a man of deep spirituality, it can nevertheless be a trifle startling to hear a layman lecturing, to an audience which includes experienced priests and *pneumatikoi*, on the mystery of confession. [875]

The university course normally lasts four years. The theology of the [177]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

x 178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured, 511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow 582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it. [583] In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 stremmata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300 gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fifteen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good [589] many men and women in their thirties and some in their early forties remain unmarried.

x 178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refu- 582 gees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and 583 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes [563] marry young and before the new family has any assured means [626] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irresponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of social pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

[168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth. Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position; or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster of having too many mouths to feed.

163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom- 168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births 621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

594 accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne
[156] with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like
to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be under-
[513] foot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

594 Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-
593 dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an
156 organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

593 Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of
594 fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to
[589] find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed
[583] sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number
[167] of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for
602 younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions
593 and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserv-
661 ing by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who
156 have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

594 On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some
241 property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry.
423 This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece
425 at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

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182 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

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171 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the structure underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece.

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Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man.

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In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position.

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Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations.

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In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia,

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1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece
[591] at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

so limited. In the village of Laina, near Thessalonike, people said of a girl: "Every boy in the village wants to marry her; she is from a good family and has five hundred golden sovereigns as a dowry."

Another informant, describing the village from which she came, also cited the importance of family background. In her village "the boy wants a mate who will be a good tidy housewife, attractive, strong enough for field work; money comes in but is last. The family background is very important. If there are two girls, equally attractive, and one brings a bigger dowry and the other comes from a better family, the boy will choose the latter. The girl, on the other hand, wants a fast worker and does not mind too much about his family's reputation or even his own if she thinks him kind and considerate enough not to make her go out and work; he shouldn't gamble or drink (too much); his looks don't matter, but he should be loyal and not more than five or six years older. If a woman marries a man younger than herself, there is a lot of gossip at first but it then quiets down. The girl knows about a man from hearsay."

There are undoubtedly regional differences in the emphases placed upon the traits most sought after in one's prospective mate, as was borne out when I asked sixteen soldiers stationed near the Albanian border what they would rank first in choosing a wife. Those from around Kavalla and in other parts of Northern Greece placed honor first, being a good housekeeper second, and beauty third. Those from the Peloponnesos and the island of Chios stated beauty, honor, and money in that order, while a man from Thessaly said that in his village the dowry or money would be first. A Cretan listed beauty at the top. But the danger of an easy generalization from such comments as these should be avoided, even though they do correspond fairly well to those made by well-informed Greek home economists for two of the areas mentioned above: "Around Kavalla, for instance, if a girl's father offers a big dowry, she will first want someone from outside the village and does not care too much about his looks. He doesn't have to be an Apollo. If she is considering someone from her own village she asks about his family, his looks, and his reputation.[8] The village man pays more attention to looks and wants to be sure that his wife will be a good worker. In the bigger towns he is more concerned with the dowry. Around Larissa (Thessaly) questions of love are secondary, for the man there is more interested in the dowry. If the girl has a 'fortune,' or large dowry, she is apt to choose someone from the town and may expect the husband to come and live in her village. But it is not uncommon for a man and wife to sell her land to build a house in the city."

Some of these regional differences in emphasis take on new light when one sees that the dowry consists of different property in various parts of Greece.

Usually, the eldest sister is supposed to marry first, followed by the next

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon to Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a [177] few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

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As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

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the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

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are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

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583 wedding to take the *rukba* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukba*. A Vasilika girl is ex-
[286] pected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets, two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town, are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
[431] given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men
585 crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining, the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[608] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*,
[262] the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
[534] and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
the girl with her new husband.[3] But even among farmers these customs are
[152] changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's village and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[3] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold- [434]
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 583
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclusions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
*342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[591] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bungalow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards improve, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphically on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. (1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein.—I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

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Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire 592
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and con- 804
sumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 273
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have 372
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 252
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 147
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are 461
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 412
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 462
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

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231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered
[552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents
[865] permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of
[178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the
[373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing
511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small
592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to
[422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever,
[464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for
[422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac-
511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

x 342 the genuine flat-roof type, but have their origin in the stone covered house, having a cylindrical dome for a roof.

[433] [231] [251] In the smaller islands (Cyclades, Dodecanese), where agricultural production is very moderate and where, owing to the peaceful manners and to the existing security, the stables of cattle and even the stores of cereals and of wine, oil etc. are mostly away from the dwelling places (see G. Megas, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, pp. 5 and 45), the house is meant only to the purpose of sheltering the family and [583] [592] partly to the keeping of the agricultural and animal products. Owing to the fact that the house is an essential element for the dowry and for the housing of a couple with their unmarried children, the single house, that is the house which consists of one rectangular room, is the most common form in these islands. It is understood that there are also [231] some rural houses, especially in Rhodes, where the cattle is stabled (or has been stabled) at one end of the house under the same roof with the inhabitants (fig. 28).

This «single» house belongs to both forms of houses, the narrow and the wide form.

The first form mainly prevails in certain islands, such as Skyros, Amorgos, Kythnos, and sporadically in many other islands of the Cyclades, of the Dodecanese, and sometimes in Crete and Cyprus. This house has mainly a προστῷον on its narrow side, but, instead of supporting roof poles it has an arch on its front part (Plate VIIIa 5)(1), and more often it is enclosed on the front part as well, forming a real ante-room or a roofed yard (Cf. fig. 13, 14)(2). In several places, more over as in Crete, even in this form, it keeps the name of the open portico «χαγιάτι», as we have seen it in the case of the narrow-front houses of Thrace with the inclined roof. Consequently, the narrow-front house of the islands, in its simplest form, preserves the form of the ancient megaron.

The cylindrically-covered houses of Kimolos, Thera and Antiparos are also of the narrow-front type(3).

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1) See the Cypriot Rural House, in Laographia vol. 11 p. 81. Cf. the House of Nissyros (Fig. 26 above) and the House of Amorgos (Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδομία Λήμνου Fig. 15). In front of their covered yard, whose roof is supported by an arch, these houses have another open courtyard (Plate VIIIa 6).

2) **G. Megas,** Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 26.

3) **A. Wace,** The towns and houses of the archipelago, in the Burlington Magazine 26, 1914/15, 99 foll. **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus u. Hof im Altertum p. 64 where there is also a plan of a «Tonnendachhaus» of Kimolos.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and
423 left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would
432 send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of
[454] change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house
[369] rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

[166] In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family,
[593] young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the
[463] southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

178 On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling
423 has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional varia-
432 tions are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-
184 honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief
[114] that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security. On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live
[166] in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage.
[369] In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

423 Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he
369 always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

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[P.127]
[P.126 is blank]

VII

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family *patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived* in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521] 843

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 787

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 787 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 834 576 593 [492] [626] Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings. Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

[312] [482] [626] It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

[522]

562 593 521 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only occasionally with her husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her. 562 593 [574]

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula: 538 593 [212]

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name]. [858] [583]

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her. 594 [511]

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594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her
[584] husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of
[654] Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own
[511] money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

These two home economists made the further observation that the "mar-
[578] ried couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[831] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertakings."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited dis-
[521] cussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the
[591] bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncommon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

743 been pointed out by Dr. Friedl. The bedclothes from home give the patient
758 a chance not only to show a part of her dowry but they, being familiar, lessen the unfamiliarity of the hospital. Human companionship is considered an absolute good. To be left alone by one's family, especially when one is sick, is dreaded.

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.[17]

Then, too, the presence of relatives overcomes any doubt the patient may have about the doctor, for they can keep a check on him and discuss in constant family conferences the kind of treatment he is giving.

These are only some of the cultural influences surrounding hospital care. They have their advantages and their disadvantages, as Dr. Friedl points out, but they do show the pervasiveness of the family system and the fact that woman's role in medical care, even when a relative is in the hospital, is indispensable.

562 Women in rural Greece today are conscious of their hard lot; they long
● 593 for an easier physical existence, for their contacts with the cities have been frequent enough to show them the advantages of the conveniences there.
[369] At the same time, they are not discontented in their social relations. They observe that a man honors his mother and is solicitous over his sister's welfare; in the beginning, however, he behaves differently toward his young wife who is less experienced in the world than he and whom he must command if he is to retain the respect of his fellow villagers. Later on, his wife — though still observing the proprieties of deference and obedience — becomes almost his equal in many matters most essential to her. He consults her about the children or about any important shift in agricultural activity, although reserving for himself the final decision.

Rural Greeks would probably not see the intended humor in the sign once posted in an Alabama restaurant — "Keep your wife for a pet, and eat with us" — since the Greek peasant wife still maintains an indispensable economic role in addition to that of sexual companion and the bearer of children. Her chief security in a male-oriented society is her very indispensability, and the more dependent her husband is upon her, the greater her sense of satisfaction. To be merely a pet, even though this carried with it a lightening of physical toil, would threaten the very foundations of her

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

existence. In the Greek cities also, both the sophisticated and unsophisticated men and women agree that a woman's place in life is to cater to the man's desires, to build up his ego, to be "a good wife." As long as there is mutual agreement in this regard, marriages remain stable. Instability begins when there is disagreement over what the roles of husbands and wives should really be.

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1:Sanders Z-5,A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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VIII

Courtship and Marriage

177 834 581 A young woman, who had grown up in the traditionally sheltered way in a Greek village, after spending several months in an American university, made these comments:

593 The father here in America is like a brother instead of a father.

I like the way the American mother reasons with the children and doesn't order them around.

In Greece you never tell anybody about your boy friend — not even your parents. Over here people talk about private matters. If you should do so in Greece, your parents would throw you out of the house.

In Greece we marry for love; in America you love without marrying.

831 834 593 [581] One may question the last statement as far as the Greek villager's marrying for love is concerned; but there is no question about the Greeks' stress upon keeping the boys and girls apart until they are married. The honor, or chastity, of the bride is a value of great importance, and any breach of the sex mores may have dire social consequences. To be sure, there are violations of this taboo and in many areas a gradual erosion of the rigid enforcement, but in rural Greece one can count upon parents and brothers actively to try to safeguard a young woman's honor. This is even institu- [577] tionalized in what is called *e time tou adelphou* (the honor of the brother),

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyme, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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IX

Ceremonies and Holy Days

593 182 Greek family life also has its serious overtones. In such a closely knit unit the illness or death of a member may be more keenly felt than in a family system where one's own security is not so closely tied in with the fate of the others. In a society such as rural Greece, where there is so little [589] room for the unmarried woman, the task of finding a suitable husband for a daughter or sister can become an overriding consideration coloring all of life's relationships. Where the family is the economic and producing unit, economic ups and downs are intimately geared with the ups and downs of the family. Should the bond between husband and wife become strained, [369] the home increasingly becomes the center of tension with fewer outlets than exist in an urban setting. In such cases, the man stays around the house as little as possible and the wife seeks the company of the neighboring women or of some relatives.

Fortunately for all, just when home life has become a bit ruffled, some ceremony or holiday appears to make the family forget for a while their differences in order to carry off the ceremony with the proper flair. The housewife can immerse herself with good conscience in the time-consuming preparations; the father knows that certain duties are exclusively in his domain; and the children wait expectantly for their cues from the adults so that they, too, may participate.

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions forcefully expressed.

571 A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Pho-
[521] tiadis:1

[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a
576 son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not
●593 likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful.
571 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his con-
561 vivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks
524 is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite
[273] emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next
[525] meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Char-
[578] acteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.

In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availa-
204 bility of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:

207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

1 [Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravroupolis - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

because of a conversation the previous evening with his cronies at the coffeehouse. One villager got to the crux of the matter: "In the coffeehouse we get into arguments over our political leaders and don't attend to our fields. We do this because we are uneducated and people do little to help us, and so we spend our time on foolish things. The government doesn't send people here to instruct us; we are farming the way our fathers did."

With the spread of the program of agricultural extension, perhaps this peasant can no longer legitimately make the same complaint, but the chances are that the men of his village are still arguing about many matters and, perhaps in his opinion, spending their time on "foolish things."

Even the critics admit that there are still many conditions which encourage the men to patronize the coffeehouse quite apart from the attractions already described. For most village men, home is a most unattractive place in the evening. Dimly lit, poorly heated in cold weather, dominated by women and their silly prattle, the home cannot begin to compete with the masculine company found at the coffeehouse. Furthermore, most men can think up perfectly valid reasons (in their opinion, at least) for going to the coffeehouse: they have a business matter to talk over; they want to know how some world crisis is shaping up; they need some advice on a farming decision.

Should they be found at the coffeehouse during the daytime, when conscientious farmers might be finding something worthwhile to do, they do not experience many twinges of conscience. They are not pricked by any Puritan ethic that teaches them constantly to be busy; instead, they save their energies for the time and place where it is unquestionably in their interest to work hard and long. When no such occasion presents itself, what more could a man ask than to enjoy his leisure, unplanned and unsought though it be? Nor does he think that it is up to him to seek out productive uses of his time. If people have good employment opportunities, they will seek him out, and he will respond. If he is from the tobacco-growing districts, the chances are that he has put his only resources (wife and children) to work for him and can take his ease until he must return to see how the work has progressed. He has no idle capital to invest but does his best with the human labor at his command. When heavy work is required, he will do his part, but when that is done others can harvest, string, and manipulate the tobacco. He provides the entrepreneurial skill.

Perhaps the coffeehouse and the attitudes of its habitués clash more strongly with American value orientations than do any other aspects of village life. To the Greek peasant, to be idle is no sin; to converse in the kouvenda can be as satisfying as to be a spectator sportsman; to seek to learn "what's new" if you live in a village is just as worthy as the search for novelty which motivates many in the United States. To get away from the women, the Greek peasant does not have to go on a long hunting trip to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one
[577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life.
627 Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught
[685] stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

> [593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in
> [834] turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you." [a]

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village: 178 369 602

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7] [554] [619]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction. [423] [593] [606] [571] [574] [513]

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have 178 628

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to
[628] those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective
178 change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others.
562 They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage.
666 Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local
[626] twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women,
[593] for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

178 This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance
185 of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration
727 of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and
[736] seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

177 Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at
178 the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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2

The Family: Economic Activities

594 THE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES of the family as the most significant social unit in Vasilika will become clearer in the ensuing discussions. For the present, the family in the village may be defined as what has variously been called the "elementary," "nuclear," or "conjugal" family; that is, a husband and wife and their children. It is the welfare of his own family as a corporate entity which motivates the actions of the villager; and the family is the group whose members work in cooperation to try to maintain or to improve [554] their common position. The villagers measure prestige and honor by the degree to which a family succeeds in fulfilling its obligations. From their point of view, 594 the essential family obligation is to maintain a ratio between property and children such as to enable each child, when the property is divided in equal shares 556 among all the children, to maintain, in turn, a decent standard of living for his 428 family. This goal commonly requires not only an effort to conserve the wealth received from previous generations, but also, if possible, to increase it. The villagers act as if they conceive of the family as a kin group which conserves, accumulates, and transmits wealth from one generation to the next. The ability to transmit wealth is especially important. The villagers consider a man who is rich in lands but has no children an object of pity; the man's wife is considered [593] even more unfortunate. This is because the contemplation of the success of their children gives the life of a married couple a large part of its meaning. In the [583] operation of the inheritance and dowry systems in the region, a son may be given his share of the patrimony in the form of an education and a daughter given hers as her dowry at marriage. An educated son who has a civil service job in a town, or a daughter whose dowry was large enough for her parents to have found a schoolteacher husband for her, can give to the parents lasting inner satisfaction and the joy of being able to tell of their child's exploits. To be able 593 to sit and watch such adult children, or even an industrious farming son, as they talk to visitors of their adventures, or as, on a feast day, they eat the food their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
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parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*. 593

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters. 162 592

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households. 621 592 241 434 433

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two *stremata* (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two 245 221 804 273 372 252 147 461 412 462

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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584 from the village or from the community of the prospective spouse, rather than a professional. On the groom's side, the father participates in the negotiations, but the prospective groom himself is present and active in the proceedings. His decision as to the minimum value of the dowry and the form in which he will accept it is the crucial one.

The dowry negotiations and the final marriage contract can be usefully discussed, therefore, as analogous to a commercial transaction in which each side tries to get the most value at the least cost. For the bride's father, the material 583 costs include the land and cash he must give as part of his daughter's dowry. 428 She is, of course, legally and customarily entitled to her share of the patrimony, but except for the cash, the determination of just how much is her share is not 423 easy to arrive at. A farmer, as we have seen, holds land in scattered parcels of different quality; some of the parcels are in the immediate vicinity of Vasilika, no more than an hour's walk away from the village; others may have been part of his wife's dowry and may, therefore, be near her village; his house has value, but since his daughter will not live with him, he cannot give her part of it. The problem is solved in Vasilika by making a rough estimate of the money value of the parents' property in terms of gold sovereigns (*lires*) and then determining how many *lires* a girl is entitled to. Since the end of the Greek Civil War in [436] 1949, the drachma has been stabilized, and the villagers as well as the rest of [454] the Greek population are gaining confidence in the currency. However, the belief that gold sovereigns, worth approximately $10 each in 1961, are the only trustworthy form of cash is still common in Greece, as is the hoarding of the sovereigns and the requirement that bills be paid in them. The villagers evaluate [435] property in terms of *lires* and always speak of a dowry as one of so many *lires*, regardless of whether the property transferred is cash or land or both.

● 593 Besides the property costs of the dowry, a farmer loses the labor of his daughter both on the farm and in the household. Finally, there is an emotional 152 cost to the parents, particularly to the mother, at the marriage of a daughter. A mother loses the companionship of a friend, a confidante, and a working partner in the house and the fields. Among the more prosperous farmers, girls marry in [582] their middle or late twenties. As a result mothers frequently have had many years of cooperation with grown daughters. The wrench at parting is seriously felt. Mothers in Vasilika openly lament the loss of their daughters and speak frequently of how much they miss their absent girls.

581 When a marriage is contemplated between families of equal wealth and social position, for example, when the daughter of a farmer is being married to 584 a man who expects to stay on his father's farm, and when his share of the farm has approximately the same value as what the girl brings in as a dowry, the negotiations are relatively straightforward. Each side can then limit itself to checking on the claims the other is making and to surveying the total situation. Is the yield of the land the girl is bringing what her father says it is? Will the son-in-law be entitled to the share of the land he claims he will have? Does the [593] boy have so many sisters that his father may die before they have been married off leaving the boy with the responsibility of dowering them? Is the father-in-law's house well enough equipped so that the girl will be able to live at approxi-

mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454]
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593 ●
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he
had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they
want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the [584]
fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the
management and control of movable and personal property that he received with
his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the standpoint of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control [606]
over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

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369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
471

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called
594 *vasana*, a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi*," "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika*, the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the
new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that
● [593] their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live
594 well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from
dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings
to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes,
511 return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

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management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

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583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
583 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of
182 family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

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village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksehazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

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855 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways
865 as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders.
867 However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in [593] accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

577 Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and
867 falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies, *psemata,* is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a
156 milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end [578] of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"ponyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly
577 one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village.
578 An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

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is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

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000 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and
562 women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in
521 the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves,
829 women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the
[834] village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the
[576] kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi-
[594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of
[577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear,
[828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but
[834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working
[594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in
593 the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

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wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality.

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification.

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages.

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized.

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter.

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have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another 369
daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and 602
one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions.

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had 369
achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance 602
of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, 554
they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators.

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult 571
sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have 602
some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this 369
group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or 593
more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children [425]
are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences.

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly [574]
favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction.

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over 571
which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision 583
is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry 425
contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to 593
the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the

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sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

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which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113] [p. 26(A)]

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urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come
to be associated with low social position and low income, [593]
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization [511]
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers [583]
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of 828
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion.
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet 152
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo*
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, 156
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626] [834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538] [702]

/29 cont./

leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserving by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry. This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, 602
her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of [195]
"we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the [538]
plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother 594
must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his 593
age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard [577]
or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can [183]
wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in 583
the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often 584
functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned [602]
with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, [607]
with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young 584
men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes 832
or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A
861 mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise
[184] them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older rela-
tives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The dis-
[865] obedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child
553 is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with
[608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]
543

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 87
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?" "Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agreement is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea. 243 465

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker provided for himself. 243 464 594 243 466 [412]

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where their services are no longer needed. 124 464 178

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance,*[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, 562
even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she 593
give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect [574]
or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her.

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from 538
the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in 593
military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from [212]
Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula:

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express [858]
> longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will [583]
> say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name].

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one 594
must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. [511]
One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

[584] Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

[654] Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the
[511] children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

[578] These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good
[831] analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

562 594 184 does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

593 594 [178] [586] [562] [178] [369]

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[9]

562 641 666

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

562 641 593 [626] [623] [177]

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

562 593

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

854 [177] [856]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

853 [854]

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

291 [854] [515] [593] [828]

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

861 594

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
● 594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
184 receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by per-
184 sonal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

1:Sanders Z-5,X (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

583 In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were [243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of [465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

"It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of 594 it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee [571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries [438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra,* or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[8] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what [583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of 184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers 178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)
3 medium pans	

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, [581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
241 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
● 594 near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
[435] ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
626 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
183 the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first
time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other
young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no
serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually
themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a
start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to con-
tinue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are in-
volved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary
before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the
practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the
fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort
have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may
even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there
is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that
much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
369 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
602 emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

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184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern
454 farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
241 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
594 time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away
184 from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization
184 is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

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361 church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

621 The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village [361] is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora.* Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other [443] of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to [527] drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians [533] come to the *aghora,* and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighbor- [535] ing settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora,* and, 621 indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is 562 conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, 437 and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

594 The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's [423] married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The 342 structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. [178] The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white-washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, [343] and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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361 houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

621 Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings
156 has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with
[594] the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore
[484] does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

621 To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement
484 in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settlement, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore,
494 never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *aghora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the
[512] spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

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such as electrification and the provision of a reservoir for water to be piped to the houses. But the village is neither the moral center of the life of the villagers, nor is it, as an entity in its own right, one of their dominant interests.

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Starting an ethnography with a chapter called "The Setting" is a common practice among anthropological writers. By implication, what will follow is a kind of play for which the "setting" provides the scene. Such a beginning is particularly appropriate to Vasilika, because the village has, for its inhabitants, as well as for the observer, some of the quality of a stage-set. The people of Vasilika seem to think of their fellow villagers as acting the role of the chorus in ancient Greek drama (it is the chorus which comments on the action). The main action of the "play" in the village lies in the life of the family. We have heard villagers exclaim in connection with some intense family situation, "*Ti dhrama!*" "What a tragedy!"

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From an anthropological point of view, the family in Vasilika is significant not only as the focus of interest for the villagers, but also as a separable unit of the social structure of the settlement. In cultural terms, the patterns in which families participate as a unit form a large part of the culture of the entire community. The next three chapters are therefore devoted to the activities of the village families.

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2

The Family: Economic Activities

594 THE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES of the family as the most significant social unit in Vasilika will become clearer in the ensuing discussions. For the present, the family in the village may be defined as what has variously been called the "elementary," "nuclear," or "conjugal" family; that is, a husband and wife and their children. It is the welfare of his own family as a corporate entity which motivates the actions of the villager; and the family is the group whose members work in cooperation to try to maintain or to improve [554] their common position. The villagers measure prestige and honor by the degree to which a family succeeds in fulfilling its obligations. From their point of view, 594 the essential family obligation is to maintain a ratio between property and children such as to enable each child, when the property is divided in equal shares 556 among all the children, to maintain, in turn, a decent standard of living for his 428 family. This goal commonly requires not only an effort to conserve the wealth received from previous generations, but also, if possible, to increase it. The villagers act as if they conceive of the family as a kin group which conserves, accumulates, and transmits wealth from one generation to the next. The ability to transmit wealth is especially important. The villagers consider a man who is rich in lands but has no children an object of pity; the man's wife is considered [593] even more unfortunate. This is because the contemplation of the success of their children gives the life of a married couple a large part of its meaning. In the [583] operation of the inheritance and dowry systems in the region, a son may be given his share of the patrimony in the form of an education and a daughter given hers as her dowry at marriage. An educated son who has a civil service job in a town, or a daughter whose dowry was large enough for her parents to have found a schoolteacher husband for her, can give to the parents lasting inner satisfaction and the joy of being able to tell of their child's exploits. To be able 573 to sit and watch such adult children, or even an industrious farming son, as they talk to visitors of their adventures, or as, on a feast day, they eat the food their

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fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

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3

The Family: Consumption Habits

511 594 [454] INCREASED INCOME resulting from technological advances in Vasilika has given the present generation in the village a wider choice of alternatives for allotting their resources than that enjoyed by their predecessors. The first call upon the family's income, after the needs of subsistence, is felt to be the accumulation of a dowry for the daughters and (since there is rarely land enough for all) the provision of an education or apprentice-training for all the sons except the one or two who could eventually be provided with enough land to farm profitably. The process by which these obligations are fulfilled is the subject of the next chapter. Here, our concern is with the goods and services used by the villagers, with particular emphasis on the overtones of meaning that accompany them.

[574] [556] The differences among the households of Vasilika in furnishings, foods, clothing, and hospitality patterns are not great on an absolute scale, but the small differences have, on the local scale, as much significance to the people of Vasilika as the corresponding differences do in any middle-class suburb in the United States. Family self-respect is maintained, and family rivalries are carried on in the village partly by demonstrating levels of taste through consumption habits.

511 369 What the villagers admire and try to emulate are standards of living and of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities. Their knowledge of these standards is acquired through the first-hand information brought back by their town relatives and by what they themselves notice on their own visits to urban centers.

The base to which the new standards are adapted, or for which they are substituted, is a set of patterns for rural living customary in the Boeotian countryside.

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Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village. 511 342 [556]

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns. [354]

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses. 342 511 414 [515]

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose. 352 511 [353]

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area. 342 511 [353]

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below. [354]

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are [574] [594]

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebra-
511 tions, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests
574 are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an
uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and
594 because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to en-
[356] tertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center
511 of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy
white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled
[215] with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living
[353] away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed
[583] along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at
[574] least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead
[574] owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of
215 their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Ad-
353 ditional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also
511 decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios
207 in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families
511 have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary
[264] to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the
365 evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like
[354] fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family
342 may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on
511 wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they
[296] may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the
[513] terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon
247 tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which
511 the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately
[263]

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The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos,* as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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4

The Family: Dowry and Inheritance; Formal Structure[1]

182 THE DOWRY AND INHERITANCE SYSTEM in Vasilika is primarily a mecha-
428 nism by which property is transferred from one generation to the next.
583 It is this kind of mechanism, but it is also more. By reason of the context of values in which they operate and because of their specific characteristics, dowry and inheritance patterns as they function in Vasilika have ramifications not only for the Boeotian countryside but also for Greece as a whole.

Inheritance by Sons

428 Both the Greek laws of inheritance and village custom require that
583 property be divided equally among all the children, sons and daughters alike.
[671] Some receive their shares through inheritance or by gifts while the parents are still alive, but the daughters of a family are entitled to their share at marriage in
[594] the form of a dowry. Since, from the standpoint of the villagers, a man's most compelling obligation is to arrange for the successful marriage of his daughters, and since no girl in Vasilika can normally expect to marry without at least a token dowry, the girls have first lien on the family's property. For most of
[423] Vasilika's families, land holdings are the most valuable assets, and dowries are, therefore, calculated ordinarily as a transfer of a share of the land from parents to a daughter and through her to the jurisdiction of her husband. However, if a family's land holdings are such that it is obvious that by giving daughters their

[1] Portions of this chapter were presented as a paper at a conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean held at Burg Wartenstein in July 1959, and will appear in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, scheduled for publication in 1962.

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share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *panyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

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the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

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871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
594 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.

[554] Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

[166] The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[369] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the his-
594 tory of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However,
[123] emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inherit-
369 ance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
428 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown
511 up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

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first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata*, are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings,and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a baby-tender were needed.

When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neighbors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

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tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw.

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision.

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist-

596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
425 further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

369 or economically maginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to lo so.
471

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called
594 *vasana*, a task full o tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the lon; run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention he size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born o one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi*," "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika*, the villagers regard it a a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the
new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that
[593] their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from
594 dressmaking used ther earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings
to her father who use it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes,
511 return some to help n the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the sugestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated or her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

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management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[8] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[8] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

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of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms.

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece.

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction.

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground, although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo*

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is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"gligbord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [5[illegible]] 594 [595]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562] different from each other for that.

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000 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and
562 women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in
521 the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves,
829 women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the
[834] village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the
[576] kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi-
[594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of
[577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear,
[828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but
[834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working
[594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in
593 the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

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621 Evidence suggests that 186 an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609 they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574 thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577] petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828] expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of con- [685] versation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at [521] a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually [522] in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant be- [183] havior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621 identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it 186 must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156 reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride 828 in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 476 and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594] family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464] daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663] official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554] his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are [185] entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619 for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829 as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is [621] profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181] with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

However, Vasilika is an open community in
369 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
463 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
871 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
[873] gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who
[166] wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the
age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six
years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son
may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office
employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an
employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a
neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent
[702] years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in
the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation un-
doubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too
early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

•594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the
[873] town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash out-
lay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent
farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land
resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his
sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of
land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of
the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
554 tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
58 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is al-
most impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future
social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the
dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or
city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either
train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they
have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a
dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to
engage in these occupations.[9] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual,
therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of
602 his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a taxi-driver, to

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi community is very important and needs some consideration. Farming is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manufacturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized /15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

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The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/28 cont./ 603 867 702 [538]
always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

/02 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard but should not question how and why the money was spent. The farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen, implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spending money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
civilized the more his needs increase.

/03/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley. Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal. The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cooking. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the starch foods. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The [438]
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed oil.

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 544
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter [855] practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular [852] liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [996] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is be- [527] cause the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserving by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry. This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal. [461] [369]

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 264 555 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread. [369]

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-58 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece
[591] at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591
596 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
606 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
607

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 the return from the church and then distributes the pieces to the guests. In the same place, an open lock is placed in the groom's pocket before he goes to the church, and it is shut tight during the ceremony to signify that the union will not be broken.

585 178 Another widespread custom is the attempt on the part of the bride to try to step on the groom's foot during the ceremony when she has to promise to obey; being forewarned, the groom tries to step on her foot, for this is supposed to show who will be the boss of the new home. Couples who want to appear modern agree in advance not to compete in this respect, although in ceremonies around Larissa it is not unusual for the groom's friends to call out to him to be sure the bride does not step on his foot. Another touch of modernity is the honeymoon in Athens, which some of the couples in the more prosperous villages of Thessaly think an important part of getting married.

591 583 [423] As would be expected, each couple wishes to move into a house of its own. In some parts of Thrace, where there is still communal land, a plot may be given to a young man on which to build a house; or he may find room for a new dwelling not far from the parental home, providing the house is his responsibility and not the girl's. The determining factor, however, is the cost of building a new home. Elsewhere in Greece, if the bride brings enough gold sovereigns, they may be used to help pay for the cost of a home; or if the bride brings a new house, as she does in the islands, then the couple is set up for separate housekeeping.

In the Peloponnesos, where there is no longer much communal land, it is not unusual for the bride's parents to provide a strip of land on which a new home is to be built. In the dowry discussions they agree to give money to the future son-in-law in two stages: first, an amount sufficient for the construction of the house which he builds according to the girl's wishes and after much discussion with her. This sum must be spent on the house. The second installment is in land or money to cover the cost of furnishing the new home. The young man has the responsibility for seeing that the house is built, but the house belongs to the bride.

591 596 [177] Where there is no new home available, it is most common for patrilocal residence to follow, and the girl must learn to adjust to the family circle of her husband. But the Greek peasant is practical enough to decide each case on its merits. If the girl's family has greater need of a man, then the couple will go to her home to live. For example, if the girl has no brother and she is to inherit her parents' house, then the couple go to live there. Only in a few parts of Northern Greece, where Slavic influence is found, do two or more married brothers live as a joint family with their elderly parents. In most Greek villages one of the brothers, often the eldest, inherits the ancestral home, and it is expected that the other brothers will manage to set up separate establishments.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold-
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and [434]
unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 523
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

596 mother, and any additional properties acquired by their father in the course of
428 his lifetime.

Division of the Patrimony

The division of the property is always a dramatic event in the lives of the villagers. They believe that the separation of brothers is necessitated more by human than by economic considerations. They explain that brothers should be able to get along with each other and work together under the supervision of the eldest. Harmonious relations between brothers are highly approved in the village, and their maintenance is considered a moral obligation. But, the villagers will add, "What can you do?" When the wives and children of several brothers are part of the same household, inevitably they quarrel. One wife complains that her children's shoes are all worn out while her nieces and nephews are wearing new shoes. The matter of the work contributions to the joint household causes dissension; each wife tries to convince her husband that he works harder than the others. The children of one brother may cry at night and keep another brother and his wife from getting proper sleep. There also may be some envy if the dowry received by one brother is larger than that of the others.

The decision to divide the property may be delayed in spite of considerable disharmony in the household for several reasons. First, division implies a kind of moral defeat. Second, there are economic factors which favor the maintenance of a joint household. It cuts down on the consumption expenditures for each of the families; more women are released for work in the fields because the young children may be cared for at home by the grandmother or by only one of the wives; and the amount invested in farm animals and equipment can be held down because they are cooperatively used. Then, too, as one farmer puts it, before brothers divide the patrimony, it seems as if they have a lot of land and are earning a good living, but once the property is divided, each brother has little and then one sees that the family was not so wealthy after all. Appearances
[554] are important to the villagers, and a group of brothers may be reluctant to reveal the details of their economic condition. But the most important impediment to the separation of the brothers is the house itself. For the house is part of the patrimony, and if the brothers separate, the housing must also somehow be divided among them. There are several ways in which the villagers have solved this last problem.

342 When there are only two brothers involved, the house may be physically
596 divided simply by building a wall between two sets of rooms both upstairs and
428 downstairs. The brothers work together to improve both parts of the house so that each is of equal value and then draw lots to determine which brother gets which part (Levy 1956). Such houses are thenceforth called *dhipla* (double houses), and two or more families live in them as in entirely different establishments. Once the households are separated, a brother who has received cash in his wife's dowry is now able to make further improvements in his side of the house without regard for the other. There were four double houses in Vasilika in 1961.

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None were then occupied by brothers; their occupants were second and third generation descendants of the brothers who had originally put in the wall. The houses showed the effects of the long separation. In one of the houses, one side has been inhabited by a branch of the family that is losing its lands; that side has no additions and is in poor repair. The descendants of the other brother have prospered and have added some rooms and a terrace to their side of the house. In another case, both parts of the house have been expanded and modernized but in different ways. 342 596 428

Vasilika's houses are not ordinarily large enough to be divided into more than two parts. If there are more than two brothers, or if the paternal house is small, another solution to the housing problem exists. Here, the brothers agree to refurnish the ancestral house which one of them will continue to inhabit, and to build, in addition, new houses to the number of the remaining farmer brothers. The significance of the agreement is that the cost of the new houses and the repair and modernization of the old will be borne by the patrimony. Moreover, the brothers do not decide in advance which one is to have which house. That decision is made by drawing lots after the new houses are habitable and the old one has been improved. In a sense, the brothers agree jointly to improve the father's estate before they take their shares. The process is not different from that involved when the men in a joint household buy land which is added to the estate and is eventually divided among them. The process of building the new houses takes years (in one case where two new houses were built, the actual work took seven years) and during that time the brothers and their wives watch carefully to make sure that no one house is less well equipped than any other; for no man knows which of the houses it will fall to his lot to own.

The drawing of lots and thereby the division of the property does not have to await the completion of the new houses. As in the towns and cities in Greece, a dwelling is considered habitable at what to an American view is an early stage in its construction. Villagers will live in a house in which the ground-level rooms still have earthen floors, in which there is no ceiling to hide the rafters and to exclude the earth and dust that the wind sends through the roof, in which only the outer stone walls have been completed and the inner walls have not yet been plastered or stuccoed. Even at that, the cost of labor and materials for the basic stone or brick shell of a two-story house in Vasilika can absorb the surplus cash from joint holding of some eighty *stremata* for two or three years. [435]

Once it is agreed that the new houses are ready for occupancy and that the old house has been sufficiently improved, the moment for the separation has come. The farmers are then joined by any town brothers they may have and they sit down together to evaluate the patrimonial property. No women participate in the deliberations. First, the men examine their land resources and make up sets of holdings of equal value. For example, if there are three farming brothers, virtually all the patrimonial land will be divided into three parcels; one parcel may have an extra *stremata* of vineyard as compared to the other two parcels, but that will make up for the fact that the second and third parcels consist of cotton lands which are slightly more fertile than those assigned to the 596 428

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596 428 first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several [736] *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata,* are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings,and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the [736] mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a baby-tender were needed.

596 594 428 When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neigh- [476] bors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the [426] village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from [607] whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

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tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw.

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision.

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist-

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596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
425 further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"gligbord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [561] [594] [596]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562] different from each other for that.

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

602
Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and [596]
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which 178
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the 621
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [582]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro-
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different [736]
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [737]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in. 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584] 562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women. 562 596 [462] [515]

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics. 461 462

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals. [241] [275]

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities. [443]

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt, 241 461 [594] [423] [484] [262]

/21 cont./ The
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 443
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 437
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they 433
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/23 cont./

more economical. It distributes the work among all members of the family. The cost of living is low and the depreciation on machinery and working animal is low. The difficulties that usually arise here are as follows: 596 [241]

1. One leader in the family who has the right to command all.

2. Mother-in-law has the complete house work organization. She tells the rest what each has to do. In case she has a special inclination to favor one, the rest have to bear the burden of the work without objection. This usually creates hard feelings and starts the division of the family.

3. Usually the older son has more children than the younger son, and in case one of the sons does not have any, he has to work just as hard for the support of his /24/ brother's children. Things of this sort usually create hard feelings and lead to the disorganization of the family.

4. Often the father of the family, taking advantage of the good cooperation of his sons, spends money for his own good time, like drinking, dressing better and traveling. With the increase of modern facilities and modern customs the compound family is disappearing. [178]

Marriage and Courtship.

It was the custom for many years for the parents to hunt and find a suitable wife for their son. Usually the girl had to satisfy the parents' desires. The son had to consent whether he wanted her or not. That was the accepted custom. This is still true with only 40% of the marriages and is rapidly disappearing. The young men are looking ahead of the time for their future partner. In dancing squares, during holiday celebrations and at wedding ceremonies they have a chance to express to each other their admiration and their preference. Nothing is done publicly so as to avoid gossip since the old customs still prevail. The young men very often form a group and sing by the window of their girl friend. If the father suspects anything the punishment is heavy. 584 178 [626] [832]

/82 cont./
peaceful rest of their dead. They donate to the church either money or wheat. On St. Nicolas day, the people from remote villages bring either a chicken, a pig, a cow, a calf, a sheep, or a goat to the church as a present. Numerous animals are lined in the yard of the church which are sold in auction the same day. /83/ Every Sunday morning at the church service a tray is passed to the people for contributions. The selling of candles brings an appreciable amount of money. The church has its fields which are either worked or hired to others to swell the income of the church.

794 [769] [437] [427]

Part VIII Living Together.

Mutual aid. Both groups, the Thracians and the Caucasians, before settling in this village had a civilization of their own. The isolation of the Caucasians in the interior part of mountainous Caucasus has developed a unique type of civilization mostly built around their community life. Here they had the compound type of family organized under the direct rule of the oldest in the family. In spite of the large number in the family the work was divided every day among all. Every one did his best with no complaint. The men gave blind obedience to the head of the family and the women to the mother. The obedience was so strict that misunderstanding would seldom occur. Every one was specialized in his or her own work. All buying and selling was done by the head of the family. No one could smoke, speak, nor could sit by the head of the family unless told to do so. A strictly military type of rules were observed. The father decided the marriage age of his son and this usually would coincide with the need of more labor in the family. Sometimes /84/ the need for labor was so great that the age of 15 was thought practical to give the solution for extra labor. The grandma was responsible for the education of the children either in household work or school work. The children call their mother by her first name and instead, call the grandma, mother.

621 596

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works

793 The contrast between an ordinary priest's home and the bishop's palace
794 in Kalamata is quite marked, for the latter was once the ornate building
[346] housing the local branch of the Bank of Greece. But the bishop's interest in the people of his diocese, both the city dwellers in Kalamata and the farmers in the surrounding villages, equaled that of any priest for his parishioners. The bishop, when visited in 1953, proved a friendly, jovial person, with an iron-gray beard, a dignified though rotund figure, and a very forward-looking social philosophy. It was this latter quality in particular that had made me seek him out after hearing from friends in Athens of his unusual achievements in the welfare field.

He began to talk about what he had done and hoped to do for his people: "I became interested when I saw their great needs, for, as a church leader, I am responsible for the welfare of whatever people are under me." But before he started on any specific projects after his arrival in this diocese, he had thought it best, as he phrased it, "to put myself at the disposal of the people." He gradually gained the confidence of the members of his diocese by making available to them for local use all of the church's funds derived from festivals. The people began to realize that this bishop was interested in them. Later on, when he began asking them to support the various projects which he started, they gladly cooperated.

793 His first project was a day nursery, which takes care of one hundred and
747 twenty children whose mothers are at work, started in 1947. Visiting this nursery in the afternoon when all of the children had gone home, we noted the cleanliness and the simple but adequate facilities. The success of this nursery prompted the bishop to start another one in Mycenae for one hundred children in 1948.

736 One perplexing problem was that of illegitimate children. In many cases
793 the mother would kill such a child or leave it with people who exploited it
848 unmercifully. So he started a home for these children in 1947. Since then, two hundred and fifty children have gone through the home, sixty of them
[597] have been adopted and fifty were there then. The equipment was simple
[847] and bare, but everything was spotless. When we entered, the children came up to the bishop with great pleasure, for he is a favorite with the young children. One of the nurses told us: "When we have a child that is lonesome, who won't eat, we ask the bishop to come feed the child. When he comes, the child always eats."

793 The bishop noticed, however, that many of the boy foundlings, but rela-
736 tively few of the girl foundlings, would be adopted. The boys who were not taken by foster parents by their fifth or sixth year would go into the National
[597] Boys' Orphanage of Kalamata, largely supported by the state, which had
[657] one hundred and fifty boys in 1953. Something had to be done for the girls.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59
583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
182 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

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aunt, uncle, niece, and nephew are directly translatable into the English words, 601
except that the linguistic forms vary for males and females, and that, in fact, 171
the villagers refer to distinctions between first and second cousins more frequently than Americans do.[4] Like ours, the system is characterized by the distinctness of elementary family terms, the separation of generations, and the equal consideration of both father's and mother's line of descent in the terms for all consanguineal (blood) relatives. So far the Greek terms are also entirely congruent with the actual functioning distinctiveness of the elementary family and the existing bilateral descent in the country. There is special interest for us, [581]
however, in the Greek terms for affinal relatives (that is, relatives by marriage) which, in some instances, differ from those in English and are, in turn, congruent with the particular significance of marriage in Greek social structure.

Petheros (masculine) and *pethera* (feminine) are equivalent to English 601
father-in-law and mother-in-law, but there is an additional, reciprocal Greek
term which two sets of in-laws use in referring to each other: *simpetheros* and 581
simpethera. In English these must be rendered as "my son's or daughter's father- or mother-in-law." The Greek terms, then, group together the parents of a husband and wife with a term of reference roughly translatable as "co-in-laws." The Greek word for son-in-law, *ghambros*, is also used to mean groom, and that for daughter-in-law, *nifi*, is also used for bride. Moreover, all the members of a man's elementary family, not only his parents, but also his brothers and sisters, all refer to his wife as their *nifi*, and all the members of a woman's elementary family refer to her husband as their *ghambros*. The terms *nifi* and *ghambros*, then, are not equivalent to any English kin terms, but must be translated as "that man or woman who has married a member of my elementary family." At least two generations, that of parents and their children, use the same terms to refer to people normally in the younger generation. In other words, the generational distinctiveness characteristic of terms for blood relatives is replaced by the status designation for a person who has married into an elementary family. This disregard of generation is not reciprocated, however, by the spouses of one's children or by one's brothers and sisters. As we have seen, mother and father of one's spouse are called *petharos* and *pethera;* now we can add that brothers and sister of one's spouse are referred to as *kunyadhos* and *kunyadha*, that is brother- and sister-in-law.

The status category of marriage into a particular elementary family appears again, however, in the existence of distinct terms by which men who have married two sisters refer to each other, *badzanakidhes*, and by which women who have married two brothers refer to each other, *sinifadhes*. Men who have married sisters and women who have married brothers have to deal with the same sets of in-laws and this constitutes a common bond which is signalized by the terms just given. Another way of saying this is that those women who are referred to as *nifi* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *sinifadha*, and those men who are referred to as *ghambros* by the same actual kin, also have a name for each other, *badzanakis*.

[4] See Andromedas (1957) for a complete list of modern Greek kinship terms.

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 557 [581] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal [582] connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since [612] the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be [369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

Letter to the Editor

Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use

Sir:

114 As a graduate student in anthropology and a person of Greek descent, I
197 would like to correct the inaccuracy, both as to words used and their modern
forms, of the Modern Greek kinship terms in Edmonson's "Kinship Terms
601 and Kinship Concepts" (AA 59:393–433). The inaccuracy does not affect the thesis or conclusions of the paper, nor is it the fault of the author but rather of the vexed language problem of Greece. The terms given by Edmonson are not the everyday terms of the Modern Greek spoken language (*demotike*), but the revived Ancient Greek (more or less) terms of the artificially created literary language (*katharevousa*). Indeed, Pernot found it necessary to treat the two as separate languages in his *Grammaire du Grec Moderne*.

This is not the place to go into the bitter language controversy; suffice it to say that any dictionary written by a Greek is to a greater or lesser degree an unreliable index to what is actually said by the people. Edmonson's procedure of checking his Greek dictionary data with a native speaker was of course correct but unfortunately to no avail, as most Greeks of any sophistication will feel called upon to give the "right" or dictionary word if asked, especially to a professor. However, this is not to say that the *katharevousa* terms are never used in speech, but their frequency is low and the number of speakers is limited.

601 Since the actual kinship terminology of Modern Greek has, to my knowl-
[114] edge, not yet been published, I am submitting the kin terms used by my rela-
tives and compatriots in America and in Laconia in the hope that they may be
made available for use by interested researchers. (The system of transliterа-
[104] tion is roughly that of Kahane and Ward.)

Modern Greek Kinship Terminology

father	patéras, babás
mother	mitéra, mamá, mána
parents	ghonís
brother	adherfós
sister	adherfí
siblings	adhérfia (n. pl.)
son	yos
daughter	kóri
child	pedhí (n.)
parent's father	papús
parent's mother	yáya
parent's parent's father	prospápu
parent's parent's mother	prósyaya
child's son	ángonas
child's daughter	angóna

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

Collateral consanguineal relatives of ascending generations and their spouses: thios, thia (uncle, aunt); bárbas (uncle, a familiar term.). 601

Collateral consanguineal relatives of descending generations and their spouses: anepsyós, anepsyá (newphew, niece).

Collateral consanguineal relatives of the same generation and their spouses: (e)xádherfos, (e)xadhérfi (cousin); protoxádherfos (first cousin); xadhérfia (cousinhood, cousinry).

The older collateral relative is presumed to be of an ascending generation, but the technicality can be insisted upon for precision or humor (as when a woman inisted on several occasions that her three-year-old daughter was my aunt). Then, too, fully descriptive phrases can be used in reference, e.g., my uncle, the first cousin of my father. [522]

Member of a family related by marriage: simpétheros, simpethéra (co-father-in-law, co-mother-in-law)

father of spouse	pentherós
mother of spouse	pentherá
brother of spouse	kunyádhos
sister of spouse	kunyádha

For other relatives of spouse, the same terms as spouse uses.

wife of son	nífi (bride)
wife of brother	nífi
husband of sister	ghambrós (groom)
husband of daughter	ghambrós
wife	yinéka (woman), kiría (Mrs.)
husband	ándras(man), kírios (Mr.)
spouse	sízighos
husband of wife's sister	batzanákis
wife of husband's brother	sinifádha (co-bride)
godfather	nonós
godmother	noná
godson	vaftistikós
goddaughter	vaftistiká

Members of families related by godparenthood: kumbáros, kumbára. [608]

wedding sponsor and spouse	kumbáros, kumbára

Members of families related by wedding-sponsorship: kumbáros, -a.

When a woman marries she customarily takes not only her husband's last name but his first as well, plus a suffix, -ena or -u, depending on the number of syllables and the accentuation of the name; e.g., Dhimítrios-Dhimítrena, Dhiamandís-Dhiamandú. This is not grammatical gender; the suffix means "wife of," and can be added even to nicknames. The given name is still used by the family of procreation and others. The suffix -ítsa added to a woman's maiden name indicates née so-and-so. Family names can form the plural of their respective declensions or add the suffix -éi (ancient *atoi*, "natives of"), 193 551 [553]

4:Andromedas E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

193 indicating the members and partisans of a family or clan; e.g., Tsavaléi, Andro-
551 midhéi, Kolokotronéi, Petimezéi (Cf. Pernot, vol. I, p. 86).

Of the Modern Greek kinship terms listed above, most existed with the
177 same or much the same meaning in Ancient Greek. However, the latter had a
● 601 much richer and more varied vocabulary in the totality of its literature, and the reduction has been considerable. It included many non-Indo-European loan words of which *theîos* and *anepsiós*, among others, survive today. The modern loan words are kunyádhos, bárbas, yáya, and batzanákis, from Romance, Turkish, etc. The bulk of borrowings and replacements of common Indo-European kin terms had occurred already in ancient times. For instance, *adelphós*, *-é* (modern *adherfós*), literally "co-uterine" (from *delphýs*, womb, a word of uncertain origin), became the sibling terms in place of **phrâter* and
[113] **eór* which dropped out before Homer. The full roster of classic and Homeric kin terms can be found in Miller's "Greek Kinship Terminology."

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VII

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

602 tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone [593] to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use [431] or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give [556] generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed [521] a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to [177] which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which 593 they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of 596 villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in [583] the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daugh- [462] ters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; [583] do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the [512] mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> [857] The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not [461] because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away [887] to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot
[432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at
[461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be
[594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable
[554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman,
[581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start
[883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much
[584] to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the
[454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumu-
[426] late a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the re-
[626] quired amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a
[183] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating
[602] the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

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or Asia Minor who moved into the village in the 1920s, thus showing that participation may have something to do with cultural traditions. 275 571

These factors associated with participation may themselves be related to others which have not been spelled out. Then, too, the fact that participation increases with age would also be tied in with the leadership in organizations, since young people seldom attain official positions. Although findings such as these have to be tested in many ways before they become accepted generalizations, they do at least suggest some fruitful leads for further research.

Of equal interest is the reason the peasants give for going to one coffeehouse instead of another. Other accounts of village life had listed cleanliness, reputation, honesty, services provided, and the credit extended as the determining factors in the choice of coffeehouses. [452]

One village study reports as follows:

> Determining factors in the choice of a coffeehouse are the reputation of the owner, his cleanliness, honesty, and the extent of credit given to customers. Social class of an individual does not determine choice of a coffeehouse. An outsider coming to the village for the first time may visit any coffeehouse, but gradually as he becomes acquainted with the village people he will be drawn to a certain shop according to his interests, age, associates, etc.[7]

In this same village one coffeehouse is preferred by aged people. Youngsters, noisy people, and those who play technical games such as cards, chess, and checkers are not found there. A second coffeehouse is preferred by adult and old people, while all the younger people of the village gather in the third coffeehouse, which is popular because of the different games available there and because of its dance floor. This latter innovation means that girls, in the company of their parents or relatives, may visit this particular coffeehouse on Sunday afternoons or holidays in order to dance both the traditional folk dances and what passes in rural areas for modern dances. [535] [562]

One additional study is worth mentioning because it summarizes the type of patronage a village's seven coffeehouses enjoy:

A. Frequented by out-of-towners and employees
B. Employees, strangers, workers in village
C. Dance floor, so attracts mostly young men
D. Adult and old men of village
E. Village residents — not young men
F. Card-playing, so frequented mostly by young men
G. Outdoor coffeehouse — frequented by young men in summer.[8]

A villager will usually patronize the coffeehouse of which a relative is in charge so that he can get credit more easily, or simply give his trade to [602] [452]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 602 452 the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agriculural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

619 the United States, feel a close bond with the others who come from Arcadia.
[575] They form societies to continue this association and to give an opportunity to dance and sing the folk arts of that region.

A Greek villager is, moreover, a Greek. Villages can be uprooted and destroyed, their families dispersed, but Greece goes on as a living spirit and as a mighty cultural heritage. The fact that so many Greek families have
[602] relatives living in other parts of the country, including Athens, means that they keep in fairly close touch with the body politic. They are not merely dependent upon what some village notable or visiting politician tells them; they can hear directly from their relatives just what the state of affairs really
[203] is. This means that kinship plays a part in the communication network on which the national community rests. In conclusion, it is important to look
178 briefly at the role of the villager in the total society, taking our eyes from
619 the village scene and viewing the larger picture. This is necessary if one is to understand the Greek village of the next few years — the one which is emerging — because the changes being introduced come for the most part from outside the village. They are promoted to a considerable degree by national authorities or impersonal forces over which the peasants have relatively little control.

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
241 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
594 near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
[435] ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
626 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
183 the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first
time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other
young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no
serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually
themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a
start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to con-
tinue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are in-
volved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary
before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the
practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the
fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort
have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may
even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there
is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that
much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
369 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
602 emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

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observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm hold- [434]
ings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 583
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at mar-
[421] riage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
425 further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizigbos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 557 [581] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal [582] connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since [612] the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be [369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

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relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari,* on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari,* neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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476 first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among
369 these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board
while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant
602 to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and
608 so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those po-
557 tentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one
person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not
be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to an-
other individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways,
for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospi-
tality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls
from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a
farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and
his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these
extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts
to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct
relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the
network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

571 In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects
602 to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from
each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to him-
608 self, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not
identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied rela-
tionships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary con-
nections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57). 121 369

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations. 114 369 602

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all. 369 602 554 [571] [571]

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 369 554 433 000

369 However, Vasilika is an open community in
463 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
871 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
[873] tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
[166] any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
[702] barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
[873] charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
554 tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
58 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is almost impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[3] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual, therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of
602 his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a taxi [illegible]

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have one daughter married to a tailor in a nearby town, and perhaps another 369
daughter married to a farmer in another village. His own younger brother and 602
one or two of his wife's brothers may be Athenians in white-collar occupations or in one of the professions.

I do not suggest that such a distribution of kin is in itself necessarily significant for understanding urban-rural relations. If the village children who had 369
achieved higher social status in the towns and cities felt that the maintenance 602
of their new status demanded a repudiation of their village-bound relatives, 554
they might sever all connections with the villages as quickly as possible. Or, if the demands made upon upwardly mobile members of the family by those still in the villages were too great, it might also be necessary for village connections to be broken. If these conditions existed, the main line of connection between the villages and the national institutions, and thereby with urban influences, would have to be restricted to contacts with a separate cultural elite (priests, teachers) or with functionally specific economic and political mediators.

This is emphatically not the case in Greece. A farmer and his wife, his adult 571
sons and daughters, and, through the dowry system, his sons-in-law, all have 602
some rights over the farmer's real property. In addition, each member of this 369
group is entitled to benefit from whatever influence or good-will any one or 593
more of the members may have acquired in the village or in the towns. All important decisions concerning any member of this group or any of their children [425]
are therefore made jointly and after considerable face-to-face discussion. Dowry arrangements, sales and exchanges of land, house-building, the education of the children, possible sources of employment in the towns: these and similar matters are settled only through long group conferences.

These conferences are made possible by four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture, in spite of the geographical scatter of the individuals concerned. First, Greeks expect that major decisions will not be arrived at in a hurry, but may—and frequently do—take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and city kin a highly [574]
favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, Greeks do not expect and do not value personal privacy. And fourth, the attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban kin and of the remaining rural kin to each other are conducive to continuing interaction.

The first of these patterns, the habit of long-continued discussion of a problem, is a recognized pattern that goes back to the *Iliad*. The span of time over 571
which discussions continue is augmented by the fact that even when a decision 583
is arrived at, it is not considered final and irrevocable. For example, a dowry 425
contract may call for the transfer of a parcel of land from the bride's father to 593
the bride herself. Two years later, however, the girl's husband may decide that he would prefer his wife to have the money value of the land which would then enable her to buy some town real estate from which the new family could derive more income. This is considered a proper subject for discussion by the bride's father and his brothers as well as by the groom. It might result in the

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593 571 583 425 sale of what is still considered family land—a project which is never undertaken lightly. In a sense, therefore, a case of this kind represents a situation in which the dowry contract is renegotiated two years after the marriage.

574 369 602 593 The pattern of visiting in Greece has certain regularities. The town-dwellers are apt to go back to their home villages or to those of their wives at least twice a year, at Easter and at the patron saint's day celebration of the village. They also go back frequently for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes for the celebration of the name-day of a brother or a father. A man and his family often spend a summer vacation in his village or his wife's. "He has gone back to his village" is a remark made frequently about a vacationing Athenian, and it is regarded as self-explanatory. Townswomen sometimes come to visit the village, bringing their young children with them. This is especially common during the busy agricultural seasons when the grandmother can act as baby-sitter and the young mother can once again help in the fields. In the reverse direction, young unmarried nieces and nephews may spend extended periods visiting their urban aunts and uncles. A village farmer often takes a young son to visit a city relative. A village girl may spend several [874] months, or even years, with a town relative, while she learns to sew or to work as a hairdresser. A town godparent may invite a village godchild to stay at his home for a month or two. Village mothers occasionally go on short visits to their town daughters, although this last is considerably rarer than visiting in the other direction.

369 574 513 [571] [593] All these visits include at least overnight stays, and may last for weeks or longer. They are made possible partly by improved road systems and bus and train services, which, in a country as small as Greece, permit travel at reasonable cost. More important, however, is the Greek lack of interest in privacy. In fact, the notion of privacy cannot be expressed by any Greek word in common use. This lack of concern is reflected in the sleeping arrangements which prevail both in the villages and among the less sophisticated in the towns, including Athens. It is taken for granted that parents and grown children of both sexes may sleep in the same room, and that, if there are not enough beds —and there rarely are—pallets strewn on the floor provide a perfectly adequate substitute. A Greek household is disgraced if there are insufficient pallets and bed-linen available to sleep at least a half-dozen extra people. The entertainment of one's kin is therefore not limited by the number of rooms in a house or apartment, nor by the fact that a household may be too poor to have a large number of bedsteads. Moreover, crowded sleeping arrangements are not considered a hardship by either the urban relative visiting the village or by the villager visiting the city or town.

369 602 [574] [212] [203] [554] Continuing relations between urban and country kin are also facilitated by the fact that, in Boeotia, minimum literacy at the least is almost universal among the male villagers, so that arrangements for visits may be made by correspondence. They are also made by word of mouth, since traveling villagers are willing to carry messages.

Finally, the kinship element in urban-rural relations tends to lessen the

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ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin. [186]

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community. [578] [621]

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 369
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after [296]
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958). [514] [343] [758]

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

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369 602 554 [574] 171 369 602 554 [619]

in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepozatlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918: Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

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contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

NOTES

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[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957.

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[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinos, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia.

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

621 369 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns [513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 517 275 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied [435] by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 464 166 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from villages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons [434] can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his [602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

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[Town Life]

To own land or buildings that will produce an income without personal effort is for most Greeks 471 the pinnacle of ambition; and those who fall short of this ideal 554 but still manage to escape the necessity of manual work sometimes allow the nail of the little finger on one hand to grow long 461 as public proof of their privileged status. 302

Most Greek towns are predominantly commercial centers. 472 Small shops, run by the members of a single family, are far more typical than any larger enterprise. There is a tremendous proliferation of independent entrepreneurs, working often on a shoestring. Even the employees of a larger concern are very likely to dabble on the side in buying or selling some commodity or service, partly because wages and salaries are low and hours are short, but partly also because no Greek really likes to work for someone else if he can possibly work for himself. [366] [441] [465] [466]

This phenomenon is intimately connected with the tight-knit 472 character of Greek families. The members of a family group are ready and willing to work hard for the common benefit, and can usually arrange for a distribution of the profits among themselves without undue quarreling. But a man employed by an outsider, bound to him by no family ties, finds it hard not to feel that he is being exploited. Why should a stranger hire him if not to make something out of him? And why, then, should an employee not do his best to look after himself first and foremost, help his family and relatives next, and let the interests of the larger enterprise in which he is a mere hired hand take a poor third place in his loyalties? 602 466

The result is that when enterprises grow large, and employ persons not bound together by family relationships, they tend to lose much of the efficiency and esprit de corps of the small family undertaking. Nepotism and other forms of special favors done for relatives creep in. Given the strength of Greek family ties, promotion by the cold-blooded criterion of the individual's usefulness to an impersonal organization can scarcely prevail

[Town Life]

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602 against the clamorous demands of deserving relatives who badly need a job.

466 The strong egalitarian spirit that runs through Greek life
557 works in a somewhat parallel fashion to undermine the effi-
476 ciency of large concerns. When every man feels himself just as good as everybody else, personal loyalty to a superior in a bureaucratic organization is difficult to establish. A bold spirit is sorely tempted to launch some sort of petty intrigue against his immediate boss, in the hope of displacing him and perhaps inheriting the position. More cautious persons are prone to develop a false servility and flattery of their superiors, in the hope
[609] of winning special confidence and favor. Both attitudes interfere with the effectiveness of large-scale organization; and both arise in large part from the underlying distrust Greeks feel toward anyone outside the sacred circle of the family.

Observations such as these are, of course, impressionistic, and it is not difficult to find many exceptions to the rule. Yet no one can deny that petty intrigue, nepotism and a remarkably ruthless pursuit of individual self-interest are far more widespread in Greece than in more industrially advanced countries. Indeed, these psychological characteristics of the Greek people perhaps have much to do with the relatively backward state of their technology, quite apart from the financial and physical difficulties which also hinder the development of large-scale modern industry in the country. Modern technology is, after all, incompatible with small-scale family enterprise; cooperation of larger numbers of men is necessary, and the traditions of the Greek people make such cooperation difficult to achieve.

This psychological attitude clearly makes the position of wage and salary earners less satisfactory than it might otherwise be. Anyone who has had any contact with the fierce intrigue that often disfigures personal relations among a group of Greek employees is likely to wonder how men can endure such ten-

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conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups. 602

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and [596]
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which 178
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the 621
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. 582
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro-
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different [736]
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [737]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

/21 cont./ The

one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing together. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is, "God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of preventing birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3 members in the family. The compound family makes farming

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always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter [855] practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular [852] liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [796] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is be- [527] cause the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

594 accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne
[156] with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like
[513] to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

594 Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-
593 dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an
156 organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

593 Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of
594 fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to
[589] find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed
[583] sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number
[167] of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for
● 602 younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions
593 and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserv-
661 ing by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who
156 have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

594 On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some
241 property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry.
423 This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece
425 at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626 834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603●

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538 702]

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1:Sanders Z-58 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the
[591] bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

[184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the
[591] bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

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first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata,* are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings,and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a babytender were needed.

When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neighbors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, 602
her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of [195]
"we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the [538]
plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother 594
must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his 593
age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard [577]
or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can [183]
wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in 583
the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often 584
functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned 602
with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, 607
with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young 584
men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes 832
or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

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Yugoslavia EF1
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Greece EH1

[For information on the institution of "godparenthood", Serbo-Croatian "Kumstvo", see the EF6 Serbs file, source 16: Hammel, category 116.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter.

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies:

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown.
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life.
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10]

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

groom's relations. There is gay music and much shooting, which continues once the party has reached the bride's home. There the flag bearer puts the flag on the bride's roof and receives a ring biscuit from the bride in return. The groom gets off his horse and goes up the steps. As he reaches the top step, the bride's mother offers him wine and a boutonniere of basil, marjoram, or other plants, wrapped in a white handkerchief. The groom kisses her hand and she kisses him on both cheeks. She offers him wine, which he drinks, asking for her blessing. He returns the glass and puts the boutonniere in his lapel. The groom now enters the bride's home whereupon all relatives join him and, if they follow the old custom, give a small sum of money to the bride, who now turns toward the east and bows, then west, north, and south, so as to form the sign of the cross. 585 [788] [788]

As soon as the relatives have received some sweet, the bride, usually leaning on the arm of a cousin, starts for the church. The others, including the groom's relatives, follow on foot. Then comes the church ceremony. When the couple have arrived at the altar, the priest begins to read the liturgy and then takes from a box the two wreaths of artificial blossoms, tied together by a ribbon, which the koumbaros has brought; the priest puts them together and says, starting with the man, "the Lord's servant [name] engages the Lord's servant [name]." He touches the foreheads of each as he says his or her name. He then holds the wreaths between the couple and makes the sign of the cross, "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," three times for the groom and three times for the bride. The koumbaros, who is standing between the couple, receives the wreaths from the priest and, as the priest starts a chant, holds the wreaths over the heads of the couple and starts crossing them back and forth. When this is done, he puts the proper wreath on the proper person though the ribbon still connects the two wreaths. The same thing happens with the rings. After the koumbaros puts the rings on the correct fingers, the priest reads from the Bible, "what God hath joined together let no man put asunder" and separates the couple, who have been holding hands by the little fingers, by moving his hand between them. He next administers the communion — a sip of wine to the groom, the bride, and the koumbaros. 585 608

Perhaps the liveliest part of the whole proceeding is the "dance of Isaiah" which follows next. With the priest holding the Bible in one hand and the hand of the groom in the other, with the groom holding the bride, and the bride the koumbaros, the principals go around the table where the wreaths were laid before the ceremony started. They make the circuit three times, stopping four times in each circuit. During the course of this procession everybody is throwing bonbons and rice at the principals, sometimes with such telling force that the priest stops to warn the people not to be so energetic. The circuits completed, the couple and koumbaros resume their earlier position before the altar and listen to the priest read the final Scripture and receive his blessing.

In Artotina, the procession goes from the church to the bride's home. She is led by the groom and the koumbaros. The dowry is then loaded onto the pack animals to the accompaniment of traditional songs. The bride climbs upon the best animal and the groom, when mounted, takes a stand on her right. He takes a golden coin out of his pocket and hands it to her after making the sign of the 585

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585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

[184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

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of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [305] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into [302] curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, [608] may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece [777] of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

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A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of godparents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, stillbirth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty-four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People standing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

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851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[835] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings.
[789] The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The god-
608 parent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[1])

[262] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
[553] fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

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land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is transferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' interests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

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583 wedding to take the *rukba* and the house furnishings she has received as gifts
[585] to the groom's home. The groom hires a truck to do the job, not because there is
so much furniture, but because of the quantity of *rukba*. A Vasilika girl is ex-
[286] pected to have woven at home approximately thirty sheets, six light blankets,
two heavy woolen carpets, five lighter woolen floor coverings, five coarse woolen
blankets, four mattress covers, ten carry-all bags or sacks, two heavy ornamental
table covers, one red-and-white striped and one blue-and-white striped tablecloth
with twelve napkins to match each of the cloths, six cotton face towels, and two
long cotton towels for the tray in which loaves of bread are left to rise before
baking. To this accumulation she will add several pieces that are bought from
[438] itinerant merchants and embroidered at home. Also purchased, usually in town,
are white sheets, pillow cases, and turkish towels as well as the material for
[352] about six pairs of curtains. Furniture consisting of a wooden wardrobe, a bed, a
table, and some chairs may be added, as are the cooking and serving utensils
[431] given to the girl as gifts. The colorful collection fills a small pick-up truck, and
585 the sight of one of these on the road with laughing and singing young men
crowding whatever space is left is a sure sign of a wedding. On Sunday morning
the groom's party, including his marriage sponsor (*kumbaros*), arrive at the
house of the bride. The *kumbaros* leads the group to the house, only to find
the door closed and locked. He begs that the door be opened. The girls inside
giggle and demand 1,000 drachmas to open the door. After some bargaining,
the *kumbaros* gives a five-drachma piece and the party comes in. It is the
[508] *kumbaros* who rents the bride's white wedding gown, provides the wedding
[262] crowns, the large white candles which are held at the ceremony, and the *kufeta*,
the sugar covered almonds arranged in small packages of white netting, tied with
a white ribbon, which he distributes to each of the guests after the ceremony.
[574] After the wedding feast, for which musicians are hired so that the guests can
sing and dance, the bride is accompanied to the groom's home by her brothers
[534] and sometimes a sister. The women, including the bride, all cry as they leave
[152] the girl with her new husband.[2] But even among farmers these customs are
changing, and in recent years the bride and groom have taken to leaving the
[178] wedding guests to go off on a short honeymoon.

Disposition of Dower Property

425 After the marriage of a farmer, the couple is settled in the man's village,
583 usually in the home of his parents. The groom has acquired some parcels of
182 land in his wife's village and a small hoard of cash as well. For the first few
years of his marriage, he may go to his wife's village to work the land himself,
[591] or he may contract with his father-in-law or with one of his brothers-in-law to
[427] work it for him on shares. Either way he will have occasion to visit his wife's vil-
lage and to have some association with her father and brothers. In the meantime,
[574] he is likely to be looking for an opportunity to exchange land with a farmer who

[2] The description of the engagement and wedding ceremonies is not complete. The details selected are meant to give only an impression of the nature of these affairs.

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are
608 those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's
585 spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term
[582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same exten-
608 sions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage pro-
851 hibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* sys-
608 tem in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the
557 people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they
[581] try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types
[582] of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since
[612] the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be
[369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals
608 who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)
612

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relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

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first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those potentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to another individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways, for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospitality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to himself, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied relationships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary connections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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Collateral consanguineal relatives of ascending generations and their spouses: thios, thia (uncle, aunt); bárbas (uncle, a familiar term.). 601

Collateral consanguineal relatives of descending generations and their spouses: anepsyós, anepsyá (newphew, niece).

Collateral consanguineal relatives of the same generation and their spouses: (e)xádherfos, (e)xadhérfi (cousin); protoxádherfos (first cousin); xadhérfia (cousinhood, cousinry).

The older collateral relative is presumed to be of an ascending generation, but the technicality can be insisted upon for precision or humor (as when a woman inisted on several occasions that her three-year-old daughter was my aunt). Then, too, fully descriptive phrases can be used in reference, e.g., my uncle, the first cousin of my father. [522]

Member of a family related by marriage: simpétheros, simpethéra (co-father-in-law, co-mother-in-law)

father of spouse	pentherós
mother of spouse	pentherá
brother of spouse	kunyádhos
sister of spouse	kunyádha

For other relatives of spouse, the same terms as spouse uses.

wife of son	nífi (bride)
wife of brother	nífi
husband of sister	ghambrós (groom)
husband of daughter	ghambrós
wife	yinéka (woman), kiría (Mrs.)
husband	ándras(man), kírios (Mr.)
spouse	sízighos
husband of wife's sister	batzanákis
wife of husband's brother	sinifádha (co-bride)
godfather	nonós
godmother	noná
godson	vaftistikós
goddaughter	vaftistiká

Members of families related by godparenthood: kumbáros, kumbára. [608]

wedding sponsor and spouse	kumbáros, kumbára

Members of families related by wedding-sponsorship: kumbáros, -a.

When a woman marries she customarily takes not only her husband's last name but his first as well, plus a suffix, -ena or -u, depending on the number of syllables and the accentuation of the name; e.g., Dhimítrios-Dhimítrena, Dhiamandís-Dhiamandú. This is not grammatical gender; the suffix means "wife of," and can be added even to nicknames. The given name is still used by the family of procreation and others. The suffix -ítsa added to a woman's maiden name indicates née so-and-so. Family names can form the plural of their respective declensions or add the suffix -éi (ancient *atoi*, "natives of"), 193 551 [553]

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A 861 mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the [1084] presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older relatives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The dis- [865] obedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child 853 is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with [608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1] 543

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Agricultural

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square. 241 621

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing. 621 609 574 275 [272] [273]

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention. 621 609 574 [312] [275] [494]

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

123 house proprietor has edged her way into the group and asks, "But isn't he
574 young to be a professor?" It is at this point that one pulls out the impres-
609 sive credentials, beribboned and sealed, from the university authorities back in America. Though it is written in English, no one questions the authenticity of such an imposing document. Everyone is then delighted to supply any information at his command, even going so far as to ask: "What would the professor like to know about our village?" "Let's begin at the beginning. How did your village get started?"

Location

173 Almost every village has some tradition about its origin; it may be
361 legendary or historical. The following account by a native of a Peloponnesian village illustrates the legendary:

> In the old days my village was built more to the west in a place now called Palaiochori [Old Village]. My forefathers left Palaiochori and built the village where it is nowadays because a great epidemic had caused the death of many people. It is said that all of those who had danced at a wedding on a particular day died, for the evil was caused by a spook in the form of a dog which jumped from one shoulder to another. Wherever it stopped, that guest became sick and died. Those who survived the evil came and built the village of today. In the beginning they put up huts and later on houses. The country was wild and full of trees. In order to choose a good spot they took three pieces of meat and put them in three possible sites. They then noticed which piece of meat spoiled last and chose that site; they were glad that the North Wind blew upon the spot selected.[4]

361 Many Greek villages are of relatively recent origin and do not need to
167 rely upon legend for an explanation of their location. Particularly in Macedonia and Thrace, scores of new villages were built to accommodate the approximately 150,000 rural refugee families coming from Asia Minor in the 1920s, although as many as two thirds of the rest of these new arrivals were installed in old villages in temporary huts or in houses vacated by the Bulgarians and Turks exchanged for the Greeks. As a rule, these villages were located near a road and on cultivable land, so that they were much more accessible than the older mountain villages.

361 There was some discussion at the time of resettlement about the advis-
461 ability of establishing the farmers on independent farmsteads rather than in villages. Some serious disadvantages to the village system from the stand-
[484] point of efficient use of time have been set forth in various reports. Fre-
[489] quently not less than two or more hours each day is spent by several members of the family in traveling between their home and their fields. It is also necessary to transport all food supplies, the grain, grapes, beans, hay, and other crops, as well as all fuel, by donkey or mule over long distances, an expenditure of labor which would be unnecessary if the people lived on the land they farmed.[5]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary. [407] [445]

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type. [407]

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 to 500 before the war. Rent is usually paid in milk, in an amount equaling
427 the grain needed to seed the field pastured. If it takes normally 500 okas
of seed (23.5 bushels) to put in the crop on the area rented, then the
246 shepherd will pay 500 okas (1410 pounds, or 169 gallons) of milk. The land available has usually been in a crop the year or two before, but is allowed to lie fallow this one year and is thus free for pasturage. Only three or four Valtetsi families have been able to buy their own land down below, but they too bring their flocks back to Valtetsi in the spring.

434 As very little farming can be done on the steep and rocky hillsides
around Valtetsi, many of its people, like those from Parthenon, go to the
464 plains below in June to help harvest the grain. In the late fall and winter,
[321] while pasturing below, some of them help with the gathering of the olives.
[465] They are usually paid in kind for such work, an important way of eking out their annual food supply. Other income, of course, is derived from the sale of milk, cheese, wool, and an occasional live animal. Most of the
426 shepherds are in debt to two outside "grocers" (whom they also call
452 "outsiders" or "foreigners"), who advance the equivalent of about $33 to a shepherd against the following season's milk products and agree to the
578 retirement of the debt at a fixed price per oka of milk or cheese. The price
[609] is said to be put so low that the grocer seldom loses, but if there is a rise in price he absorbs all of the profit, further disgruntling the shepherds indebted to him. Some of the conversation went like this:

"We had a bad winter this year. The pastures were not good because it didn't rain. We had to buy fodder to carry our flocks through and thus became heavily indebted to the grocer."

"Yes," added another, "the government shouldn't let these grocers exploit us so."

[474] "But," we asked, "why don't you form a dairy cooperative like some other villages and market your own milk products yourselves?"

[157] "Oh, we could never get together on anything like that," said one, and all the others shook their heads affirmatively. And they then smiled half-ashamedly and yet amused at themselves when a city Greek pointed out to them, "Why are you then blaming the government when you have just admitted that the fault lies in your own individualism and your failure to cooperate?"

233 As a flock passed through the village on its way to be milked after a
morning in the fields, I began to ask about the bells, whose assorted sizes
533 made a peculiar and not unpleasing harmony as the animals hurriedly moved homewards. Then the Valtetsi shepherds confirmed what I had been told before — that the selection of bells is one of the tasks the shepherd takes most seriously. He goes to one of the metalworking shops in the market town and picks out a very deep bell with a pleasing tone. This he

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-[292] made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when [294] it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-[437] bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being 517 produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and 184 embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She [438] and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

[184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275 571 [602] [452] the relative upon whom he might need to call at a later date. Many men are careful to visit two or more shops from time to time "so as not to offend any of the proprietors." Also, as one informant put it, "The peasant comes from the field, washes up, goes for a drink to a coffeehouse where he might be tied by blood, but in order to do business he goes to other coffeehouses to find people with whom to arrange use of animals for plowing, etc., and will stop for a drink with these people."

275 571 573 Anyone trying to understand the sociology of Greek village life needs to pay special attention to these coffeehouse groups. First of all, the regular patrons of each coffeehouse can be viewed as a group whose members possess certain bonds in common. They have heard many of the same stories; they have learned to react in almost the same way to the buffoon, the over-important person, and the fellow villager constantly seeking sympathy. Although they may frequent a second coffeehouse, they are apt to feel a primary loyalty to their first choice and will find any number of reasons to justify their opinion that it is the best coffeehouse in the village.

275 573 609 242 This general group, however, most of the time is broken down into cliques, varying in size from two during the day to as many as seven persons by evening. Each group has its own informal leader. According to Photiadis: "The informal leader in the coffeehouse gives the other members of his clique group his advice and the satisfaction that they are associating with a person of higher status, while he has the satisfaction of performing his role, the dynamic aspect of his status, which is his reward." Therefore, when some outsider, such as an agricultural agent, approaches the farmers at a particular table, the informal leader considers him a rival. "The agent is a person of higher status who can talk about things the others cannot. This exclusive selling of ideas makes the informal leader feel that his authority is lowered in the eyes of his subordinates, and as a result, he fears that he will lose the satisfaction he has had." No wonder, then, that he is very likely to oppose the ideas which the agricultural agent is trying to advance.

275 573 521 208 Of special interest is the way news spreads from one clique to the next as part of the community-wide decision on some proposal new to the village. Photiadis takes as an illustration the use of a new insecticide which had been demonstrated by the agriculural agent to a number of farmers earlier in the day:

203 The cliques which have members who have seen the demonstration will start discussing the matter and, after a series of objections and agreements, they will probably reach a decision or have split decisions. The opinion of the informal leader during this discussion has a considerable influence on certain members.

Around the table of each clique there are usually one or more persons belonging to other cliques, or there are isolates sitting with the clique. These "isolates" . . . often move from table to table exchanging ideas or presenting the

1:Sanders Z-5ϟ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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9. Our hosts in a Peloponnesian village: *Xenos* is the password for stranger and guest. Their hospitality was radiant; their posing was a serious project.

10. Mr. Papaspyropoulos and his wife. He wrote the account of Ano-Kleitoria, Peloponnesos.

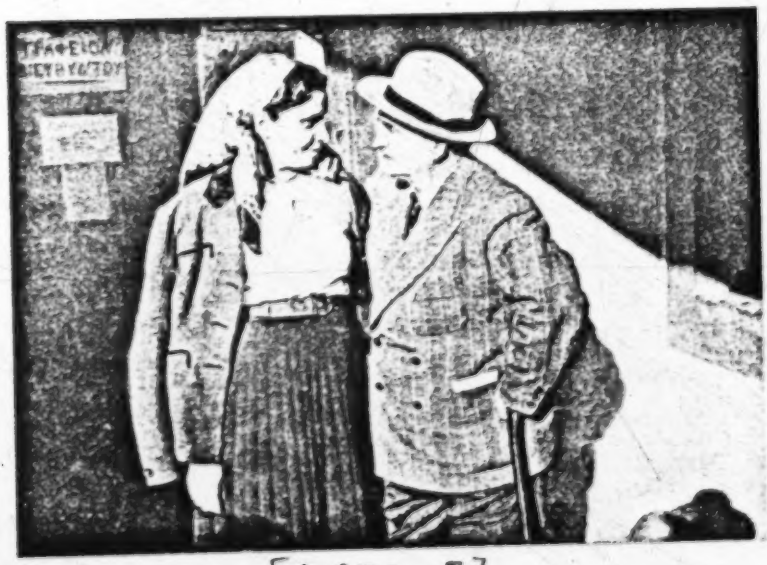

[p. 272-F]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

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appeared in Serbo-Croatian, the author's mother tongue. In 1922 the first volume entitled *Balkansko Poluostrvo i Južnoslovenske Zemlje: Osnove Antropogeografije* (418 pp.) appeared in Belgrade. Volume two (254 pp.) appeared in 1931 with the subtitle *Psihičke Osobine Južnih Slovena* (Psychic Characteristics of the South Slavs). The connection between Cvijic's work and the present study is the interesting map facing p. 282 of volume one, which shows the migration patterns of the various shepherd groups throughout the Balkans. Any thorough study of shifting migration habits would have to take Cvijic's work as a starting point at least, although this would not imply accepting all of his generalizations about the effect of the physical environment upon social life.

7. Although no attempt has been made to cover the literature dealing with sheep production in the Peloponnesos, I have noted in passing that Z. Duckett Ferriman, in *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), tells of the pastoral pursuits of those living near the site of ancient Sparta early in this century: "Pastoral occupations become a necessity where tillage is impossible, and in every land the wildest districts are the domain of the shepherd, who is the most uncultured element of the population, and also the hardiest. The youths of Sparta were not kept in the valley, but sent up into Taygetus to acquire the training which they turned to account against the Messenians of the plain. . . . And so, today, the Arcadian mountaineers are noted for their strength and hardihood, and are perforce shepherds. Every cottage has its flock, tended during the day by children, elusive, faun-like beings, who manifest neither pleasure nor discontent nor surprise at the presence of the stranger, so unlike in this to the inquisitive, obtrusive Greek child of the towns and villages of the lowlands. At sunset they are relieved of their task by their fathers, who keep watch by night against wolf and robber. At the end of October all the livestock is moved to the plains, marching in solid phalanx, goats in front, sheep in the middle, mules and donkeys behind, the well-armed shepherds and their fierce dogs on either flank" (pp. 28–29).

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Another interesting source is volume one of *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), by William Martin Leake. Interesting information about sheepraising in the western Peloponnesos is found in K. N. Eliopoulos, "Poimenika tes Eleias" (Pastoral Life in Elis), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 253–285.

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8. Many travelers to the Balkans come into contact with these nomads and write about them. M. E. Picot, *Les Roumains de la Macédoine* (Paris, 1875), analyzes all of the source material available to him, and prior works need not be cited here. Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), devotes a few pages to pastoral life, stressing particularly the appearance of a Vlach encampment and the authority of the Vlach chieftains. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900) makes this interesting comment on the Vlachs in Macedonia: "They remind one of those ingenious pictures in which an animal or a human face is concealed so as not to be obvious on first inspection, though when once seen it appears to be the principal feature of the drawing. In the same way, one may live and travel in the Balkan lands without seeing or hearing anything of the Vlachs, until one's eyes are opened. Then one runs the risk of going to the opposite extreme and thinking, like Roumanian patriots, that most of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Vlachs in disguise" (p. 409).

Andreas Adossides, "The Shepherds of Greece," *Geographical Magazine*, September 1943, pp. 217–225, gives a vividly written account.

Jovan Cvijic, "The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples," *The Geographical Review*, V (June 1918), 470–482, estimates the number of Arumani (or Vlachs) at about 150,000 to 160,000 scattered individuals. He points out that during the Middle Ages they were very numerous and constituted the majority of the population in Thessaly and in Aetolia, two areas respectively called Great and Little Vlachia.

V. T. Vikas, "Ethima para Vlahophonois," (Customs of the Vlach-Speaking People), *Laographia*, VI (1917), 169–188, is chiefly a description of holidays and recreation.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marinos, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

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Vasilika

or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *sogbambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *sogbambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *sogbambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *sogbambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *sogbambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

476 first to survey his consanguineal kin, his affinals, and his *kumbari*. From among
369 these, he may choose one of his first cousins with whom his son will board
while he goes to the gymnasium, one of his sons-in-law who is a civil servant
602 to help with tax problems, one of his *kumbari* to recommend a merchant, and
608 so on. Again, the farmer chooses different individuals from among those po-
557 tentially helpful to him by virtue of their statuses and need not ask any one
person to help him in more than one way. Once more the relationships need not
be permanent; if for any reason they prove unsatisfactory, a man shifts to an-
574 other individual. Moreover, the farmer reciprocates these favors in various ways,
for example, by taking his cousin's child for the summer, by offering hospi-
tality to *kumbari* at festival times, or by getting information about village girls
from among whom his urban connection may want to arrange a marriage. If a
farmer can find no one among his group of consanguineal kin, his affinals, and
his *kumbari* who is willing to enter into an agreement with him for these
extra-village needs, he turns to his fellow villagers and neighbors and attempts
to attach himself to their network of extra-village associations.

609 What Vasilika's farmers do not do is attempt to establish new and direct
relationships with complete strangers, that is, persons or agencies outside the
network of their own or their fellow villagers' extra-village associations.

571 In sum, then, outside of the elementary family, a Vasilika farmer expects
602 to establish voluntary relationships with a number of different individuals from
each of whom he expects the fulfillment of a limited set of obligations to him-
608 self, and toward each of whom he will fulfill an equivalent but usually not
identical set of obligations. Each man is the center of a series of varied relationships in which those with whom he associates himself have no necessary connections with each other. He is the hub of a wheel that has no rim.

George Foster has called paired relationships of this kind "dyadic contracts" (Foster, 1961). He believes they will occur in societies in which the number of people to whom a man can have culturally defined obligations is so large that it is not possible for him to fulfill them all. Men and women, therefore, choose from among their many kin, godparents and the like, those with whom they will make dyadic contracts. The people and the situation in which the contract is enforced vary from time to time. Foster suggests that such sets of paired relationships deter the development of factional groups. The idea of the dyadic contract is an extraordinarily useful concept for understanding the relationships I have just described for Vasilika, and Foster's analysis illuminates the consequences of what I have just called a situation in which each man or woman is the hub of a rimless wheel.

In the next chapter, the quality of the human relations characteristic of the elementary family and of the other types of associations of the villagers will be discussed.

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Vasilika

judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them, *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic
[272] poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[776] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast
[541] of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

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Vasilika

621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the
476 interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the
571 life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha,* that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni,* people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages, and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,
123 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
685 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we
621 understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
000 to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

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Evidence suggests that 186
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an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

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It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha,* and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

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In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

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But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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104 *Prodromos* St. John the Baptist, 'the Forerunner'.

proedros president

proskynesis worship.

prosphora eucharistic loaves.

prothesis the preparation of the elements before the liturgy; the chapel on the north of the church where this takes place.

protosyngellos bishop's chaplain.

psaltes singer, cantor.

retsina resinated wine.

sarka long coat with loose sleeves.

[202] *semandron* a piece of wood (more rarely, of iron) suspended and beaten with a mallet to summon monks to church.

skete dependent monastery.

skouphos monastic cap

symmoritai see *andartes*.

synodikos member of the Holy Synod.

Taxiarchai the Archangels (a common dedication for a church).

Theotokos the Mother of God.

[609] *xenos* stranger *or* guest: there is no distinction in Greek.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[p. viii is blank]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the willingness of literally hundreds of people in Greece to answer questions and search their records on my behalf, this little book could not have been written. The warmth and extravagant hospitality with which Greeks of every rank and station receive a stranger is, indeed, a source of never ending surprise to one accustomed to the atmosphere of an American city, and I wish hereby to thank all those, both friends and casual acquaintances, who thus contributed to my knowledge and understanding of the Greek scene. 123 [574] [609]

More particularly, I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of busy officials of the Greek government who took time to talk with me, and more than once set wheels in motion to provide statistics and other special information I requested of them. In Salonika, Mr. Orphanides of the Agricultural Bank, and in Athens Mr. Leviratos of the Ministry of Coordination and Mr. Liakis of the National Statistical Services were especially helpful. 115

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[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

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[Town Life]

437 Greek townspeople; the difference is that townsmen must deal
609 constantly with outsiders, whereas the peasants do so only occa-
[571] sionally.

[574] This contrast lends a profoundly different timbre to town as against village life. In the countryside, a foreigner is treated as an honored family guest, and is often hard put to it to avoid abusing the hospitality of people who can ill afford to be generous. In towns, also, a foreigner is courteously received, but he will be cheated in small ways all the time. Prices tend to double when he appears on the scene, and if his tips, for services real or imaginary, are not far above the ordinary Greek level, he will be made to feel stingy.

369 Another marked characteristic of Greek town life is the sharp-
463 ness of the line drawn between the manual and non-manual oc-
555 cupations. A secondary school education is the open sesame to
871 a white-collar job, and a man who has achieved that level of
461 education will not dirty his hands if he can help it. Otherwise he would seem to surrender the status so hard-won by his years in school. One consequence of this attitude is that skilled workmen and technicians are sometimes hard to find. Anyone in a position to afford an education will try for an academic course, preparing him for the white-collar class; a technical education which co[illegible]nly perpetuate a close connection with machinery and manual labor simply does not appeal to an ambitious boy. Even engineers are very prone to prefer a desk job to work in the field; and in the field they not infrequently dress in city clothes and supervise from a distance, where mud and other unpleasantnesses can be avoided. There are signs that these at-
[178] titudes are weakening in the younger generation, but they are still very strong.

471 The disdain for manual labor is perhaps part of a more gen-
554 eral social scheme of values which puts the rentier at or near
461 the top of the social pyramid. To own land or buildings that will
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[Town Life]

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against the clamorous demands of deserving relatives who badly need a job.

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The strong egalitarian spirit that runs through Greek life works in a somewhat parallel fashion to undermine the efficiency of large concerns. When every man feels himself just as good as everybody else, personal loyalty to a superior in a bureaucratic organization is difficult to establish. A bold spirit is sorely tempted to launch some sort of petty intrigue against his immediate boss, in the hope of displacing him and perhaps inheriting the position. More cautious persons are prone to develop a false servility and flattery of their superiors, in the hope of winning special confidence and favor. Both attitudes interfere with the effectiveness of large-scale organization; and both arise in large part from the underlying distrust Greeks feel toward anyone outside the sacred circle of the family.

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Observations such as these are, of course, impressionistic, and it is not difficult to find many exceptions to the rule. Yet no one can deny that petty intrigue, nepotism and a remarkably ruthless pursuit of individual self-interest are far more widespread in Greece than in more industrially advanced countries. Indeed, these psychological characteristics of the Greek people perhaps have much to do with the relatively backward state of their technology, quite apart from the financial and physical difficulties which also hinder the development of large-scale modern industry in the country. Modern technology is, after all, incompatible with small-scale family enterprise; cooperation of larger numbers of men is necessary, and the traditions of the Greek people make such cooperation difficult to achieve.

This psychological attitude clearly makes the position of wage and salary earners less satisfactory than it might otherwise be. Anyone who has had any contact with the fierce intrigue that often disfigures personal relations among a group of Greek employees is likely to wonder how men can endure such ten-

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[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the [609]
same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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622 624 As one would expect in any small community whose members are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to [702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group [653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central govern- [651] ment. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 631 652 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improvements requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 654 x178 [609] Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of government representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains.

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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American economist of the aid mission had in mind when he 178
declared that nothing had changed in the civil service.

In dealing with the public, Greek civil servants often gave a 647
most unfavorable impression. Aside from the airs they assumed
as representatives of authority and power, they frequently 661
seemed not in the least concerned to help an individual solve a problem or attain something to which he was legally entitled. Instead, petty details of paper work – making application with all the correct verbiage on sheets of paper of the right size for easy filing, and so on – these were what seemed to matter; and I felt, more than once, that when an official found some flaw in the papers submitted to him, he took a certain pleasure in rejecting them and ordering the applicant to return some other time with the red tape properly tinted.

Correctness in details of this sort did, of course, assist in making clerical routine easy, but this was not, I feel sure, the compelling motive. Rather, insistence upon jots and tittles protected a subordinate from criticism by his superior, and at the same time gave him a satisfying sense of his own power as against the public.

On the other hand, when an important man – that is, some- 647
one with connections higher up – came along, he claimed and 662
received very special treatment. He was privileged to follow his papers into the inner sanctums of senior officials, thus making sure that prompt action was taken on them. Obstacles were smoothed over and procedural rules were sometimes suspended for a man with influential friends. Foreigners often, though not [609]
always, were given the same sort of red-carpet treatment, and were accorded privileges and deference withheld from ordinary Greeks.

When a private person had business with a government agency, he would first try to find someone who knew someone

596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

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[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
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Vasilika

or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizigbos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 557 [581] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal [582] connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since [612] the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be [369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

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relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined. 602 608 612

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same. 474 476 602 608 241

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors. 476 578 602 958 608

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely 476 369 602 608 574 557

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594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
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1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby. [363]

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[1] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece. 491 [521] [619]

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away. [177] [653]

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner." 491 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 218]

[XII]

Local Government

829 154 If the Greek villager did not have a government to curse, he would be in a bad way indeed. Somewhere he has to find a scapegoat for the hard life that he leads. He could berate his wife or beat his children, but that would give only limited relief, since he knows they are not responsible for his difficulties; he could raise his clenched fist to the heavens and curse the Almighty, and he does this in some of the most colorful language known to man, but that too has its possible dangers, since the Almighty in a less genial mood might give him his comeuppance. What better object for his [666] scorn could he find than the government, which is always wanting taxes, takes him off to military service, asks him innumerable questions every time he seeks a loan, and stages a periodic election prior to which "lying" politicians come to seek his vote.

829 ● 619 At the same time, the peasant is shrewd enough to distinguish between Greece as a nation, to which he can be tremendously loyal should anyone cast aspersions upon it, and whatever national government is in power. He also draws a distinction between the local government of his village and the central government in Athens, with his views of the former going up and down, but his regard for the latter seldom going up. There is no mer- [666] curial quality, therefore, to peasant politics. If the peasant does shift his

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

intimately, agreed with many of the points that the Athens gymnasium director had made, as the following summary of his comment shows: 875

About thirty or forty years ago the community was independent. It was something solid; it elected the best people to office. Why? They elected their own teacher, their own priest, and the field guards. Three main points of their life — education, religion, and security — were all in their own hands. The central government wanted to take into its own control all of these functions in order to put in its own appointees who would influence the people. The peasants lost their ability to manage their own affairs, and became hostile to the government and to the teacher. The teacher is no longer responsible to the farmer but to the government. Nowadays, because of this and because of the anti-government attitude brought in by the refugees from Turkey, the peasant has separated himself from his government and asks everything from it. 875 829 631

The teacher has no obligation toward the village, no sense of community relations. He stays in the coffeehouse and aims to move to a town or city. Formerly a village would give some bright boy a chance to go outside for an education and then he would come back and live in the village where he had his own home. He was one of the best teachers. 875

When one begins to sift from many conversations the findings about the village teacher and to read the village accounts which include him in their pages, a few matters stand out. First of all, it is true that the allegiance of the teacher is to the national government and to the bureaucracy upon which his advancement depends. He thinks of himself as a representative of the national ideal, which he is supposed to instill in every child studying under him. His loyalty is therefore to Greece, and one of his major purposes is to help the village child feel a close identification with the national state. Second, he tries, often like a drillmaster, to get the pupils to master the course content worked out in Athens. The brighter ones need encouragement to go on to the gymnasium and must receive the preparation that will serve them in good stead there. Third, the teacher must train children to participate through song, recitation, and national dance in the various holiday celebrations and festivals that come along and at which the school makes an appearance. This serves a village purpose in that it encourages local traditions and provides some diversion in what many would consider the humdrum life of the villager. But there are few teachers in the national school system, unless they are in one of the specialized schools set up for the purpose, who undertake any adult education or even try to make the younger scholars look around at their village environment for ways in which it can be improved. Very often I got the impression that many teachers were even trying to make the villagers forget the present and its problems by focusing their attention on the past and its glories as a substitute for action today. 875 871 619 [873]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

878 The official purpose of the various courses included in the high-school curriculum shows intent if not actual accomplishment:

[771] *Religion.* To convey a clear understanding of the moral works of Christ and of the Orthodox Church; to instill a proper respect for these works and thus elevate the students' religious and moral spirit so that it will become the major factor in their individual and social life. (Twelve hours total over six years.)

TABLE 6. CURRICULUM FOR BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						Total (per subject)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Ancient Greek	8	8	8	9	9	9	51
Modern Greek	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Latin			3	3	3	3	12
French	4	3	3	3	2	2	17
History	3	3	3	3	2	4	18
Mathematics	3	4	3	3	4	5	22
Science	3	3	3	3	3	4	19
Geography	2	2	2	1	1		8
Hygiene					1		1
Handicrafts	2	2	1	1	1		7
Singing	2	2	1	1			6
Philosophy					2	2	4
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Total class hours (per week)	35	35	35	35	36	37	213

Ancient Greek. To familiarize the students with the writings of the ancient Greeks; teach them a reading knowledge and understanding of ancient Greek, as well as the ability to write in the Attic dialect. Give them an appreciation of ancient life and its thoughts in order to better understand modern Greek. Better to appreciate good writing by reading selected texts of ancient Greek authors. Study of ancient civilizations so as to better understand our own age. (Fifty-one hours.)

[619] *Modern Greek* (*katharevousa*). Spoken and written use of Greek language; improvement of the students' literary education; leads to a greater understanding of modern Greek civilization and enhances students' national awareness. (Eighteen hours.)

Latin. To learn the Latin language in order to understand the work and thought of ancient Latin writers; to understand and appreciate the Roman civilization. (Twelve hours.)

1:Sanders Z-5.d (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

French. To learn to speak, write, and understand French; to understand and appreciate French literature and through it modern French civilization. (Seventeen hours.) 873

As a sidelight, it is interesting to note that out of the 213 hours covered in high school, 98 are in languages. Twenty-five percent of the time is devoted to ancient Greek.

History. To study the way of life and thought of peoples. Comparison of ancient with modern times so as to allow the formation of an opinion which will help the student understand the influences of one historical period on another. History should lead to understanding of the Greek nation and civilization and their influence on contemporary religions, economies, science, arts, and morality. Teaching of patriotism and performance of the duties of citizens. (Eighteen hours.) [619]

Mathematics — Cosmography. To improve the ability of students in understanding arithmetic and geometry; in thinking clearly and precisely; to create the belief that mathematics is an important, independent science. Purpose of teaching cosmography: Learning about the celestial bodies, their relations, and the laws concerning their movements. (Twenty-two hours.)

Physical Sciences and Biology. Study of nature and importance of the physical sciences in life. Increase the students' love of nature. Application of science to industry and technology. Biology: Study of life and habitat of all living creatures in order to understand the uses of plants and animals in daily life. (Science: nineteen hours.)

Geography. Study of the surface of the earth, especially the area of Greece; influence of the land on human life; study of the people of Greece and the beauty of the land. (Eight hours.)

Hygiene. To improve the students' knowledge of hygienic conditions in life with relation to hygienic habits in personal and social life. For girls: Study of woman's body. Hygiene for babies and children. Hygiene of married and unmarried women; hygiene necessary for various ages of life. Nursing, elementary first aid. Use of drugs and medicine at home. (One hour for boys; two hours for girls.)

Philosophy is an introduction to psychology and logic, while handicrafts are taught not as manual training or shopwork but to further the "artistic education of students and to teach them to make small things with their hands."

And the curriculum guide correctly advises: "It is wise to create a musical life in the high school. The students will be better occupied during their recreational and relaxation time." Gymnastics consists of "physical exercises, games, swimming, dances, excursions, and several military (elementary) exercises for the boys and classic and folk dancing for the girls."

Such is the intellectual bill of fare for peasant boys attending the gymnasium in the nearest large village or town. There is, of course, no connec-

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see. 771

Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church. 771 795 619 162

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2] 795 184 276 [346]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names 795 184

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

795 which are found throughout the Balkans, speaks of the rich texture of
184 Christianity there, which came to the Balkan nations in the shape of Byzantine Orthodoxy and which meant a particular culture, comprising art, literature, and theology, in the service of the Church.[3]

One has only to review the brief description of the peasant and nature or the peasant approach to sickness and child care in earlier chapters to see how lively is the environment for any peasant who believes in the Evil Eye or the omens of spiders, birds in flight, or the hooting of an owl.[4] The peasant, instead of being made over into some sort of revolutionary Christian image, was able to take early Christianity and make it over into the even earlier Greek image. That is what survives in rural Greece today.

The educated Greek went through almost the same process, but on a much more sophisticated level. Instead of equating the sun god with St. Elijah, he equated Platonic teachings with the doctrines of St. Paul. Thanassis Aghnides sets forth this theme:

> As regards religious life, let us not forget that the New Testament was written in Greek, and most of the principles of Christianity are loans from Greek moral philosophy. Plato's ideas could find no better means of diffusion in the world than the New Testament.
>
> Thus a Greek never feels that the Christian religion is a Jewish gift to the world. When he reads the New Testament he is reminded of the highest precepts of the Greek classical period. Here again the modern Greek is not very conscious of the lines of demarcation between the high precepts of Christianity, and, let us say, those of Socrates. The latter's principles and those of the Galilean are derived from the same source. The modern Greek is confusedly aware of this. He may not say it in as many words but he feels the modern ethical standards of the Christian world as being part and parcel of his own heritage from his classical ancestors.[5]

In support of this point of view among the peasants, I can mention the consternation shown by some Greek village women when, for the first time, they learned that Christ was a Jew. They had always assumed that he was Greek and would not believe otherwise until they had gone to check with the priest.

795 Orthodoxy and Greekness are tied in together not only because of the
• 619 continuity between ancient traditions and Christian doctrine; the Orthodox Church was also the vehicle through which Greekness was preserved under
659 alien conquerors. Church and politics went hand in hand. The Greek Orthodox Church, which was the basic institution of the Byzantine Empire, continues as such within the modern Greek nation, and contemporary Greeks, like the Byzantines, find it hard to accept political ideas which do not assume the complete unification of church and state. Today the church is still an integral part of the Greek government, its affairs administered
[793] within the Ministry of Education and Religion, the salaries of the clergy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religous belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interst and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[6]

795 619 [659] [793]

Greeks view contemporary events in term of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[7] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because thee touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priet, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimess hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married andunmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmaried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

793 [777] [292] [302] [642]

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

626

The people speak against the person.

If a woman gossips, people ignore her.

If a man drinks too much, they beat him.

People give advice, for there are usually two or three older people who have the role of advisers and to whom people turn.

Sometimes the solution is by means of knives.

The village people threaten the person who does not conform and may drive him out of the village.

They may take the person to church and make him say special prayers.

They may take revenge on the person by injuring his animals, or by burning his house if his conduct is too much of a threat to the rest.

This last item illustrates that at times the people can behave cruelly to other villagers who threaten the safety, morality, or even reputation of the village. Individuals as individuals seek personal revenge, but much of the time such an action is collective, discussed by several leaders in advance, and carried out with dispatch by a group. [627]

Apparently, living in a Greek village is a great deal like living in a goldfish bowl. One writer comments of his village:

Here in our village one has no secrets from the others. Someone asks about something and we reply. Even if we want to hide something we cannot. Everybody knows about it. . . . We say: "The whole world announces it with drums, while we think it's a secret." [9]

But the sense of community grows not only out of the acceptance of the same "thou shalt nots" but also is related to the systems of rewards held out by the community to those who conform. This is the positive side of social control. To have the esteem of the villagers is to enhance one's own self-esteem, to win an election because others think well of you, to be sought out when others need advice, to have your sons or daughters considered as good "catches" for marriage, all indicate that one has conformed to the code of accepted behavior. It may also mean that one has used individual initiative in behalf of the community when situations arose for which the code gave no specific prescription.

One villager summarized the sense of community well when he pointed out that people were loyal to their village because they lived there and their interests were connected with it, adding, "one is loyal to whatever is close to one's birth certificate and death certificate." 621

Although the life of the villager centers in most details upon the settlement where he lives, his range of interests may go far beyond it. True enough, he is apt to be loyal to his village; but he is also loyal to his region. Those who come from Arcadia, whether they are residing in Athens or in 619 [575]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

619 the United States, feel a close bond with the others who come from Arcadia.
[575] They form societies to continue this association and to give an opportunity to dance and sing the folk arts of that region.

A Greek villager is, moreover, a Greek. Villages can be uprooted and destroyed, their families dispersed, but Greece goes on as a living spirit and as a mighty cultural heritage. The fact that so many Greek families have
[602] relatives living in other parts of the country, including Athens, means that they keep in fairly close touch with the body politic. They are not merely dependent upon what some village notable or visiting politician tells them; they can hear directly from their relatives just what the state of affairs really
[203] is. This means that kinship plays a part in the communication network on which the national community rests. In conclusion, it is important to look
178 briefly at the role of the villager in the total society, taking our eyes from
619 the village scene and viewing the larger picture. This is necessary if one is to understand the Greek village of the next few years — the one which is emerging — because the changes being introduced come for the most part from outside the village. They are promoted to a considerable degree by national authorities or impersonal forces over which the peasants have relatively little control.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[1]

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

621 Evidence suggests that 186 an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609 they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574 thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577] petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828] expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always [685] raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at 521 a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually [522] in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers [183] began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621 identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it 186 must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156 reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride 828 in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 476 and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594] family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464] daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663] official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554] his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are [185] entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619 for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829 as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is [621] profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181] with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

619 to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient
829 Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the
refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom
181 in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—
"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the
[776] family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities
[173] and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classi-
[185] cal Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and
although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete,
[173] the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proōdbos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 602 554 [574] 171 369 602 554 [619]

in Greece, the stream of cultural transmission between urban and rural Greece via kinship groups is constantly renewed.

The maintenance of urban-rural contacts and thereby the spread of a national culture and its institutions through upwardly mobile kin is not a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Almost the same pattern is mentioned for French Canada in the late 1930's (Miner 1939:83, 239–241), and is indicated in Garigue's more recent study of kinship awareness and relationships from the standpoint of French-Canadians living in Montreal (Garigue 1956:1092–1097). It is at least hinted at for a part of Belgium (Turney-High 1953:196, 205). The migration of farmers' children to urban centers with an accompanying shift in occupation or in social position or both, and the continuation of family ties are described in greater detail for the Irish countryside of the 1930's (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:146–152). Since Arensberg and Kimball were not specifically interested in the cultural effects of migration on the farming population remaining at home, they do not present data which would make it possible to determine whether the situation is completely parallel to that of Greece in this respect. Some elements in Garigue and Firth's analysis of awareness of kinship connections among Londoners of Italian provenience also suggest parallels with the Greek situation, but there is some discordant evidence as well (Garigue and Firth 1956:70, 79–81).

However, the type of family structure and functioning which I have described for Greece conforms in many ways to LePlay's idea of the *famille-souche* or stem family which he presents as common in 19th century Europe (Zimmermann and Frampton 1935:122–127). Chinese patterns of mobility and urban-rural relations also exhibit remarkable parallels with Greece (e.g., Lin 1947:passim). For Mexico, in the context of a discussion of urbanization without breakdown, Oscar Lewis describes a pattern of visiting between Tepoztecans who have moved to Mexico City and their relatives in Tepoztlan which has much in common with the picture I have presented for Greece, and which has had similar cultural consequences (Lewis 1952:39–40).

On the other hand, if the Greek pattern is not unique, neither is it universal. Upward social movement for sons of farmers is relatively infrequent in many societies. It is not recorded for the Dutch village described by the Keurs (1955:96–100) or for an English village described by Williams (1956:34–54). Barnes (1954:44), in his discussion of a Norwegian island parish, says specifically that here " . . . kinsmen, by and large, are approximate social equals." Nor does upward social movement for farmers' sons appear significant in French communities (Bernot and Blancard 1953; Wylie 1957; Bottomore 1954:150; Lipset and Rogoff 1954:563). Where upward social movement from farm to town does exist, the Greek pattern of continued strong kinship ties is not necessarily duplicated. Indeed, for the Polish peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state specifically that as soon as peasants pass into the middle or lower middle class they effect a complete break with the family group back in the village (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918: Vol. I, 98–99). As we have seen, Wolf, in

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism. 795 798 173 [797]

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate. 619 795 178

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles 619 795 722

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes 619
of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed 795
steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. [722]
The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious
defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God".
Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably [346]
linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood
paintings of the *Averoff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the
relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms
of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain 619
weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that 795
measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people
would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples 659
of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments 793
within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to
be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on
the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as compared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potentialities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed 178
to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only 795
dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping:
conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians, the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for Christendom as a whole.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION 793 798

"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen."

But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands. 722 793

It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation. 722 727 795 669 [619]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not [191] more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Kotta

[Hill Villages]

corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. 178x To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the 241 233 village should once again begin to grow.

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. 669 Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There 621 is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For [241] nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of [517] time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek [619] nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise.

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence 621 of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication 178x among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We 197 are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained [669] that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language [191] and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the village speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the [619]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a degree of kinship.

[197] [619] Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there [631] from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-[727] fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 161 x 178 The real question for the future is whether or not the village will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving population is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children be-[728] tween the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five [885] couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

175 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords
669 of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Un-
619 til 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such
161 warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopula-
433 tion – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563 619 648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [559]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo*: his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger.

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not.

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*.

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[212] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[217] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most
of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[779] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece
the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until
recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics,
well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or
city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where
two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the
Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as
the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two
armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers.
A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on
the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian
monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the
difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[214] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
scholarly standard.

RELIGION

771 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity
among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
[illegible] since they do not conform to the tradition of
[illegible]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P.36]

III

The Village Setting

621 361 [369] Part of the story of Greek survival lies in the village form of organization. To be sure, the city has exercised a tremendous sway over the thought and mood of the Greek people in the past and even more so today. But a peasant's tangible world has been his village. We see the village first of all as a place with a focal point, or square, from which emanate streets, lanes, or paths winding in adjustment to the local surface features. As a place, the village has increasing connections with the outside world, since new roads continue to replace donkey tracks which until recently led from the more isolated areas. [491] [487]

But the village is also a service center where the farm family can shop or get some local artisan to make or repair household or farm equipment. In the rural areas of Greece, as elsewhere, these village services do not extend to waste disposal, this being the responsibility of the individual family. Viewed from another point, the village is a collection of houses, yards, and gardens, which also deserve a brief description if one is to see the backdrop against which so much of the peasant's daily life occurs.

621 In the village the rural Greek has found a pattern of life which gives him the many advantages of a close-knit community and at the same time allows him to farm his land, exchange work and implements with his relatives or neighbors, sell his crops, and care for his animals in a common pasture, frequently under the care of a common swineherd or shepherd. Agricultural [476] [438] [233]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Agricultural

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square. 241 621

The Plateia

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity. The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, everyone can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing. 621 609 574 275 [272] [273]

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention. 621 609 574 [312] [275] [494]

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the
[526] houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports
[373] club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
463
423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thrace

 621

land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business 463
(baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these land-
owners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade [423]
such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their 621
own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land 241
belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, 511
therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in [369]
search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income 249
from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the 435
mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own 511
production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order
to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of [458]
Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state,
had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, [204]
in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he
also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas 249
variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the to-
bacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to
locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
241 get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble
[511] the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were
anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
511 their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and
[221] children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on
233 an elephant," as one of my informants put it.
474 Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoules Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

V The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many
G years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more
233 the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of
178 the chief shepherd.[15] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grand-
[474] sons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

G

Stress and Strain

233 The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of
241 his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude
578 of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the
621 study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[16] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests. 233 241 578 621

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in. [423] [474]

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The 233 578 185 [656] [669] [654]

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

being busily involved in some work project of his own. At two o'clock Yannes planned to serve olives, onions, and bread with plenty of red resinated wine.

We could not stay much longer with the potato diggers, for we still had to carry our greetings to the village farther on. But a few days later I did return to Neochori and went to Yannes' home to find out who had been invited and why. In some ways this visit proved even more interesting than the sojourn in the potato field. The men were all away from the house; so Yannes' wife invited us into the square room which served as the center of family life. We sat around a table and began to list the twenty-five men and the eighteen women who had been a part of the mutual-aid group. Soon we saw neighboring women peering at us through the open window; then they moved on around to the door where they could hear better what we were talking about. News of our arrival must have spread like magic, for before we completed our list the room was full of women — some sitting on the beds along the wall, but several standing in order to observe more minutely everything that was going on. It was out of the question to interview the wife confidentially about why she invited some women and not others. As a matter of fact, two or three women had already taken it upon themselves to answer every question put to Yannes' wife, so that she was simply nodding in assent to what they said.

In no time at all, with the help of the most vocal members of the group, we had listed the relationship of each potato worker to Yannes and his wife. A later count of this information showed that, after we excluded Yannes, the commission merchant, and his one helper from outside, only six of the twenty-two remaining men were unrelated to Yannes. Each of these six persons was a neighbor. Of the seventeen women invited (excluding Yannes' wife), all but four were related to Yannes, but four were neighbors. Thus it was evident that family considerations and neighboring played a significant part, even to the point that some relatives who were not good workers were invited "because they were relatives." In other words, family values rather than economic values, such as efficiency, came into play.

We had noted that many of the women in the potato field were in their late teens or early twenties and found that they were preferred to the middle-aged women who are, of course, not excluded. Perhaps the younger ones have stronger backs and have no grounds for refusing if their father or husband tells them to go and help. Although a man is preferred for this kind of work, there would be no ill feeling if Yannes repaid some man who helped him by sending one of the women in his household. "We don't keep such close count that such a substitution bothers us" was the way one woman reacted.

In the course of our crowded group interview we learned that women

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes closely identified with the central government, which immediately intro-
476 duces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a
178 psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece
438 was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic
474 greatness because of the well-run association which administered the community's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the
621 guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different
474 in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece
426 today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village
[875] of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could
656 be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
[124] asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500 in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a com-
[621] mittee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither. 175 623 642

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws. [671]

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues."[4] 631 642 [658]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior. [185]

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

[621] [633] [162]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

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[XV]

The Village Community

A Greek village has a much richer social texture than the casual visitor would imagine. As already indicated, it has its patterns of mutual aid, its church, school, local government, and coffeehouses — which often are the focal points for intense activity — but it also has its neighborhoods, kinship groups, and even a status system according to which people are sorted out by other villagers. Furthermore, if any villager "gets out of line," strong social sanctions can be brought to bear to make him conform. The village notables whom I met enjoyed telling how things got done in their communities and of the factions and cross-pressures at work. Many times, simply by watching them perform their official and unofficial roles in behalf of the community, I observed the community in action. A mother came to ask how she could get her son out of the army long enough to help with the spring plowing because her husband was disabled with a back injury; an official from the Ministry of Agriculture left some forms about crop production for the secretary to fill out; a man who had received a letter in English from a nephew in the United States wanted one of the notables — who had previously been in the States — to translate the contents. The variety of tasks seemed endless, but some village notable was usually able to rise to the occasion.

621 ● [554] [626]

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the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423 427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

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575 For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings
[474] are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion
575 of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant
571 of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

● 621 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life
182 as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is
578 perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed
665 leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These
669 can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search
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for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo,* or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

> Everyone has his *philotimo,* as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo.* . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope,* the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo.*[5]

Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

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182 156 828 577

To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. . . .

621 156 577 182

One may well ask how this trait of self-esteem is related to a sense of community. The connection is twofold: first, the adult member of the community participates as a free agent and as an expression of his own individuality; he can cooperate because he feels free, and by the same token he can refuse to cooperate. But the second connection makes him think seriously before refusing to cooperate, for he would be shaming himself and others if he let his village down. Yet the sense of community need not be limited to formal cooperation; it can be a state of mind as well, a feeling of loyalty one carries about, and a deep psychological identification with the village where one was born and in which one grew up.

621 182

A common living space. One writer attributes the unity of the Greek village to the residents' dependence upon their physical environment:

[423]

First, the people are directly dependent on the land, hence their interests are all one. Second, the village owns grazing lands and meadows used in common by the farmers. Third, the people are highly interdependent in respect to water supply. Thus a sense of cooperation pervades the village. Fourth, the people of the village are limited in their actions by the very village's physical structure; the width of the streets, the pavement or lack of pavements, and degree of crookedness of same. Lastly, the whole physical lay-out is such that ceremonials and rituals as repeated year-in and year-out by slow processions, must change even if the ceremonials were to become mechanized.[9]

An earlier chapter on the village setting has discussed this factor, which must be taken into account in considering the identification people feel with their village. People develop a "sense of belonging" with those who walk the same village lanes, send their animals to the same community pastures, draw water from the same wells or fountains, and share the same living space. This propinquity does not necessarily produce a liking for everyone frequently encountered, but it calls for the recognition that these neighbors or fellow villagers must be dealt with in solving many of the ordinary affairs of life.

Shared institutions. Partly related to the physical pattern of the village are the church, the school, and the office of the local government, whose very structures are visible and concrete signs of the institutional complex which they embody. But these institutions are more than a material expression; they are also the focal points of the values which the people inherit and pass on to their children. On the basis of these, people ascribe rank to each other; on the basis of these, people make decisions relative to what activities are most worthy and which are least worthy. Community

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life, as well as individual life, has its evaluative mechanisms which are brought into play in problem solving. The local institutions, described so fully in previous chapters, either have certain kinds of problems which they are supposed to treat, or the institutional leaders are sometimes called in to help deal with situations too grave for any single institution to handle. Again, the sense of community which a Greek villager develops is based in part not only upon sharing with others the activities which these institutions perpetuate, but also in knowing that he and his family are dependent upon them for meeting many of life's basic needs and aspirations. 621 182

The introduction of formal organizations into the Greek village, although they may accomplish certain specific goals, can also have the net effect of introducing new cleavages. The local institutions as described have been inclusive in that almost everyone in the village who wanted to could participate in them, with some allowances made for sex and age differences. But organizations bring in the idea of members and nonmembers. Some belong; others do not. Where membership is interpreted as signifying that the member is superior to or better than the nonmember, it causes resentment within that village where organizations are relatively new and not much appreciated. This may even run counter to the local value system. Yet experience in other societies, and even in the urban sectors of Greek society, has shown that economic development — which many peasants ardently desire — is based on specialization. This, in turn, is promoted by organizations which encourage and sustain this specialization. Society, even in the village, becomes more heterogeneous as the level of living rises, as the number of alternative choices (occupational, recreational, and such) increase, and as greater reliance is placed upon the individual. 575 621 182

Therefore, in understanding the traditional sense of community one must see the countervailing tendency to organize along specialized lines and to promote individual rather than community interests. In an industrialized society this means that a new kind of solidarity, based on functional interdependence, replaces that solidarity based on homogeneity and a common view of world and work.[7] Very often in the shift from the traditional to the more complex type, individuals and communities experience disorganization which, in time, leads to a reorganization better adapted to new needs. Closely related to the degree and type of disorganization is the system of social control and how it operates.

Social control. In Greece, as elsewhere, the most effective social controls are built into the personality structure of a person as he grows up. He learns what his society considers to be morally right and wrong and, if "well brought up," does not question these standards and, more often than not, abides by them; he also learns what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior at given times and places; he knows, too, that in a particular situation some people (say, the oldest men present) behave differently from 577 626

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The people speak against the person.

If a woman gossips, people ignore her.

If a man drinks too much, they beat him.

People give advice, for there are usually two or three older people who have the role of advisers and to whom people turn.

Sometimes the solution is by means of knives.

The village people threaten the person who does not conform and may drive him out of the village.

They may take the person to church and make him say special prayers.

They may take revenge on the person by injuring his animals, or by burning his house if his conduct is too much of a threat to the rest.

This last item illustrates that at times the people can behave cruelly to other villagers who threaten the safety, morality, or even reputation of the village. Individuals as individuals seek personal revenge, but much of the time such an action is collective, discussed by several leaders in advance, and carried out with dispatch by a group. [627]

Apparently, living in a Greek village is a great deal like living in a goldfish bowl. One writer comments of his village:

Here in our village one has no secrets from the others. Someone asks about something and we reply. Even if we want to hide something we cannot. Everybody knows about it. . . . We say: "The whole world announces it with drums, while we think it's a secret." [9]

But the sense of community grows not only out of the acceptance of the same "thou shalt nots" but also is related to the systems of rewards held out by the community to those who conform. This is the positive side of social control. To have the esteem of the villagers is to enhance one's own self-esteem, to win an election because others think well of you, to be sought out when others need advice, to have your sons or daughters considered as good "catches" for marriage, all indicate that one has conformed to the code of accepted behavior. It may also mean that one has used individual initiative in behalf of the community when situations arose for which the code gave no specific prescription.

One villager summarized the sense of community well when he pointed out that people were loyal to their village because they lived there and their interests were connected with it, adding, "one is loyal to whatever is close to one's birth certificate and death certificate." 621

Although the life of the villager centers in most details upon the settlement where he lives, his range of interests may go far beyond it. True enough, he is apt to be loyal to his village; but he is also loyal to his region. Those who come from Arcadia, whether they are residing in Athens or in 619 [575]

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Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

Social Drift

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

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1

The Village: As a Setting

THE VILLAGE OF VASILIKA lies almost at the foot of Mt. Parnassos on the Boeotian plain. The oldest of its fifty-odd houses were built in the late nineteenth century by the grandfathers of some of the now adult villagers. Most of them came from the village of Parori two miles to the northeast. Until 1933, when Vasilika sued for and won separate status, the two settlements were classified by the central government as one community (*kinotis*). The parent village still has the larger population, with some 700 inhabitants, while Vasilika, in 1955–1956, had 216.

Both Vasilika and Parori have come to be called by these names only since 1955. During the Turkish occupation, and for more than a century after the liberation of the region, the Boeotian villages used the names the Turks had assigned to them. Parori was Biskeni Aghas; Vasilika was Kravasaras. But in the last decade, patriotic considerations have led to a change from the old names to ones based on Greek roots. *Parori,* in Greek, means "near a mountain" and is an appropriate name for a village which rests in the foothills of Parnassos. *Vasilika* means "royal" and was the name of a hill in the region where a famous battle against the Turks was fought. In some cases, the names by which the villages were known in classical Greek times were restored. Drachmani, for example, once again became Elatia.

Most of the villagers of Vasilika, in 1961, still called the village "Kravasaras." Indeed, the new sign pointing to the dirt road which leads into the settlement reads *Kravasaras,* in spite of the designation of the village in the provincial records as *Vasilika.* This type of double nomenclature is common in the entire region. The wives of Vasilika, most of whom come from the surrounding Boeotian villages, frequently refer to their former houses by their older Turkish names. These are the names which evoke for them the emotions associated with "my village." Their husbands, on the other hand, often refer to their wives' home villages by the newly given names. An outsider must resign himself to learning the double nomenclature if he is to avoid utter confusion.

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The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are [621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to 361 the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of [423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the surrounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the [133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece, [134] north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting [312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently, [134] they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of alluvium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

241 Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton 312 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural under- [406] ground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for [363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occasional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not 621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider- 361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen, 182

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the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

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49 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.

484 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of 443 fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use 484 them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation. 484 But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or 49 a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of [205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and communities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a 484 bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built, [49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-[346] tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959, [245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and another of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the [764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

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361 church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

621 The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village [361] is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora*. Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other [443] of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to [527] drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians [533] come to the *aghora*, and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighbor- [535] ing settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora*, and, 621 indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is 562 conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, 437 and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

594 The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's [423] married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The 342 structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. [178] The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of white- [343] washed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

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361 houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

621 156 Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with [594] the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore [484] does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

621 484 494 To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settlement, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore, never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *aghora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the [512] spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

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equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, 512
whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs
most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just
before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 484
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 512
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming
around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light 621
of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the
end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat
bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of move-
ment diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months
from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of
the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main pat-
terns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through
the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 512
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 241
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora,* one sees, first, a man going 805
by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its
saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same
direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go
past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a
horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no
movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people
involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morn-
ing may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home
one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the
following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the
timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, ap-
pears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, fami-
lies start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the
situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

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245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
574 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and
574 strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The
178 response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[576] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

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such as electrification and the provision of a reservoir for water to be piped to the houses. But the village is neither the moral center of the life of the villagers, nor is it, as an entity in its own right, one of their dominant interests.

621 178

Starting an ethnography with a chapter called "The Setting" is a common practice among anthropological writers. By implication, what will follow is a kind of play for which the "setting" provides the scene. Such a beginning is particularly appropriate to Vasilika, because the village has, for its inhabitants, as well as for the observer, some of the quality of a stage-set. The people of Vasilika seem to think of their fellow villagers as acting the role of the chorus in ancient Greek drama (it is the chorus which comments on the action). The main action of the "play" in the village lies in the life of the family. We have heard villagers exclaim in connection with some intense family situation, *"Ti dhrama!"* "What a tragedy!"

621 594

From an anthropological point of view, the family in Vasilika is significant not only as the focus of interest for the villagers, but also as a separable unit of the social structure of the settlement. In cultural terms, the patterns in which families participate as a unit form a large part of the culture of the entire community. The next three chapters are therefore devoted to the activities of the village families.

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parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire 592
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 804
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have 273
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 252
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 147
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 461
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the 412
earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy 462
hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

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243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
166 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
463 shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They aug-
434 ment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
233 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
563 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
511 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
434 wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
464 women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
262 shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
342 in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly
built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
563 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
621 their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
555 commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
871 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under
641 the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
435 shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more for-
mal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shep-
herd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a
year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm
families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous
in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in
the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people
of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident car-
penters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very
existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time
to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

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 166

land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school 369
and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy 428
of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is trans- 511
ferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

182
The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which 583
daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social
mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their chil- [584]
dren, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses 582
outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with
her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with [591]
him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of
the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged
in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the pro-
spective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which
the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too diffi-
cult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be
eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on 583
both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village 621
with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and
one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be
limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number
of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because
in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow
villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other
through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in
Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the [608]
ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental [795]
relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individ-
uals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the
Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the
same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood
relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to 584
have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' inter- [583]
ests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daugh-
ter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects.
In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates
and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal re-
sponsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the
aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian
countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

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is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment. 584 [581]

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come. [574]

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lires*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years. [836] [626]

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father. 178 585 [621]

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 583 585

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professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

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5

Human Relations[1]

Attitudes Toward Man and Nature

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If it were necessary to describe the nature of the villagers' feelings with respect to each other and the world in one word, that word would be "tension." Indeed, in the first chapter, the metaphor of Vasilika as a setting for a series of family dramas was used. The metaphor has a special aptness because it hints at the essential quality of drama—tension created by some kind of struggle. John Peristiany speaks of the agonistic quality of relationships among the Cypriot villagers he knows—agonistic in the sense of the ancient Greek word *agon* (match or struggle). This word is equally useful for Vasilika, although the contests do not appear to have quite the intensity of those described for Cyprus. Nevertheless, in Vasilika, when one walks through the fields and asks how the work is going, the common response is *"Palevume,"* "We are wrestling." Such an answer is not a cliché in which the literal meaning is lost. The villagers can amplify with further comments on their perpetual contest with soil, weather, and machinery. Man does not always win, in their view, but he is obligated to do his best and to use skill in the struggle. In contemporary Vasilika, the skill involves knowledge of naturally efficient means, and anyone who does not do his best in this sense is unintelligent and deserves to lose the battle. Those who try may still fail, and then the villagers turn to fate or to God's will as an explanation. But an appeal to fate or to God is never an excuse for neglecting actions which are humanly possible, and sometimes this is overtly expressed. For example, one farmer, at a time of unseasonable drought, remarked as he looked at his tobacco fields, "I won't make the sign of the cross, I'll bring my pump over here and irrigate the field." His intent was not blasphemous; he was not an irreligious man from the standpoint of village beliefs and practices. Rather, the farmer was expressing an explicit attitude in

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[1] Lee (1953) is especially relevant to this chapter, and is strongly recommended for further discussion.

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village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksehazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

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wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality.

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification.

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages.

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized.

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter.

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6

The Village: As a Community

The Village Government

621 IN THE FIRST CHAPTER the village was described as a setting for the life of families, which are the most significant social groups in the settlement. It now becomes possible to consider the functions of the village itself as an entity in its own right. First, the formal organization of village-wide activities and responsibilities will be discussed, and second, the attitudes of the inhabitants toward Vasilika in contrast with their attitudes toward the family and the nation.

[631] The Greek government classifies Vasilika as a *kinotis* for administrative purposes despite its small population. A *kinotis* is legally a populated center with at least 300 inhabitants and a school, and constitutes one of the four kinds of administrative subdivisions in each of the nomes (provinces) of Greece.

622 623 665 666 The formal governmental activities of the *kinotis* are the responsibility of a locally elected president and council. A community the size of Vasilika is entitled to a council of five members elected for a four-year term. Voting must be done along party lines; and voters select five names from among those listed by the party of their choice. Vasilika had only two political parties in its local elections in 1956. Under the system of proportional representation then operating, the four men with the most votes from the party which itself had the majority of votes were elected to the council. The fifth member should have been the man with the most votes in the minority party. At the last Vasilika election, however, the man in this position preferred not to act as a minority representative and the second man on the list became the council member. The five representatives then elect a president and a vice-president from among their number, usually for two-year terms. The council and community are served by an additional official, the secretary of the *kinotis*. The secretary is not elected and has no vote on the council. He is appointed by the nomarch (governor) of the province upon nomination from the village council. His salary varies with the income of

624 [634]

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653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis.* The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had
628 been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
692 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
621 no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The
633 question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had
[622] been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis,* was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis.* Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of Octo-
[292] ber), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in
[541] 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

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watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] 659 465 [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *aghora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw
796 powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the
292 children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
534 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's
[535] clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those
[273] who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

796 In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
[574] after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
[484] the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora*, and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri*, the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis*, provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

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621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the
476 interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the
571 life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha*, that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni*, people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages, and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,
123 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
685 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we
621 understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
000 to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

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an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

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It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

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In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

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But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

[621]
[181]

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578]
competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on [621]
which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 369
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after [296]
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514]
new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343]
in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the [758]
imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

621 369 Even in Athens-Piraeus this pattern is observed in many of the neighborhoods into which the two cities divide. The majority of Athenians live in suburbs which date back only to 1923 and the years immediately after, when tens of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor crowded into the town. Many of these communities have a strong corporate sense of their own, and live in much the same way as the smaller provincial towns [513] already described. In the central part of Athens, however, life pursues a rhythm more or less like that of any big European city except that here, too, the midday siesta is rigorously observed. Also, new suburbs, inhabited by professional people and employees, have in recent years grown up farther from the center of town; here little of the community spirit of the older suburbs is to be found, and life rather resembles the dormitory belt of a big American city.

369 517 275 The superabundant leisure so characteristic of village life is also apparent in the towns. *Cafeneions* are numerous and nearly always the sidewalk tables are well filled with men who obviously have no pressing business, if indeed they have any business at all. Street corners, curbs and squares are also occupied [435] by the poor, who cannot afford to pay for a seat by ordering a coffee, even though a modest 2½ drachmae (7 cents) will confer title to a table for an entire morning.

369 464 166 Every considerable town has a fringe of unemployed and semi-employed inhabitants, many of them migrants from villages who have come seeking some sort of job to supplement the inadequate income from their family farms. Such persons [434] can always go back to the village if need be, where at least they can have a roof over their heads and something to eat. Even when a man has been successful in finding regular employment in a town, and makes his home there, he often continues to maintain a connection with the village from which he, or his [602] father or grandfather, came. Family ties are very strong in

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
* 178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

● 621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
[433] 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
[423] surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
x [178] tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
x 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

622 624 As one would expect in any small community whose members are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to [902] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group [653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central government. [651] This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 631 652 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improvements requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

● 621 654 x178 [609] Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of government representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community.

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today.

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress.

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

423 The inhabitants are the sons or grandsons of men who once tilled the Turk's lands for
427 him on a sharecropping basis. They stayed behind when the
[621] Turk departed, and in due course fell heir to his land.

These changes did not happen all at once. When the Turkish landowner left he sold his rights to a wealthy Greek who lived in Larissa. The new landlord continued the old arrangements, with the difference that he was an absentee. Early in the twentieth century, however, widespread peasant unrest manifested itself in Thessaly, and in 1912 a law of expropriation was passed
[425] against the large landowners. But it was not until 1920 that the effect of this law was felt in Lofiscos. In that year government surveyors and officials carried out a general distribution of the estate. Every male resident of the village nineteen years old or over was given possession of 137 stremmata of land (34¼ acres). In addition, 15 stremmata (3¾ acres) were assigned to each male member of a community of semi-migratory shepherds who had immemorially used these lands for winter pasture, paying a fee to the owner for the privilege of grazing their sheep on the stubble left after the grain harvest. A thousand stremmata (250 acres) remained in the possession of the absentee land-
[621] owner. The rest of the land was left as common pasture. Much of it was unsuited to cultivation because of flooding in the spring; and in any case 137 stremmata was about all the land a single family could easily cultivate with the tools then available to them.

423 The land settlement of 1920 remained essentially unchanged thereafter. Many of the men who received their farms at that time are still alive; five families had moved into the village by 1956, but no one had moved away. The five newcomers owned no land at all, but worked for the established farmers of the village or, more often, on the big estate of the absentee owner. (Incidentally, this estate survived in 1956 as a working unit in spite of the land law of 1952 which forbade ownership of more

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know.

621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never

621 178 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
406 lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains.

178* 241 433 [609] [621]

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters.

361 621 [434]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

and thus made good a claim for 27 stremmata. The original squatters' rights had been apportioned on the basis of the amount of land actually tilled by a given family, and as a man or a boy could scarcely cultivate more than about 27 stremmata single-handed with the sort of equipment they had, the old families received about as much land as they had had before. The difference was that the sons escaped from parental control earlier than they would otherwise have done, since title to their share of the land was now vested individually, not, as traditionally, in the parental family as a whole. 423 425 178x

The squatters of 1912 had not occupied all the cultivable land. When they had all received their lots, therefore, almost an equal number of refugees, mostly from the Caucasus area, were settled on the remainder. The two groups stood more or less apart, especially at the beginning. Many of the customs of the Caucasus people seemed wild and barbarous to the old settlers. But because the old settlers felt little or no sense of grievance, and because each family was very nearly on a level of economic equality, with 27 stremmata apiece, the fissure between the two groups was not great. Nevertheless, the houses of the old settlers are still separated by about one hundred yards from those occupied by the refugees, so that the village is physically divided into two quite distinct parts. 621 167 [423] [563]

In 1932 a supplementary land distribution took place, giving families with more than four members an additional 5 stremmata; in 1937 a further adjustment was made when forty-three families removed to a newly drained area in the valley of the Aliakmon River, and left their allotments behind, to be reassigned in chunks of 5 stremmata to the larger families of Nea Eleftherohori. No further official changes have since been made, but the natural processes of death and inheritance have resulted in the splitting up of a few of the allotments into smaller farms, while in some cases formerly separate allotments have been 423 425

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

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423 combined into one holding. The great majority of the families
425 of the village, however, still occupied 27 or 32 stremmata in 1956, and most of the original holders of the allotments were still alive.

x 178 The land settlement in Nea Eleftherohori differed from that
•621 in Lofiscos in two respects. First, the farms in Nea Eleftherohori
241 were less than one fifth as large as in Lofiscos. Second, the new
433 settlers, uprooted from their former homes, whether up the mountain or in distant Asia Minor, left binding customary ways of life behind them, and started off in Nea Eleftherohori without the automatic conservatism and suspicion of innovation typical until very recently of the families of Lofiscos. These differences acted together to make the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori a good deal more willing to try new crops and methods, even before the war, than those in the older Thessalian community. Life on so little land was difficult at best, and anything that promised to bring in a little more seemed worth trying; and when the problems of farming the land were new in any event, there was far less psychological resistance against trying some further innovation.

621 Another contrast with Lofiscos, a contrast perhaps related
163 to the general shake-up of old customary routines which came
433 to the inhabitants of Nea Eleftherohori between 1912 and 1923, is that the new settlers proceeded to procreate children at a far greater rate than occurs in Lofiscos, where families are mostly quite small. [2]

2. It would be very interesting to know why the prosperous peasants of Lofiscos have fewer children than their much poorer fellows in Nea Eleftherohori, but I do not know Lofiscos well enough to hazard an opinion. Can it be that the general market orientation of their agriculture and the habit of calculating in monetary terms leads them to restrict the number of their children deliberately, in some fashion or other, realizing that to divide the family farm among many children spells impoverishment for

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most 428
families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to 423
present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in 621
still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it 669
lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands con- 578
trolled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that 621
village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the 163
wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. 433
Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, consequent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the difference, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some [563]
recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land distributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original [656]
justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947,.1956) 1957

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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

621 669 578

therohori and plundered an UNRRA storehouse which had been set up there. This was bad enough from the point of view of the villagers; but what was far more awkward was the fact that sentiment was seriously divided within the village itself. Approximately half the population sympathized more or less completely with the guerrillas, and in 1947–48 about twenty young men and women from the village fought in their ranks. Only three of them returned. In 1947, when I first visited Nea Eleftherohori, the atmosphere was exceedingly tense. No one was quite sure of his neighbor, and no one was sure whether the government or the guerrillas would win in the end. Armed men patrolled the village at night on behalf of the government, and felt free to pay disconcerting calls upon families known or believed to be sympathetic with the guerrillas. Fifteen persons were arrested by the nearby gendarmes after the raid of 1947, and one of them was executed; the rest returned only after two and a half years of detention. The general mood of the village at that time was one of fear and frustration. No one could see any solution to the difficulties of the present, still less those of the future. What could the young boys do who were not needed at home? With no land available in the village, and no jobs obtainable in town, the situation seemed nearly hopeless.

By 1956 the outlook had changed. First of all, the political division within the village had healed over, leaving almost no trace. The renewed solidarity of village feeling dated from 1950, when the president and council of the community – who, as appointees of the Ministry of Interior, were of course leading anti-Communists – asked the local police to release two of the village boys who had returned from serving with the guerrillas and had been arrested on general suspicion. The police acted favorably upon this request, and allowed their prisoners to go free without further punishment. This affair, which showed a degree of magnanimity on the part of the anti-Communist lead-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621 ●
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste
to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based
on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger
sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for
jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [241]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising mar- [434]
ket crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the
proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), lo-
cated in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling [494]
boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home.
Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books
and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By
1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were
attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every
boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost
every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of
all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather
they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to
pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was
abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

x 178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured,
511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow
582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it.
[583] In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 stremmata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300 gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fifteen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in
[589] the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good many men and women in their thirties and some in their early forties remain unmarried.

x 178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refu-
582 gees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and
583 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes
[563] marry young and before the new family has any assured means
[626] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irresponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of social pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

[168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth. Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position; or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster of having too many mouths to feed.

163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom-
168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births
● 621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

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in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never 163
exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have de- 168
clined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of 621
the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12
persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's.
This decrease is the more striking since the total population of [162]
the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic
distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people 178x
of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circum- 873
stances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys 464
pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs
when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or
four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting
for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer
on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an
educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that [647]
so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gym-
nasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in
the government civil service; and the parents who were sending
their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in
due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit
behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the
whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will
be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and dis-
content may then gain ground, especially among the educated
young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as [647]
capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gym-
nasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and,
of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for
anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of 178x
marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 582
583

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*178 of older peasant customs. The dowry has always been a part of
582 marriage customs in Greece, but it used to be relatively small
583 and easily within the means of the average family. Moreover, not to marry off one's daughters at a rather early age – before twenty-two or so – was regarded as a disgrace. It was felt that something must be wrong, either with the girl or with her parents; that she was running a grave risk of immorality and consequent loss of reputation; and that the parents were delinquent in their duty if they failed to marry her off in the bloom of her youth. Because the new customs run contrary to these older attitudes, a very special tension exists among the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori. They feel it is wrong that their young people cannot marry when they should; they feel even more strongly that marriages must wait until the means of livelihood are assured. This requires the new dowry and land inheritance pattern. But no one is happy with the way the system has worked out, particularly the young people themselves, who see a long and dreary time of waiting ahead before they can hope to start families of their own.

*178 This discontent is compounded by the feeling, which seems
369 very strong in the village, that people in the towns have the best of everything: less work, more income; less boredom, more excitement. City standards of dress and manners have made extraordinary inroads in recent years, and aspiration toward a more comfortable and less laborious life is very strong.

*178 Consequently, although by economic criteria the village is
●621 very much better off than before, and although the political
669 tensions within the village have sunk back into insignificance,
433 discontent is much alive and near the surface. It no longer takes political form as it did during and immediately after the war, when the Communists appealed to, and found a response among, many of the young people. As long as the majority of families in the village continue to see a path by which they

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may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be 1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This [166]
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village

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•621 166 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

245 439 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devaluation of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good. [436]

241 474 433 *178 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in the community, the two cooperatives which were organized before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

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higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage 241
rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; 464
but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about 465
four months in the year, means that families depending entirely on wage work are often in very hard straits.

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have 178x
brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by 463
the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee [366]
houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant [485]
for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants [438]
who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all [494]
of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The [474]
museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers. [871]
A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in 621
other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be 178x
a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever realized, the transition to a town status will become definite.

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization. The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their [583]
children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with [428]
money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is almost universally the case – the new generation will have to

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621 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
×178 seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by — a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian
[433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield
[571] from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
×178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and
[582] hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is
165 evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been
[744] a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimination of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

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Particularly fortunate conditions in Old Corinth – tourism, irrigation, the proximity to the Athens market, and the effective leadership of the village president – have permitted the villagers to maintain their old family customs almost unchanged, and in spite of the rapid growth of population which such customs entail, they have not had to sacrifice their standard of living. Instead, living conditions have improved, with electricity, tractors and the like. 178x 621 511

This is a situation very rare in Greece. It makes Old Corinth the happiest village I visited, a community at peace with itself and with the world, mildly surprised by the prosperity that has descended upon it, and generally well content with the way things are going. The contrast is strong with the internal condition of the village in 1947, when, like Nea Eleftherohori, the community was sharply divided between left and right. In 1947, indeed, the bitterness between the two political parties was far deeper than in Nea Eleftherohori, for in Old Corinth the political lines were drawn, more or less exactly, between farmers and landless men, that is, between buyers and sellers of labor. Two particularly squalid "political" murders occurred within the village in the last days of the German occupation; and the Communist-inspired regime, which lasted for a few months in 1944, aroused strong revulsion among the substantial farmers. These memories now seem almost forgotten, though the sense of solidarity between rich and poor in Old Corinth is by no means so strong as the community feeling among the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori, where everybody is nearly equal economically. 621 578 565 [669]

The inequalities in landholding, and the existence of a fairly numerous landless class in the village, certainly constitute a potential source of trouble. If currant and tomato prices should fall, or if more migrants from the hills should come to the village and push wages down by competing for jobs in the fields, the existing harmony and general satisfaction could easily

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621 break down. The more elaborate social stratification and intri-
578 cate economic integration which the development from simple
565 village into small town involves carries with it a special vulnerability: vulnerability to fluctuations in distant markets, and vulnerability to social stresses within the community itself. This is perhaps the price Old Corinth has to pay for its remarkable economic progress in recent years.

x178 This progress may remind us that there is another sense in
621 which the social structure of Old Corinth shows itself far more
556 flexible and hospitable to innovation than the other villages described. For while family and marriage customs have not undergone important modification, the occupational patterns of the community have shown important changes; and in at least one instance a landless and once very poor man has risen to a position of wealth and importance by becoming a successful merchant. Old Corinth has given far more scope to individual and cooperative enterprise than either Lofiscos or Nea Eleftherohori. Yet this development, too, is in line with old Greek tradition. The self-made man, particularly the self-made merchant or storekeeper, rising to wealth and respectability by virtue of his mother wit and shrewdness in buying and selling, has been a prominent figure in Greek society for at least two centuries; and it has always been the marginal man in the village social hierarchy – the man who has had no land to keep him busy – who has naturally gravitated to such occupations when opportunity has opened. Innovation in Old Corinth has thus taken traditional forms.

x178 Since 1912, rural Greece has been fundamentally divided be-
184 tween villages like Old Corinth, which can look back to genera-
423 tions of substantially undisturbed evolution, and those villages
621 where within recent memory radical governmental intervention entirely transformed earlier landholding patterns. The division is geographical. In Old Greece, meaning Greece within the

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boundaries that existed before 1881, village life has not suffered drastic upheaval since 1821, if then. Changes have come slowly and by evolution. The case is far otherwise in New Greece – Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus and Thrace. There the violent elimination of Turkish landlords and peasants through war was followed by governmental creation of egalitarian peasant communities. This amounted to an agrarian revolution from above, in some cases fully satisfying the peasants – as in Lofiscos – but often failing to do so, as in Nea Eleftherohori. 178 184 423 621

The slower evolution of village life in Old Greece has meant, at least until the present, the preservation of a fairly firm cake of custom, governing the daily lives of the inhabitants. In this respect, Old Corinth is quite typical. Consequently, in spite of the contrast between rich peasant and landless laborer, the social stratification within these peasant communities has not bred so many revolutionists as have been bred by the hardships of life in an equality of poverty, characteristic of many villages in the north. Conservatism, royalism, traditionalism have all centered in the south; while radicalism, republicanism, restlessness and revolution have found their strongest expression in the north. 178 184 621 669 [565]

Yet while these generalizations are true, I must hasten to add that the villages of the plains never were the main centers of political revolt. Too many had too much to lose in such communities. Rather it was in the hill villages, where life was harder and the prospect of maintaining a given standard of life was dimmer, that revolution found its most congenial ground. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, if not before, this has been the really vulnerable point in Greek society, the source of major disturbance and of recurrent civil violence. In the hills, even more than in the plains, the future stability or instability of Greek society is likely to be decided in time to come, as it has in times past. Let us therefore leave the plains and turn to the hills.

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KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not [191] more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

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ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722 Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669 though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464] made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621 ● 200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433 fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162] erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep [511] on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [463] traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [333] addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construction – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 [464] such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621 tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433 seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457 world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167 ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

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who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and drastic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

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rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and 669
twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and 728
only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of 621
them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and 161
Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead.

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left [842] childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age?

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has 621
been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside 161
world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto 167
and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. 457
The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage.

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in 727
the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been 621
through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly re- 511
laxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. [457]
The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, for example.

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727 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of
621 young men dressed in homespun.

[571] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat
[657] from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today
[491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn al-
[233] most the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The
[492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta
241 is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres
233 of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one
[242] of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

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corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow. 178x 241 233

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise. 669 621 [241] [517] [619]

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the village speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the 621 178x 197 [669] [191] [619]

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621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a [197] degree of kinship.

[619] Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there [631] from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-[727] fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 161 x 178 The real question for the future is whether or not the village will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving population is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children be-[728] tween the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five [885] couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

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community where very early marriages have been the rule, a woman of thirty or thirty-five is already old.) Between 1952 and 1956 there were only four marriages in the village, twelve births, sixteen deaths. Under the circumstances, it seems certain that the population will decrease still further in the immediate future.

Yet even four or five families could turn out to be quite enough to repopulate the village, if the old patterns of early marriage and numerous children prevail. Indeed, the close blood relationships of all the villagers suggests that in times past the community may well have contained only a handful of families from whom hundreds (or, counting those overseas, thousands) in due course descended. Thanks to the depopulation brought by the guerrilla war, the traditional life of Kotta has become easy once again, and if the young people accept the old ways, and do not allow the glitter of urban life overseas, reflected in the letters and money orders sent back by friends and relatives, to change their outlook, then it seems fairly certain that within a decade or less the depopulation of the village will come to a halt, and rapid growth in numbers will begin once more. If so, after something like thirty or forty years Kotta will probably be back in the impossible position of 1947.

This cycle is, I believe, the key to much Balkan history. The peasant family system was adjusted, from age-old antiquity, to supply large numbers of children, most of whom died from violence or disease before attaining adulthood. With the more or less effective pacification of the countryside in the last couple of centuries, together with the elimination of some epidemic diseases and the control of others, this age-old balance was thrown out of kilter, so that the peasant population began (as early as the mid-eighteenth century) to run far ahead of the development of resources that might sustain it.

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175 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords
669 of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Un-
619 til 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such
161 warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopula-
433 tion – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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limits of the hill valleys. In times past, Balkan hillsmen then had to seek sustenance from the plains, either by peaceful labor or by armed forays.

As far as Kotta and villages like it are concerned, it now seems to me an open question whether the old cycle will repeat itself again or whether new standards of expectation and conduct will make sufficient inroads upon the traditional peasant family system to check early marriage and rapid multiplication of numbers. Through overseas emigration, the modern city has made its mark on Kotta. All but a few young people want to leave, and many have done so. At the same time, the handful who remain appear to be conforming to the old ways. Perhaps the critical turn will come as their children grow up; for if the rising generation elects to look beyond the confines of the village – and if the possibilities of migration, either within Greece or overseas, exist – then, perhaps, as the population of the village begins to press once again upon the limits of local production, the young people may decline to continue the old, economically suicidal pattern, and will instead seek their fortunes far afield, and refuse to marry into hopeless poverty at home. It depends more than anything else, perhaps, upon the degree of communication that may come to exist between the outside world and the villagers. In 1956 these contacts were limited. Newspapers came seldom; vehicles rarely. But the village did possess a radio that brought daily news from Athens; and emigrants' letters were perhaps the most important of all the channels of contact with the great world beyond the valley in which Kotta nestles.

Survivors of the older generation – those who have lost their children to the guerrillas – seem to have no doubts or reservations in wishing to see more and more children about again. The priest complained of how empty and joyless the village was without the throngs of children he knew before. He deeply

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621 161 842 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him, a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 361 [491] Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece. Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the [173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed [433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra- [233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

x 178 433 233 314 [438] The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years ago, the main support of the community may well have been sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

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217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names regis-
[745] tered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people officially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
●621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers reckon that their own local production supplies food for only
[432] two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of
[844] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, represented the extreme right. The president and secretary were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

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621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
727 forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
[669] expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
[653] in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

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city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

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animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which employed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the season. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a decrease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabitants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kalamata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

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They came back to a village whose earlier means of livelihood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, something like two hundred persons left the village between 1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who have remained in the village, a considerable number have undertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to seek work with which to supplement the meager income from their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of employment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be done on their own land.

621 166 464 433 [161] [167] [243] [311] [342]

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no family has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third of all the village families own no land at all.

621 241 429 [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few families use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which

178x 245 [241] [438]

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*178 commands a premium price in Athens and elsewhere, the use
245 of fertilizer becomes a somewhat dubious economic advantage.
[438] The fact is, I believe, that the age-old adjustment of traditional peasant agriculture in the olive-growing regions of Greece is very nearly perfect. Certainly every scrap of potential soil is used in Kardamili, and the peasants know very well how to care for their trees. Except for chemical sprays that discourage a number of insect pests damaging to the crop, scientific agriculture has not yet devised any very important improvement upon traditional peasant methods of olive culture. But sprays were known in Kardamili before the war, and their use was resumed as soon as the chemicals became available.

*178 In 1956 the village launched a project for bringing water
312 down the mountain. An interest-free government loan made the
[652] enterprise possible; but, even when completed, the water pipes will not supply more than household needs, leaving a little over, perhaps, for watering gardens. Shortage of water has been the long-standing problem of the community. There was scarcely enough to drink when I was there, and each glassful was treated as something precious, since the women of the village had to carry it in jars from a trickling spring half a mile away.

*178 Yet in spite of the stability of agricultural methods, the social
621 system of the village, to all appearances, is beginning to change,
873 more or less as the social system of Nea Eleftherohori is changing. For one thing, the villagers have begun to place great hopes in education, seeing in it a means of escaping from the land. Fifteen boys from the village were enrolled in the gymnasium in Kalamata in 1956, a quite considerable number in view of the fact that they had to live away from home, and thus had to meet expenses far greater than those confronting the boys from Nea Eleftherohori. In Kardamili itself, there is a school that teaches the first two years of the standard four-year gymnasium course. This school had eighty students, five more than

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were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from 178*
neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I 621 ●
was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of 873
gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea 178*
Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry 582
system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming 583
in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease 621
in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no 161
more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any [744]
change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The [582]
more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone 178*
much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I 166
was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have 369
gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

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with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly 647
effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the 663
American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for [177]
American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the [654]
agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another [657]
branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced 178
highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the re- 631
invigoration of local government. During the war and after- 621
ward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed 647
through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections were organized, partly at least in response to repeated 666
urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Che- 621
rasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 631
1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Che- 178
rasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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621 a distinguished man in any company. Authority seemed to rest
631 as naturally upon his shoulders as the callouses rested upon
178 his palms. This easy relation between village officers and the people of their community had definitely not been characteristic in 1947.

621 Local government in Greece was suffering, however, from a
631 chronic and serious handicap. Local authorities lacked funds,
652 and could seldom do anything beyond routine administration without borrowing from some agency of the central government.[1] The result of this situation was to extend greatly the real authority and influence of the central government over local affairs. Village and municipal authorities spent a great deal of time waiting in the anterooms of officials of the central government in the hope of securing money with which to carry through some local improvement.

621 Villages had always depended on the Agricultural Bank or
651 on one of the central ministries for finding money for any im-
652 portant project; cities and towns until 1949 had financed their local expenditures mainly through excise duties imposed upon
178 goods brought into the municipality. Before that year, long
631 lines of peasant carts, waiting their turn at municipal excise stations, were a frequent sight in the outskirts of every town. Internal tariffs were abolished in 1949, however, and the share of the cigarette tax, levied nationally, which was assigned to municipalities in lieu of these excises proved generally inadequate. Town governments were therefore in poor shape financially, and any public improvements that were made came from special grants or loans from the central government.

[633 365] 1. The municipality of Athens, for example, had been insolvent for as long as anyone cared to recall. The problem was such that in 1955 and again in 1956, the Athens Power Company threatened to cut off the supply of electricity to municipal institutions unless some of the back bills were paid.

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Selection of the Village

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The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

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The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics. 621
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The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

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Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

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Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

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The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

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Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years.

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move. 167 722 [648] 511 167

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conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and 602
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [596]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the 178
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. 621
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro- [582]
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [736]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under [737]
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in. 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the
history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious
differences have done more harm to humanity than any good.
Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious
differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of
understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this
institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance
of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241
munity is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the
time of men, women and children. The general procedure for
gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to
climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited
and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic
plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this
product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to
speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop
unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type
of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups
and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please.
Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

/57 cont./

of the outstanding institutions in the village which guides the people in keeping accounts and in taking active part in appointing officers every year. 241 474 [621]

The yearly meeting of the cooperative lasts 2 days and all the men who served in the army take active part. After the committee presents its accounts and accomplishments and its future program, a discussion starts from different members either praising or criticising the work of the existing committee. Different proposals for improvement are made and finally it ends with a vote for a new committee of six. During these two days of discussion people learn from each other how to judge and evaluate certain deeds of the cooperative.

The government, understanding the importance of the cooperative has organized the Ministry of Cooperatives /58/ under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The effect of the cooperative on the people is great not only on the economic life but also on their social life as well. It draws the people close together and they think not in terms of their immediate needs but of their future welfare. [647]

Every year the cooperative sends two students to the high school, gives prizes to the farmers that raise good seed and better animals, gives financial aid to the poor, and helps the unfortunate sick to go to hospitals. These are signs of the role the cooperative can play in the near future. [747]

Besides unifying the whole village into an economic unit it also is becoming a center of spreading higher ideals among the people. Its powers at the present are restricted due to the lack of experienced men with foresight. There are possibilities for one to do more in devising community programs by working with the cooperative. [621]

Farm Techniques. The biblical type of farming is still the kind that yields the greater returns with the least cost. The animal power is composed of oxen with a yoke and an iron plow. The wooden plow still has its /59/ blessings for certain soils. In soils 241 [492] [407]

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results.

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others 874
the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 476
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built 621
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [345]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [533]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [735]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation project which was started by this group has led to the development [314]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village [185]
planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable [526]
gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

/82 cont./
peaceful rest of their dead. They donate to the church either money or wheat. On St. Nicolas day, the people from remote villages bring either a chicken, a pig, a cow, a calf, a sheep, or a goat to the church as a present. Numerous animals are lined in the yard of the church which are sold in auction the same day. /83/ Every Sunday morning at the church service a tray is passed to the people for contributions. The selling of candles brings an appreciable amount of money. The church has its fields which are either worked or hired to others to swell the income of the church.

794 [769] [437] [427]

Part VIII Living Together.

Mutual aid. Both groups, the Thracians and the Caucasians, before settling in this village had a civilization of their own. The isolation of the Caucasians in the interior part of mountainous Caucasus has developed a unique type of civilization mostly built around their community life. Here they had the compound type of family organized under the direct rule of the oldest in the family. In spite of the large number in the family the work was divided every day among all. Every one did his best with no complaint. The men gave blind obedience to the head of the family and the women to the mother. The obedience was so strict that misunderstanding would seldom occur. Every one was specialized in his or her own work. All buying and selling was done by the head of the family. No one could smoke, speak, nor could sit by the head of the family unless told to do so. A strictly military type of rules were observed. The father decided the marriage age of his son and this usually would coincide with the need of more labor in the family. Sometimes /84/ the need for labor was so great that the age of 15 was thought practical to give the solution for extra labor. The grandma was responsible for the education of the children either in household work or school work. The children call their mother by her first name and instead, call the grandma, mother.

621 596

[Caucasus]

/84 cont./

The village was ruled by "Gerousia", a group composed of old respected people. It is interesting here to note that even today the Greek Senate is called "Gerousia". This "Gerousia" would meet when necessary to discuss certain problems concerning their village. They had no definite calendar for meeting nor approved place for meetings. There were two dates well observed for meetings. One was St. Demeter's day -- October 26th -- for deciding to hire a village shepherd for the cattle and a guard for the fields. Another meeting which was fairly definite, was St. Constantin's day -- May 24th -- at which the redistribution of the land was decided for the coming seven years. It was one of the well-observed economic principles to redistribute the pasture for farming and leave the cultivated land for pasture. Due to the increase or decrease of the family members the land had to be redistributed /85/ according to the number of heads in the family. Once the land was given, the owner could use it as he pleased but could not pass it on to the relatives or friends. The land belonged to the village. There was another order which every one had to follow strictly. No one was allowed to increase his livestock on the community pasture, but he could increase it on hired pasture land from near by villages.

621 623 621 423

Away from every kind of complicated civilization the Caucasians had a world of their own and found it better to preserve it centuries after centuries without adulterating it with the modern civilization.

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Most of the church, school and community problems were solved by the "Gerousia" without a general meeting or vote. The decision of "Gerousia" on any problem was final. Local conflicts and neighborhood grievances were taken care of by "Gerousia". Repairing school buildings, or church, or taking care of the poor and unfortunate were closely followed up by this group.

621 623

This cooperative spirit for mutual aid is rarely found among any people except the Caucasians. /86/ The rush harvest season is shared alike by all. Building houses, threshing and transportation of agricultural goods is done through borrowed labor. If any, by

476 621

[Caucasus]

/86 cont./

misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178]

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621
[167]

/87 cont./
impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

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Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

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Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more [illegible] of life. They know that happiness was born

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[152]

/89 cont./

a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

/91 cont./ 623
general approval of all. The punishment of the "Gerousia" is 627
ostracism until the person repents and asks forgiveness. The fear 578
and respect towards "Gerousia" is greater than to anybody or group of people. One of the young men planning to divorce his wife because she could not bear any child, told of his experience with the "Gerousia". "Their words are sharper than the sharpest swords".

Latent Neighborhood Conflict Attitudes. The jealousy of the 621
nearby villages toward the successful cooperation of the villagers 628
of Megali Vrisi was noticed many times. The success of Megali Vrisi in bringing the doctors who serve the area to their village, and in making it the center for the health project, naturally created hard feelings with the competing villages. The success with which the Caucasians of Megali Vrisi worked /92/ in organizing a young men's organization, increasing the number of teachers, building their church and having one of the well-organized cooperatives, has made it the leading village of the area.

Active Conflicts. One of the active conflicts that exists in 621
Megali Vrisi is the one between the Thracians and Caucasian 578
Each group in trying to preserve its identity tries to dominate the other by having more power in controlling the village council and cooperative. The Thracians as a minority, have never had any chance to get to any office for the last 16 years. The strong opposition they had from the Caucasians, united them on every question raised, and their inability to compete with the Caucasians has developed within every Thracian the illogical type of opposition. "Vote it down if it is a Caucasian proposal, whether good or bad." Regardless of this opposition, the Caucasians undertook to carry on their constructive community work by bearing the share of the Thracians too. Conflicts among different kinship groups were of a minor type and never developed to such a magnitude as to have destructive results. The "Gerousia" checked them. 627
The conflict between the Thracians and the Caucasians was beyond [623]
the power of the "Gerousia". The Thracians never had any [692]
"Gerousia" and as a result took more cases to the court and spent more /93/ money and time for it. The conflicts among the

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control. Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692] what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685] families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626 women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273 but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543 fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621 motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476 in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578 so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461 problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517 to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241 time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578] of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

/100 cont./

of their occupation but rather because of certain peculiar personal qualities which they possess. Such a cast of characters is very evident in Megali Vrisi. Most of these are due to their ability to speak fluently, or to tell stories, read and interpret the news from the papers or forecast future events. Some of these rank the lowest in the economic scale and their influence is not effective beyond the village boundaries. These personalities become the central guides for the decisions of many persons. Both Thracian and Caucasians have these types of personalities.. 156 554

Community organization. The village of Megali Vrisi is a loosely organized village. The various groups and associations are independently organized and function without any cooperation of the other whatsoever. There is competition and constant conflict as to which one is the leading group in the village, but in spite of the conflicts and lack of cooperation among the groups, compared with the neighboring villages /101/ the village is the leading one. This unexplainable progress is mostly due to the constructive and not the destructive type of competition of the different groups, which instead of hindering them is enabling them to get ahead. According to Professor Sanderson, "The coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization insofar as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of community organization in the every day life of its people is apparent." The wholesome competition among the different groups for accomplishing their group projects may be due to the following: 621 476 178

1. Within every member of the different organizations or associations there is an inherent feeling of mutual aid and that the progress of each group is the progress of their village.

2. There are persons who hold office in more than two groups and thus there is this indirect cooperation.

3. It is an accepted principle that each group follows its well-defined program without expecting it to be considered as the only one that needs support.

/102/ 621
4. The different organizations are a part of the people. 476
Nothing is introduced by outsiders nor advocated by any one person, but through centuries have become an accepted principle of 178
their community life to watch their community improve from all around.

Conclusions to be drawn from the village of Megali Vrisi. 621 ●
1. The new village has two distinct type of people with 105
their pattern of customs.

2. The Government's attempt to mould the customs of these groups into one may face difficulties at the beginning.

3. Both groups semi-primitive in the sense of having:

a. Patriarchal pattern type of family.
b. Father having the buying and selling
c. Both women and children doing farm work, unending toil of women.
d. Education or training rests with the grandparents.
e. Agriculture for making a living
/103/f. Common land and pasture; no ownership.
g. Lack of knowledge of fertilizers.
h. Magic strongly believed by both groups.
i. Purpose of marriage was to have the labor of women and for raising children.
j. Land divided in many patches and scattered.
k. The "Gerousia" as the only powerful and effective group in community government.
l. Religion of paganistic type.
m. Business in its primitive form of exchanging goods.
n. Mutual aid very characteristic.

The low cash income, backward farm techniques, with too much emphasis on the subsidized wheat crop, poor housing and household equipment, inadequately balanced diet, disregard of proper sanitation and other preventive measures against disease, inadequate medical attention, absence of recreational opportunities, impractical religion, slow educational processes without vital

621 ●
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/103 cont./
relations to the life of the people, and burdensome work of wives and children, are conditions which are suggestive of planning objectives.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe. 233 533

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community. 221 621

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis. [623] [622]

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots. [666]

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school. [871] [794] [474] [652] [233]

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous 621 [186] [175] [776] [669] [778]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

[The Tselingata]

used for public works, especially for the operation of schools. All these accounts are regulated by the general assembly of the members of the union. G V 233 474

In my conversations with Berates, the visit to whom has just been described, I learned that he considered himself an architselingas. True enough, he owned most of the sheep, but he did allow the six men who worked for him to have flocks of their own, say fifty to sixty head, if they could get a start. One of his shepherds was assigned the task of keeping the records of milk production so that each one could have a share prorated on the basis of the number of animals in the common flock. Every six months Berates draws up a contract with those associated with him; he supervises the cheese production up in the highland pastures and even helps process the milk for some of the smaller owners who are not in position to set up their own plant. G V [675] [234]

Those who knew Epirus a generation or so ago tell of the great authority these chief shepherds had, each ruling in autocratic fashion his people and the area in which they were established. Should one of the shepherds associated with any of these chieftains become dissatisfied and want to move away, he found it impossible to attach himself to any other chief shepherd, for these men of position stuck together. In the days of turmoil and disorder early in this century, it was almost necessary for a small owner to be connected in some way with a leading figure who could protect him and represent him to outside authorities.[14] V G 233 474 622

The tselingata, from many accounts, were not necessarily based on kinship, though there were interesting examples of the group of relatives being so large that they formed a union by themselves. In such a case, age and generation would usually determine who had the authority and his word would carry great weight among the others.

Even today there are powerful chief shepherds. The mayor of the city of Egoumenitsa, along the Ionian Sea, was the head of the Petoules family which is run on the principles of the traditional tselingata. There are eighty members in the family and all of them obey him. In 1953 I was told that the Petoules family collectively owned from 12,000 to 14,000 sheep, in spite of the fact that on one day in 1948 the Communist guerrillas took 4,200 sheep from them. Although they owned sufficient land to graze at least 14,000 sheep, they were improving the pastures by sowing wild clover. The summer area alone added up to about 3,450 acres and the winter area was additional. V G 233 474 G [669]

One official in describing this family said that in 1952 some of the governmental representatives in Ioannina were ordered by the central government to go to the head of the Petoules family and take some of the pasture land for the settlement of refugees who needed land. They expected trouble but were pleasantly surprised when the architselingas agreed to give the land and also went with them to select it. Two villages were constructed, G [423]

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councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes, on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's; its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[7]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorating the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high-powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there, as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

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therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job.

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed.

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter.

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

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746 representative of the International Red Cross, who arranged with the or-
625 ganizational officials in Athens for an immediate distribution of rice, sugar,
735 and molasses (for children). Momentarily, the representative also secured money for bread, telephoning from Athens to the commandant to buy the bread locally. The Red Cross representative had expected the commandant to buy about eight hundred one-oka loaves of bread, but he had different ideas: "Why not give the people flour and cut down the expense of the salt, water, and manipulation that goes into the baked bread?" So he bought nine hundred and eighty okas of flour and persuaded the flour mills at Volos to contribute another two tons. He also handled the problem of transportation with originality. Since these eight villages are remote, the trucking costs to them are high. The commandant, suggesting that the dis-
[476] tribution be at four points, appealed to the local transportation cooperatives to supply the trucks after the Union of Trucks had voted to help.
[494] Then the drivers agreed to donate a day's free labor, with the "day" totaling sixteen hours for many of them before the distribution was completed and the trucks were safely back in Volos.

746 But the role of the village notables should not be minimized. Although
625 the commandant had made a trip through the district to look personally
735 into the condition of many families, he depended upon the president, the priest, the teacher, and the gendarme to prepare the list of the needy in
622 each village. The role of the president came to the fore at the distribution points, to which he brought some men and pack animals. The commandant explained in great detail to each president the basis on which the distribution was being made, who had made the contributions, and what families were to receive how much. The supplies for each village, when weighed out from the trucks, were turned over to the community president. He then
[492] supervised the loading of the pack animals and headed the animal train back toward his village. Once arrived, he was to see that the distribution was carried out according to instructions.

Such an experience leaves many impressions: the deep personal interest which the commandant of gendarmerie showed in the welfare of the people in his area; the dignity of the village presidents who asked very intelligent questions to be sure that they properly understood the instructions about distribution; the tattered clothing worn by these quiet, almost impassive villagers. And here, as always in Greece, one sensed deeply the beauty of
000 the natural surroundings: the mountains where patches of snow still lingered, the dark glades through which the road sometimes wound, the
[494] occasional olive groves and chestnut forests, with lively pedestrian traffic ready to greet one every few hundred yards. Down on the plain, on a sunny afternoon, the meadows were full of a profusion of wild flowers so delicate in color and stamina that they die soon after they are plucked or after the hot sun of late April and May beats down on the unprotected plain. On

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our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built. He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

> Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

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622 623 cil members who are in some way connected with the project or activity. The mayor usually introduces topics for the approval of the council, but no action can be taken before the prefect of the area gives his final approval.

[208] In Stavroupolis, people respond quite emotionally to each method applied by the village government. Problems are discussed by the council before decisions are made and are discussed again by the male population in the coffeehouse with interest and emotion. . . . The village government's business is their business and these informally-made decisions are important since no project can operate normally or smoothly if their informal decisions are opposed.[8]

651 But no picture of local government is complete without some sketch of the tax and financial picture. According to the 1950–51 legislation, local governments gain their revenues from the following sources.[9]

Property Revenues
— For the use of slaughterhouses
— Grazing rights on communal-owned land

Dues and Excises
— Building dues, ½ to 1 percent of the amount of cost
— For the use of sidewalks, streets, and public squares
— Dues on hotels, beds, and bills
— Weight and measure excises; advertisement excises
— For the use of municipal and communal property, works and services including garbage and cleanliness, electricity and gas

Direct Taxes
— Tax on agricultural and forestry products: 2 percent mandatory, 4 percent optional
— Tax on cattle; tax on poultry and fish up to 3 percent of price
— Tax on vacant plots within town plan areas in demes over 20,000 and those in the capital area and Thessalonike area
— Tax on property which has gained value owing to deme or communal public works

Indirect Taxes
— Tax on sale and purchase of cattle
— Tax on olive oil dregs

Contributions
— Contributions determined by council not over 30 million drachmas per head in Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika; 15 million on other demes; 5 million in communes

[653] Personal Work
— In demes and communes under 10,000 population, men over eighteen work ten days a year. Also includes their animals and motor equipment

Loans, Donations and Legacies

Sale of Real Estate and Movable Property

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mata, at the southern part of the Peloponnesos. When we discussed the attitude of the peasants toward Athens and the central government, he commented: "Life in the village is difficult; Athens has had special privileges. The villages are 100 percent right in their complaints. In my nomos many of them have no roads, no irrigation or drainage. Their education is so far behind that it is pitiful; their homes are in awful condition. How can a peasant under such circumstances feel gratitude! Paying for the priest and the teacher should be the job of the central government in the same way that a father supports a child. The recent decision to turn back to the communes a share of the tobacco tax is encouraging the villagers very much. Here it will amount to about one dollar yearly per capita."

When I asked him more about the actual workings of the communes in his nomos, he repeated much that others had said:

> The president of the community represents in a small way the national government. So the community council is both an arm of the central government and also a representative of the local village. All decisions of the council have to be communicated to the nomarch; this is compulsory. If the council and president decide to spend any of the local funds the nomarch has the right to say "yes" or "no." If they wish to add a paid employee, the nomarch will check to see whether it is legal or not. If the nomarch does not answer in two weeks' time, then the local council has the right to go ahead without further permission. But the villagers for the most part are not conscious of their rights after the expiration of the two-week period and are capable of waiting fifteen years. The chief reason for delays in such matters is the lack of sufficient personnel in the nomarchy.

During 1952–53, the possibility seemed strong of developing a capable, well-trained group of nomarchs, all of whom were supposed to have security of tenure and not be subject to dismissal except for carefully defined "cause." These nomarchs were being sent to England, the United States, and elsewhere to study how local governments functioned, and to see what ideas might be adaptable to Greece. The community presidents, over and over again, expressed appreciative comments on the work of many of these nomarchs. To be sure, in some villages I found that the nomarch had not yet made himself known, but I had the general impression that a much better relationship was building up between the peasantry and the national government because of the changed attitudes of friendliness and understanding on the part of these key officials. When I revisited Greece in 1955 for another study period, I found that the Minister of Interior in early March 1954 had rescinded the career-nomarch legislation and had immediately dismissed one third of the nomarchs. According to one observer:

> The odd characteristic about these dismissals was that they were not necessarily based on political opinions nor on efficiency. Several strongly-pro-government nomarchs were dismissed despite known efficiency. Apparently this arose

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answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[18] 664

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead. [369] [654]

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter. 622 664 [669] [646]

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch 662 664

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The Village Notables

554 Contrary to popular belief, one does not always find the village notables sitting around the coffeehouse. Most of them are usually busy people, working in their fields, around their houses, or in a shop. They do make at least brief appearances around the square some time during the day, most probably after supper. Loafers do not become notables in a Greek village. To learn who these notables were, I asked throughout mainland Greece: "Who are the most important people in your village? Why are they important?"

[622] I was struck by the fact that in 1955 and 1959 more people seemed to stress the high prestige of the community president than they had done in 1953. This impression, if fully verified, would indicate a growing importance of and a re-emphasis upon local government in the Greek scheme of things. One priest in the Peloponnesos attributed this shift to the fact that "interest in religion is not as great as twenty years ago and church attendance has declined." A few typical replies, many contradicting each other in some details, will convey the villager's view of the notables in his community. From Central Greece:

554 875 759 622 793

> The greatest honor in our village is to be president of the community. Those who are most respected are those with the most money. Anyone who has money receives a hearty "good morning"; without money he doesn't. This is because our people are not educated. In fact, the priest gets more respect than the teacher, which is not as it should be. The local doctor, too, is respected.

From another village in Central Greece we hear:

> The most important people are the most educated, either the doctor or the teacher who, thanks to his education, can solve a problem in which the people are interested. We have some clever people who try to overshadow the teacher in order to influence other villagers, but if they are to do this they must be respected. If an extremely clever person is immoral, he has no great prestige. Two things influence other people: to be just in his judgment and honorable. We respect a man more if he is honorable than if he is rich. Even an uneducated man who is a good farmer and has good judgment and is honorable can have influence.

[665] Party leaders in former times would have been included among the notables, according to a businessman from Thebes:

> In my childhood days the party leader would have ranked as most important, particularly if he belonged to the strongest party and would be able to help local people solve their problems. Nowadays in the village the president of the community would play a great part. The doctor, if there is one, has high position, provided that he is respected by the others. In the old days the priest and teacher were more respected than today. In my childhood when the teacher

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In my childhood when the teacher

or priest would pass through the village square people would stand up. The local merchants in the village have changed their status little, for their role in life is still to do commerce. 554 875 793

The extent to which the priest or the president of the local cooperative, where it exists, is considered important depends today very much upon the personalities of the individuals involved. One person said: 622 [474]

The role of the priest should be mentioned along with the teacher and doctor. He should lead because he represents the church and is more educated than the peasants. But there are some priests who play little part in community life. I know of one who drinks too much, shoots off his revolver, and is not respected.

The relative prestige of the village notables has been influenced by the practice of the central government in providing the teacher and the priest. Only the community president comes into office as the result of local initiative, but even his status, though gaining ground, is not what it used to be thirty or forty years ago:

The president of the village is usually a better man than the president of the cooperative because there is more tradition behind his office. But it does not always hold that the best man is picked as president. In Thessaly forty years ago when the president came into the coffeehouse all the men rose in deference to "their president." [474]

A man from a mountain village in Central Greece who is active in the cooperative movement contrasted the various statuses in his community:

I find that the teacher enjoyed more prestige formerly than now. Earlier there was a higher percentage of illiterates, but today many village sons have gone away for a higher education and so people are not so dependent upon the teacher. Since officials do not wish to undermine the position of the teacher, the agronom and other representatives of the nomarchia always consult the teacher when arriving in the village.

This man thought the secretary of the village more important than the president.

When I put the question of relative prestige of the notables to a group of students at the American Farm School in Salonica, I found the anticipated difference of opinion. The majority of the boys, all from villages, said that the president of the community was most important, but others said that the priest would be "if he is from the village itself and has a good reputation." They pointed out that the president of the community becomes involved in politics and is therefore apt to antagonize those who may differ with him politically. Of the twenty villages represented, fourteen had doctors. Only six of these were considered community leaders. These village boys also thought, for the most part, that the wealthy peasants were [759]

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554 875 793 ●622 [729] [561]

not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

554 167 177

I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

6

The Village: As a Community

The Village Government

621 IN THE FIRST CHAPTER the village was described as a setting for the life of families, which are the most significant social groups in the settlement. It now becomes possible to consider the functions of the village itself as an entity in its own right. First, the formal organization of village-wide activities and responsibilities will be discussed, and second, the attitudes of the inhabitants toward Vasilika in contrast with their attitudes toward the family and the nation.

[631] The Greek government classifies Vasilika as a *kinotis* for administrative purposes despite its small population. A *kinotis* is legally a populated center with at least 300 inhabitants and a school, and constitutes one of the four kinds of administrative subdivisions in each of the nomes (provinces) of Greece.

622 The formal governmental activities of the *kinotis* are the responsibility of
623 a locally elected president and council. A community the size of Vasilika is
665 entitled to a council of five members elected for a four-year term. Voting must
666 be done along party lines; and voters select five names from among those listed by the party of their choice. Vasilika had only two political parties in its local elections in 1956. Under the system of proportional representation then operating, the four men with the most votes from the party which itself had the majority of votes were elected to the council. The fifth member should have been the man with the most votes in the minority party. At the last Vasilika election, however, the man in this position preferred not to act as a minority representative and the second man on the list became the council member. The five representatives then elect a president and a vice-president from among their number, usually for two-year terms. The council and community are served by an addi-
624 tional official, the secretary of the *kinotis*. The secretary is not elected and has no
[634] vote on the council. He is appointed by the nomarch (governor) of the province upon nomination from the village council. His salary varies with the income of

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Vasilika

the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *agbora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

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Vasilika

653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had
628 been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
692 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
233 no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had
[622] been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

623 responsibility. The collection of its monies is undertaken by the central government's financial officers directed from Amphiklia, and the expenditure of its monies is supervised and controlled by the officers of the *nomarchia* centered in Levadhia. Moreover, the council has neither responsibility nor power over other village-wide activities. Law enforcement and the operation of the village school and of the village churches are administered separately both from the council and each from the others. Before turning to these activities, some mention of the council's role in Vasilika apart from the formal expectations is appropriate.

[829] [622] It is indicative of the village attitude toward the council, in contrast with that toward the president, that at no time during our stay in the village was any man pointed out to us as having the status of council member or as having had it in the past. When, accompanied by several villagers, we visited the former schoolteacher of Vasilika, he asked us who was currently the president but did not ask about the council members. The president has an important role to play in the minds of the villagers. He is expected to act as liaison between them and other governmental units and to further the interests of Vasilika in whatever situations may develop. For example, there was some criticism of the president for not arranging more rapidly for the bus to come through the village. In early April 1956, an unexpected and heavy rain flooded the fields and threatened to destroy the wheat if the waters did not drain off quickly. Most of the villagers (not all, however) were agitated, and in the early morning groups of men climbed the hill and looked out over the fields shaking their heads and lamenting, "*Katastrofes!*" "Catastrophy!" Then came the discussion of why the fields were not draining properly. All day, in the coffeehouse, the men inveighed against the English company which had owned the former Lake Copais land for setting up a drainage system that did not go beyond those lands; against the Greeks who took over the company for continuing a system that, the men insisted, not only did not drain the lands of Vasilika, but even made it subject to flooding; against the government for not having built a proposed dam that would have protected the region; and against the village president for not immediately calling on the nomarch's engineers to suggest remedies for the present situation. For days after, there were rumors that the nomarch's technical staff would meet with the president and councils of Parori and Vasilika to arrange a public works program of low dams to protect the area from possible future disasters from the same cause. The meeting never took place. Some villagers blamed the situation on the unwillingness of the farmers to work together to build their own small dams. One man had earlier tried to protect his own fields by building low earthen dikes around them, but his work was wasted because the surrounding fields were not so protected. The morning after the storm some of the men had quickly built up a two-foot dam at an obviously vulnerable spot near the cemetery. But a villager pointed out that if the water had risen just a little further, the placement of the dam would have made the situation worse rather than better. There was no more rain; the waters gradually receded; each man watched for his own fields to dry out. Those who were left with one or two small plots that were so badly flooded as to be useless for

622 829 731 312 208 521 731 312 208

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

622 624 As one would expect in any small community whose members are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to [702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group [653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central government. [651] This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 631 652 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improvements requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 654 x178 [609] Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of government representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

562 594 184 does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is al-
593 most a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the gen-
594 eral rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives,
[178] one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a
[586] wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult
[562] to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes
[178] under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This
[369] holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections,
562 but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into
641 governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally
666 agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

562 Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her hus-
641 band had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights"
593 would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her
[626] husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women
[623] on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceed-
[177] ings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

562 593 The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 Instead of being organized on the basis of individuals living in a geographic
623 area, which was the classical mode, the community became a body of believers
642 united by a common purpose. . . . Within this framework, new concepts of local government grew. One was the council as a vehicle for the consensus of the community as a whole. Another was the assembly of all members of the Christian community to give assent. Still another was the leadership of clerical authorities in local government and community activity. These ideas are indigenous to Byzantine culture and they are a part, even if not immediately visible, of present-day local government in Greece.[1]

With the fall of Byzantium in 1453, the Greeks came under Turkish rule. But the Muslim masters worked through already existing institutions, and Mohammed II went so far as to recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople as the political leader of the Greek nation. In the provinces, the metropolitan bishops, and priests exercised the rights given to the Patriarch, and his executors, through the *euphoria* (supervising committee) or the *demogerontia* (group of village elders). These village elders collected taxes from their compatriots, rendered justice when differences arose between Orthodox Christians, and settled any disputes which contesting parties referred to them. Basic to this self-government was the idea of the autonomous community, which centered around the elders selected by popular vote. These elders (*demogerontes*), in turn, selected "first elders" (*protogeri*), who administered the provinces and conferred with the monarch's counsellor in the provincial capital about the amount of taxes to be collected for that province, while each demogerontia tried to specify the share of each larger village, as well as the personal contribution of each individual taxpayer within a village.[2]

175 In addition to tax assessment and collection, the elders had many other
623 important functions: they divided the uncultivated land or fields or any other land remaining without heirs, regulated the flow of waters, determined the rights of inheritance, handled the community's funds, and supervised the payments made by Christians to be relieved of military duty and the serving of court papers. Since the tax function remained paramount, the local authorities brought pressure to bear upon their compatriots, by advice or scolding, to pay what was due and to avoid any mishaps with the Turks. These leaders, because they supervised the tax collection, also had local funds to use at their discretion for the community. As Koukkidi says: "The great strength of the Greeks was the continuity of communal life. The community to them was a small democracy which organized its life and shaped itself."[3]

175 With the liberation of Southern and Central Greece, and the ascent to
623 the throne of King Otho, the governmental patterns of Western Europe
642 were imposed upon the traditional councils of elders. But this came at a time when, with the exception of the loyalty to the Patriarch, there was no

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither. 175 623 642

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws. [671]

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues." [4] 631 642 [658]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior. [185]

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

[621] [633] [162]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains. The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut
262 sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

• 623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
727

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor. 623 653 [651] [727]

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done. [316] [333]

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax: 651 [203]

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

Here the local authorities were following the ancient practice of "farming" out the taxes to the highest bidder who, in turn, was expected to derive from rigorous collection much more than he paid for the right. Every time a bleating goat or an ox changed masters, the successful bidder would collect his 2 percent of the sale price.

The community council has other duties in addition to managing a community-owned radio, rebuilding churches, and collecting taxes. It conducts local elections as well.[6] By 1951 the political situation had stabilized to the point that local elections could be held throughout the country. Of the registered voters, a greater proportion of women than men voted, thereby showing their appreciation of the right of suffrage. From nine to thirty-one 623 666 [633]

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes, on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

> The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.
>
> The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's; its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[7]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorating the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high-powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there, as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. Is this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job.

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed.

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter.

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built. He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

> Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

622 cil members who are in some way connected with the project or activity. The
623 mayor usually introduces topics for the approval of the council, but no action can be taken before the prefect of the area gives his final approval.

[208] In Stavroupolis, people respond quite emotionally to each method applied by the village government. Problems are discussed by the council before decisions are made and are discussed again by the male population in the coffeehouse with interest and emotion. . . . The village government's business is their business and these informally-made decisions are important since no project can operate normally or smoothly if their informal decisions are opposed.[9]

651 But no picture of local government is complete without some sketch of the tax and financial picture. According to the 1950–51 legislation, local governments gain their revenues from the following sources.[9]

Property Revenues
— For the use of slaughterhouses
— Grazing rights on communal-owned land

Dues and Excises
— Building dues, ½ to 1 percent of the amount of cost
— For the use of sidewalks, streets, and public squares
— Dues on hotels, beds, and bills
— Weight and measure excises; advertisement excises
— For the use of municipal and communal property, works and services including garbage and cleanliness, electricity and gas

Direct Taxes
— Tax on agricultural and forestry products: 2 percent mandatory, 4 percent optional
— Tax on cattle; tax on poultry and fish up to 3 percent of price
— Tax on vacant plots within town plan areas in demes over 20,000 and those in the capital area and Thessalonike area
— Tax on property which has gained value owing to deme or communal public works

Indirect Taxes
— Tax on sale and purchase of cattle
— Tax on olive oil dregs

Contributions
— Contributions determined by council not over 30 million drachmas per head in Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika; 15 million on other demes; 5 million in communes

Personal Work
[653] — In demes and communes under 10,000 population, men over eighteen work ten days a year. Also includes their animals and motor equipment

Loans, Donations and Legacies

Sale of Real Estate and Movable Property

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Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[10] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

631 634

> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

[828] [578]

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631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many argu-
578 ments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the
individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order
to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his
farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the
advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several
villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
634 for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
•623 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The
653 nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other
by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One
man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guer-
rillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file
for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office
75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had
dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were
four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over
their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out
what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary
contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state
had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the
village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get
another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some
much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
634 twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a
275 truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile
away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive
fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted,
"did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sun-
days before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The
crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would
handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go
on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to
go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
369

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mata, at the southern part of the Peloponnesos. When we discussed the attitude of the peasants toward Athens and the central government, he commented: "Life in the village is difficult; Athens has had special privileges. The villages are 100 percent right in their complaints. In my nomos many of them have no roads, no irrigation or drainage. Their education is so far behind that it is pitiful; their homes are in awful condition. How can a peasant under such circumstances feel gratitude! Paying for the priest and the teacher should be the job of the central government in the same way that a father supports a child. The recent decision to turn back to the communes a share of the tobacco tax is encouraging the villagers very much. Here it will amount to about one dollar yearly per capita."

When I asked him more about the actual workings of the communes in his nomos, he repeated much that others had said:

> The president of the community represents in a small way the national government. So the community council is both an arm of the central government and also a representative of the local village. All decisions of the council have to be communicated to the nomarch; this is compulsory. If the council and president decide to spend any of the local funds the nomarch has the right to say "yes" or "no." If they wish to add a paid employee, the nomarch will check to see whether it is legal or not. If the nomarch does not answer in two weeks' time, then the local council has the right to go ahead without further permission. But the villagers for the most part are not conscious of their rights after the expiration of the two-week period and are capable of waiting fifteen years. The chief reason for delays in such matters is the lack of sufficient personnel in the nomarchy.

During 1952–53, the possibility seemed strong of developing a capable, well-trained group of nomarchs, all of whom were supposed to have security of tenure and not be subject to dismissal except for carefully defined "cause." These nomarchs were being sent to England, the United States, and elsewhere to study how local governments functioned, and to see what ideas might be adaptable to Greece. The community presidents, over and over again, expressed appreciative comments on the work of many of these nomarchs. To be sure, in some villages I found that the nomarch had not yet made himself known, but I had the general impression that a much better relationship was building up between the peasantry and the national government because of the changed attitudes of friendliness and understanding on the part of these key officials. When I revisited Greece in 1955 for another study period, I found that the Minister of Interior in early March 1954 had rescinded the career-nomarch legislation and had immediately dismissed one third of the nomarchs. According to one observer:

> The odd characteristic about these dismissals was that they were not necessarily based on political opinions nor on efficiency. Severall strongly-pro-government nomarchs were dismissed despite known efficiency. Apparently this arose

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west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

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6

The Village: As a Community

The Village Government

621 IN THE FIRST CHAPTER the village was described as a setting for the life of families, which are the most significant social groups in the settlement. It now becomes possible to consider the functions of the village itself as an entity in its own right. First, the formal organization of village-wide activities and responsibilities will be discussed, and second, the attitudes of the inhabitants toward Vasilika in contrast with their attitudes toward the family and the nation.

[631] The Greek government classifies Vasilika as a *kinotis* for administrative purposes despite its small population. A *kinotis* is legally a populated center with at least 300 inhabitants and a school, and constitutes one of the four kinds of administrative subdivisions in each of the nomes (provinces) of Greece.

622 The formal governmental activities of the *kinotis* are the responsibility of
623 a locally elected president and council. A community the size of Vasilika is
665 entitled to a council of five members elected for a four-year term. Voting must
666 be done along party lines; and voters select five names from among those listed by the party of their choice. Vasilika had only two political parties in its local elections in 1956. Under the system of proportional representation then operating, the four men with the most votes from the party which itself had the majority of votes were elected to the council. The fifth member should have been the man with the most votes in the minority party. At the last Vasilika election, however, the man in this position preferred not to act as a minority representative and the second man on the list became the council member. The five representatives then elect a president and a vice-president from among their number, usually for two-year terms. The council and community are served by an additional official, the secretary of the *kinotis*. The secretary is not elected and has no
624 [634] vote on the council. He is appointed by the nomarch (governor) of the province upon nomination from the village council. His salary varies with the income of

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the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant. [647]

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget. 65 [622] [623] [217]

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset. 653 [634] [652] [651] [491]

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road. 653 491 [494] [634]

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition. [461] [369]

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653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
628 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the
692 question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The
433 question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is,
[622] full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

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The village council also has initial jurisdiction over monies which are not derived from the taxes already mentioned. There is a levy amounting to two percent a year of the value of the cotton and wheat produced by each farmer, three percent of the value of any inheritance, and three percent of the value of money and property given as a dowry for any village girl. The proceeds of these taxes are deposited in the village account in Amphiklia. A tax on tobacco production is paid to the national government. The amount collected from the tobacco tax is redistributed to all communities in Greece on a per capita basis for schools, roads, and the like. Tobacco-growing villages like Vasilika receive an additional sum in proportion to the quantity of tobacco produced in the community.

Initial jurisdiction in the disposal of all monies belonging to the *kinotis* consists in the preparation of the village budget by the council. The task is done under the close supervision of the nomarch's office. Printed forms for village budgets are available at stationery stores and must be purchased and used. The form includes a list of items for which the community may be expected to spend its money and another list of items from which income is derived. It is the secretary's work actually to fill in the form in quadruplicate. He does so at a meeting of village secretaries called by the nomarch and held in Levadhia. The forms are then checked by the nomarch's office and some changes may be imposed. The expenses listed on the form include the secretary's salary, the salaries of the two village policemen, the salary of an assistant treasurer in Amphiklia, whatever is due the tax collector (who seemed in 1956 to be getting six percent of the amount collected), rent to the church for office space, several newspapers brought by train from Athens each day, books for the school (but not for individual students), road repairs, and the like. The completed document becomes, in fact, a theoretical model for appropriate village income and expenditure rather than a reasonable estimate of future financial transactions. Some of the income actually will be deposited in the account of the village and some of the expenditures will be made, but most will not, and even those transactions that do occur may not be made in the sums designated in the budget.

Let us consider income first. The collection of taxes from the farmers is not carried out regularly. When no collector comes to the village, the farmers are supposed to go to Amphiklia to pay their taxes, but few do so. During our stay in the village, a new collector came to Vasilika and sat in the *aghora* for an entire day accepting money from the farmers. They paid only part of their previous year's assessment, and so remained a year in arrears. The interest charge on late tax payments is only sporadically collected from the farmers. Just as the collection of monies is irregular, so is the payment of salaries and the expenditure of other funds. For example, the secretary at one point had not received his monthly salary of 350 drachmas for several months. The use of monies for other purposes depends on the interest of the villagers in village projects, and for the most part such interest is lacking. The village governing body and the secretary fulfill the formal responsibilities placed upon them by the national government, but do not seem to feel that the forms must reflect reality.

It is clear from the foregoing that in the formal political organization of Greece the village council has little power even over affairs for which it has some

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623 responsibility. The collection of its monies is undertaken by the central government's financial officers directed from Amphiklia, and the expenditure of its monies is supervised and controlled by the officers of the *nomarchia* centered in Levadhia. Moreover, the council has neither responsibility nor power over other village-wide activities. Law enforcement and the operation of the village school and of the village churches are administered separately both from the council and each from the others. Before turning to these activities, some mention of the council's role in Vasilika apart from the formal expectations is appropriate.

[829] [622] It is indicative of the village attitude toward the council, in contrast with that toward the president, that at no time during our stay in the village was any man pointed out to us as having the status of council member or as having had it in the past. When, accompanied by several villagers, we visited the former schoolteacher of Vasilika, he asked us who was currently the president but did not ask about the council members. The president has an important role to play 622 in the minds of the villagers. He is expected to act as liaison between them and 829 other governmental units and to further the interests of Vasilika in whatever situations may develop. For example, there was some criticism of the president for not arranging more rapidly for the bus to come through the village. In 731 early April 1956, an unexpected and heavy rain flooded the fields and threatened 312 to destroy the wheat if the waters did not drain off quickly. Most of the vil- 208 lagers (not all, however) were agitated, and in the early morning groups of men 521 climbed the hill and looked out over the fields shaking their heads and lamenting, "*Katastrofes*!" "Catastrophy!" Then came the discussion of why the fields were not draining properly. All day, in the coffeehouse, the men inveighed against the English company which had owned the former Lake Copais land for setting up a drainage system that did not go beyond those lands; against the Greeks who took over the company for continuing a system that, the men insisted, not only did not drain the lands of Vasilika, but even made it subject to flooding; against the government for not having built a proposed dam that would have protected the region; and against the village president for not immediately calling on the nomarch's engineers to suggest remedies for the present situation. For days after, there were rumors that the nomarch's technical staff would meet with the president and councils of Parori and Vasilika to arrange a public works program of low dams to protect the area from possible future disasters from the same cause. The meeting never took place. Some villagers 731 blamed the situation on the unwillingness of the farmers to work together to 312 build their own small dams. One man had earlier tried to protect his own 208 fields by building low earthen dikes around them, but his work was wasted because the surrounding fields were not so protected. The morning after the storm some of the men had quickly built up a two-foot dam at an obviously vulnerable spot near the cemetery. But a villager pointed out that if the water had risen just a little further, the placement of the dam would have made the situation worse rather than better. There was no more rain; the waters gradually receded; each man watched for his own fields to dry out. Those who were left with one or two small plots that were so badly flooded as to be useless for

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

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/29 cont./
leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

[Caucasus]

/84 cont./

The village was ruled by "Gerousia", a group composed of old respected people. It is interesting here to note that even today the Greek Senate is called "Gerousia". This "Gerousia" would meet when necessary to discuss certain problems concerning their village. They had no definite calendar for meeting nor approved place for meetings. There were two dates well observed for meetings. One was St. Demeter's day -- October 26th -- for deciding to hire a village shepherd for the cattle and a guard for the fields. Another meeting which was fairly definite, was St. Constantin's day -- May 24th -- at which the redistribution of the land was decided for the coming seven years. It was one of the well-observed economic principles to redistribute the pasture for farming and leave the cultivated land for pasture. Due to the increase or decrease of the family members the land had to be redistributed /85/ according to the number of heads in the family. Once the land was given, the owner could use it as he pleased but could not pass it on to the relatives or friends. The land belonged to the village. There was another order which every one had to follow strictly. No one was allowed to increase his livestock on the community pasture, but he could increase it on hired pasture land from near by villages. 621 623 621 423

Away from every kind of complicated civilization the Caucasians had a world of their own and found it better to preserve it centuries after centuries without adulterating it with the modern civilization. 621

Most of the church, school and community problems were solved by the "Gerousia" without a general meeting or vote. The decision of "Gerousia" on any problem was final. Local conflicts and neighborhood grievances were taken care of by "Gerousia". Repairing school buildings, or church, or taking care of the poor and unfortunate were closely followed up by this group. 621 623

This cooperative spirit for mutual aid is rarely found among any people except the Caucasians. /86/ The rush harvest season is shared alike by all. Building houses, threshing and transportation of agricultural goods is done through borrowed labor. If any, by 476 621

/89 cont./

a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

/91 cont./ 623
general approval of all. The punishment of the "Gerousia" is 627
ostracism until the person repents and asks forgiveness. The fear 578
and respect towards "Gerousia" is greater than to anybody or group of people. One of the young men planning to divorce his wife because she could not bear any child, told of his experience with the "Gerousia". "Their words are sharper than the sharpest sword".

Latent Neighborhood Conflict Attitudes. The jealousy of the 621
nearby villages toward the successful cooperation of the villagers 628
of Megali Vrisi was noticed many times. The success of Megali Vrisi in bringing the doctors who serve the area to their village, and in making it the center for the health project, naturally created hard feelings with the competing villages. The success with which the Caucasians of Megali Vrisi worked /92/ in organizing a young men's organization, increasing the number of teachers, building their church and having one of the well-organized cooperatives, has made it the leading village of the area.

Active Conflicts. One of the active conflicts that exists in 621
Megali Vrisi is the one between the Thracians and Caucasians 578
Each group in trying to preserve its identity tries to dominate the other by having more power in controlling the village council and cooperative. The Thracians as a minority, have never had any chance to get to any office for the last 16 years. The strong opposition they had from the Caucasians, united them on every question raised, and their inability to compete with the Caucasians has developed within every Thracian the illogical type of opposition. "Vote it down if it is a Caucasian proposal, whether good or bad." Regardless of this opposition, the Caucasians undertook to carry on their constructive community work by bearing the share of the Thracians too. Conflicts among different kinship groups were of a minor type and never developed to such a magnitude as to have destructive results. The "Gerousia" checked them. 627
The conflict between the Thracians and the Caucasians was beyond [623]
the power of the "Gerousia". The Thracians never had any [692]
"Gerousia" and as a result took more cases to the court and spent more /93/ money and time for it. The conflicts among the

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control. Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of what is right or wrong. [692] The government courts had little influence in this. [685] There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. 626 All the men drink, but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. 273 When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community fairs represent the inception of social organization for the promotion of recreation. 543 The purpose of these fairs was competition in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. 621 476 578 Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how to use the excess leisure time more profitably. 461 This excess leisure time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. 517 Due to the nature of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. 241 [578] The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes, on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's; its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[7]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorating the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high-powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there, as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job. 624 [702] [205] [206]

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed. 746 511 [623] [622]

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter. 746 625 735 [727]

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) A63 EH1 Greece EH1
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the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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6

The Village: As a Community

The Village Government

621 IN THE FIRST CHAPTER the village was described as a setting for the life of families, which are the most significant social groups in the settlement. It now becomes possible to consider the functions of the village itself as an entity in its own right. First, the formal organization of village-wide activities and responsibilities will be discussed, and second, the attitudes of the inhabitants toward Vasilika in contrast with their attitudes toward the family and the nation.

[631] The Greek government classifies Vasilika as a *kinotis* for administrative purposes despite its small population. A *kinotis* is legally a populated center with at least 300 inhabitants and a school, and constitutes one of the four kinds of administrative subdivisions in each of the nomes (provinces) of Greece.

622 623 665 666 The formal governmental activities of the *kinotis* are the responsibility of a locally elected president and council. A community the size of Vasilika is entitled to a council of five members elected for a four-year term. Voting must be done along party lines; and voters select five names from among those listed by the party of their choice. Vasilika had only two political parties in its local elections in 1956. Under the system of proportional representation then operating, the four men with the most votes from the party which itself had the majority of votes were elected to the council. The fifth member should have been the man with the most votes in the minority party. At the last Vasilika election, however, the man in this position preferred not to act as a minority representative and the second man on the list became the council member. The five representatives then elect a president and a vice-president from among their number, usually for two-year terms. The council and community are served by an additional official, the secretary of the *kinotis*. The secretary is not elected and has no vote on the council. He is appointed by the nomarch (governor) of the province upon nomination from the village council. His salary varies with the income of

624 [634]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *agbora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

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The village council also has initial jurisdiction over monies which are not derived from the taxes already mentioned. There is a levy amounting to two percent a year of the value of the cotton and wheat produced by each farmer, three percent of the value of any inheritance, and three percent of the value of money and property given as a dowry for any village girl. The proceeds of these taxes are deposited in the village account in Amphiklia. A tax on tobacco production is paid to the national government. The amount collected from the tobacco tax is redistributed to all communities in Greece on a per capita basis for schools, roads, and the like. Tobacco-growing villages like Vasilika receive an additional sum in proportion to the quantity of tobacco produced in the community.

Initial jurisdiction in the disposal of all monies belonging to the *kinotis* consists in the preparation of the village budget by the council. The task is done under the close supervision of the nomarch's office. Printed forms for village budgets are available at stationery stores and must be purchased and used. The form includes a list of items for which the community may be expected to spend its money and another list of items from which income is derived. It is the secretary's work actually to fill in the form in quadruplicate. He does so at a meeting of village secretaries called by the nomarch and held in Levadhia. The forms are then checked by the nomarch's office and some changes may be imposed. The expenses listed on the form include the secretary's salary, the salaries of the two village policemen, the salary of an assistant treasurer in Amphiklia, whatever is due the tax collector (who seemed in 1956 to be getting six percent of the amount collected), rent to the church for office space, several newspapers brought by train from Athens each day, books for the school (but not for individual students), road repairs, and the like. The completed document becomes, in fact, a theoretical model for appropriate village income and expenditure rather than a reasonable estimate of future financial transactions. Some of the income actually will be deposited in the account of the village and some of the expenditures will be made, but most will not, and even those transactions that do occur may not be made in the sums designated in the budget.

Let us consider income first. The collection of taxes from the farmers is not carried out regularly. When no collector comes to the village, the farmers are supposed to go to Amphiklia to pay their taxes, but few do so. During our stay in the village, a new collector came to Vasilika and sat in the *agbora* for an entire day accepting money from the farmers. They paid only part of their previous year's assessment, and so remained a year in arrears. The interest charge on late tax payments is only sporadically collected from the farmers. Just as the collection of monies is irregular, so is the payment of salaries and the expenditure of other funds. For example, the secretary at one point had not received his monthly salary of 350 drachmas for several months. The use of monies for other purposes depends on the interest of the villagers in village projects, and for the most part such interest is lacking. The village governing body and the secretary fulfill the formal responsibilities placed upon them by the national government, but do not seem to feel that the forms must reflect reality.

It is clear from the foregoing that in the formal political organization of Greece the village council has little power even over affairs for which it has some

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planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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622 As one would expect in any small community whose members
624 are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to
[702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group
[653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central govern-
[651] ment. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improve-
631 ments requiring money or supplies from outside sources does
652 the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not
654 altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of gov-
x178 ernment representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent per-
[609] suasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

we ate, we watched the milking going on nearby. There was a rhythmic pitter-patter as the milk was squirted into the big receptacles. Each animal was named according to some physical characteristic, corresponding to "Brownie," "Dotty," "Blackie," or after some person whom the shepherd thought the sheep resembled. As the men sat there we asked them how they milked when it rained. They told us that they simply put on their heavy waterproof capes and kept right on milking.

Some of the sheep were sheared. We learned that the shearing was done below (on the plains) and sold unwashed for "it weighs more with the oil in it." The unsheared animals were simply carrying up to the summer camp the supply of wool that the women would need to use in making their blankets and heavy garments. Some of the animals were sheared in various symmetrical patterns, a style of decoration which pleases the children, so the older people said. These fancy designs are not nearly so common now as formerly, according to Berates.

Despite the magnificent mountain setting and the fascinating activities going on in the fire-lit darkness, the conversation itself — focusing on the present problems facing nomadic peoples — stands out most vividly as I look back upon this evening. Since my central interest was social change, I welcomed the turning of the talk into such a channel.

Without any doubt, the life of the nomad is getting more difficult every year. A major problem had already been brought out in many conversations along the roads of Greece as well as with the people of Valtetsi: land on the plains below is no longer so available as it used to be. Scientific agriculture is winning the day and pastoralism is on the way out. But Berates and his men were most bitter about the difficulties they faced on the road between summer and winter pastures. We had noticed the many signs represented by a pile of stones perhaps a foot high or by tufts of straw twisted onto a branch, warning the nomad not to trespass. These signs were numerous even as one approached and entered the mountain areas. That was why the men had had to drive in one day the sheep all the way from Kalpaki to Konitsa, using routes shorter than the main road but nevertheless arriving late at night. Tired from this experience, they felt such a long march to be most unfair. One man said, "Here in the mountains a peasant will sow only one oka of seed in a field so he will have an excuse to keep us out."

The field policeman, who serves a commune although under the authority of the central government, patrols his beat most vigorously during these days of migration. He not only sees that the animals keep out of the forbidden fields, but also enforces the custom that no nomad family camp in one place longer than twenty-four hours. But most field policemen are quite ready to show the nomads where they can find a camp site in the event some old one is no longer available, for these guards expect a tip — a box of cigarettes or "whatever one has the pleasure to give," as Berates put it.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job.

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed.

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter.

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

representative of the International Red Cross, who arranged with the organizational officials in Athens for an immediate distribution of rice, sugar, and molasses (for children). Momentarily, the representative also secured money for bread, telephoning from Athens to the commandant to buy the bread locally. The Red Cross representative had expected the commandant to buy about eight hundred one-oka loaves of bread, but he had different ideas: "Why not give the people flour and cut down the expense of the salt, water, and manipulation that goes into the baked bread?" So he bought nine hundred and eighty okas of flour and persuaded the flour mills at Volos to contribute another two tons. He also handled the problem of transportation with originality. Since these eight villages are remote, the trucking costs to them are high. The commandant, suggesting that the distribution be at four points, appealed to the local transportation cooperatives to supply the trucks after the Union of Trucks had voted to help. Then the drivers agreed to donate a day's free labor, with the "day" totaling sixteen hours for many of them before the distribution was completed and the trucks were safely back in Volos.

But the role of the village notables should not be minimized. Although the commandant had made a trip through the district to look personally into the condition of many families, he depended upon the president, the priest, the teacher, and the gendarme to prepare the list of the needy in each village. The role of the president came to the fore at the distribution points, to which he brought some men and pack animals. The commandant explained in great detail to each president the basis on which the distribution was being made, who had made the contributions, and what families were to receive how much. The supplies for each village, when weighed out from the trucks, were turned over to the community president. He then supervised the loading of the pack animals and headed the animal train back toward his village. Once arrived, he was to see that the distribution was carried out according to instructions.

Such an experience leaves many impressions: the deep personal interest which the commandant of gendarmerie showed in the welfare of the people in his area; the dignity of the village presidents who asked very intelligent questions to be sure that they properly understood the instructions about distribution; the tattered clothing worn by these quiet, almost impassive villagers. And here, as always in Greece, one sensed deeply the beauty of the natural surroundings: the mountains where patches of snow still lingered, the dark glades through which the road sometimes wound, the occasional olive groves and chestnut forests, with lively pedestrian traffic ready to greet one every few hundred yards. Down on the plain, on a sunny afternoon, the meadows were full of a profusion of wild flowers so delicate in color and stamina that they die soon after they are plucked or after the hot sun of late April and May beats down on the unprotected plain. On

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built. He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

> Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[10] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

631 634

> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

[828] [578]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
758 rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
465 clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a differ- 625
ent administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, 659
such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, [167]
we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental serv- 65
ices enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local [369]
people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area. [625]
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco. [249]
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[12]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government car- 651
ries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support 631
of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

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464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[701] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially
[625] road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left be-
166 hind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one
[369] of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are pre-
[427] pared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

647 One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The
[665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers
[186] that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against
• [625] natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the
433 difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed
787 jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to
834 men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings.
576 Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the
593 home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this
[492] last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen
[626] riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the
[312] fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is
[482] joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry
[626] the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the
[522] tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

562 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only
593 occasionally with her husband.
521

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 do not mean that the young people subscribe to the romance of the Holly-
581 wood movies where love is glorified as an end unto itself. By "arranged
178 marriages" is meant the lack of initiative on the part of the young and the
willingness on the part of the boy or girl to give up a preferred mate if the
[831] parents strongly object.

It is safe to say that the pendulum is swinging from the arranged to the marriage for love. But in most Greek villages the parents still play an active role in negotiating with each other on behalf of their children and in trying to forestall what they would consider an unfortunate selection. Where par-
[626] ents and children disagree in such cases the situation becomes known to the village at large, and public opinion sometimes supports the young people. The father may be told at the coffeehouse, "Why don't you let your daughter marry Theodore? He is not such a bad boy after all." And the neighboring women take the mother to task, reminding her that her husband was not such a wonderful catch when they first married but that he had worked hard, had done well, and had earned everybody's respect.

The Dowry

581 What are the criteria of a fortunate and an unfortunate selection? Young
583 people were very explicit about this, although by no means unanimous in their answers. Looming large throughout most of Greece is the dowry, or economic resources which the girl brings to the new union.[7] One father from a village near Thebes summarized the situation as follows: "If you have gold sovereigns, you marry off your daughter; if not, you don't." In the
[162] villages the surplus of girls, existing since World War I, has been increasing. This came to light when we asked where the men sought their mates — in the home village or elsewhere. Often the reply would be: "Wherever the men can get the best *proika* [dowry]." But there were those who disagreed with this emphasis on money: "If you marry just for money, all day long the wife will hold the purse strings and then where will you be?" In the case of the girl, honor or chastity ranks high as does good health, without which the wife cannot be a good worker. Beauty and good looks are also most welcome, although now and then one would say that "beauty is not too important if the girl has a good heart." As for the man, wealth, education, and position make him a proper risk as a husband if he has a good reputation as well.

These traits which prospective mates should possess have much meaning because in Greece marriage unites two families, and dowry arrangements are contracts between families and not just between two individuals. One keen observer of village life pointed out that "in a village one always hears people speak of families as 'good family' or 'not a good family.'" The standard of *good* is largely in terms of money. The individual from a good family has a big head start in life in a country where financial resources are

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot
[432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at
[461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be
[594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable
[554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this
[581] line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start
[883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much
[584] to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the
[454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumu-
[426] late a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the re-
[626] quired amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a
[183] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are
[602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

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474 to shift away from the village to the national capital, where the Agricul-
177 tural Bank is located, or to the provincial cities, where the bank has
[652] branches to which the individual peasants are supposed to go to "process" their loans.

A second important question touched upon in the FAO report was whether the producers' cooperative ought to be compulsory in one or both of two ways: first, requiring all of those who produce a given commodity (such as tobacco) and who live in a given village to belong to a cooperative and, second, forcing all cooperative members to market their produce and buy their supplies only through the cooperative. The FAO Mission counseled against making the cooperatives compulsory, and the same point of view has been held by most of the American advisers who have worked with the American Aid Mission in Greece. Greek government officials,
[241] however, sometimes think that legal sanctions would strengthen cooperatives and thereby tighten the economic machinery through which 10–12 percent of the Greek tobacco crop and about 80 percent of olive oil, to mention but two crops, reach the market.[7]

474 The cooperative leaders, however, face a problem of social as well as legal sanctions: they would like to guide the cooperative movement from
626 the stage where each cooperative member is a law unto himself to the point where any farmer who fails to sell his produce through his cooperative has to reckon with the disapproval of his fellow farmers. This can only be done through a long-term program of education which stresses not cooperation as an abstract ideal but the fact that a cooperative organization depends upon the support of every member and is not much stronger than its weakest link. It is in this matter of interpretation, of teaching the villager the meaning of cooperation, that the cooperative movement is not very successful. Cooperative officials are so busy being administrators that they do not take time to be interpreters, to be sure their communication strikes a responsive chord in the peasant. Then, too, they tend to feel that they have so much authority (such as fiscal control) in their hands that they do not have to depend upon the subtler forms of authority — namely, pressure by loyal members upon those who would deviate from what is considered good cooperative practice. This is tied in with the psychological problem of making the members feel that the cooperative is theirs rather than the instrumentality of cooperative and governmental officials who live outside the community.

474 One report by A. W. Willis, an American marketing specialist, goes so far as to say: "The Greek cooperative law makes cooperatives an arm of the Government and actually prohibits member control as well as any profit acquiring to members. The entire agricultural economy of this state could profit through true Cooperatives but not through those now in existence under the present law." [8]

1:Sanders Z-5,¶ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

decision of the previous group as their own. The store owner and the waiter, who know everyone's business, present the opinion of the group on the matter while they are serving them. In this way the uninformed cliques are informed of the matter and the others have a new aspect of the topic for discussion if it differs from their own. Through this process, each clique's opinion diffuses through the coffeehouse. The rate of this diffusion varies according to the importance of the topic. If the subject is more important than usual, the leaders will find some means of discussing it among themselves, or a number of people may ask the opinion of informal leaders belonging to other cliques. 275 573 521 208 203

But the matter does not rest there. Many people move from one coffeehouse to another and introduce as their own the general consensus prevailing in the coffeehouse from which they have come. Thus, the men of the community tend to form a "public opinion" on a matter, frequently basing their decisions on either flimsy or inaccurate evidence. They prefer to be psychologically related to what others in their clique or coffeehouse think rather than to be individualistic and out of step with the rest. Truly, there is in Greece a "coffeehouse jury." [626]

The Coffeehouse as a Mixed Blessing

The coffeehouse has its critics throughout Greece. Those responsible for improving the economic situation cite the economic disadvantages resulting from the unproductive expenditures at the coffeehouse as well as the many hours wasted there. This is recognized as a regional matter, for in many villages, such as those on Mount Pelion near Volos, one seldom sees people at the coffeehouse during the day. But in many of the mountain villages elsewhere, where economic opportunities are particularly lacking, more time is spent in such places. 275 461 [184]

Some oppose the coffeehouse on moral grounds. From time to time wives berate their husbands — not for economic inefficiency — but for drinking too much ouzo or for gambling away money that the family desperately needs. It also is said to corrupt youth. The nomarch of Thessalonike, Kostis Koukourides, pointed out: "The coffeehouses are our misfortune. I have two objections to them: the lost time and the bad habits of drinking and gambling. They also corrupt the youth, for in earlier times a boy had to be twenty-five years of age to go into the coffeehouse and would then never sit with the elders. Now he does so, which shows that he is losing respect for his elders."

Schoolteachers and agricultural-extension workers, although admitting that the coffeehouse can at times serve as a useful forum, generally think of it as a place where much misinformation spreads. It irritates an agricultural worker to think that he has persuaded a peasant to adopt some new farm practice only to learn the next day that the peasant has decided against it [242] [208] [521]

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XV

The Village Community

A Greek village has a much richer social texture than the casual visitor would imagine. As already indicated, it has its patterns of mutual aid, its church, school, local government, and coffeehouses — which often are the focal points for intense activity — but it also has its neighborhoods, kinship groups, and even a status system according to which people are sorted out by other villagers. Furthermore, if any villager "gets out of line," strong social sanctions can be brought to bear to make him conform. The village notables whom I met enjoyed telling how things got done in their communities and of the factions and cross-pressures at work. Many times, simply by watching them perform their official and unofficial roles in behalf of the community, I observed the community in action. A mother came to ask how she could get her son out of the army long enough to help with the spring plowing because her husband was disabled with a back injury; an official from the Ministry of Agriculture left some forms about crop production for the secretary to fill out; a man who had received a letter in English from a nephew in the United States wanted one of the notables — who had previously been in the States — to translate the contents. The variety of tasks seemed endless, but some village notable was usually able to rise to the occasion.

621 [554] [626]

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life, as well as individual life, has its evaluative mechanisms which are brought into play in problem solving. The local institutions, described so fully in previous chapters, either have certain kinds of problems which they are supposed to treat, or the institutional leaders are sometimes called in to help deal with situations too grave for any single institution to handle. Again, the sense of community which a Greek villager develops is based in part not only upon sharing with others the activities which these institutions perpetuate, but also in knowing that he and his family are dependent upon them for meeting many of life's basic needs and aspirations. 621 182

The introduction of formal organizations into the Greek village, although they may accomplish certain specific goals, can also have the net effect of introducing new cleavages. The local institutions as described have been inclusive in that almost everyone in the village who wanted to could participate in them, with some allowances made for sex and age differences. But organizations bring in the idea of members and nonmembers. Some belong; others do not. Where membership is interpreted as signifying that the member is superior to or better than the nonmember, it causes resentment within that village where organizations are relatively new and not much appreciated. This may even run counter to the local value system. Yet experience in other societies, and even in the urban sectors of Greek society, has shown that economic development — which many peasants ardently desire — is based on specialization. This, in turn, is promoted by organizations which encourage and sustain this specialization. Society, even in the village, becomes more heterogeneous as the level of living rises, as the number of alternative choices (occupational, recreational, and such) increase, and as greater reliance is placed upon the individual. 575 621 182

Therefore, in understanding the traditional sense of community one must see the countervailing tendency to organize along specialized lines and to promote individual rather than community interests. In an industrialized society this means that a new kind of solidarity, based on functional interdependence, replaces that solidarity based on homogeneity and a common view of world and work.[7] Very often in the shift from the traditional to the more complex type, individuals and communities experience disorganization which, in time, leads to a reorganization better adapted to new needs. Closely related to the degree and type of disorganization is the system of social control and how it operates.

Social control. In Greece, as elsewhere, the most effective social controls are built into the personality structure of a person as he grows up. He learns what his society considers to be morally right and wrong and, if "well brought up," does not question these standards and, more often than not, abides by them; he also learns what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior at given times and places; he knows, too, that in a particular situation some people (say, the oldest men present) behave differently from 577 626

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626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one [577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life. Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police 627 and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal [685] the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in [834] turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you."[8]

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

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626

The people speak against the person.

If a woman gossips, people ignore her.

If a man drinks too much, they beat him.

People give advice, for there are usually two or three older people who have the role of advisers and to whom people turn.

Sometimes the solution is by means of knives.

The village people threaten the person who does not conform and may drive him out of the village.

They may take the person to church and make him say special prayers.

They may take revenge on the person by injuring his animals, or by burning his house if his conduct is too much of a threat to the rest.

This last item illustrates that at times the people can behave cruelly to other villagers who threaten the safety, morality, or even reputation of the village. Individuals as individuals seek personal revenge, but much of the time such an action is collective, discussed by several leaders in advance, and carried out with dispatch by a group. [627]

Apparently, living in a Greek village is a great deal like living in a goldfish bowl. One writer comments of his village:

> Here in our village one has no secrets from the others. Someone asks about something and we reply. Even if we want to hide something we cannot. Everybody knows about it. . . . We say: "The whole world announces it with drums, while we think it's a secret." [9]

But the sense of community grows not only out of the acceptance of the same "thou shalt nots" but also is related to the systems of rewards held out by the community to those who conform. This is the positive side of social control. To have the esteem of the villagers is to enhance one's own self-esteem, to win an election because others think well of you, to be sought out when others need advice, to have your sons or daughters considered as good "catches" for marriage, all indicate that one has conformed to the code of accepted behavior. It may also mean that one has used individual initiative in behalf of the community when situations arose for which the code gave no specific prescription.

One villager summarized the sense of community well when he pointed out that people were loyal to their village because they lived there and their interests were connected with it, adding, "one is loyal to whatever is close to one's birth certificate and death certificate." 621

Although the life of the villager centers in most details upon the settlement where he lives, his range of interests may go far beyond it. True enough, he is apt to be loyal to his village; but he is also loyal to his region. Those who come from Arcadia, whether they are residing in Athens or in 619 [575]

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
[435] near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
[476] being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
● 626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

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what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others. They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage. Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women, for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Since the two jobs in the vineyards must be finished quickly so that the men of the household may turn to plowing cotton fields, those farmers who prefer to start plowing earlier, or who have larger vineyards than the household can handle alone, sometimes hire labor for the hoeing. Sons who are not needed on their father's land may work for others in the village or may go for several days to work for relatives living in neighboring villages. In either case, they are paid a daily wage of between forty and sixty drachmas (thirty drachmas equal one dollar) and get their board as well. It requires three man-days of labor to hoe one *strema* of vineyard. Hiring labor for this is considered expensive. Farmers with fewer land resources may, in order to avoid the extra expense, ask their wives to do some hoeing. Although such a procedure is frowned on in Vasilika, a farmer considers the practical necessities of his situation as more important than any possible loss of prestige. Moreover, village opinion itself recognizes the force of a man's practical needs, and tempers criticism to the nature of the specific circumstances. This phenomenon is characteristic of Vasilika and will be mentioned again.

The vines continue to need some attention from time to time until the grapes have ripened. Wine-making begins in September with the gathering of the grapes. September itself used to be called *triyitis* (the time of the grape harvest). It is an occasion much enjoyed, since men, women, and children all pick the grapes together, talk and joke as they do so, and eat a little of the produce besides. Four or five people can pick the yield of the two *stremata* in a few hours. The pack animals carry baskets of grapes back to the house. After making certain that there are no leaves among the fruit, the men of the household wash their feet and then trample the grapes. The must collects in shallow basins and is transferred to barrels. A sample of must from each barrel (the usual household's yield is two barrels) is taken to a chemist in town to check whether sugar or alcohol or both may be needed. Payment for this service is made according to the weight of the wine the farmer will treat as a result of the chemist's advice. Besides adding the recommended quantities of sugar and white alcohol to the must, the farmers also add enough resin to make up two percent of the contents of the barrels. Resin is sold by vendors who circulate among the villages in trucks during the wine-making season. The resin gives the wine of the Greek countryside its name, *retsina,* and its characteristic flavor. In classical times the ancient Greeks and later the Romans added resin to the must as a wine preservative. It still has this function, but to the present villagers, as to the ancients, the resinated wine has a pleasing taste and, in Vasilika, is much preferred to nonresinated wines. We once started to serve a bottled Greek nonresinated wine in our village home but we were quickly informed by our village guests that it was poor indeed, and one of our visitors left the table to go home to bring a carafe of his own superior wine. Those to whom drinking a mild form of turpentine seems unpalatable at first can develop, as we discovered, a taste for *retsina* and come to enjoy it very much.

Wheat fields are plowed and sown in the fall, in late October and early November. A farmer can plow his wheat fields with a horse or two pulling a

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
463 patterns.

The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had
[178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
438 of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
178 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
511 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
517 village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
356 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
463 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
626 Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
183 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one, as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos,* as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 943 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
[292] Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[427] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
[369] avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[626] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep
[292] up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth.
[511] They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
[765] to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment. 584 [581]

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come. [574]

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lires*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years. [836] [626]

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father. 178 585 [621]

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 583 585

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest 794 with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members [793] of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the [427] church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a [793] small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income [659] must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the [465] salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of [358] the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church.

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church 793 affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 [794] never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the [788] liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons [554] have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect.

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, 793 involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a 794 rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *aghora*. There they 626 stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and 537 holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour [293] of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented [427] a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw
796 powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's
[535] clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the
796 village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those
[273] who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos, sirtos,* and *tsamikos,* danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

796 In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
[574] after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
[484] the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

x 178 riages. Until the means for living respectably can be assured,
511 the families of Nea Eleftherohori are no longer willing to allow
582 their children to marry, nor do the children themselves wish it.
[583] In 1956, a young man who would inherit a farm of 27 strem-
mata expected his bride to bring with her a dowry of about 300
gold pounds. This is a truly extraordinary figure for any family
in the village to raise, equal to $3,000 in American currency
and considerably more in local purchasing power. Ten or fif-
teen years of strenuous saving are required to accumulate so
much, all the more since appearances have to be maintained in
[589] the meantime, and this takes money too. Consequently, a good
many men and women in their thirties and some in their early
forties remain unmarried.

x 178 Once again, a partial exception must be made for the refu-
582 gees, among whom the dowry system is not so universal and
583 binding as among the old settlers, and who still sometimes
[563] marry young and before the new family has any assured means
[626] of support. But the dowry system is said to be spreading among
them too; and the disdain (mingled perhaps with a certain
envy) with which the old settlers speak of the refugees' irre-
sponsible marriages makes it clear that the strongest sort of so-
cial pressure is at work to prevent such occurrences.

[168] Apparently the people of Nea Eleftherohori are making use
of an old custom, the dowry, to regulate population growth.
Quite consciously and deliberately, they seek to keep their
numbers within the limits imposed by their economic position;
or, to put it the other way around, the villagers are determined
not to sink into poverty, or to allow their children to do so; and
by postponing marriages they know they can avoid the disaster
of having too many mouths to feed.

163 The birth records of the village show what has been accom-
168 plished in this direction. Before 1939 the number of births
621 annually recorded never sank below 42, and went as high as 77

/23 cont./

more economical. It distributes the work among all members of the family. The cost of living is low and the depreciation on machinery and working animal is low. The difficulties that usually arise here are as follows: 596 [241]

1. One leader in the family who has the right to command all.

2. Mother-in-law has the complete house work organization. She tells the rest what each has to do. In case she has a special inclination to favor one, the rest have to bear the burden of the work without objection. This usually creates hard feelings and starts the division of the family.

3. Usually the older son has more children than the younger son, and in case one of the sons does not have any, he has to work just as hard for the support of his /24/ brother's children. Things of this sort usually create hard feelings and lead to the disorganization of the family.

4. Often the father of the family, taking advantage of the good cooperation of his sons, spends money for his own good time, like drinking, dressing better and traveling. With the increase of modern facilities and modern customs the compound family is disappearing. [178]

Marriage and Courtship.

It was the custom for many years for the parents to hunt and find a suitable wife for their son. Usually the girl had to satisfy the parents' desires. The son had to consent whether he wanted her or not. That was the accepted custom. This is still true with only 40% of the marriages and is rapidly disappearing. The young men are looking ahead of the time for their future partner. In dancing squares, during holiday celebrations and at wedding ceremonies they have a chance to express to each other their admiration and their preference. Nothing is done publicly so as to avoid gossip since the old customs still prevail. The young men very often form a group and sing by the window of their girl friend. If the father suspects anything the punishment is heavy. 584 178 [626] [832]

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626 834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538 702]

/29 cont./
leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692] what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685] families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626 women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273 but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543 fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621 motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476 in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578 so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461 problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517 to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241 time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578] of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one
[577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life.
627 Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught
[685] stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in
[834] turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you." [8]

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

626

The people speak against the person.

If a woman gossips, people ignore her.

If a man drinks too much, they beat him.

People give advice, for there are usually two or three older people who have the role of advisers and to whom people turn.

Sometimes the solution is by means of knives.

The village people threaten the person who does not conform and may drive him out of the village.

They may take the person to church and make him say special prayers.

They may take revenge on the person by injuring his animals, or by burning his house if his conduct is too much of a threat to the rest.

This last item illustrates that at times the people can behave cruelly to other villagers who threaten the safety, morality, or even reputation of the village. Individuals as individuals seek personal revenge, but much of the time such an action is collective, discussed by several leaders in advance, and carried out with dispatch by a group. [627]

Apparently, living in a Greek village is a great deal like living in a goldfish bowl. One writer comments of his village:

Here in our village one has no secrets from the others. Someone asks about something and we reply. Even if we want to hide something we cannot. Everybody knows about it. . . . We say: "The whole world announces it with drums, while we think it's a secret." *

But the sense of community grows not only out of the acceptance of the same "thou shalt nots" but also is related to the systems of rewards held out by the community to those who conform. This is the positive side of social control. To have the esteem of the villagers is to enhance one's own self-esteem, to win an election because others think well of you, to be sought out when others need advice, to have your sons or daughters considered as good "catches" for marriage, all indicate that one has conformed to the code of accepted behavior. It may also mean that one has used individual initiative in behalf of the community when situations arose for which the code gave no specific prescription.

One villager summarized the sense of community well when he pointed out that people were loyal to their village because they lived there and their interests were connected with it, adding, "one is loyal to whatever is close to one's birth certificate and death certificate." 621

Although the life of the villager centers in most details upon the settlement where he lives, his range of interests may go far beyond it. True enough, he is apt to be loyal to his village; but he is also loyal to his region. Those who come from Arcadia, whether they are residing in Athens or in 619 [575]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had
628 been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
692 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
[illegible] power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
[illegible] resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
[illegible] no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The
[illegible] question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had
[illegible] been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is,
[622] full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the [illegible]cords may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

/89 cont./

a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

/91 cont./ 623
general approval of all. The punishment of the "Gerousia" is 627
ostracism until the person repents and asks forgiveness. The fear 578
and respect towards "Gerousia" is greater than to anybody or group of people. One of the young men planning to divorce his wife because she could not bear any child, told of his experience with the "Gerousia". "Their words are sharper than the sharpest sword".

Latent Neighborhood Conflict Attitudes. The jealousy of the 621
nearby villages toward the successful cooperation of the villagers 628
of Megali Vrisi was noticed many times. The success of Megali Vrisi in bringing the doctors who serve the area to their village, and in making it the center for the health project, naturally created hard feelings with the competing villages. The success with which the Caucasians of Megali Vrisi worked /92/ in organizing a young men's organization, increasing the number of teachers, building their church and having one of the well-organized cooperatives, has made it the leading village of the area.

Active Conflicts. One of the active conflicts that exists in 621
Megali Vrisi is the one between the Thracians and Caucasians. 578
Each group in trying to preserve its identity tries to dominate the other by having more power in controlling the village council and cooperative. The Thracians as a minority, have never had any chance to get to any office for the last 16 years. The strong opposition they had from the Caucasians, united them on every question raised, and their inability to compete with the Caucasians has developed within every Thracian the illogical type of opposition. "Vote it down if it is a Caucasian proposal, whether good or bad." Regardless of this opposition, the Caucasians undertook to carry on their constructive community work by bearing the share of the Thracians too. Conflicts among different kinship groups were of a minor type and never developed to such a magnitude as to have destructive results. The "Gerousia" checked them. 627
The conflict between the Thracians and the Caucasians was beyond [623]
the power of the "Gerousia". The Thracians never had any [692]
"Gerousia" and as a result took more cases to the court and spent more /93/ money and time for it. The conflicts among the

/93 cont./ 627

Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692]
what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685]
families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578]
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

312 or too little water; never is it "just right." If there is too much, a drainage project must be undertaken to make much-needed land available for cultivation.

312 The most noteworthy reclamation project before the turn of this century
471 was the draining of Lake Kopais, just north of Thebes in Central Greece.[10] The work was undertaken by a French company in 1886 and completed by an English company in 1887, which continued to operate the agricultural estate of sixty thousand acres down to its purchase by the Greek government prior to the November elections of 1952. At that time, this large hold-
[427] ing, along with its complicated drainage system, was turned over to the former tenants, who had worked for the foreign company. Now as owners,
[474] or as members of a cooperative, they face the necessity of making their contribution to the over-all maintenance of the drainage channels so that the water may run off adequately and prevent the land from reverting to its once-marshy condition. According to some foreign technicians, the Greeks are doing a good job of managing this operation.

312 Much of the time, however, there is too little water through the growing season. One answer to this scarcity has been the recent drilling of hundreds of wells, from which water is pumped to the thirsty fields through irrigation ditches. In addition, a number of ambitious water-control projects have led to considerable storage of water and the spread of irrigation.

312 In villages usually on the edges of plains watered by streams flowing
203 from a mountain source, the water crier is a unique institution. This individual is encountered, for instance, in the Peloponnesos, where he strides through the streets of the village calling out the name of the person whose patches of land are next in line to receive the flow of water. One of these criers had a voice so powerful that, while standing on the small plain below, he could notify people in the village on the mountainside hundreds of yards away.

312 A Greek villager, like the Arab, will make much over the merits of the
423 water of his homeplace. To praise the water he will speak of it as *cho-*
628 *nephtiko nero,* or "digestive water." He will even fight over it, as the following news item shows.

> Athens. The Kentucky mountaineers' storied concept of feudin' justice reached here recently and two girls were killed and four men were critically injured.
>
> Two Greek villages — Kerasovo and Papadates — went to war a few days ago to settle a dispute over water rights, and 400 men, women, and children battled for hours with clubs, hoes, knives and hand grenades.
>
> Two army companies were sent to restore order.
>
> The cause of the trouble was water. Sovereignty over Cold Fountain, a spring irrigating the wheat-fields of Kerasovo, was contested by the farmers of neighboring Papadates.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

observers did not agree on this matter, nor was I able to conduct detailed studies; nevertheless, I gained the definite impression that what counted was not the size of the city so much as the location of family members who had sought work away from the village. They were often influential agents of change with their relatives back home. This has been more recently confirmed by the investigations of Ernestine Friedl in a Boeotian village:

178 369 602

> Considerable social mobility exists in Greece . . . but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities — in villages, towns and cities. . . . Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life.[7]

554 619

She then shows how the grown children, even though living in the city, still have some rights over the father's real property back in the village; the same applies to a son-in-law living elsewhere, because of his vested interest in the dowry in land which his wife brought to him and which is located back in the wife's village and perhaps farmed by one of her brothers living there. Dr. Friedl cites four mutually reinforcing patterns of Greek culture which make possible the continuing involvement of the members of the dispersed kinship group in matters of common concern: first, the amount of time that the Greeks spend in reaching a major decision. It will not be arrived at in a hurry and may take as much as a year or two of discussion. Second, Greeks consider visiting between country and a city kin a highly favored form of recreation for both parties. Third, this visitation is made possible by the willingness of the Greeks to double, triple, or quadruple up, sleeping on pallets when beds are insufficient. Fourth, the fact that the rural and urban people involved are kin to each other keeps down much of the suspicion and jealousy that rural people might have of the urban person, thus facilitating continuing interaction.

423 593 606 571 574 513

In personally witnessing this process I have wondered, but never investigated, whether those villagers most vigorous in their denunciation of Athens and city life were those who had no urban relatives.

But one should not overlook the influence that a change in one village has upon those in nearby villages. If the people of one community decide to put a neglected cemetery in order, then those elsewhere will say, "don't you think we had better do something about our cemetery?" and take steps accordingly, while trying to keep the fact that they are imitating the other village from being obvious. There is, thus, some competition among Greek villages, not an intense rivalry but a desire by those in one village to have

178 628

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to
[628] those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective
178 change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others.
562 They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more edu-
666 cation, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage. Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local
[626 twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women,
593] for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

178 This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance
185 of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration
727 of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and
[736] seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

177 Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at
178 the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

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[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
657 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
628 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the
692 question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
641 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
634 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
631 no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The
633 question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had
[652] been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the cords may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

/10 cont./

Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years.

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move. 167 722 [648] 511 167

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation, which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional customs handed down from generation to generation provide both group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the ceremonial feast. When a member of the family gets married the whole village participated with their musical instruments. The marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male person is observed more than the female name day.

517 [526] [846] [851] [585] [527] [562]

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the United States. After the church service the people gather around the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

796 628 574 [535]

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place. This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry. The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

796 574 [735] [252]

/91 cont./ 623 627 578

general approval of all. The punishment of the "Gerousia" is ostracism until the person repents and asks forgiveness. The fear and respect towards "Gerousia" is greater than to anybody or group of people. One of the young men planning to divorce his wife because she could not bear any child, told of his experience with the "Gerousia". "Their words are sharper than the sharpest sword".

Latent Neighborhood Conflict Attitudes. The jealousy of the nearby villages toward the successful cooperation of the villagers of Megali Vrisi was noticed many times. The success of Megali Vrisi in bringing the doctors who serve the area to their village, and in making it the center for the health project, naturally created hard feelings with the competing villages. The success with which the Caucasians of Megali Vrisi worked /92/ in organizing a young men's organization, increasing the number of teachers, building their church and having one of the well-organized cooperatives, has made it the leading village of the area. 621 628

Active Conflicts. One of the active conflicts that exists in Megali Vrisi is the one between the Thracians and Caucasians. Each group in trying to preserve its identity tries to dominate the other by having more power in controlling the village council and cooperative. The Thracians as a minority, have never had any chance to get to any office for the last 16 years. The strong opposition they had from the Caucasians, united them on every question raised, and their inability to compete with the Caucasians has developed within every Thracian the illogical type of opposition. "Vote it down if it is a Caucasian proposal, whether good or bad." Regardless of this opposition, the Caucasians undertook to carry on their constructive community work by bearing the share of the Thracians too. Conflicts among different kinship groups were of a minor type and never developed to such a magnitude as to have destructive results. The "Gerousia" checked them. The conflict between the Thracians and the Caucasians was beyond the power of the "Gerousia". The Thracians never had any "Gerousia" and as a result took more cases to the court and spent more /93/ money and time for it. The conflicts among the 621 578 627 [623] [692]

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101 13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty [433] and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

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governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither. 175 623 642

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws. [671]

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues." [4] 631 642 [658]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior. [185]

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

[621] [633] [162]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

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631 642 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does American politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah 275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had 243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter; 247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains. 262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These 207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts 177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community [422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which 653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately 651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
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Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[10] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

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> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

[828] [578]

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631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
578 location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many arguments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
634 for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
623 come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
653 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guerrillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office 75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
634 twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
275 nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unhappy, unattractive fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted, "did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sundays before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
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mata, at the southern part of the Peloponnesos. When we discussed the attitude of the peasants toward Athens and the central government, he commented: "Life in the village is difficult; Athens has had special privileges. The villages are 100 percent right in their complaints. In my nomos many of them have no roads, no irrigation or drainage. Their education is so far behind that it is pitiful; their homes are in awful condition. How can a peasant under such circumstances feel gratitude! Paying for the priest and the teacher should be the job of the central government in the same way that a father supports a child. The recent decision to turn back to the communes a share of the tobacco tax is encouraging the villagers very much. Here it will amount to about one dollar yearly per capita."

When I asked him more about the actual workings of the communes in his nomos, he repeated much that others had said:

The president of the community represents in a small way the national government. So the community council is both an arm of the central government and also a representative of the local village. All decisions of the council have to be communicated to the nomarch; this is compulsory. If the council and president decide to spend any of the local funds the nomarch has the right to say "yes" or "no." If they wish to add a paid employee, the nomarch will check to see whether it is legal or not. If the nomarch does not answer in two weeks' time, then the local council has the right to go ahead without further permission. But the villagers for the most part are not conscious of their rights after the expiration of the two-week period and are capable of waiting fifteen years. The chief reason for delays in such matters is the lack of sufficient personnel in the nomarchy.

During 1952–53, the possibility seemed strong of developing a capable, well-trained group of nomarchs, all of whom were supposed to have security of tenure and not be subject to dismissal except for carefully defined "cause." These nomarchs were being sent to England, the United States, and elsewhere to study how local governments functioned, and to see what ideas might be adaptable to Greece. The community presidents, over and over again, expressed appreciative comments on the work of many of these nomarchs. To be sure, in some villages I found that the nomarch had not yet made himself known, but I had the general impression that a much better relationship was building up between the peasantry and the national government because of the changed attitudes of friendliness and understanding on the part of these key officials. When I revisited Greece in 1955 for another study period, I found that the Minister of Interior in early March 1954 had rescinded the career-nomarch legislation and had immediately dismissed one third of the nomarchs. According to one observer:

The odd characteristic about these dismissals was that they were not necessarily based on political opinions nor on efficiency. Several strongly-pro-government nomarchs were dismissed despite known efficiency. Apparently this arose

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than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a different administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, [167]
we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

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The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental services enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local [369]
people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

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1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area. [625]
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco. [249]
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[13]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government carries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

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651 specialists think it undesirable to have over 90 percent of all taxes collected
631 by the national government, as is done in Greece, even though much of it is channeled back through various services to the local communities. At the same time, they admit that there is great reluctance on the part of local authorities to take on the tax-collection function and that in those instances where they do collect local funds they do so inefficiently. Obviously, the golden mean has not yet been found in this delicate area of the relationship between local and central government.[13]

647 When the topic of conversation turns from the services to the officials who carry them out, local informants respond fast and furiously, much of the comment in disapproving tones. I have yet to find a description of Greek life, past or present, that deals very kindly with Greek officialdom. This might be said of many countries, but in Greece the lowly and even high-placed official is beset with so many difficulties that it is a wonder he functions at all. His first problem is the low standards traditionally expected
647 of the civil servant. Most Greeks think that it is perfectly proper procedure for them to bestow a favor upon some official so that he will give their case
662 preference, either in considering it before other cases or in recognizing certain extenuating circumstances in their favor. The law may or may not be abrogated and regular channels set aside, but the irregularities deal quite often with rearrangements and interpretations within the scope of the limits set by the law so that one person gets preferential treatment over others. When one comes face to face with the great number of papers that have to be signed to do even a simple transaction involving governmental authority, one realizes how great is the temptation to bribe or bring to bear some other consideration (such as working through the good graces of a relative of the official) to shorten the red tape and wind up the matter more quickly than usual. Not all officials would condone such measures, but they are subjected to much temptation.

647 A second problem, tied in with the first, is the low compensation which officials receive in the face of increased living costs. Since many govern-
[465] ment workers cannot live even modestly on their salaries, they take on
[464] other commitments. These part-time jobs cause them to slight their full-time government employment, for which supervision is frequently lax.

Insecurity in the job is a third difficulty for many of the higher officials.
[661] The ministries, which in countries like France are run by highly skilled civil servants no matter how many cabinet ministers come and go, are
[645] staffed in Greece by people, many quite capable, who are apt to be swept out of office when a new minister comes in. Many, because of sheer competence and skillful legerdemain, manage to survive from one change of ministers to the next, but are never sure that they will weather the next changeover. In some ministries there have been as many as forty different ministers in six years.

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A final difficulty lies in inadequate personnel and equipment to do many of the highly technical governmental tasks as they should be done. Engineers who are responsible for numerous activities in many villages may not have transportation facilities sufficient to visit these villages as often as would be desirable. Those responsible for accounting and fiscal matters may not have sufficient clerical help to keep up with the work load, thereby delaying reports or requests from local governments.[14] 647 65

But despite these difficulties, I would place the crux of the problem of the relationship between local and central government in the attitudes which the officials assume toward villagers and even townspeople. There is something about being an official in Greece that tends to make one officious. The officeholder may not realize this but, as he takes on the roles that go with a new governmental position, he tries to carry an air of authority that does not quite ring true, or else he tries to bolster up his feeling of insecurity by lording it over those who are in some measure under his control. He preserves his own *philotimo,* or self-esteem, by clinging to all the symbols of prestige to the bitter end. I could want no better documentation of this state of affairs than a notice distributed in November 1952 by the Minister of Agriculture, which appeared on the walls of the director of agriculture in Kozane. It read: 647 156 631 647

Mr. Director:

1. Don't forget that we are the servants of the people.
2. Don't forget that your pay comes from the work and the sweat of the people.
3. Please be polite and just to the people and your employees.
4. Keep working hours; do not go away during working hours which are for the public.
5. Reply willingly and quickly to requests and petitions of the people. "Come by tomorrow" is not accepted.

People — Farmers:

1. Do not ask for illegal things but demand your rights.
2. If you do not get your rights or have complaints write to Complaints Office of the Ministry and you will get a quick reply.
3. Even then, if you don't get justice, write directly to me.

Minister of Agriculture, A. Apostolidis

In official Athens, over the past few years, there has been many a tug of war, sometimes silent and sometimes raucous, between those who would decentralize many functions of government to the local units and those who, for a variety of reasons, would maintain strong central control. It is safe to say that those who favor the former course are those who think of government chiefly as an administrative apparatus through which citizens' needs are met. Certainly, many members of the American Mission have 631 647 [177]

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631 sought to strengthen the hands of those favoring decentralization in the
647 belief that this would accomplish more with American aid money. On the
[177] other hand, those who favor strong centralization tend to think of government primarily in political rather than administrative terms. They see government as an arena where personalities and parties struggle for the opportunity of directing the affairs of state. They realize that much political power is built on patronage or at least the promise of patronage; they also argue that the political process is built upon compromise and that many administrative practices are established in governmental bureaus to forestall any such compromises. Which group is prompted more by disinterested, public-spirited motives can best be determined by the observer on the spot as different personalities, representing these varying points of view, step onto the stage.

664 THE PEASANT AND POLITICS

Shortly after my arrival in Greece in the fall of 1952, I encountered an interesting case study of the peasant and politics. All over Greece, one September Sunday, the farmers demonstrated against their government. This affair was treated, as one would expect, quite differently by the various Athenian newspapers, but the general tone of argument never got down to the facts of the peasants' grievance but instead haggled over who was responsible for getting them all stirred up.

[204] One newspaper, *Philelevtheros,* under the caption "The Farmers' Plight," wrote:

> There is no Greek who does not admit the rights of the farmers, or the fact that they are, and always were, the most neglected class in this country. Everyone feels the farmers' plight as if it were his own, and they know that Greek society will never stand on its feet as long as the farmer's lot is a miserable one. Their present fate, however, is not the fault of the Government, but is due to a whole century of reactionary rule. The farmers' demonstrations would have
> [665] been even stronger and more genuine if the Rally Party agents had not attempted to exploit them. However, they failed in this attempt.

[204] *Ethnos,* a newspaper representing a rival party, reported under the caption "Farmers' Demonstrations":

> Over the whole of Greece, in all those areas where men strive to get the maximum crop from our not very fertile soil, solid demonstrations were held last Sunday. The farmers were protesting with absolutely justified indignation against the indifference the Government is showing in handling their problems, and the way in which it has withdrawn its promises to them.
>
> In the face of this Pan-Hellenic uprising, the Government, through its comic Minister of Coordination, and through its press, finds nothing better to give in

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intimately, agreed with many of the points that the Athens gymnasium director had made, as the following summary of his comment shows: 875

About thirty or forty years ago the community was independent. It was something solid; it elected the best people to office. Why? They elected their own teacher, their own priest, and the field guards. Three main points of their life — education, religion, and security — were all in their own hands. The central government wanted to take into its own control all of these functions in order to put in its own appointees who would influence the people. The peasants lost their ability to manage their own affairs, and became hostile to the government and to the teacher. The teacher is no longer responsible to the farmer but to the government. Nowadays, because of this and because of the anti-government attitude brought in by the refugees from Turkey, the peasant has separated himself from his government and asks everything from it. 875 829 631

The teacher has no obligation toward the village, no sense of community relations. He stays in the coffeehouse and aims to move to a town or city. Formerly a village would give some bright boy a chance to go outside for an education and then he would come back and live in the village where he had his own home. He was one of the best teachers. 875

When one begins to sift from many conversations the findings about the village teacher and to read the village accounts which include him in their pages, a few matters stand out. First of all, it is true that the allegiance of the teacher is to the national government and to the bureaucracy upon which his advancement depends. He thinks of himself as a representative of the national ideal, which he is supposed to instill in every child studying under him. His loyalty is therefore to Greece, and one of his major purposes is to help the village child feel a close identification with the national state. Second, he tries, often like a drillmaster, to get the pupils to master the course content worked out in Athens. The brighter ones need encouragement to go on to the gymnasium and must receive the preparation that will serve them in good stead there. Third, the teacher must train children to participate through song, recitation, and national dance in the various holiday celebrations and festivals that come along and at which the school makes an appearance. This serves a village purpose in that it encourages local traditions and provides some diversion in what many would consider the humdrum life of the villager. But there are few teachers in the national school system, unless they are in one of the specialized schools set up for the purpose, who undertake any adult education or even try to make the younger scholars look around at their village environment for ways in which it can be improved. Very often I got the impression that many teachers were even trying to make the villagers forget the present and its problems by focusing their attention on the past and its glories as a substitute for action today. 875 871 619 [873]

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Vasilika

6

The Village: As a Community

The Village Government

621 IN THE FIRST CHAPTER the village was described as a setting for the life of families, which are the most significant social groups in the settlement. It now becomes possible to consider the functions of the village itself as an entity in its own right. First, the formal organization of village-wide activities and responsiblities will be discussed, and second, the attitudes of the inhabitants toward Vasilika in contrast with their attitudes toward the family and the nation.

[631] The Greek government classifies Vasilika as a *kinotis* for administrative purposes despte its small population. A *kinotis* is legally a populated center with at least 300 inhabitants and a school, and constitutes one of the four kinds of administrative subdivisions in each of the nomes (provinces) of Greece.

622 623 665 666 The formal governmental activities of the *kinotis* are the responsibility of a locally eleced president and council. A community the size of Vasilika is entitled to a council of five members elected for a four-year term. Voting must be done along party lines; and voters select five names from among those listed by the party of their choice. Vasilika had only two political parties in its local elections in 1956. Under the system of proportional representation then operating, the four men with the most votes from the party which itself had the majority of votes were elected to the council. The fifth member should have been the man with the most votes in the minority party. At the last Vasilika election, however, the man in this position preferred not to act as a minority representative and the second man on the list became the council member. The five representatives thes elect a president and a vice-president from among their number, usually for two-year terms. The council and community are served by an additional official, the secretary of the *kinotis*. The secretary is not elected and has no vote on the council. He is appointed by the nomarch (governor) of the province upon nomination from the village council. His salary varies with the income of

624 [634]

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Vasilika

candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *agbora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *agbora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

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Vasilika

621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and
476 the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the
571 life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha*, that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni*, people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages, and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,
123 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
685 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we
621 understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
000 to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

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369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
* 178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
[433] 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
[423] surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
x [178] tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of land after World War I, and those where patterns of landownership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
x 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelligent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
• 631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

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communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

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622 As one would expect in any small community whose members
624 are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to
[702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group
[653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central govern-
[651] ment. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improve-
631 ments requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal mini-
652 mum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not
654 altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of gov-
x178 ernment representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent per-
[609] suasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a [197] [619] degree of kinship.

Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there [631] from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla [727] war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 The real question for the future is whether or not the village 161 will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale x 178 that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving population is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children be- [728] tween the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five [885] couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

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with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the reinvigoration of local government. During the war and afterward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Cherasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Cherasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

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621 a distinguished man in any company. Authority seemed to rest
631 as naturally upon his shoulders as the callouses rested upon
178 his palms. This easy relation between village officers and the people of their community had definitely not been characteristic in 1947.

621 Local government in Greece was suffering, however, from a
631 chronic and serious handicap. Local authorities lacked funds,
652 and could seldom do anything beyond routine administration without borrowing from some agency of the central government.[1] The result of this situation was to extend greatly the real authority and influence of the central government over local affairs. Village and municipal authorities spent a great deal of time waiting in the anterooms of officials of the central government in the hope of securing money with which to carry through some local improvement.

621 Villages had always depended on the Agricultural Bank or
651 on one of the central ministries for finding money for any im-
652 portant project; cities and towns until 1949 had financed their local expenditures mainly through excise duties imposed upon
178 goods brought into the municipality. Before that year, long
631 lines of peasant carts, waiting their turn at municipal excise stations, were a frequent sight in the outskirts of every town. Internal tariffs were abolished in 1949, however, and the share of the cigarette tax, levied nationally, which was assigned to municipalities in lieu of these excises proved generally inadequate. Town governments were therefore in poor shape financially, and any public improvements that were made came from special grants or loans from the central government.

[633 365] 1. The municipality of Athens, for example, had been insolvent for as long as anyone cared to recall. The problem was such that in 1955 and again in 1956, the Athens Power Company threatened to cut off the supply of electricity to municipal institutions unless some of the back bills were paid.

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

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governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither. 175 623 642

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws. [671]

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues." [4] 631 642 [658]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior. [185]

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

[621] [633] [162]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

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toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor. 623 653 [651] [727]

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done. [316] [333]

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax: 651 [203]

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

Here the local authorities were following the ancient practice of "farming" out the taxes to the highest bidder who, in turn, was expected to derive from rigorous collection much more than he paid for the right. Every time a bleating goat or an ox changed masters, the successful bidder would collect his 2 percent of the sale price.

The community council has other duties in addition to managing a community-owned radio, rebuilding churches, and collecting taxes. It conducts local elections as well.[4] By 1951 the political situation had stabilized to the point that local elections could be held throughout the country. Of the registered voters, a greater proportion of women than men voted, thereby showing their appreciation of the right of suffrage. From nine to thirty-one 623 666 [633]

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councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes, on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's; its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[7]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorating the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high-powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there, as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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621 a distinguished man in any company. Authority seemed to rest
631 as naturally upon his shoulders as the callouses rested upon
178 his palms. This easy relation between village officers and the people of their community had definitely not been characteristic in 1947.

621 Local government in Greece was suffering, however, from a
631 chronic and serious handicap. Local authorities lacked funds,
652 and could seldom do anything beyond routine administration without borrowing from some agency of the central government.[1] The result of this situation was to extend greatly the real authority and influence of the central government over local affairs. Village and municipal authorities spent a great deal of time waiting in the anterooms of officials of the central government in the hope of securing money with which to carry through some local improvement.

621 Villages had always depended on the Agricultural Bank or
651 on one of the central ministries for finding money for any im-
652 portant project; cities and towns until 1949 had financed their
178 local expenditures mainly through excise duties imposed upon
631 goods brought into the municipality. Before that year, long lines of peasant carts, waiting their turn at municipal excise stations, were a frequent sight in the outskirts of every town. Internal tariffs were abolished in 1949, however, and the share of the cigarette tax, levied nationally, which was assigned to municipalities in lieu of these excises proved generally inadequate. Town governments were therefore in poor shape financially, and any public improvements that were made came from special grants or loans from the central government.

[633 365] 1. The municipality of Athens, for example, had been insolvent for as long as anyone cared to recall. The problem was such that in 1955 and again in 1956, the Athens Power Company threatened to cut off the supply of electricity to municipal institutions unless some of the back bills were paid.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[10] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serral in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

631 634

> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

[828] [578]

1:Sanders Z-5ft (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
●634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
578 location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many arguments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
634 for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
623 come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
653 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guerrillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office 75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
634 twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
275 nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted, "did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sundays before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

mata, at the southern part of the Peloponnesos. When we discussed the attitude of the peasants toward Athens and the central government, he commented: "Life in the village is difficult; Athens has had special privileges. The villages are 100 percent right in their complaints. In my nomos many of them have no roads, no irrigation or drainage. Their education is so far behind that it is pitiful; their homes are in awful condition. How can a peasant under such circumstances feel gratitude! Paying for the priest and the teacher should be the job of the central government in the same way that a father supports a child. The recent decision to turn back to the communes a share of the tobacco tax is encouraging the villagers very much. Here it will amount to about one dollar yearly per capita."

When I asked him more about the actual workings of the communes in his nomos, he repeated much that others had said:

> The president of the community represents in a small way the national government. So the community council is both an arm of the central government and also a representative of the local village. All decisions of the council have to be communicated to the nomarch; this is compulsory. If the council and president decide to spend any of the local funds the nomarch has the right to say "yes" or "no." If they wish to add a paid employee, the nomarch will check to see whether it is legal or not. If the nomarch does not answer in two weeks' time, then the local council has the right to go ahead without further permission. But the villagers for the most part are not conscious of their rights after the expiration of the two-week period and are capable of waiting fifteen years. The chief reason for delays in such matters is the lack of sufficient personnel in the nomarchy.

During 1952–53, the possibility seemed strong of developing a capable, well-trained group of nomarchs, all of whom were supposed to have security of tenure and not be subject to dismissal except for carefully defined "cause." These nomarchs were being sent to England, the United States, and elsewhere to study how local governments functioned, and to see what ideas might be adaptable to Greece. The community presidents, over and over again, expressed appreciative comments on the work of many of these nomarchs. To be sure, in some villages I found that the nomarch had not yet made himself known, but I had the general impression that a much better relationship was building up between the peasantry and the national government because of the changed attitudes of friendliness and understanding on the part of these key officials. When I revisited Greece in 1955 for another study period, I found that the Minister of Interior in early March 1954 had rescinded the career-nomarch legislation and had immediately dismissed one third of the nomarchs. According to one observer:

> The odd characteristic about these dismissals was that they were not necessarily based on political opinions nor on efficiency. Several strongly-pro-government nomarchs were dismissed despite known efficiency. Apparently this arose

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a
661 week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
758 rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
465 clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban
[212] Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent
[369] among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men).
[562] Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were
[669] deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war
[875] many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen to us if we can't read?"

871 LOCAL SUPPORT FOR THE SCHOOL

Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by
[875] the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school, since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many
[875] parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people and the community council toward the education of their children.

[634] One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred
[653] schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board, the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable. 871

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities. 346 [177]

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture: [177] 346 727

> The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[5]

[634] [658] [653]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7] 872 [346] [875]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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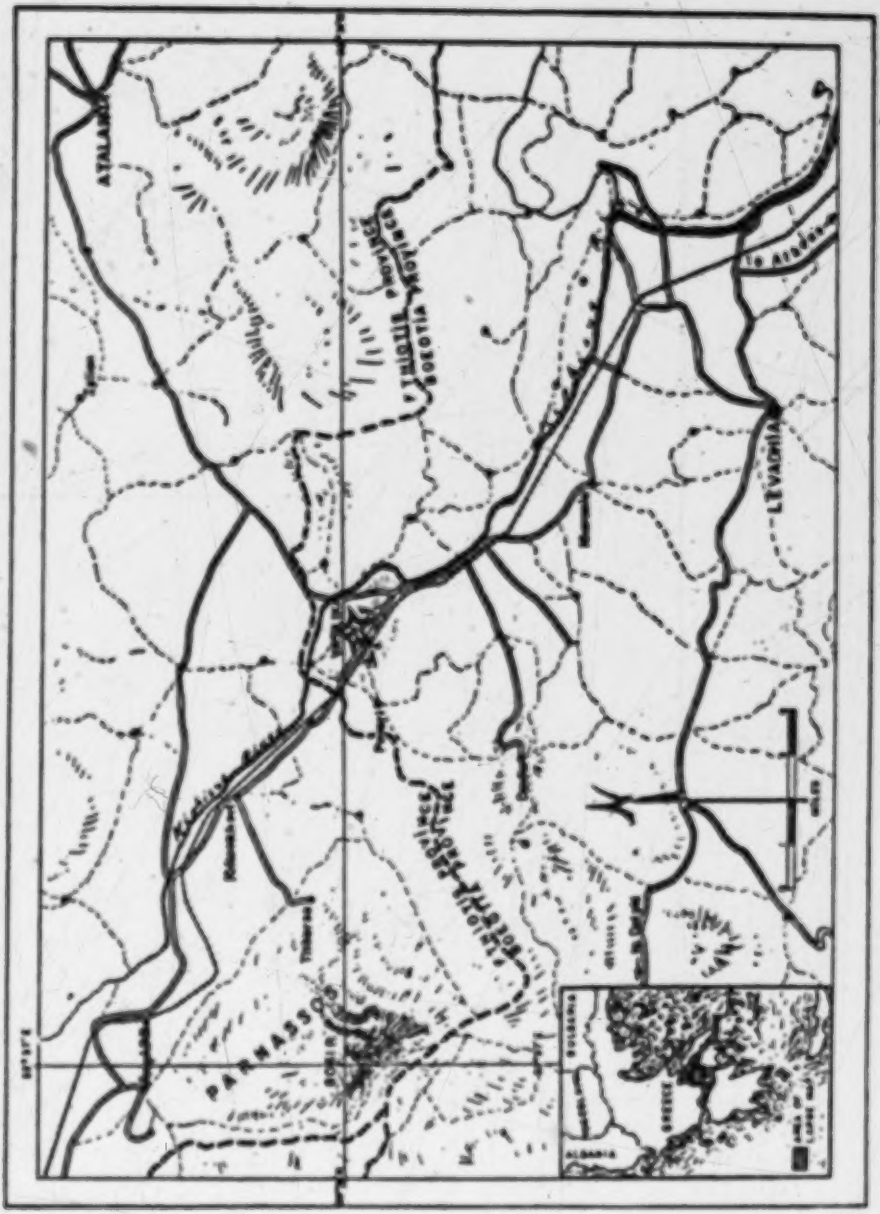

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6

The Village: As a Community

The Village Government

621 IN THE FIRST CHAPTER the village was described as a setting for the life of families, which are the most significant social groups in the settlement. It now becomes possible to consider the functions of the village itself as an entity in its own right. First, the formal organization of village-wide activities and responsibilities will be discussed, and second, the attitudes of the inhabitants toward Vasilika in contrast with their attitudes toward the family and the nation.

[631] The Greek government classifies Vasilika as a *kinotis* for administrative purposes despite its small population. A *kinotis* is legally a populated center with at least 300 inhabitants and a school, and constitutes one of the four kinds of administrative subdivisions in each of the nomes (provinces) of Greece.

622 The formal governmental activities of the *kinotis* are the responsibility of
623 a locally elected president and council. A community the size of Vasilika is
665 entitled to a council of five members elected for a four-year term. Voting must
666 be done along party lines; and voters select five names from among those listed by the party of their choice. Vasilika had only two political parties in its local elections in 1956. Under the system of proportional representation then operating, the four men with the most votes from the party which itself had the majority of votes were elected to the council. The fifth member should have been the man with the most votes in the minority party. At the last Vasilika election, however, the man in this position preferred not to act as a minority representative and the second man on the list became the council member. The five representatives then elect a president and a vice-president from among their number, usually for two-year terms. The council and community are served by an additional official, the secretary of the *kinotis*. The secretary is not elected and has no
624 [634] vote on the council. He is appointed by the nomarch (governor) of the province upon nomination from the village council. His salary varies with the income of

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

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Vasilika

653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
628 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the
692 question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The
633 question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is,
[622] full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[683] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the cords may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

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Vasilika

The village council also has initial jurisdiction over monies which are not derived from the taxes already mentioned. There is a levy amounting to two percent a year of the value of the cotton and wheat produced by each farmer, three percent of the value of any inheritance, and three percent of the value of money and property given as a dowry for any village girl. The proceeds of these taxes are deposited in the village account in Amphiklia. A tax on tobacco production is paid to the national government. The amount collected from the tobacco tax is redistributed to all communities in Greece on a per capita basis for schools, roads, and the like. Tobacco-growing villages like Vasilika receive an additional sum in proportion to the quantity of tobacco produced in the community.

Initial jurisdiction in the disposal of all monies belonging to the *kinotis* consists in the preparation of the village budget by the council. The task is done under the close supervision of the nomarch's office. Printed forms for village budgets are available at stationery stores and must be purchased and used. The form includes a list of items for which the community may be expected to spend its money and another list of items from which income is derived. It is the secretary's work actually to fill in the form in quadruplicate. He does so at a meeting of village secretaries called by the nomarch and held in Levadhia. The forms are then checked by the nomarch's office and some changes may be imposed. The expenses listed on the form include the secretary's salary, the salaries of the two village policemen, the salary of an assistant treasurer in Amphiklia, whatever is due the tax collector (who seemed in 1956 to be getting six percent of the amount collected), rent to the church for office space, several newspapers brought by train from Athens each day, books for the school (but not for individual students), road repairs, and the like. The completed document becomes, in fact, a theoretical model for appropriate village income and expenditure rather than a reasonable estimate of future financial transactions. Some of the income actually will be deposited in the account of the village and some of the expenditures will be made, but most will not, and even those transactions that do occur may not be made in the sums designated in the budget.

Let us consider income first. The collection of taxes from the farmers is not carried out regularly. When no collector comes to the village, the farmers are supposed to go to Amphiklia to pay their taxes, but few do so. During our stay in the village, a new collector came to Vasilika and sat in the *aghora* for an entire day accepting money from the farmers. They paid only part of their previous year's assessment, and so remained a year in arrears. The interest charge on late tax payments is only sporadically collected from the farmers. Just as the collection of monies is irregular, so is the payment of salaries and the expenditure of other funds. For example, the secretary at one point had not received his monthly salary of 350 drachmas for several months. The use of monies for other purposes depends on the interest of the villagers in village projects, and for the most part such interest is lacking. The village governing body and the secretary fulfill the formal responsibilities placed upon them by the national government, but do not seem to feel that the forms must reflect reality.

It is clear from the foregoing that in the formal political organization of Greece the village council has little power even over affairs for which it has some

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Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfase committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Public Life in 1947]

support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, 665
and it was not yet clear that American support would be forth- 669
coming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not 648
strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, 727
while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their 669
opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine 647
of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure [648]
this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in [666]
1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and 647
occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to ex- 661
cessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, [634]
the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

G 563 578 V 648

These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[13]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

G 563 233 V 233 648 G [241] V [361] G 563 610 V 648

The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15

words, while their problems are growing, they are now gaining the constitutional means of handling them. They may feel oppressed economically, but they are not politically oppressed.

When I asked Berates if he wanted to settle down, he said that it was all right for the small livestock owners, but that it was impossible for a large owner like himself with eight hundred sheep. He would keep on trying to make a go of it as he had done in the past. When asked how he would feel if he did not have to move up to the mountains, his immediate reply was, "I would get sick," and all of the other men nodded their heads affirmatively. "I even have to go to the same spot, not just anywhere up the mountains. And the sheep need the change, too. They got sick during the war when they were not able to make the change."

The Disappearing Tselingata

One of the interesting types of cooperative organization which I hoped to find in Epirus was that of the *tselingata*. I had heard that, just as the agricultural peasants have their village community, so the shepherds in the past grouped themselves under a chief shepherd who directed their activities and also represented the whole group before the outside world. I had also been told that this form of association was found among the nomadic groups but that it was not necessarily identified solely with them.

A clear account of this primitive but practical shepherds' cooperative is contained in a helpful book by K. Koukkides entitled *The Spirit of Cooperation of Modern Greece and of Ambelakia, the First Cooperative of the World*.[18] In this arrangement each sheep and goat owner contributes his flock as capital and his labor. This union is usually governed by the eldest shepherd, who is called *architselingas* (chief shepherd), and who looks after the organization of the union, rents the pasture land, allots land to each according to the quality of land and to the different categories of animals to be grazed, specifies the work that each member will do, and makes payment for all of the necessary common expenses. In addition, he obtains credit to cover the living expenses of each member and the member's family, regulates the amount paid to each shepherd, pays taxes and any field damage done, and acts as the banker and the "grocer" of the union. At the end of each period he subtracts all these expenses from the general income or fund which has accumulated from the sale of the milk, wool, sheep, and cheese, gives back to his colleagues whatever is due each according to the flock he has brought into the union and according to the personal work he has done, such as pasturing, transporting milk to the cheese plant, milking, making cheese and other dairy products, and taking the goods to the market.

The quantity of milk is estimated according to the number of animals each shepherd has, so that if animal diseases occur in the merged flock the loss will be shared by everybody. An important part of the net profit is

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

369 [177] [467] serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

From Subject to Citizen

641 [648] Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

[177] One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bound by any loyalty greater than that to their family and their village. 641
Whether through a highly virulent nationalism or a growing sense of participation in a multinational state, the individual — to change from a subject to a citizen — must expand his circle of loyalties to encompass the larger political unit of which he supposedly is a first-class citizen.

A second condition, tied in with the first, is the growing sense on the part of the villager that the central government is concerned with his welfare. Without this, the necessary loyalty will not develop. Villagers need both physical manifestations of governmental activity in their behalf (new schools, roads, bridges) and expanding economic opportunities. To some extent, foreign-aid programs can help in this area, particularly in seeing that the benefits are not all concentrated in the cities and mushrooming towns but that even remote sections gain some sense of benefit.

A third corollary is the necessity for widespread education. In the developing countries, the young people with the most education are often viewed as the troublemakers, so much so that some observers may even question the assumption that stable democratic government depends on a highly literate and educated electorate and point out that some of the most educated people, such as the Germans, have moved on occasion whole heartedly into totalitarianism. They argue that a little education is a dangerous thing politically. But it seems clear that the alternative of holding back educational programs is fraught with even more political danger if truly democratic regimes are to become established. Since every regime has to think about ways and means of staying in power, it is all too tempting to promote only that kind of education which most benefits the regime and to forget future needs. Studies of the experiences of many new nations would probably show that education and economic opportunity need to go hand in hand if serious dislocations are to be avoided. Increased income among the uneducated is socially unproductive, and an educated segment with no suitable employment possibilities leads to political discontent. It is also true that a people lacking the basic reading and mathematical skills cannot achieve modern economic development. Thus, if a subject is to become a citizen, he needs to receive an education that fits him not only to perform as an economic producer but also to play his part in the political process.

Since democratic governments depend upon active political organizations — such as parties — the villager must learn how to participate in [665]
formal organizations. As pointed out in Chapter 10, the Greek villager does not think in terms of formal organizations to the same extent as the Western European or American. He uses the direct personal approach rather than relying upon organized joint action to gain his goals. In this sense, the rural Greek is much like villagers throughout the world. To take part in a democratic government, therefore, he must gain experience in

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

641 organizational behavior which will keep him from being merely manipulated and through which he can make many of his own wishes known. From a sociological standpoint, this lack of organizational skill is a crucial variable in the failure of democratic forms to emerge and maintain themselves. The subject who becomes a citizen can learn how to deal with political parties as he gains experience in other large-scale organizations, such as the cooperative movement, labor unions, and in some cases religious groups. One might draw the analogy that a true citizen of a political unit is much the same as the active member of a large organization. Neither is indifferent or uninformed, and each knows the organizational mechanics open to him to checkrein activities of which he does not approve.

A further condition required for the shift from a subject to a citizen is a growing tradition of efficient public administration. Many of our foreign-
[177] aid programs have dealt with the need for training local people in systems of taxation, public financing, more streamlined bureaucratic procedures. Connected with these changes in practices, there must be an accompanying shift in attitudes on the part of the officials toward the people they are paid to serve. If the representatives of the central government continue to treat villagers like subjects, the villagers will continue to act like subjects; if they are treated as citizens, with dignity and fairness, then the villagers can much more easily make the shift to true citizenship. Local officialdom is apt to present one of the greatest difficulties, and any foreign-aid program which fails to change traditional official attitudes is probably making only a small contribution toward political stability.

To draw up a complete list of the attributes of an ideal citizen would move far beyond the possibilities that can currently be realized in most developing countries. Enough of the conditions for the citizenship role have been mentioned to show the connection between foreign-aid programs and this kind of social change. It is only reasonable that one test of any program in which the United States has invested is to ask to what extent this program advances and encourages, and even makes possible, the shift from a subject to a citizen.

Social Dimensions of Aid

177 Anyone familiar with the Greece of the early 1950s (or with the Viet Nam or Laos of the early 1960s) knows what it is like to have hundreds of Americans, civilian technicians and military specialists, busily carrying out their official duties. These hundreds quickly grow into thousands as dependents arrive from the States, and the equivalent of an American suburb springs full blown with all of its attendant recreational facilities, transportation service, food-distribution system, and educational program. Such an occurrence is inevitable when Americans become involved in any program of foreign aid sponsored by our government; nor would we expect

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Specialization of Labor

233 Sheepherding as a specialty is relatively new to the village. Eight of
563 Vasilika's ten shepherds and the members of their households are called *Vlachi*
by the villagers. Most of these people come from Agrafa, in Euritania, in the
166 northwestern part of the Greek mainland. Their fathers and grandfathers were
463 shepherds, and the present group in Vasilika is the first generation ever to have
settled anywhere with the intention and reasonable hope of staying. They aug-
434 ment the income from their own flocks by caring for those of the farmers as well.

233 From the point of view of the *Vlach* shepherd households headed by men
563 (two are headed by widows), the settlement in Vasilika is a satisfactory change
511 in their circumstances. In the years between 1950 and 1956, they had succeeded
434 in building up their own flocks to the point where the sale of sheep, milk, and
wool enabled them to have a small cash income to add to the money their
464 women earned as hired agricultural labor. With a cash income, their diet no
longer needed to be restricted largely to bread and cheese. The houses of the
262 shepherds have improved since 1956. By 1961, all the shepherds' families were
342 in houses instead of reed huts, and two of them were living in their own newly
built one-room brick houses.

233 Perhaps most important to the shepherds' sense of well-being is that they
563 have been admitted to citizenship in the *kinotis* of Vasilika, and that their chil-
621 dren are receiving an education. The adult men had had to teach themselves and
their children just enough reading and writing to be able to keep track of their
555 commercial transactions through the year. Indeed, one shepherd, when asked what
he thought about when he was out alone with his sheep, replied that he spent
871 most of the time calculating how many sheep and how much milk to sell under
641 the different possible price conditions of the coming season. What pleases the
shepherds in Vasilika is that their children will have, as a result of a more for-
435 mal education, some opportunities to follow a calling other than that of shep-
herd. In 1961, one of the shepherd's sons had already successfully completed a
year at the gymnasium. Some of their daughters have married into the farm
families of Vasilika, and even if these farmers are among the less prosperous
in the village, such a marriage conveys prestige on the girl and her family in
the eyes of the shepherd community.

233 Finally, the shepherds are grateful for the fact that several of them are
563 settled in the same village and that it is possible for them sometimes to herd
571 their flocks together. They are less lonely—they have company (*parea*)—and to
621 have companions to talk to is considered a basic good by all the people
of Vasilika.

463 In the first chapter, the movement of itinerant traders, vendors, artisans,
445 and professionals into Vasilika was mentioned. The village has no resident car-
penters, stonemasons, saddle-makers, barbers, tailors, or doctors; but the very
existence of such specialists and the expectation that they will come from time
to time, demonstrate an important characteristic of the household economy of

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vineyard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur, and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two communities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a nonresident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agreements among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

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Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

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I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

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The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Instead of being organized on the basis of individuals living in a geographic area, which was the classical mode, the community became a body of believers united by a common purpose. . . . Within this framework, new concepts of local government grew. One was the council as a vehicle for the consensus of the community as a whole. Another was the assembly of all members of the Christian community to give assent. Still another was the leadership of clerical authorities in local government and community activity. These ideas are indigenous to Byzantine culture and they are a part, even if not immediately visible, of present-day local government in Greece.[1]

With the fall of Byzantium in 1453, the Greeks came under Turkish rule. But the Muslim masters worked through already existing institutions, and Mohammed II went so far as to recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople as the political leader of the Greek nation. In the provinces, the metropolitan bishops, and priests exercised the rights given to the Patriarch, and his executors, through the *euphoria* (supervising committee) or the *demogerontia* (group of village elders). These village elders collected taxes from their compatriots, rendered justice when differences arose between Orthodox Christians, and settled any disputes which contesting parties referred to them. Basic to this self-government was the idea of the autonomous community, which centered around the elders selected by popular vote. These elders (*demogerontes*), in turn, selected "first elders" (*protogeri*), who administered the provinces and conferred with the monarch's counsellor in the provincial capital about the amount of taxes to be collected for that province, while each demogerontia tried to specify the share of each larger village, as well as the personal contribution of each individual taxpayer within a village.[2]

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In addition to tax assessment and collection, the elders had many other important functions: they divided the uncultivated land or fields or any other land remaining without heirs, regulated the flow of waters, determined the rights of inheritance, handled the community's funds, and supervised the payments made by Christians to be relieved of military duty and the serving of court papers. Since the tax function remained paramount, the local authorities brought pressure to bear upon their compatriots, by advice or scolding, to pay what was due and to avoid any mishaps with the Turks. These leaders, because they supervised the tax collection, also had local funds to use at their discretion for the community. As Koukkidi says: "The great strength of the Greeks was the continuity of communal life. The community to them was a small democracy which organized its life and shaped itself."[3]

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With the liberation of Southern and Central Greece, and the ascent to the throne of King Otho, the governmental patterns of Western Europe were imposed upon the traditional councils of elders. But this came at a time when, with the exception of the loyalty to the Patriarch, there was no

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither.

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws.

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues."[4]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior.

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The children in our village are tyrannized. Just as they sit down to study their mother says, "Get up. Break your bones, take your papers and the goat, and take her out to pasture." "Get up, get some water, get some wood, go and bring in the oxen. Don't you hear? In the evening you can study." The children go do their different tasks and in the evening come back broken with fatigue and drop off to sleep. In the morning they are cuffed by the teacher because they haven't written their lesson, and thus it goes. Black letters they learn! As if they had a lamp! Most of them read sitting on the floor; they drop on their stomachs near the fireplace and read in the light of the burning wood. From exhaustion they fall asleep and there is danger that they might get burned if the elders do not pull them away. In spring when the days are longer they read outside; they take the hog and the goat and go here or there and read while the animals pasture. What sort of reading can they do? As soon as they start, the hog escapes here and the goat there; they try to catch the hog, the goat escapes again. They start crying and lost is the reading. They also get beaten if the animals cause damage to the crops. Most of the children work also in the field; they also do some heavier tasks. What sort of letters can they learn? It's lucky they learn as much as they do.

857 872 [354] [861]

When I discussed parental attitudes toward education with an experienced school man in Northern Greece, he said: "Less land and more knowledge is needed. A farmer can't see the need of educating a son who is to farm. He will keep the one to succeed him at home and send the others off for an education." The people of Vilia, a village in Central Greece, brag that the parents there see to it that the children go through eight grades but indicate that the other villages do not do this. "We do this," they say, "because an educated man commands more respect." But what about the children in the other villages?

[555]

From time to time an Athens newspaper comes out with some shocking statistics which cause a sensation and are then forgotten. Such accounts point out that the Article 16 of the Constitution states: "Elementary education is obligatory for all and is supplied gratis by the state." In 1951–52 it was estimated that two hundred thousand Greek children of school age were not in attendance. Conditions have improved considerably since then, but the effects of this nonattendance will be felt for many years to come. At that time it was also stated that at about the third grade the numbers of those who started are halved, a truly high drop-out rate, although other reports place this reduction at the end of the fourth grade.[8] One article comments:

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Although the Constitution states that elementary schooling is supplied gratis, the various stamps and taxes, not to mention the prohibitive prices of schoolbooks, writing materials, and other paraphernalia, make this statement null and void.[9]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religious belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interest and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[6]

Greeks view contemporary events in terms of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[7] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because these touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priest, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married and unmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmarried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks, can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[701] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially
[625] road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (See United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[6] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[7] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[8] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a [533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality.
156 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
181 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate
871 for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of opportunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some
181 coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the
871 corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well.
[46] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern- [643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learn-
872 ing. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[3]

allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers, announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo*: his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

651 specialists think it undesirable to have over 90 percent of all taxes collected
631 by the national government, as is done in Greece, even though much of it is channeled back through various services to the local communities. At the same time, they admit that there is great reluctance on the part of local authorities to take on the tax-collection function and that in those instances where they do collect local funds they do so inefficiently. Obviously, the golden mean has not yet been found in this delicate area of the relationship between local and central government.[53]

647 When the topic of conversation turns from the services to the officials who carry them out, local informants respond fast and furiously, much of the comment in disapproving tones. I have yet to find a description of Greek life, past or present, that deals very kindly with Greek officialdom. This might be said of many countries, but in Greece the lowly and even high-placed official is beset with so many difficulties that it is a wonder he functions at all. His first problem is the low standards traditionally expected
647 of the civil servant. Most Greeks think that it is perfectly proper procedure for them to bestow a favor upon some official so that he will give their case
662 preference, either in considering it before other cases or in recognizing certain extenuating circumstances in their favor. The law may or may not be abrogated and regular channels set aside, but the irregularities deal quite often with rearrangements and interpretations within the scope of the limits set by the law so that one person gets preferential treatment over others. When one comes face to face with the great number of papers that have to be signed to do even a simple transaction involving governmental authority, one realizes how great is the temptation to bribe or bring to bear some other consideration (such as working through the good graces of a relative of the official) to shorten the red tape and wind up the matter more quickly than usual. Not all officials would condone such measures, but they are subjected to much temptation.

647 A second problem, tied in with the first, is the low compensation which officials receive in the face of increased living costs. Since many govern-
[465] ment workers cannot live even modestly on their salaries, they take on
[464] other commitments. These part-time jobs cause them to slight their full-time government employment, for which supervision is frequently lax.

Insecurity in the job is a third difficulty for many of the higher officials.
[661] The ministries, which in countries like France are run by highly skilled civil servants no matter how many cabinet ministers come and go, are
[645] staffed in Greece by people, many quite capable, who are apt to be swept out of office when a new minister comes in. Many, because of sheer competence and skillful legerdemain, manage to survive from one change of ministers to the next, but are never sure that they will weather the next changeover. In some ministries there have been as many as forty different ministers in six years.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563] [619] [648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even he was not always successful, General Papagos achieved something similar during the first year or so when he held office, before his failing health raised the question of the succession and induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 662 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the political scene – and this was normal – then political life became a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals. Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes, originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations [433] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention [663] to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 666 645 [177] The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952 was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces. But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties. Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments, to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted this process and made few promises to the politicians who

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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joined his Rally; yet even he, when it came to appointing his cabinet, rewarded the most conspicuous leaders of personal parties who had merged their following into his, by appointing them to ministerial positions. 665 666 645

By 1956, when the commanding personality of General Papagos had been removed from the scene, the actual differences made by the new electoral law were a good deal less marked than might at first appear. Under the old proportional electoral system, the critical negotiations to form a cabinet occurred after the elections; under the new majority system very similar negotiations preceded the elections. In either case, personal followings gathered around a specially conspicuous individual were the basic elements from which cabinets and coalitions were built. Even these building blocks of the political edifice were not very firm; a leader might find, almost overnight, that "his" followers had gone off after someone else who seemed to promise something new or different.

How a man became a party leader was hard to say. Very diverse personalities were active in Greek politics, and some party leaders seemed, at least from the outside, to have little personal impressiveness. Inheritance was a factor in some cases. Sophocles Venizelos, for example, had made his political career on the strength of his father's name, and on little else. Men who lacked such an advantage normally established leadership by oratory in the Chamber of Deputies and through newspaper publicity. 665 645 662

As the game of politics was played, the opposition regularly enjoyed certain advantages. This implied a degree of instability for any government. First of all, in any distribution of ministerial seats and other plums of office, more contenders were bound to be left out than could possibly be included. Efforts to solve this difficulty by enlarging the size of the cabinet have been made from time to time, but always at the cost of effi-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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663 471 511 652 [458] lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current running expenses and to finance a modest program of government capital investment proved far more palatable politically, even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

433 511 663 Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped nations in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

647 177 433 645 663 To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of political debate and the planning of technicians in the economic ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

829 619 [666] [642] [646]

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

[574]

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

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The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[18] 664

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead. [369] [654]

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter. 622 [669] [646]

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch 662 664

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563] [619] [648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

651 specialists think it undesirable to have over 90 percent of all taxes collected
631 by the national government, as is done in Greece, even though much of it is channeled back through various services to the local communities. At the same time, they admit that there is great reluctance on the part of local authorities to take on the tax-collection function and that in those instances where they do collect local funds they do so inefficiently. Obviously, the golden mean has not yet been found in this delicate area of the relationship between local and central government.[14]

647 When the topic of conversation turns from the services to the officials who carry them out, local informants respond fast and furiously, much of the comment in disapproving tones. I have yet to find a description of Greek life, past or present, that deals very kindly with Greek officialdom. This might be said of many countries, but in Greece the lowly and even high-placed official is beset with so many difficulties that it is a wonder he functions at all. His first problem is the low standards traditionally expected
647 of the civil servant. Most Greeks think that it is perfectly proper procedure for them to bestow a favor upon some official so that he will give their case
662 preference, either in considering it before other cases or in recognizing certain extenuating circumstances in their favor. The law may or may not be abrogated and regular channels set aside, but the irregularities deal quite often with rearrangements and interpretations within the scope of the limits set by the law so that one person gets preferential treatment over others. When one comes face to face with the great number of papers that have to be signed to do even a simple transaction involving governmental authority, one realizes how great is the temptation to bribe or bring to bear some other consideration (such as working through the good graces of a relative of the official) to shorten the red tape and wind up the matter more quickly than usual. Not all officials would condone such measures, but they are subjected to much temptation.

647 A second problem, tied in with the first, is the low compensation which
[465] officials receive in the face of increased living costs. Since many govern-
[464] ment workers cannot live even modestly on their salaries, they take on other commitments. These part-time jobs cause them to slight their full-time government employment, for which supervision is frequently lax.

Insecurity in the job is a third difficulty for many of the higher officials.
[661] The ministries, which in countries like France are run by highly skilled
[645] civil servants no matter how many cabinet ministers come and go, are staffed in Greece by people, many quite capable, who are apt to be swept out of office when a new minister comes in. Many, because of sheer competence and skillful legerdemain, manage to survive from one change of ministers to the next, but are never sure that they will weather the next changeover. In some ministries there have been as many as forty different ministers in six years.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A final difficulty lies in inadequate personnel and equipment to do many of the highly technical governmental tasks as they should be done. Engineers who are responsible for numerous activities in many villages may not have transportation facilities sufficient to visit these villages as often as would be desirable. Those responsible for accounting and fiscal matters may not have sufficient clerical help to keep up with the work load, thereby delaying reports or requests from local governments.[14] 647 65

But despite these difficulties, I would place the crux of the problem of the relationship between local and central government in the attitudes which the officials assume toward villagers and even townspeople. There is something about being an official in Greece that tends to make one officious. The officeholder may not realize this but, as he takes on the roles that go with a new governmental position, he tries to carry an air of authority that does not quite ring true, or else he tries to bolster up his feeling of insecurity by lording it over those who are in some measure under his control. He preserves his own *philotimo*, or self-esteem, by clinging to all the symbols of prestige to the bitter end. I could want no better documentation of this state of affairs than a notice distributed in November 1952 by the Minister of Agriculture, which appeared on the walls of the director of agriculture in Kozane. It read: 647 156 631 647

Mr. Director:

1. Don't forget that we are the servants of the people.
2. Don't forget that your pay comes from the work and the sweat of the people.
3. Please be polite and just to the people and your employees.
4. Keep working hours; do not go away during working hours which are for the public.
5. Reply willingly and quickly to requests and petitions of the people. "Come by tomorrow" is not accepted.

People — Farmers:

1. Do not ask for illegal things but demand your rights.
2. If you do not get your rights or have complaints write to Complaints Office of the Ministry and you will get a quick reply.
3. Even then, if you don't get justice, write directly to me.

Minister of Agriculture, A. Apostolidis

In official Athens, over the past few years, there has been many a tug of war, sometimes silent and sometimes raucous, between those who would decentralize many functions of government to the local units and those who, for a variety of reasons, would maintain strong central control. It is safe to say that those who favor the former course are those who think of government chiefly as an administrative apparatus through which citizens' needs are met. Certainly, many members of the American Mission have 631 647 [177]

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 sought to strengthen the hands of those favoring decentralization in the
647 belief that this would accomplish more with American aid money. On the
[177] other hand, those who favor strong centralization tend to think of government primarily in political rather than administrative terms. They see government as an arena where personalities and parties struggle for the opportunity of directing the affairs of state. They realize that much political power is built on patronage or at least the promise of patronage; they also argue that the political process is built upon compromise and that many administrative practices are established in governmental bureaus to forestall any such compromises. Which group is prompted more by disinterested, public-spirited motives can best be determined by the observer on the spot as different personalities, representing these varying points of view, step onto the stage.

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The Peasant and Politics

Shortly after my arrival in Greece in the fall of 1952, I encountered an interesting case study of the peasant and politics. All over Greece, one September Sunday, the farmers demonstrated against their government. This affair was treated, as one would expect, quite differently by the various Athenian newspapers, but the general tone of argument never got down to the facts of the peasants' grievance but instead haggled over who was responsible for getting them all stirred up.

[204] One newspaper, *Philelevtheros*, under the caption "The Farmers' Plight," wrote:

> There is no Greek who does not admit the rights of the farmers, or the fact that they are, and always were, the most neglected class in this country. Everyone feels the farmers' plight as if it were his own, and they know that Greek society will never stand on its feet as long as the farmer's lot is a miserable one. Their present fate, however, is not the fault of the Government, but is due to a whole century of reactionary rule. The farmers' demonstrations would have
> [665] been even stronger and more genuine if the Rally Party agents had not attempted to exploit them. However, they failed in this attempt.

[204] *Ethnos*, a newspaper representing a rival party, reported under the caption "Farmers' Demonstrations":

> Over the whole of Greece, in all those areas where men strive to get the maximum crop from our not very fertile soil, solid demonstrations were held last Sunday. The farmers were protesting with absolutely justified indignation against the indifference the Government is showing in handling their problems, and the way in which it has withdrawn its promises to them.
>
> In the face of this Pan-Hellenic uprising, the Government, through its comic Minister of Coordination, and through its press, finds nothing better to give in

1:Sanders 2-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

873 tion between this curriculum and the requirements of farming in the village. The peasants recognize this, for they do not send the eldest son, who is to take over the farm, to such a school. Some completing the gymnasium will go on to get a university diploma and will therefore find this curriculum directly related to their needs in many university courses. Others [647] will go no further than the completion of high school, but this will be enough to open up certain government jobs to them.

874 But what of the eldest son who expects to farm? Is his education to stop at the sixth grade? In most cases it does, but there are about eight government agricultural high schools in Greece where boys can go to learn to be better farmers. Some of these government schools admit boys who have finished the fourth grade and others require the sixth grade, but all give those who complete the course through the eighth grade a certificate. [647] Here, again, the graduates are not so much interested in going back to their family's small farm as in going on to government jobs in the Ministry of Agriculture as technicians. In the school in Phlorina one can study horticulture and viticulture; in Kozane winemaking has recently been added to horticulture and viticulture; in Ioannina the emphasis is upon dairying and in Larissa upon cheesemaking and horticulture. The others, in the Peloponnesos and Crete, also stress horticulture and viticulture. In addition to the government schools, there are four private agricultural schools: [177] The American Farm School in Thessalonike,[14] and schools in Konitsa, Amaroussi, and the island of Chios. The two government Superior Schools of Agriculture are near Athens and Thessalonike and rank at the university level.

871 The lower agricultural schools as well as certain technical schools in carpentry, brickmaking, and the like, set up by the King's Institute, are [874] viewed by Greeks as training schools rather than as paths to becoming an educated man. In other words, education in Greece is utilitarian in that its pursuit helps one achieve life goals in the government bureaucracy and the social structure of the country; it is not utilitarian in the sense of preparing one for practical or vocational matters while absorbing at the same time general education from courses in language, history, mathematics, and the like. Greece, in this respect, follows the traditional European pattern.

871 Many Greeks are acutely aware of their educational problems. One 369 monarch told of a move toward closing down some of the classical gymnasiums and putting young people into trade schools. "But this presents problems," he said, "because the boys who finish think they are carpenters or blacksmiths and don't want to go back to the village." He thought the attack upon the flight of the educated people to the cities must begin with the mothers, for it is they who say: "But, son, you have your education; you can't go work in the fields."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Social Class in the Village

The notables just described constitute the village élite; they are at the top of the status system and represent the village's contact with the outside world. If they are originally from outside, they are supposed to possess the qualities that the peasants ascribe to the educated city person. Their reputation in turn is based largely on the traditional classical education which sets them apart from those less fortunate. As one commentator pointed out: "The civil servant or poor lawyer has little out of life other than his prestige. This takes the form of petty autocracy and the assumption of superiority over the nonprofessional classes." Such a person coming to live in the village feels it incumbent upon him to maintain something of a social gulf between him and the peasants, who also share this feeling. But this "assumption of superiority" is in itself not enough. It will wear thin after a while if the individual does not prove himself competent in his job or show an understanding of the problems that the villagers face. Even if he does it arrogantly, he nevertheless must produce some benefits for the villagers. There is a shrewd practicality in the Greek peasant with which any intellectual has to reckon.

554 369 [647] [693]

Those notables who are from the village, whether educated or not, must also possess those qualities stressed locally. To some extent, they have to fit into the value systems of both the city and the village, not favoring one so much that they alienate those subscribing to the other.

Very few studies have been made of the status distinctions in Greek villages, with the result that we cannot prove or disprove the existence of regional differences in ascribing status. In a Greek community, as in an American one, people when asked about class differences will be apt to deny them, claiming, "everybody here is as good as everybody else. We have no class distinctions." But as the questioner probes, he learns that one part of the community is considered a very good residential area and another part very poor; some families are at the very top of the social scale for a variety of reasons, others are generally recognized to be at the bottom, and those in between can be sorted out in a loose way according to the criteria (or social values) prevailing in that place. John Photiadis lists the following as the factors for class distinction in the Macedonian village he studied: education; occupation; money; family name; approved achievement; community activities; origin (whether refugee or not); area of residence. On the basis of these he delineates three classes in a larger-than-average village:

565 [554]

The *upper class* consisting of professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers), tobacco merchants, larger storekeepers, and office managers.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/163 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Aptonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the mud work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, 665
and it was not yet clear that American support would be forth- 669
coming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not 648
strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, 727
while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their 669
opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine 647
of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure [648]
this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in [666]
1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and 647
occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to ex- 661
cessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, [634]
the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Public Life in 1947]

647 tions with higher authority, promote their own careers, and
661 enjoy the amenities of Athenian existence. But in the meantime much that should have been done remained undone.

Senior officials and ministers were harrassed by incredible numbers of papers requiring their signature or countersignature; they were harrassed even more by the crowds of petitioners who stood outside every door and not infrequently pushed their way inside to watch for a chance to seize the great man's attention. Subordinates, on the other hand, seldom would or could take any initiative themselves, but referred everything to higher authority, where the papers added to the jam at the top.

185 Perhaps the greatest weakness of the whole system was that
727 officialdom shared the intellectual and technical deficiencies of
647 the politicians. In the general confusion and pressure of daily
433 business, no one had time or opportunity to try to think in long terms, measure the economic and other needs of the country, and attempt to establish some sort of priority among them, so that a beginning, however modest, could be made toward repairing some of the disbalances and defects of Greek society. Perhaps the magnitude of the problems and the sheer inadequacy of Greek resources to cope with most of them made such calculations impracticable. But it was also true that the officials of the Greek government were not accustomed to thinking in such terms, and tended to assume that problems of this nature should be left to solve themselves by the spontaneous action of private citizens, within the framework of traditional patterns of living. In proportion as the physical and psychological basis of such a traditional framework had been destroyed by the war, this assumption was no longer valid; but few, indeed, in the turmoil of the civil administration realized this fact, and fewer were ready, intellectually or morally, to try to move into the gaps thus created in the social structure, and attempt to put the scattered fragments back into some sort of working order.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Public Life in 1947]

Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never 163
exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have de- 168
clined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of 621
the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic [162] distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people 178x
of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circum- 873
stances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys 464
pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that [647] so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gymnasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as [647] capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gymnasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of 178x
marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 582
583

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left be-
166 hind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one
[369] of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are pre-
[427] pared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

647 One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The
[665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers
[186] that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against
[625] natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the
433 difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[P. 176]

CHAPTER 5

PUBLIC LIFE

Public Administration

● 647 178 A leading official of the American economic mission in Greece said to me, when I asked about the efficiency of Greek administration: "We got absolutely nowhere trying to improve the civil service. It's the same as ever; but then, if all those people were not drawing government salaries, they would be on relief, so perhaps it doesn't make very much difference." The young man had been in Greece for a little more than a year, and during that time it was perhaps true that no very perceptible changes had come to the Greek administrative machine. Over a longer pe-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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riod, however, important changes have taken place. In particular, a group of comparatively youthful economists and statisticians have risen to key posts in many of the ministries, and are able to advise their superiors in the light of a type of professional training and in accordance with intellectual concepts which ten years ago were noticeably absent from the policy-making levels of the Greek civil service. Even if the execution of official policy is not always effective, ideas of what government ought to do and can do and how to go about doing it have undergone radical change. 647 178

Politicians and civil servants of the immediate postwar period in Greece grew up in a time when society and the economy were expected to run themselves, subject only to sporadic official interference. The painful inadequacy of this outlook became apparent in 1947, when the emergency relief and reconstruction undertaken by UNRRA began to taper off before the economy had been restored to running order. In this situation, the Greek government lacked ideas as much as the means with which to try to cope with the problems confronting the country. All too clearly, automatic restoration to something like the prewar social and economic pattern was out of the question. Planning and massive organization of effort by government agencies were still needed if serious collapse was to be avoided. 647 178 433 177

The American aid mission, to be sure, stepped into the gap created by the withdrawal of the British and of UNRRA, and attempted far more energetically than its predecessors to educate Greek administrative personnel to new ways of thinking. Even before 1947, foreigners – mostly American and British – had insisted on making plans for the development of the Greek economy, and a small number of Greeks had been drawn into the attempt. Yet by and large, it was the foreigners who made plans, and the Greeks were consulted afterward. This remained more or less the case until 1950 or 1951; but in propor-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 tion as the Americans reduced the scale of their economic aid
177 after 1952 and withdrew from detailed supervision of the minis-
[433] tries, the task of making plans was transferred to Greek hands.
[178] Some senior Greek civil servants, veterans from 1945 and 1946, welcomed the new scope and authority thus entrusted to them; but in the main the men who inherited the new role were not the same persons who ten or even five years before had occupied leading positions in the Greek civil service. Between 1947 and 1952, when American advisers were introduced into nearly all Greek ministries, these impatient foreigners were able to play a major part in determining promotions and key personnel assignments within the ministries. Many a young American economist found himself at first dealing with men much older than himself, men whose ideas often had little relation to those he had imbibed during graduate training in some American university. This regularly led to serious friction, for senior Greek officials were not much inclined to go to school to cocksure youths scarcely more than half their own age. But bright young men could be found in the lower ranks of the civil service who either already shared the concepts of their American counterparts or quickly acquired some familiarity with them. Many such men were sent to the United States for additional technical training, or visited Washington to observe American administrative methods at first hand.

These persons naturally seemed to the Americans to be just the type to run things; and the voice of an American adviser was sufficiently powerful to secure rapid advancement for men he favored. In this fashion a new generation of officials came rapidly to the fore within the Greek ministries, while many of their former superiors were shunted off to unimportant posts or else retired.

647 By 1956, therefore, the economic ministries of the Greek civil
433 service were sprinkled with men of a quite new type, some-
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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times of high ability and energy, many of them well at home in the language of post-Keynesian economics. A national statistical service was organized to provide them with data for their calculations; and innumerable plans and surveys were made, priorities agreed upon, and projects for future expansion worked out in varying degrees of detail. 647 433 178

Two aims dominated most of the planning of these men. One was to improve the country's balance of payments, partly by producing goods domestically that had hitherto been imported, and partly by developing new exports (especially minerals) or enlarging old ones. The second general aim was to expand employment. Military considerations figured only indirectly in their calculations, and helping political and personal friends or penalizing opponents played almost no role at all. This was a great departure, for in the prewar years, whatever economic planning the Greek government had undertaken was heavily colored by these calculations, and paid little attention to broader aims which were assumed to be beyond deliberate manipulation. [661]

Conversations with representatives of this rising group of civil servants gave me the impression that they were more buoyantly optimistic about the future of Greece than the American economists in the aid mission. Greek economic planners were not much inclined to worry about inflation and disbalanced government budgets: they wanted to see new dams, irrigation canals, factories and mines, and felt that if inflation was the easiest way to finance the internal costs of such construction, then inflation was preferable to standing still and waiting until private savings or a government surplus was on hand to pay for the new investment. I also gained the impression that they felt themselves embarked upon a new adventure: striving for conscious management of the direction and pace of economic growth on a nation-wide basis. Moreover, they found

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 433 178 the game of manipulating the levers from behind the scenes a fascinating and entirely absorbing enterprise – advising ministers, talking back to the Americans, and, as they hoped, saving their country from age-old poverty and hopelessness.

Whether their optimism was well founded, and whether or not the priorities the Greeks have decided upon are the best, seem to me a good deal less important than the fact that such a spirit was abroad at all. Mistakes have been made, and will almost surely be made in the future; but the great mistake which paralyzed the government of Greece in the first postwar years – the mistake of not knowing what to do, of having no policy but one of inaction, of waiting for things to pick up by themselves – this mistake at least will not be made as long as the new generation of civil servants remains as a leaven in the economic ministries, and ministers accept their advice. This is a great change from 1945 or 1946, one for which the American economic mission can take a major share of the credit.

647 178 The transformation of the upper ranges of the bureaucracy in the central ministries in Athens was only faintly reflected in the lower ranks in 1956. In general, a petty official sitting behind his desk continued to exhibit a displeasing servility toward his superiors (at least to their faces) and a corresponding hauteur in dealing with mere members of the public. The besetting weakness of Greek administration has been the unwillingness of superiors to delegate much responsibility to their subordinates, and this feature seemed as strong as ever. Busywork, created by passing papers over a long series of desks for approval or initialing, up and again down the hierarchy of rank, was a feature of many government offices, so much so that it was hard not to believe that official routings had been designed to keep a lot of people occupied rather than to get decisions made. It was this feature of Greek administration that the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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American economist of the aid mission had in mind when he 178
declared that nothing had changed in the civil service.

In dealing with the public, Greek civil servants often gave a 647
most unfavorable impression. Aside from the airs they assumed 661
as representatives of authority and power, they frequently seemed not in the least concerned to help an individual solve a problem or attain something to which he was legally entitled. Instead, petty details of paper work – making application with all the correct verbiage on sheets of paper of the right size for easy filing, and so on – these were what seemed to matter; and I felt, more than once, that when an official found some flaw in the papers submitted to him, he took a certain pleasure in rejecting them and ordering the applicant to return some other time with the red tape properly tinted.

Correctness in details of this sort did, of course, assist in making clerical routine easy, but this was not, I feel sure, the compelling motive. Rather, insistence upon jots and tittles protected a subordinate from criticism by his superior, and at the same time gave him a satisfying sense of his own power as against the public.

On the other hand, when an important man – that is, some- 647
one with connections higher up – came along, he claimed and 662
received very special treatment. He was privileged to follow his papers into the inner sanctums of senior officials, thus making sure that prompt action was taken on them. Obstacles were smoothed over and procedural rules were sometimes suspended for a man with influential friends. Foreigners often, though not [609]
always, were given the same sort of red-carpet treatment, and were accorded privileges and deference withheld from ordinary Greeks.

When a private person had business with a government agency, he would first try to find someone who knew someone

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 662 in the office concerned, in order to open a door for prompt and courteous service by means of private communication. As a result, a comparatively small number of persons whose social position or family connections gave them an inside track enjoyed a great advantage in dealings with officialdom, while the poor and friendless could hardly regard the government machine as anything but an obstacle between themselves and their legal rights.

647 661 The idea that officials should be public servants rather than public masters has never been firmly rooted in modern Greece. Byzantine and Turkish tradition, transformed according to Bavarian and then German models, shaped the civil service; and the fact that educated persons regard themselves as elevated far above their ignorant fellows has reinforced and perpetuated the old dichotomy between official and subject.

647 661 662 It must be said that the fault has not lain entirely with the civil servants. The ordinary private citizen in Greece is prone to look upon the government as his natural enemy – a group of men who are out to tax him and interfere with what he wants to do. It follows that almost any device to foil the agents of the government is considered legitimate – deceit, lying, bribery or just the exertion of "influence." Indeed, almost all Greeks entertain a kind of admiration for a man who is clever or bold or lucky enough to get around the law and the bureaucracy. Sense of duty to public authorities and laws has never been very strong in the country. More than most nations, the Greeks remain anarchists and individualists at heart; and rather high-handed methods, together with rigid punctiliousness in matters of red tape, is a natural and perhaps almost inevitable official response to such public attitudes.

647 663 177 654 A few segments of the bureaucracy, however, were making serious efforts to serve the public. The most conspicuous of these were the agricultural extension agents, whose contacts

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

647 663 [177] [654] [657]

Another administrative change, and one which produced highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the reinvigoration of local government. During the war and afterward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

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The system did not always work smoothly – witness Cherasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Cherasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current running expenses and to finance a modest program of government capital investment proved far more palatable politically, even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped nations in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of political debate and the planning of technicians in the economic ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political process by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians. 647 177 433 663

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus? 648 668

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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668 and then destroy the parliamentary machinery and civil liberty in favor of Communist dictatorship.

668 In 1956 these things were not apparent. Communism was not
648 an issue; Cyprus had replaced it, and the Communist party had officially endorsed the Cyprus struggle over the radio. No one admitted to being a Communist, since to do so would have been a short way to jail. The people seemed quite genuinely glad to be relieved of the long preoccupation with the Communist question, and to find a cause upon which everyone could unite. This was, indeed, one of the reasons why Cyprus was such a heart-warming cause for the Greeks. Everyone, no matter what his opinions on domestic issues, was behind the Cypriotes. The Greeks had not known what it was to be united on an important public issue since the time of the Albanian war in 1940. Yet if Communists and nationalists were to quarrel in Cyprus, a possibility of which there were already some convincing signs in the summer of 1956, then the Communist question would emerge again in Greece with new bitterness, as each side sought to blame the other for the disruption of the Cypriote struggle.

66 In any analysis such as this it is easy to overemphasize the instability and insecurity of Greek political affairs. Certainly Greek politics are unstable, and the parliamentary regime in Greece is insecure. But it is well to remember that these conditions are not new. Exactly the same could be said of the political scene at any time since 1909, when the current phase of modern Greek political life began. The Greeks have learned to
[829] live with such conditions, and even manage to derive lively ex-
[521] hilaration from the perpetual uncertainty of their politics. Without politics, what would there be to talk about in the cafés?

•647 The things that are new in Greek public life attract little pub-
829 lic attention. The man in the street and in the village coffee

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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house still takes pleasure in denouncing the inefficiency and stupidity of officialdom, and understands little if anything of the calculations and plans of the small group of civil servants who are busily trying to build a new future for the country. Their success is certainly not assured, but the fact that such men exist in the government opens the best prospect Greece has seen in more than a generation for the eventual attainment of social stability and secure economic progress. In the last chapter some observations will be made upon the probability of such an outcome.

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[pp 209-240 not processed]

8:Steph.Pride-- [illegible] Y 3 [illegible] 1933 1939 1941 FH [illegible] FH1
Meg.h Vill.

/57 cont./

of the outstanding institution in the village which guides the people in keeping accounts and in taking active part in appointing officers every year. 241 474 [621]

The yearly meeting of the cooperative lasts 2 days and all the men who served in the army take active part. After the committee presents its accounts and accomplishments and its future program, a discussion starts from different members either praising or criticizing the work of the existing committee. Different proposals for improvement are made and finally it ends with a vote for a new committee of six. During these two days of discussion people learn from each other how to judge and evaluate certain deeds of the cooperative.

The government, understanding the importance of the cooperative has organized the Ministry of Cooperatives /58/ under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The effect of the cooperative on the people is great not only on the economic life but also on their social life as well. It draws the people close together and they think not in terms of their immediate needs but of their future welfare. [647]

Every year the cooperative sends two students to the high school, gives prizes to the farmers that raise good seed and better animals, gives financial aid to the poor, and helps the infirm or sick to go to hospitals. These are signs of the role the cooperative can play in the near future. [741]

Besides unifying the whole village into an economic unit and becoming a center of spreading higher ideals among the people its powers at the present are restricted due to the lack of experienced men with foresight. There are possibilities for one to do more in devising community programs by working with the cooperative. [621]

Farm Techniques. The biblical type of farming is still the kind that yields the greater returns with the least cost. The animal power is composed of oxen with a yoke and an iron plow. The wooden plow still has its /59/ blessings for certain soils. In soil 241 [492] [407]

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101 13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[433] [243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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these views during the last century and the early part of this century, when the struggle for independence was reverberating through Epirus, Macedonia, and other areas frequented by these nomads.

A detached assessment of the situation, and yet one without much tangible evidence to support it, would place these Wallachians as descended from Balkanites of Roman times, who were Latinized by colonists, army garrisons, or some other continued type of association. When the Slavs came pushing into the Balkans during the sixth century, the Wallachians retreated to the mountain areas and continued (or took up) sheep raising and remained relatively unmolested. Since they could not wrest an adequate living from their barren surroundings, many of the men found it necessary to migrate elsewhere for work. Some were gone many years, and some would go away for only part of the year, but almost all of them learned some trade, becoming important as builders and artisans all over the Balkans. Of even greater importance was their role as caravan owners and drivers. They raised not only sheep but many horses which they concentrated at certain points such as Thessalonike, loaded them with merchandise, and conveyed the goods through well-defined routes to Vienna or down to the Adriatic. Considerable wealth was amassed in this way. Some of their settlements two hundred years ago — for example, Moschopolis in present-day Albania — were centers of culture and wealth. With the coming of railroads, their caravans were no longer so necessary; and with the growing unrest in the Balkans during the past hundred years, free passage from one country to another was increasingly difficult. Although the various treaties following the Balkan wars and World War I provided for the free movement of these nomads from one country to another, particularly with their flocks, the borders had in effect been closed to them even before the start of World War II.

This, in a brief and general way, is the background of these Vlach nomads. In the days under the Turks, early in the century, when Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece were claiming large chunks of Macedonia, each tried to make a case for large groupings of its own people. The Vlachs, chiefly Greek Orthodox in religion and with a knowledge of Greek as well as their own Romance language, were claimed by the Greeks as their own. Many Vlachs agreed with this, despite the appeals made by Rumanians to the contrary.

My chief contacts with the Koutso-Vlachs during 1953 were in Metsovo, one of their most celebrated villages, and along the roads of Greece. On the road between Arta and Ioannina, for example, one bold young shepherd girl named Maria, seeing women (my wife and the interpreter) in the car with me, asked for a ride. She was Koutso-Vlach and was on a nine-day trip back to the summer village in the mountains which she considered her permanent home. We passed some of her companions leading

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

supporting Greek version of "Standing on the Corner, Watching All the Girls Go By."

Or, in Northern Greece and the Grammos Mountains, one would find in the village of Kotili, with about six hundred people, that there were two shops which sold cigarettes and coffee.[8] A score of the men, in addition to being farmers and shepherds, were woodworkers; another score were masons, and one was a cobbler. That represented the specialization of that village, since all the other men were farmers-shepherds-laborers. But it is at coffeehouses such as those in Kotili, close by the border, that one gains an insight into the real meaning of Balkan politics. For here the older villagers will tell the visitor of the days back in the first decade of the century when Bulgarian *komitadjis*, while the area was still under Turkey, came to try to persuade the people to join the Bulgarian cause. But the people remained loyal to the orders of their church authorities and resisted the efforts of the Bulgarians to enroll their local children in special schools or to enlist the adults in a premature revolt against the Turks. As one listens to the stories of violence and national struggle, the surrounding mountains which at first seemed peaceful begin to assume a brooding look. And one learns that national traditions are preserved and passed on in the coffeehouse, with the old men telling the eager young men of the price that was paid to keep them Greek.

Vamvakia, on the Serrai plains, provides a final illustration of the combined variety shop–coffeehouse.[9] This village, too, numbers about six hundred people and has as its only business a cheese-making establishment and three coffeehouses. There is also one carriage maker who farms as well. The merchandise for the shops is brought from Serrai by the bus driver, who takes in the orders and brings back the supplies for a small fee. These coffeehouses are of brick and clay-mud construction and have the usual equipment of small tables and chairs. Two of them have battery radios for the entertainment of the customers. Coffee is the usual beverage, while ouzo and soda drinks (in summer) are also popular. Spoon sweets, such as vanilla or fruit preserves, are often sold.

We may conclude, therefore, that in most villagers of less than a thousand people one will generally find coffeehouses of the combined variety-shop type. Although the women may now and then view them as shops, the men almost invariably think of them as coffeehouses. This social function outweighs any economic function they might possess.

As size increases, say to more than a thousand people, the variety shops and grocery stores become separate establishments and the coffeehouse devotes itself almost exclusively to serving beverages. This is what most Greeks would consider the typical village coffeehouse, although the relative numbers of each kind are not known.

The specialized coffeehouses can frequently accommodate fifty to seventy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[XVI]

Social Change in Rural Greece

The Greek social spectrum, the rainbow in the rock, is losing some of its hues today. This occurs as regions of Greece, despite their traditional social differences, adjust to common changes engulfing the whole country. The fact of change is accepted by all, but the evaluation of specific kinds of change (in family life, economic development, political trends) varies with the position of the person passing judgment. For most villagers, changes — at least those they want — are not occurring fast enough. When I had sorted out and studied their comments, which usually dealt with some facet of change, past or present, I found that the experiences they related could be grouped under three general types: the *cataclysmic* change caused by some great social or natural upheaval; the changes resulting from *social drift*, or the slower spread of unplanned change as new ways moved from town to village; and the *planned* change, most frequently sponsored by government agencies in an effort to raise the level of living in the villages.[1] 178

Cataclysmic Change

Almost every generation of Greeks has experienced some social dislocation accompanying a war or, at least, armed encounters. The present adult population has had more than its share. While the country was busy with the tasks of assimilating the northern provinces, wrested from Turkey in 178 648 727

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World
●648 War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied
727 an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed
[728 to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as
167] a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [3] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

178 In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appre-
167 ciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially
727 one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[4] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encom-
[177] pass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 305]

XVII

Social Consequences of Foreign Aid

This excursion through the Greek countryside should have shown that all change, whether in the guise of foreign aid or not, has definite social consequences. Social relationships as well as economic sectors are affected. Nor are these social consequences simply political in character; they go much deeper into the social structure. This should not seem mysterious, although it is often overlooked, for any program of economic development or political reconstruction has to work through people, through their social organization as it exists or as it is being fashioned anew. Despite this truism, and the fact that the economic and political aspects of foreign aid have been dramatically debated and ably analyzed by competent scholars, the social consequences are still *terra incognita* to many American specialists abroad. Furthermore, foreign aid, by its very nature, is designed not to maintain the status quo but to promote social change.

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Foreign Aid Means Social Change

For anyone who is thinking through a philosophy of social change, the Greek experience is significant. It was a battleground between Western and Communist ideology and between conflicting loyalties. Here, through the Truman Doctrine, the United States intervened to influence the outcome, and succeeded. But the military defeat of the Communist-led guerrilla forces

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 648 was not enough: American dollars and American specialists came into the country — one might almost say they inundated the country — to improve health programs, statistical services, transportation routes, agriculture, homemaking, educational facilities, social welfare, foreign trade, and industry. Some idea of the extent of the financial cost is gained from a simple calculation: if Greece had received one million dollars a year since the time of Alexander the Great, the amount received would not quite equal the approximately two and one-half billion dollars received since World War II. Greece is often cited as the prize exhibit of the United States in the cold-war struggle. While such a presentation often overlooks the great contribution that the Greek people themselves made to their own recovery, as well as the help received from Britain and numerous international agencies and organizations, Americans were indubitably the chief agents of change in the sense of providing specialized knowledge about many facets of life. From Greece, many of these same specialists went on to Taiwan, Viet Nam, and other underdeveloped, or formerly colonial, areas where American technical assistance was in demand.

000 This is not surprising, nor was it entirely a matter of choice. The United States and other Western societies are forced into being agents of change by at least two major features of our way of life: one is our dynamic Western economy, which can no more operate effectively within a political boundary than spilled water can be contained by lines drawn on a table; the other feature is the explosive quality of the political and social ideas which we have inherited from our founding fathers and which we have implemented sufficiently to show the great promise which their further realization would bring. Around the world, words such as democracy, equality, freedom, brotherhood, progress are magic symbols to peoples awaking from centuries of life in a traditional mold and now part of the great "revolution of rising expectations." Our businessmen, financiers, and industrialists are developing world-wide economic perspectives, not because they necessarily want to but because they have to. They also know that in their foreign operations whatever location they choose, what they manufacture or extract from the earth, how they organize the activity, training, and benefits they give their workers, how much they contribute in taxes to local governments — all of these considerations and many more make them agents of change and, in that sense, constitute interference.

As for the revolutionary ideas now spreading to many shores, we can identify many of them as American or Western and should be deeply concerned with the interpretations that they receive. These interpretations go back to a foreign society's immediate experience with our armed forces abroad, the older teachings and examples of Western missionaries, the educational and cultural exchanges which expose future leaders of other countries, often while immature, to the good and bad points of our way of life.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

369 [177] [467] serves special commendation. They provided for the Greek labor leaders a type of training which not only made them more effective officials but which also instilled a sense of responsibility in many of them. A similar type of training was not held for the new managers of industries being created with funds furnished by the United States.

Finally, the newcomer to the city has to develop a self-discipline which was not necessary in a village where intimate social controls were so permeating. To hold a job, one must live by certain rules and routines; to keep out of trouble with the police or with neighbors in a workers' apartment house, one must respect the rights of others; to receive promotions, one must add to one's knowledge and skills or else win the favor of those in positions of superiority. It is in these connections that adult-education courses or people's universities (for the working class) serve a useful purpose, even though reaching only a fraction of the eligible population. To visit these classes and to watch daily laborers, some born in the city and others in the villages, strive for more education makes one aware of the changes being ushered in on every hand in these developing countries.

From Subject to Citizen

641 [648] Almost every developing country has within its recent memory the fact of liberation from some outside power. The more than four centuries of Turkish rule have left their imprint on Greek local government, as have the heroic episodes connected with the Greek war of independence. Other countries, more recently liberated, have even more vivid memories of what it means to be a subject whose political fate is decided at the seat of an empire far removed from the subject's homeland.

[177] One purpose of our foreign-aid program, at least as enunciated by some of the most authoritative American spokesmen, is to help establish democratic forms of government wherever people can be found who are receptive to this development. But democracy as we conceive it calls for an enlightened citizenry, conscious of the fact that much sovereignty resides in its hands and that regularly scheduled elections provide an opportunity to express its will. It also assumes that governmental leaders will be aware of and responsive to the rise and fall of public opinion about crucial issues.

It is appropriate to ask, therefore, what the necessary conditions are for the shift of an individual from the position of a subject to that of a citizen. Once this is understood, its connection with a foreign-aid program becomes apparent. Again, observations of the Greek scene help us to understand other areas.

The first condition which usually, though not invariably, comes about is the rise of nationalism and the identification of an individual with a larger political entity. Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villagers, which in the developing countries means that they are not

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of Octo-
[292] ber), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in
[541] 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some
[535] of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

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When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver- 788
headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral
church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that [346]
surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his
charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all [346]
who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's 262
cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of 785
the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans.
I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis. [485]

The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a 796
quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel
in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of 793
Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After 795
the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its
villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian 648

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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

As of Orthodox Christendom in general, so of the Church of Greece in particular, it may be said that the monastic life has been of quite unique importance in shaping her life and piety. This is no less true of the long centuries of the captivity than of the earlier and more formative ages of her history. Even to-day, when the monasteries are subject to widespread criticism, the ancient traditions of monastic spirituality persist and sometimes reveal themselves most unmistakably in precisely those circles where hostility toward the existing institutions—especially in their more idiorrhythmic forms—is most evident and outspoken. It needs to be remembered that the first stirrings of the new missionary spirit, which has had so notable an effect upon the Greek Church within the space of the last 100 years, centre upon the great monastery of Megaspelaion in the Peloponnese, and that Eusebius Matthopoulos, the founder of the Brotherhood of Life, was himself a monk of this convent, steeped in the ascetic traditions of his Church.

"There is no place where the *Greek* Religion is professed", says Rycaut, "so famous for Monasteries as that of Mount *Athos*; and indeed if we consider the number of them, and of the Religious belonging thereunto, it is not to be parallel'd in all the world . . . the grand Conservatory of the Christian Religion in *Greece*, and ancient austerity of living, and therefore not unaptly stiled by them *Ἅγιον ὄρος*, or the *Holy Mountain* . . . the high Pique or Peer whereof . . . is uneven, craggy, and as horrid as Caucasus."

Athos remains, after more than 1,000 years, the heart of Greek monasticism. Isolated and aloof, the life of the holy mountain moves to a slow rhythm which is as little susceptible of change or alteration as the constant surge of the waters about the rocky promontory, in whose narrow clefts and ledges the anchorites roost like wild sea fowl. In Greece one can never wholly escape from the all-pervading influence of Athos. One is always dimly aware of the holy mountain, brooding over the dark waters of the Aegean, its head wrapped in the clouds. At the very heart of fashionable Athens one may encounter a student-deacon from the *sketai* of St. Anne, or a stately *epitropos* in silken gown bound for the offices of the Holy Synod.

Thanks to its isolation, Athos suffered comparatively little from the ravages of war—though many monks endured imprisonment and ill-treatment, and considerable damage was done to monastic properties scattered about the mainland of northern Greece. The Communist revolution in Russia and the subsequent division of Europe into two

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792 hostile camps have, however, already gone far towards transforming the
648 holy mountain into a purely Hellenic preserve, and threaten wholly to deprive it of the pan-Orthodox character which it yet retains, despite the fact that for many years now every monk has been required to adopt Greek nationality. Three of the twenty ruling monasteries—St. Panteleimon, Zographou and Chilandari—are non-Hellenic convents, being Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian respectively. In former days these monasteries were amongst the wealthiest on the mountain; St. Panteleimon, in particular, with its numerous dependencies—some of the latter far larger than any other ruling monastery—could boast of more monks than were to be found in all the other convents together. All these alien monasteries, however, were dependent mainly upon the produce of lands which now lie behind the iron curtain, and to-day, cut off as they are from their sources both of supply and of recruitment, they are in a most melancholy condition.

Of all the thousands of Russian monks who once inhabited the holy mountain scarcely 300 remain. The majority of these are aged and infirm: many of them physically incapable of cultivating the vegetables, olives and vineyards which now form the monastery's only means of support. It is now more than thirty-five years since the monks have been cut off from their own land. A certain amount of assistance continued to reach Athos from the Russian community in Jerusalem, but this also has ceased since the property became subject to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate. With the passing of the years the position of the alien monasteries becomes more and more desperate, as the list of invalids grows longer, and fewer and fewer hands are available for the support of those who can no longer work; and greatly as one may regret the fact, the day seems not far distant when Athos will become a purely Hellenic community.

792 Mount Athos apart, the organised religious life has come very near
792 to complete suppression in northern and central Greece during the last
727 few years. I have already said something of the sufferings of the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. The fortunes of two or three other important monasteries are not without a certain melancholy interest.

Take, for example, the ancient convent of Eikosiphoinisses, which
[361] traces its foundation to the second decade of the sixth century: a vast walled enclosure on the wooded slopes of Mount Pangaion, accessible only by mule-tracks winding high above the marshes of Philippi. It is said that there were some fifty monks inhabiting the convent at the

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created as it were out of nothing. Everywhere these institutions were hastily improvised in the face of desperate and clamorous necessity, and, more often than not, maintained with a heroic disregard for the universal lack of material resources, and a courage worthy of a St. Vincent de Paul. 727 794

In almost every diocese the bishop bore a heavy responsibility in this work of relief. Nearly always he exercised a close personal supervision over the various institutions which had come into being in response to the need of a people driven, for the second time within less than ten years, from their homes and lands; over the *estia* where for several years milk was distributed daily to thousands of refugee children; the *paidikos stathmos* where infants were cared for during the day; the distribution of clothing, black stuff for cassocks, soap, cocoa, macaroni, beans, sugar, boots and shoes—all the multiplicity of urgently needed supplies with which a host of relief organisations, societies, British and American towns and villages, and private benefactors sought to succour the people of Greece in their distress. [648]

At Siderokastro, for example, the Metropolitan (who as assistant bishop of Salonica was an ardent supporter of the work of the Near East Foundation during the period between the wars), founded a small hospital where poor families could receive free medical attention, as well as a remarkable school of housekeeping for girls of marriageable age. Like all the Macedonian 'despots', the Bishop was president of the local branch of the national relief organisation known as P.I.K.P.A., and supervised the two centres from which milk and cocoa were issued daily to thousands of refugee children from the villages of his diocese. [657] [793]

At Edessa, in western Macedonia, the Metropolitan founded, shortly after the end of the occupation, an orphanage for twenty-five boys. This was originally situated in a house on the outskirts of the town, but during the heavy fighting at Epiphany, 1949—when Naoussa, a few kilometres to the southward, was sacked by the Communists and more than 600 of its inhabitants carried away captive to the mountains —this building was extensively damaged and rendered almost uninhabitable. The Bishop then established his orphans under the care of a monk in a dilapidated Turkish house next to the metropolis, and this was subsequently transformed into a permanent orphanage. Not content with this, the Bishop proceeded to found two further orphanages attached to nearby monasteries, as soon as the district was sufficiently tranquil [669] [792]

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159 to be tilled and seed to be sown and a score of sheep to be cared for,
793 as well as an occasional expedition to Trikkala. Fourteen years slipped by: there were good harvests and bad; once a blight fell on the vineyards and once the bishop rode out from Trikkala and preached in the village church where, since the death of his father, Constantinos Photis had been the chief singer. The people of Palaiochori heard few sermons; they worked and prayed, sinned and repented; danced in the square on warm Sunday afternoons and argued about the doings of the great world beyond the mountains as they sipped their ouzo in the village tavern.

In 1937 the parish priest died. The elders of the village debated the question of a worthy successor—and who more suitable than the carpenter, Constantinos Photis? A man universally respected among his fellows for his uprightness and integrity; who knew the intricacies of the Venetian service-books with a familiarity such as could come only from long experience. Polycarp, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, willingly acquiesced in the village's choice of a pastor, and Constantinos Photis, the carpenter, went off one day to Trikkala (after a short stay in a nearby monastery) and returned clad in black gown and *kalymmafchion* as 'Papa Costas'. Back in Palaiochori, life went on much as before. The village priest now wore a cassock of the same indigo homespun in which he had been clad from infancy. There was the same pattern of feast and fast, of eucharist and office; and though an occasional wedding or funeral now broke the regular rhythm of the carpenter's life and the former *psaltes* had a different liturgy to perform on Sundays and holy days, it was one with whose least detail he had long been familiar. The tools in the workshop were not permitted to rust, and the vegetables and the vines, the twenty sheep and the pigs, needed no less attention now that their owner wore a cassock and addressed his wife as *Papadia*.

159 Early in 1941 the Germans poured into Greece. For many months
793 the mountain villages of Pindos, remote from the lines of communica-
tion, were scarcely affected by the occupation which, even at that period,
●648 brought such acute suffering and privation to the townsfolk and to the
722 villages of the plains. As guerrilla activity became increasingly widespread, however, German and Italian troops were employed in a series of reprisal raids upon the undefended villages lying north and south of a road which connects the Thessalian plain with Epirus by way of the Metsovo pass.

One day early in November, 1943, several hundred soldiers descended

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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upon Palaiochori. The people fled to the forest and watched helplessly while the invaders set fire to their homes and slaughtered their animals. When at length they withdrew the whole valley was shrouded in smoke: the incendiaries had done their work only too thoroughly. The church of St. Bessarion—the most prominent building in the village—had been amongst the first to be set on fire. When Papa Costas and a few companions ventured down from the mountainside to make a cautious reconnaissance they found nothing save the blackened walls and a great pile of charred timbers. The school, just below the parish church, was likewise completely gutted, and more than forty of the village's seventy-odd houses were irreparably damaged. The parsonage, a somewhat more substantial edifice than most of its neighbours—a monument to the professional skill of its builder—had resisted the first attempts of the incendiaries, and before the flames had thoroughly obtained a hold Papa Costas and his sons had come scrambling down from amongst the trees, and the building—though badly damaged—was not utterly destroyed. Amongst the smoking ruins of another cottage was found the body of an old woman who had been unable to make good her escape. Every animal in the village had been slaughtered.

After this catastrophe the people of Palaiochori took refuge in Kalambaka—already crammed with refugees from a score of similarly stricken villages—and there, in the shadow of the great rocks, they remained until 1945. In January and February of that year they went back to the village that had become a wilderness. During the first few months after their return home there was tremendous activity at the sawmill and in Papa Costas' workshop. No sooner had a sufficient number of cottages been rendered habitable than the parish priest turned his attention to the church. With the assistance of his elder son and a score of willing if unskilled helpers, the requisite timber was cut and shaped; and soon—though the church was without vestments and Papa Costas had with difficulty been able to procure copies of a few of the most indispensable liturgical books—there was at least a roof to the building and it was no longer necessary for the people to stand for long hours without protection against wind and snow whilst the holy mysteries were celebrated. Then the school was re-roofed, and as summer gave place to autumn the regular pattern of village life began to reassert itself—though Papa Costas no longer had twenty sheep and there were no more than three pack-animals available for the whole community.

But security was short-lived. The following year brought wandering

GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

mean a making—or that the other "Garments and Accoutrements" of the clergy are "very Glorious and different". The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings. 793 292 727

The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred. [648]

During the winter of 1949–50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves. [669]

The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

> In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askue even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various 793 292 186

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Simi-
184 larly, in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peas-
369 ants toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain
with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next
[243] field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long,
161 least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost
648 continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to 1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons. 563

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export. 433 13 433 [439] [241]

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks. [505] [651] [464] [505]

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since 648

648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, [369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families com- [162] prised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total [434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families [464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, [463] perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

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large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant 361
farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little 166
outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the 464
plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less 178
and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between 433
hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets.

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, 167
especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a 464
geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from 178
home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek 433
emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one [191]
of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture.

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration [648]
which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[701] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially
[625] road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

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669 thoroughly in harmony with the "popular front" tactics inculcated by international Communist policy. When British intervention in 1944 prevented the resistance forces from seizing power in Greece, the rank and file of those who had supported the Communists during the war had little reason to distrust their leaders, since the Communists had not had time or opportunity to carry through the revolution they hoped for.

[648]

669 As a result, when in 1946 international Communist policy again mobilized the energies of the Greek Communist party to begin a new guerrilla war, Communist organizers found little difficulty in winning the sympathy and support of the same social groups that had participated in the wartime resistance movement. The hill villages were prepared to send their young men into the guerrilla ranks for the same reasons as before. Liberation had not brought prosperity, and without prosperity in the cities and plains, life in the hills was very hard. Hence the Communists found it easy to create guerrilla bands in all the mountainous regions of the country.

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In the most obvious sense, both of these recent guerrilla movements failed. Their leaders were killed or driven from the country, and the government remained in other hands. Yet in another sense, it must be recognized that the imprint of the two guerrilla enterprises upon the attitudes of the hill villages of Greece has been deep, and seems likely to last a long time.

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Basically, what the Communists achieved was to convince nearly everyone in the villages that the traditional way of living was no longer even to be wished for and striven after. Instead, they held out fascinating and quite unrealizable dreams of bathtubs and electric refrigerators for all. Or rather, they held this out as an ultimate goal, and offered in the more immediate future a life of activity, violence and dedication — a life that at least seemed to have significance and purpose and hope. These were just what the average young man or woman

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cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping 578
of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present- 669
day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of
the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in [178]
the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the bal- 669
ance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of
the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. [703]
Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Com- 669
munist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by fina- 648
cial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was 433

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669 sure that aid would come, or if it came that it would arrive soon
648 enough and in large enough quantity to turn the tide. Yet for-
433 eign aid was clearly needed if the Communist guerrillas were to be stopped. Without it, the government could scarcely hope to maintain its army for long. More than that, the fabric of the civil economy could not stand by itself, especially when guerrilla raids and road mines made transport and communication unsafe.

727 Apart from the military and diplomatic aspects, there was
648 another and more fundamental sense in which the morale of the government and of the conservative classes was damaged. The general ideas and presuppositions of the non-Communist politicians and their supporters were badly shaken by the course of events in the immediate postwar period. Their general assumption had been that once the Germans had withdrawn and a transition period of special emergency had been passed through, then the society and economy of Greece would return of themselves to something like stability and the prewar pattern. Yet now the Germans had departed, UNRRA had come and gone (save for a small rear guard), and still there was no stability and no security. Far less was there any prospect of prosperity.

The upheaval of the war years had in fact been too drastic to permit any automatic return to normal. But the political lead-
[661] ers of the country, all of whom had grown up in a world where government economic policy and administration were conceived in terms of doing favors for one's friends and withholding them from one's opponents, had no idea how to cope with the disturbed and unhappy society entrusted to their guidance. No idea, that is, except to ask for help from Britain or the United States.

[665] The politicians could scarcely be accused of not having done their part to bring things back to normal. During the brief res-

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pite between the time when British troops had suppressed the wartime guerrilla army in December 1944, and the resumption of the guerrilla war in the summer of 1946, the politicians resumed the prewar game of politics with an exemplary faithfulness to old customs and methods. Two of the principal figures of Greek politics, Sophocles Venizelos and Constantine Tsaldaris, carried family names that had been illustrious in the twenties and thirties, and owed their leadership more to their names than to any personal attributes. Quarrels between royalists and republicans, which dated back to the first world war, remained the principal line of demarcation between rival groups of politicians; and demands for territorial expansion at the expense of the defeated powers – primarily Bulgaria – remained a major stock-in-trade of political oratory, and the best antidote the political leaders could find for the discontent and unrest of the nation. This, after all, had been the dominant theme in the career of the great Eleftherios Venizelos, who had almost doubled Greek territory between 1912 and 1919, and even for a dizzy moment seemed to have the old Byzantine capital of Constantinople within his grasp. And how could any politician hope to improve on Venizelist models?

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Fame and fortune had always been the stuff and substance of a political career; special favors to friends and supporters had always been the means by which power was sustained; parties had always been fragile coalitions of ambitious public men who combined for a longer or shorter time under the leadership of one of their number, only to scatter and re-form in some new constellation when the restless striving for place and position dictated a change.

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To be sure, even before the war, extensive social legislation had been enacted, and the idea that the government was somehow responsible for maintaining the welfare of the population at large was not unknown. But such measures were conceived

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665 whom to fight, and a hope for the future. None of the old-line
727 political parties or leaders could do any of these things nearly so effectively.

665 Only the inner circle of the Greek Communist party was di-
669 rectly affected by the very real fissure between what may be called "home grown" and "Russian" Communists. The rank and file of party members and sympathizers were perhaps scarcely aware of any such tensions, and accepted without any special notice the transfer of authority over the Greek Communist party from the hands of George Siantos, who had led it during the war years, to those of Nicholas Zachariades, who had spent the war in a German concentration camp. Yet this shift, accomplished in May 1945, represented the assertion of control by leaders trained and directed by Moscow, as against the more independent "home grown" leadership which Siantos had embodied.

In any case, this fissure was only of potential importance. If Russian policy should diverge seriously from lines acceptable to "home grown" Communists, then the factions in the Greek Communist party might be expected to come into the open. So long as no such divergence appeared – and in 1946 and 1947 it did not – the only consequence was to elevate some persons to positions of authority in the party and to blight the careers of others who had thrown in their lot with the defeated side.

665 Hence, in 1946 and 1947 the advantages enjoyed by the Greek
669 Communist party in competition with its rivals were actual, its
648 weaknesses only potential. This was true not only within the
727 country, but internationally as well. The Communist countries to the north began actively assisting the Greek Communist bands, sending arms and ammunition, allowing hard-pressed units to find refuge across the border, and providing hospital and other services to them as far as geographical difficulties permitted. On the other hand, British military and economic

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support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, 665
and it was not yet clear that American support would be forth- 669
coming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not 648
strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, 727
while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their 669
opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine 647
of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure [648]
this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in [666]
1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and 647
occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to ex- 661
cessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, [634]
the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

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Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

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government. Unassisted, they would certainly not have been able to do anything effective to overcome the Communist menace. 185 727 433 669

To sum up: The nature of Greek society and the shortcomings of the Greek government, together with the constellation of international relations in 1946 and 1947, made Communist revolution possible, indeed probable. But the injection of a massive new force, United States aid, changed the direction of events and prevented that consummation. The activity of the American aid missions will therefore be the subject of the next chapter. [648]

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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563] [619] [648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

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665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
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of local resources were to occur, then restriction of current consumption would be necessary. Money and goods would have to be diverted from consumption to capital construction. Without such diversion, the country was condemned to chronic poverty, unless foreign investment and financing came to the rescue. Up to 1956 Greece had indeed depended upon foreign investment for its capital development; but the United States Congress could scarcely be counted upon to continue its support indefinitely. In fact, between 1954 and 1956 it became clear that American aid to Greece was to be shaped by more narrowly conceived American interests, which would mean that military subsidy and the disposal of surplus American agricultural products would take precedence over industrial or any other sort of capital investment in Greece. Moreover, a Greek government that depended upon American bounty would necessarily surrender a large portion of its effective sovereignty, as happened between 1947 and 1952. Such a policy would expose Greek authorities to charges of acting as craven "yes men" to the Americans, and of betraying Greek national interests, as, for instance, in Cyprus.

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Dependence upon foreign funds to finance capital development was therefore a poor substitute for financing such development from local resources. Yet no one in Greece wanted to reduce and few wished to restrict the standard of living. The general public was impatient of austerity and wanted an immediate and miraculous increase in consumption levels. The chronic disbalance of the governmental budget reflected (among other factors) the pressure of these demands – demands for higher pensions and salaries, for better unemployment, medical and old-age benefits, and the like. To offer present hardship in the hope of future amelioration of economic conditions was therefore politically unthinkable, even though this was the only program that could really cope with the prob-

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It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political process by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians. 647 177 433 663

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus? 648 668

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in

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648 668 the summer of 1956. The opposition belabored the government for failing to free the Cypriotes; the government swore that no effort had been spared; and each side rivaled the other in denouncing the stubbornness of Britain, the meddling of Turkey and the indifference of the United States. Events in Cyprus, where nearly every day people were killed as a result of the guerrilla operations of an organization known by the initials EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kypriakou Agonos, or National Organization of Cypriote Fighters), occupied the most prominent place in every newspaper, and speeches or statements about the Cyprus question filled an amazing proportion of the space that remained. Nothing else seemed to matter very much; [521] and this attitude was not confined to newspapers. No conversation could long continue before the Cyprus question came up, and even very casual contacts between a Greek and an American were likely to produce an impassioned plea for Cyprus, together with reproaches against the United States government for failing to act in the matter.

From the point of view of someone interested in confronting and trying to relieve the economic and social difficulties of contemporary Greece, the Cyprus question was bound to appear totally irrelevant. If the Cypriotes were accorded the right to determine their own form of government, and if, as seemed overwhelmingly probable, the majority of the island's inhabitants then elected to unite with Greece, nothing would be helped so far as Greece's own problems were concerned. Yet by 1956 the liberation of Cyprus had become the very stuff and substance of Greek political debate. A more effective red herring would be difficult to imagine.

From the point of view of the Greek public, however, the Cypriote cause was sacred, and far more worthy of attention than merely economic questions. This attitude was deeply rooted in the political tradition of the nation. Indeed, the whole

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career of modern Greece, since the days when a small segment of the peninsula first won independence from the Turks, has been punctuated by recurrent bouts of intense popular excitement over the liberation of one or another portion of the Greek-speaking world that still remained under foreign sovereignty. In spite of costly failures, this agitation, and actions in accord with it, sooner or later added the Ionian Islands, Thessaly, Crete, Macedonia, the easterly Aegean Islands and part of Thrace to the Greek state. So successful has the nationalist program been that by 1956 Cyprus remained the only important area where a large Greek-speaking majority lived under foreign rule. The Greeks, therefore, felt entirely justified in demanding that such an anomaly end.

Anyone who takes democratic doctrines seriously must agree that the Greek case in Cyprus was a good one, since about 80 per cent of the islanders speak Greek and have given strong evidences of identification with Greece in recent years. Nor has the social and economic level of the Cypriotes been such as to justify a denial of self-government. Hence the Greeks of Greece had a good cause, and felt that the indifference of the United States to the issue, and the refusal of Britain to agree to grant self-government to Cyprus, represented a repudiation of their democratic professions. The burning conviction that the great powers were in the wrong and that the Greeks were in the right added fuel to the agitation, while Turkey's intervention in the question had the effect of opening once again all the wounds inflicted by past warfare between the two peoples.

On two occasions in the past, war with the Turks resulted from the desire of Greeks to liberate their fellow nationals, and on several other occasions war was narrowly averted by the intervention of the great powers. These wars and war scares cost Greece dearly in the past. One of the reasons for the failure of the economy to develop more rapidly was the financial bur-

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den the government incurred as a result of these enterprises; and the complete catastrophe which came to the Hellenic communities of Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, following the failure of the Greek effort to annex part of the eastern Aegean coast, left marks upon the Greek body social which are still conspicuous. Yet then, as more recently in the case of Cyprus, counsels of caution or calculations of expediency scarcely found a hearing. The warm feeling of patriotism, all the warmer for being so reckless of consequences, overcame and continued to overcome every obstacle.

The Cyprus question became acute in the spring of 1955 when EOKA began issuing manifestoes and throwing bombs in the island, demanding self-determination and the end of colonial administration. Whether, or in what degree, the Greek government was an accomplice in provoking EOKA to action is impossible to say. Clandestine support of irregular armed action against a foreign government is an old tradition in the Balkans. The Greek government was itself attacked in this indirect fashion by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania during the guerrilla war; and all the Christian nations of the Balkans used similar methods against the Turks. The fact that the leader of EOKA was reputed to be Colonel George Grivas, a man who had once served in the Greek army, and who had been the head of an extra-legal rightist armed band in the years just after the end of World War II, suggested, but by no means proved, that agents of the Greek government may have had a hand in organizing the guerrillas in Cyprus.

If so (and this is not a proven fact), it seemed fairly clear that in the months that followed EOKA's appearance in Cyprus agitation in Greece grew to proportions that the government had not expected, and did not really desire. To have an issue upon which all Greeks could unite behind a government that

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boldly demanded justice for the Cypriotes was one thing; to have an issue that threatened to disrupt the NATO alliance in the eastern Mediterranean and gave the opposition a chance to attack the government for its inability to bring the situation to a satisfactory conclusion was quite another. Yet it was this second, embarrassing position into which the Greek government soon fell. The British refused to give in; and during the summer of 1955 the Turks began to assert their own interest in the fate of Cyprus.

Greece and Turkey had both been admitted to NATO in the fall of 1951, and in 1954 Greece had also concluded an alliance with Yugoslavia. This laboriously constructed diplomatic and military bulwark, within which Greece might hope to shelter as securely as any nation could that stood on the frontier between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, now began to crumble; and by 1956, although the treaties remained nominally in existence, the ill feeling between Greeks and Turks had reached a pitch that made real cooperation impossible. Joint naval maneuvers had to be called off, and acute difficulties arose in the NATO headquarters at Smyrna, where Greek and Turkish officers had been working side by side.

As this situation developed, the Greek government became seriously embarrassed. On the one hand, it could not allow the opposition to flaunt the garb of patriotism without challenge. The publicity agencies of the government and the Athens radio thereupon indulged in a veritable orgy of rhetoric which could not fail to have an inflammatory effect in Cyprus and also at home in Greece. On the other hand, rumor had it that the royal palace and the Foreign Office urged caution and moderation — a spirit which, however carefully it was kept under cover, still gave the opposition a chance to denounce the halfheartedness and secret duplicity of the government.

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648 668 Through 1956 at least, the Greeks had spilled nothing more precious than words over Cyprus. The economic programs of the government had not been affected, nor had the social realities of Greece been touched. What had changed were Greek relations with Turkey and Britain; and in 1956 it was hard to see how the resultant damage to the NATO alliance could be repaired. A change in British policy might bring the Cypriotes self-determination and union with Greece – an upshot that would gratify the Greeks, but scarcely improve relations between Greece and Turkey. On the contrary, such an eventuality might well be accompanied by open violence between Turks and Greeks on Cyprus itself, where the Turkish minority constitutes about 20 per cent of the population; and similar and more dangerous disorders might spread into Turkish and Greek Thrace, where the two peoples remain mingled owing to the exclusion of this area from the exchange of populations that followed World War I.

The embitterment of Greek-Turkish relations seemed likely to endure for a long time, to the embarrassment of the Americans who wished to remain in alliance with both sides of the quarrel. It was, of course, because American diplomats dreaded such difficulties, and did not wish to antagonize the British, that the official policy of the United States remained so much aloof from the Cyprus question in 1955 and 1956.

Whatever the eventual outcome may be, it seems clear that the excitement over Cyprus had the effect not only of distracting attention from home policy, but also of weakening the Greek cabinet and restricting its freedom of maneuver. Feeling was directed most strongly against the Turks, secondly against the British, and more faintly but still definitely against the Americans. The emotional involvement with Cyprus was so strong that in the summer of 1956 it did not seem beyond the bounds of possibility that some turn of events in Cyprus might

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bring about the overthrow of the Karamanlis government and the installation of a cabinet far less inclined to cleave to the western alliance system of NATO in foreign affairs, and far less amenable to American advice concerning home policy. 648 668

What the effect of such a change might be upon the development of the economy, or upon the civil servants who were so busily planning its growth, cannot be forecast. My point merely is this: that the divorce between the realm of political discourse in Greece and the real problems of economic and social melioration within the nation is so wide as to be dangerous. Some economically ruinous action, rising from feelings of outraged nationalism, and provoked by politicians who hope to win place and prestige by risking everything on a politico-military gamble, may damage much of what has already been accomplished, or postpone indefinitely the realization of plans which have been laid for future economic expansion. 433 662 663

There are here the makings of a vicious circle. The major cause of the characteristic irresponsibility and extremism of Greek politics in recent decades, I am convinced, has been the chronic discontents and personal frustrations which tens of thousands of white-collar and professional people have felt. For them, politics offers a psychological release from daily difficulty and disappointment. To act as an adequate catharsis, political argument must be exciting, indeed inflammatory. The politicians therefore offer excitement, and when they cannot find it they try to manufacture it. If no internal foe seems sufficiently evil, then attacks are turned against some foreign antagonist. Political instability and changeability are the result, and when words boil over into actions real economic setbacks often follow – setbacks that feed the chronic discontent behind the political manifestations themselves.

Much of the domestic history of modern Greece can be interpreted as the result of such a vicious circle in action. The re-

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668 and then destroy the parliamentary machinery and civil liberty in favor of Communist dictatorship.

668 In 1956 these things were not apparent. Communism was not an issue; Cyprus had replaced it, and the Communist party had 648 officially endorsed the Cyprus struggle over the radio. No one admitted to being a Communist, since to do so would have been a short way to jail. The people seemed quite genuinely glad to be relieved of the long preoccupation with the Communist question, and to find a cause upon which everyone could unite. This was, indeed, one of the reasons why Cyprus was such a heart-warming cause for the Greeks. Everyone, no matter what his opinions on domestic issues, was behind the Cypriotes. The Greeks had not known what it was to be united on an important public issue since the time of the Albanian war in 1940. Yet if Communists and nationalists were to quarrel in Cyprus, a possibility of which there were already some convincing signs in the summer of 1956, then the Communist question would emerge again in Greece with new bitterness, as each side sought to blame the other for the disruption of the Cypriote struggle.

66 In any analysis such as this it is easy to overemphasize the instability and insecurity of Greek political affairs. Certainly Greek politics are unstable, and the parliamentary regime in Greece is insecure. But it is well to remember that these conditions are not new. Exactly the same could be said of the political scene at any time since 1909, when the current phase of modern Greek political life began. The Greeks have learned to [829] live with such conditions, and even manage to derive lively ex- [521] hilaration from the perpetual uncertainty of their politics. Without politics, what would there be to talk about in the cafés?

647 The things that are new in Greek public life attract little pub- 829 lic attention. The man in the street and in the village coffee

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A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI.

PART I.

Introduction:

The author was born in Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. His parents were the descendants of some of the first colonists that were established by the Greeks in ancient times. His ancestors lived in the same village for many centuries and it was for the first time in many centuries that he went with the rest of his people to Greece. The exchange of population between Greece and Turkey marks one of the rare historical accomplishments of the Greek people. The establishment of a million and a half people under the prevailing economic conditions of that period was a gigantic job for a small nation like Greece to accomplish. 114 167 648

The author, as a refugee among his people, had a chance, after getting his education at Cornell, to work with them to share with them the difficulties they met in their new environment. He shared the life that was mixed with tears, toil, sweat and patience. He also shared the marriages, the holidays and the dances at the village square. His eight years of experience in the village of Megali Vrisi and his share in promoting agricultural, recreational, health and educational activities led him to the description of the village of /4/ Megali Vrisi 123 [121]

The Rural Sociology Courses under Dr. Sanderson have influenced him more than anything else to see, describe and evaluate the social make up of the life of the people of Megali Vrisi. 114

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Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years.

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move.

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342 selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and sur-
SL face dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas,
i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia,
[342] and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

B More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living
a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of
[361] Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a
175 strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this strong-
648 hold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the
361 Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the ad-
G vantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they
175 were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old
648 Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks
SL and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the
[342] previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to
B the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5)
[727] «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kidnapped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄντται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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vader's country (1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century (2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

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1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slatarski,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitsis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην, Α' Athens 1914 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

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1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη. Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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munists by raising popular fears that a Soviet-dominated régime might partition Greece. G 665

To add one more convolution to the involved situation, a strong element among the Greek Communists had always hoped to bring Communist Greece into a federation of East European Communist states—precisely the sort of federation which Russia was determined never to tolerate lest it limit her own control of the area.[8] By something more than a coincidence, the announcement that a "Free Greek Government" was to be established by the Greek Communists had occurred at about the same time that Tito and Dimitrov were meeting at Bled; and it also is significant that when such a government actually was set up in December 1947, with General Markos Vafiades as a principal leader, it was not accorded recognition by the Soviet Union or any of the satellites. Whether other satellite leaders were involved in the project, Gomulka in Poland, for example, or Clementis in Czechoslovakia, is not known. But the signs that Markos was suspect in Moscow from then on are unmistakable.

Tito's expulsion from the Cominform faced Soviet policy-makers with a hard choice in Greece. Tito had been an indispensable middleman in transporting Soviet help to the Greek rebels and their most active supporter on his own account. Soviet military equipment and arms went to the rebel bands over Jugoslav railways and Jugoslav food and uniforms nourished and clothed them. When the mountain fighters found themselves in a tight corner the Jugoslav frontiers always were open to them, their wounded were succored and cared for in Jugoslav hospitals, reënforcements were trained in Jugoslav camps and the Greek children whom they evacuated (or kidnapped) on their retreats found homes in Jugoslav institutions. Neither of Greece's other satellite neighbors, Bulgaria and Albania, was so well situated geographically to provide this help. Besides, all Greeks, including Communists, had hateful memories of wartime experiences in Albania and under the Bulgarian occupation of Greek Macedonia; and these memories would not down despite the ideological affinities existing between the Greek guerrillas and the Com- Y 648 6 648 G 665 Y 648

[8] *Pravda* in January 1948 condemned the idea of a "Balkan or Danubian federation including Poland, Czechoslovakia *and Greece*" (my italics) and forced Dimitrov to disown it (*cf.* Chapter XVII).

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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tinued for a time to provide asylum for Markos' men and care for his wounded, and when the rebel radio was forced out of Greece they allowed it to function temporarily near Belgrade. A report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, published August 25, 1949, covering the period October 1948-July 1949, confirmed the fact of this Jugoslav help to the guerrillas and noted that direction-finder tests had established the eventual transfer of the rebel radio from Belgrade to the vicinity of Bucharest. According to M. S. Handler, the well-informed correspondent of *The New York Times* in Belgrade, all forms of Jugoslav assistance actually ceased as early as November 1948, only four months after Jugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform. If so, this would indicate that Tito had already heard that Markos was supplanted and would be the scapegoat for the rebel débâcle now in the cards.

The next Soviet move was to try to place the blame for this débâcle on Jugoslavia by attributing it to the cessation of Jugoslav aid and by attributing that, in turn, not to the Cominform attack on Jugoslavia, in which the new Communist leadership in Greece was participating, but to Jugoslavia's alleged shift to "the Western imperialist camp" and hence into secret alliance with the "Monarcho-Fascist" Greek Government. Tito retaliated by telling a Macedonian audience on August 2, 1949, that the Greek people's struggle for "social and national liberation, for the creation of a better, more progressive democratic Greece," had been stifled and defeated, not by their enemies abroad but by their own leaders in the Greek Communist Party, whose only interest was to make out that the responsibility for their colossal failure did not rest on the Soviets, where it belonged, but on Jugoslavia.

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By 1950 Tito was ready to normalize relations with the constitutional government of Greece. The opportunity for doing so without loss of face seemed to come when the Greek elections resulted in the formation of a Center coalition government under General Plastiras. Constantin Tsaldaris, the man always cited in Jugoslavia as the incarnation of Greek "Monarcho-Fascism," was not included. A Jugoslav ambassador was dispatched to Athens in May, but the Greek Government kept him waiting to present his credentials, and soon

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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an argument arose as to the treatment of the non-Greeks in Greek Macedonia. According to the Jugoslav press they were being subjected to a policy of "nationalization," meaning apparently that they were not allowed to use the Macedonian Slav dialect but only Greek. The Greek reply was that this was an exclusively internal Greek affair, all inhabitants of Greek Macedonia being Greek citizens since the exchange of populations with Bulgaria following the First World War. The Jugoslav Ambassador-designate thereupon returned to Belgrade. In a dispatch datelined Belgrade, June 24, 1950, Gaston Coblentz, Balkan correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, pointed out that Tito was having trouble keeping his Macedonian population as happy as a dictator's subjects are supposed to be, and that advocacy of minority rights in Greek Macedonia was designed to fortify the loyalty of his own Macedonians and encourage them to resist Cominform propaganda.

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Western diplomats hoped that the failure to establish normal relations between Athens and Belgrade might be only temporary. The fall of the Plastiras cabinet and the formation in September 1950 of a government under Sophocles Venizelos, supported by Tsaldaris, did not strengthen the hope; neither did the Jugoslav vote in the Security Council in favor of a Soviet motion to investigate "increasing terrorism" in Greece. On the other hand, one main issue between the two nations, the return of Greek children who (as the Greeks put it) had been abducted by the Greek guerrillas and detained in Jugoslavia, or who (as the Jugoslavs put it) were given a refuge in Jugoslavia from their Fascist persecutors, seemed to advance a step toward settlement with word that Tito was willing to send back all children whose families asked it. Shortly afterwards Prime Minister Venizelos made a conciliatory move by announcing that emergency shipments of supplies to alleviate the Jugoslav drought would be permitted to pass through the port of Salonika. The next step would be to repair and reopen the Belgrade-Salonika railway, closed since the war. In their own selfish interests the two governments should make urgent efforts to reach at least a modus vivendi. Only Moscow profits from the continuance of a situation in which if Soviet armies enter the Balkans the Jugoslavs would not have a back door through which to receive Western war materials and the Greeks would be as exposed to the new invaders as they were to the Nazis.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
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066 which to receive Western war materials and the Greeks would be as exposed to the new invaders as they were to the Nazis.

It was a bitter decision for the Russians to end the Greek civil war, but they saw the risks of any other course. One factor was the growing strength of the Greek Army. Following accepted international practice, the United States had supplied the legal Greek Government with arms. As a result, the armies taking the field in 1949 were well equipped and had good morale. Another influential factor was that the United Nations Commission had kept world opinion posted about the aid reaching the rebels from Communist sources abroad. Thirdly, now that Jugoslav railways could no longer be used, the best overland line for Soviet shipments via Bulgaria was cut. In future, Russian help could not be so easily disguised, would involve Soviet prestige directly and hence if supplied at all would have to be supplied on a scale to be decisive. This would amount to open intervention and involved the risk of general war.

665 648 In the spring of 1949 the Communist and fellow-traveller press of the world had still been talking bravely of certain victory for the Greek "democrats." "The Monarchists could never repeat the scale of their offensive in Grammos last summer," and "this year will mark the turning point in the task of liberating Greece." [5] But after General Papagos's victories at Vitsi and Grammos that summer the Russian decision to liquidate the civil war became final. On October 9 the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party accepted defeat. It held that the hopes of the year before had been correct, "under the conditions when the Tito clique had not yet openly gone over to the imperialist camp and pretended to be a friend of the Greek democratic movement." Now, however, the Jugoslavs had "stabbed the Democratic Army in the back" and the military struggle had to cease.[6] The rebel radio broadcast the news on November 4, summarizing the reasons as follows: "Tito's treachery; the exploitation of this treachery by the Americans; the latter's growing determination to hold their bridgehead in Greece;

[5] *The New Central European Observer*, London, April 30, 1949.
[6] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, November 18, 1949.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
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increased U.S. aid to Monarcho-Fascism; and so forth." The Party line, the radio added, was formally changed. Henceforth the emphasis would be on "the organization and leadership of the political and economic struggles of all the strata of the working people—above all, the working class and employees, the displaced peasants, the hundreds of thousands of wounded, the war victims, the women and the youth."

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The admission that Greek nationalism had won a military victory and that Greek Communism must try to regain its hold on the masses by returning to the first principles of social action did not mean, of course, that propaganda warfare or even terroristic acts had to cease. Soon Nicolas Zachariades was writing in the Cominform journal that the American aim of creating a "Belgrade-Athens axis" must be fought "concretely, daily, constantly and tirelessly." As an example of what he meant he suggested sabotage of Jugoslav railway lines. But nothing could hide the fact that once again the feud with Belgrade had damaged Soviet Russia. It had drawn attention to the difference between her interests and those of her satellites. It had split the Greek Communist forces. It had helped the Truman Doctrine achieve its purpose sooner than might otherwise have happened.

In the autumn of 1950 as so often in the past Russia faced the old dilemma that if she favored one Balkan nation too openly she would outrage the others. The Soviet leaders now were aware, too, that when they spoke of a nation they could not exclude the Communists in it: Tito had added a complication to the Soviet game instead of simplifying it. The temptation to set the Bulgars loose against Tito must nevertheless have been very strong. The Bulgarian Army was newly equipped with Russian arms and had been reorganized by the new Minister of Defense, Lieutenant-General Peter Panchevsky, a former Soviet Army officer. Another former Soviet officer, General Novikov, was in command at the key center of Plovdiv. The size of the Bulgarian Army was not known precisely—certainly it was in excess of the 55,000 permitted by the peace treaty—but in any case, though growing, it was still smaller than the Jugoslav Army and inferior to it also in training and morale. Nevertheless Korea

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

●65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
[758] rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[465] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a differ- 625
ent administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, 659
such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, [167]
we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental serv- 65
ices enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not [369]
have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area. [625]
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco. [249]
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[12]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government car- 651
ries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support 631
of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A final difficulty lies in inadequate personnel and equipment to do many of the highly technical governmental tasks as they should be done. Engineers who are responsible for numerous activities in many villages may not have transportation facilities sufficient to visit these villages as often as would be desirable. Those responsible for accounting and fiscal matters may not have sufficient clerical help to keep up with the work load, thereby delaying reports or requests from local governments.[14]

But despite these difficulties, I would place the crux of the problem of the relationship between local and central government in the attitudes which the officials assume toward villagers and even townspeople. There is something about being an official in Greece that tends to make one officious. The officeholder may not realize this but, as he takes on the roles that go with a new governmental position, he tries to carry an air of authority that does not quite ring true, or else he tries to bolster up his feeling of insecurity by lording it over those who are in some measure under his control. He preserves his own *philotimo*, or self-esteem, by clinging to all the symbols of prestige to the bitter end. I could want no better documentation of this state of affairs than a notice distributed in November 1952 by the Minister of Agriculture, which appeared on the walls of the director of agriculture in Kozane. It read:

Mr. Director:

1. Don't forget that we are the servants of the people.
2. Don't forget that your pay comes from the work and the sweat of the people.
3. Please be polite and just to the people and your employees.
4. Keep working hours; do not go away during working hours which are for the public.
5. Reply willingly and quickly to requests and petitions of the people. "Come by tomorrow" is not accepted.

People — Farmers:

1. Do not ask for illegal things but demand your rights.
2. If you do not get your rights or have complaints write to Complaints Office of the Ministry and you will get a quick reply.
3. Even then, if you don't get justice, write directly to me.

Minister of Agriculture, A. Apostolidis

In official Athens, over the past few years, there has been many a tug of war, sometimes silent and sometimes raucous, between those who would decentralize many functions of government to the local units and those who, for a variety of reasons, would maintain strong central control. It is safe to say that those who favor the former course are those who think of government chiefly as an administrative apparatus through which citizens' needs are met. Certainly, many members of the American Mission have

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 178 653 During this same September 1959 visit I had occasion to review, as on a previous occasion, the community-development program of the Save the Children Federation, an American organization. It contributes its funds, set aside for community development, only if the adults of the community agree to make contributions of their own (labor, materials, money) to the construction of a better school, the installation of a public water supply, the planting of a school orchard, or the construction of a dock to bring economic advantages to an otherwise bypassed coastal village.

177 178 [65] Anyone trying to cover completely the numerous programs designed to change village life for the better would find them springing up in a variety of places. The official government programs, each under one of the ministries, cover a wide range of activities. Agriculture is more adequately represented than health, education more than social welfare, and economic programs more than recreational programs. But this emphasis is not unexpected in a rural setting. All official American programs, being governmental, work through the Greek ministries and agencies. Next, in drawing up a comprehensive list, one could chronicle the quasi-governmental programs such as those embodied in the King's Fund and the Queen's Fund, the Volunteer Nursing Corps, and similar bodies. In addition to these, there are numerous groups started and managed by public-spirited Greek citizens interested in rural improvement. These range from agricultural education to reforestation to preservation of the folk arts. To those already found could be added the programs of a variety of international agencies, such as UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, and the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as the very active International Red Cross. Finally, one could include a large assortment of private efforts sponsored by organizations from several European countries as well as Canada and the United States. Such organizations might be religious in nature, strictly welfare, or a combination of both.

No wonder, then, that the Greek villager becomes confused about who promises what and fails to deliver, or whom to thank for a bundle of clothes received in the mail. No wonder that he sometimes is nonplussed about what government official to wait upon. If he is a community president, he will probably visit his nomarch, but the chances are that the nomarch is not altogether versed in the number of programs intent upon effecting change in the villages under his supervision.

178 More than ever before, the Greek villager's way of life has become a target of change. In this sense, he typifies efforts being made in other countries and on other continents to move people from an archaic to a modern style of life, and to help them realize expectations and hopes of which they are only now becoming aware.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Conditions in Greece in 1947 (New York, 1948), p. 111. For a report done ten years later for the same sponsor by one of the earlier authors, see William Hardy McNeill, *Greece: American Aid in Action: 1947–1956* (New York, 1957).

7. See the mimeographed village studies done by the Near East Foundation, *et al.*, "A 'Control' Village of the Mesolongi Area" (Athens, October 1951).

8. John D. Photiadis, "The Coffee House and its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece," p. 23.

9. United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on Greek Local Government, 1952* (Athens, Civil Government Division, 1952), pp. 16–17 (mimeographed).

10. An excellent statement of the problem is found in United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on the Decentralization of Greek Government Services* (Athens, Civil Government Division, June 1953), mimeographed.

11. C. A. Munkman, *American Aid to Greece: A Report on the First Ten Years* (New York, 1958), p. 254. Munkman served for four years as chief of a unit in the United States Economic Mission to Greece which had the responsibility for investigating the effectiveness of expenditures in our aid program.

12. Photiadis, "The Coffee House."

13. Three documents which proved particularly helpful were prepared by O. P. Traylor, Local Tax Specialist, United States Mission: Economic Cooperation Administration, *The Financing of Greek Local Government: Special Supplement*, Report 70 (mimeographed, n.d.); *Summary Analysis of New Interim Local Finance Law* (E. L. 1910/1951, Official Gazette 221), memorandum to Director, FP Division (typed), August 10, 1951, 14 pp.; *Significance of Survey of Turkish Local Finance . . . for Financing Greek Local Units of Government*, memorandum to Joel W. C. Harper, Chief, Public Finance Section, FP Division (mimeographed), September 12, 1951, 18 pp.

14. One of the most penetrating analyses of Greek governmental administration and its problems was made by a Greek at the request of the Greek government: *Report on the Greek Economic Problem*, by Kyriakos Varvaressos (English translation, Washington, D.C., February 12, 1952, mimeographed). He cites five characteristics of the administration: excessive number of employees, particularly in the center; indifference to public interest; lowered standards through appointments of unqualified personnel; narrow bureaucratic spirit; total incapacity and willingness to meet responsibilities imposed on it by the granting of foreign aid. In fairness to all concerned, however, it should be pointed out that this was written in 1952, when Greece was trying to recover from the wounds of war.

15. These are excerpts appearing in the *Athens News*, September 17, 1952. For those preferring a happier note, the following *New York Times* item, December 12, 1955, will prove of interest:

Athens, Dec. 11. Premier Constantin Karamanlis has announced a plan by which free medicines will be made available to 4,000,000 Greek peasants. The plan is expected to become effective at once.

Mr. Karamanlis also announced that his Government had decided to compensate peasants whose beasts of burden had been requisitioned by the State for war purposes since 1942.

The Premier said 120,000,000 drachmas ($4,000,000) had been earmarked in the 1955–56 budget for this ambitious welfare plan. Other Government decisions announced were to increase allocations for land improvement projects; to put aside larger amounts for middle-term loans to the peasantry; and to install a cotton press in Salonika.

16. An account in *Harper's Magazine* in 1872 on "Political Characteristics of Modern Greeks" has a most up-to-date ring. Charles Cheston, in his *Greece in 1887* (London, 1887), points out traits which survive to the present, as does William Miller in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905). Especially appropriate are the comments by Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, 1929), in the section on "The Greatness of the Greeks."

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

in his *In the Mountains of Greece*, has mentioned that he found only one village in the Peloponnesos which did not produce an English-speaking inhabitant.

2. These references are to John D. Photiadis, "The Coffee House and Its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece," (unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University, 1956) p. 41.

3. See Near East Foundation, *et al.*, village studies (Athens, 1951–52).

4. Photiadis, p. 42.

5. This description by Dorothy Lee will be found in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), pp. 60–61 (Mentor edition).

6. V. T. Valassis, "The Living Past and Technical Change," (unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1956), p. 16.

7. The reader familiar with contemporary social theory will quickly note the extent to which these observations derive from Emile Durkheim and those sociologists who work in his tradition.

8. Photiadis, p. 84.

9. From the village study by T. K. Papaspyropoulos, "Ta Laographika tes Kleitorias" (Concerning the Folklore of Kleitoria), unpublished manuscript.

Chapter XVI. Social Change in Rural Greece

1. The three types of social change used here are adapted from N. F. Washburne, *Interpreting Social Change in America* (Garden City, 1954).

2. See Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities; Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey* (New York, 1939).

3. In almost every one of my hundreds of interviews during an eleven-month period in Greece, I touched on the topic of social change. In a country such as Greece, one cannot understand the present without a knowledge of what has changed. A summarizing chapter such as this cannot fully convey the deep emotional overtones surrounding the discussion of what it was like to flee as a child from Asia Minor, to have one's village occupied by an Axis army, or to experience the fury of Communist guerrillas on the run.

4. A. C. de Vooys and J. J. C. Piket, "A Geographical Analysis of Two Villages in the Peloponnesos," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, LXXV (1958), 44–45.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

6. This figure is much more favorable to the villagers than that prevailing between the two world wars. In the Balkans generally during that time, the proportion of peasants was higher and their share of the total national income lower than the figures here cited in the text.

7. Ernestine Friedl, "The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece," *The American Anthropologist*, LXI (1959), 31.

8. An excellent though brief description of some of the most important programs of planned social change in rural Greece through the 1950s is found in the mimeographed paper entitled "Community Development Programs and Policies in Greece," prepared for the Eastern Mediterranean Study Tour on Community Development (Athens, 1955). Among other things, it tells of the merger into a Small Common Utility Projects program of four previous programs: the Agricultural Land Improvement Program, the Small Sanitary Projects Program, the Relief through Employment Program (under the Ministry of Welfare), and the Small Community Projects Program (under the Ministry of Interior). The third program particularly has created much international interest. See Glen Leet, "Greece Finds One Key to Development," *United Nations Bulletin*, X (1951); Paul H. Guenault and Howard W. Beers, *Community Development Programmes in Greece with Special Consideration of Welfare Through Employment* (New York, United Nations, 1953).

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 178

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers [407] would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the [445] tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary.

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor [407] instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type.

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

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The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
●651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
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1:Sanders Z-5)4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor. 623 653 [651] [727]

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done. [316] [333]

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax: 651 [203]

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

Here the local authorities were following the ancient practice of "farming" out the taxes to the highest bidder who, in turn, was expected to derive from rigorous collection much more than he paid for the right. Every time a bleating goat or an ox changed masters, the successful bidder would collect his 2 percent of the sale price.

The community council has other duties in addition to managing a community-owned radio, rebuilding churches, and collecting taxes. It conducts local elections as well.[6] By 1951 the political situation had stabilized to the point that local elections could be held throughout the country. Of the registered voters, a greater proportion of women than men voted, thereby showing their appreciation of the right of suffrage. From nine to thirty-one 623 666 [633]

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cil members who are in some way connected with the project or activity. The mayor usually introduces topics for the approval of the council, but no action can be taken before the prefect of the area gives his final approval.

[208] In Stavroupolis, people respond quite emotionally to each method applied by the village government. Problems are discussed by the council before decisions are made and are discussed again by the male population in the coffeehouse with interest and emotion. . . . The village government's business is their business and these informally-made decisions are important since no project can operate normally or smoothly if their informal decisions are opposed.[8]

651 But no picture of local government is complete without some sketch of the tax and financial picture. According to the 1950–51 legislation, local governments gain their revenues from the following sources.[9]

Property Revenues
— For the use of slaughterhouses
— Grazing rights on communal-owned land

Dues and Excises
— Building dues, ½ to 1 percent of the amount of cost
— For the use of sidewalks, streets, and public squares
— Dues on hotels, beds, and bills
— Weight and measure excises; advertisement excises
— For the use of municipal and communal property, works and services including garbage and cleanliness, electricity and gas

Direct Taxes
— Tax on agricultural and forestry products: 2 percent mandatory, 4 percent optional
— Tax on cattle; tax on poultry and fish up to 3 percent of price
— Tax on vacant plots within town plan areas in demes over 20,000 and those in the capital area and Thessalonike area
— Tax on property which has gained value owing to deme or communal public works

Indirect Taxes
— Tax on sale and purchase of cattle
— Tax on olive oil dregs

Contributions
— Contributions determined by council not over 30 million drachmas per head in Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika; 15 million on other demes; 5 million in communes

[653] Personal Work
— In demes and communes under 10,000 population, men over eighteen work ten days a year. Also includes their animals and motor equipment

Loans, Donations and Legacies

Sale of Real Estate and Movable Property

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Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

651 [231] [241] [435]

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[10] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

623 631 [625] [871] [634]

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

631 634

> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

[828] [578]

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than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a different administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, 625 659
such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, [167]
we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental services enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not 65
have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local [369]
people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area. [625]
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco. [249]
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[12]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government car- 651
ries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support 631
of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

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651 specialists think it undesirable to have over 90 percent of all taxes collected
631 by the national government, as is done in Greece, even though much of it is channeled back through various services to the local communities. At the same time, they admit that there is great reluctance on the part of local authorities to take on the tax-collection function and that in those instances where they do collect local funds they do so inefficiently. Obviously, the golden mean has not yet been found in this delicate area of the relationship between local and central government.[13]

647 When the topic of conversation turns from the services to the officials who carry them out, local informants respond fast and furiously, much of the comment in disapproving tones. I have yet to find a description of Greek life, past or present, that deals very kindly with Greek officialdom. This might be said of many countries, but in Greece the lowly and even high-placed official is beset with so many difficulties that it is a wonder he functions at all. His first problem is the low standards traditionally expected
647 of the civil servant. Most Greeks think that it is perfectly proper procedure for them to bestow a favor upon some official so that he will give their case
662 preference, either in considering it before other cases or in recognizing certain extenuating circumstances in their favor. The law may or may not be abrogated and regular channels set aside, but the irregularities deal quite often with rearrangements and interpretations within the scope of the limits set by the law so that one person gets preferential treatment over others. When one comes face to face with the great number of papers that have to be signed to do even a simple transaction involving governmental authority, one realizes how great is the temptation to bribe or bring to bear some other consideration (such as working through the good graces of a relative of the official) to shorten the red tape and wind up the matter more quickly than usual. Not all officials would condone such measures, but they are subjected to much temptation.

647 A second problem, tied in with the first, is the low compensation which officials receive in the face of increased living costs. Since many govern-
[465] ment workers cannot live even modestly on their salaries, they take on
[464] other commitments. These part-time jobs cause them to slight their full-time government employment, for which supervision is frequently lax.

Insecurity in the job is a third difficulty for many of the higher officials.
[661] The ministries, which in countries like France are run by highly skilled civil servants no matter how many cabinet ministers come and go, are
[645] staffed in Greece by people, many quite capable, who are apt to be swept out of office when a new minister comes in. Many, because of sheer competence and skillful legerdemain, manage to survive from one change of ministers to the next, but are never sure that they will weather the next changeover. In some ministries there have been as many as forty different ministers in six years.

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the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

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the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

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653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis.* The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had
628 been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
692 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-
621 resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
233 no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had
[622] been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis,* was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis.* Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the cords may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

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The village council also has initial jurisdiction over monies which are not derived from the taxes already mentioned. There is a levy amounting to two percent a year of the value of the cotton and wheat produced by each farmer, three percent of the value of any inheritance, and three percent of the value of money and property given as a dowry for any village girl. The proceeds of these taxes are deposited in the village account in Amphiklia. A tax on tobacco production is paid to the national government. The amount collected from the tobacco tax is redistributed to all communities in Greece on a per capita basis for schools, roads, and the like. Tobacco-growing villages like Vasilika receive an additional sum in proportion to the quantity of tobacco produced in the community.

Initial jurisdiction in the disposal of all monies belonging to the *kinotis* consists in the preparation of the village budget by the council. The task is done under the close supervision of the nomarch's office. Printed forms for village budgets are available at stationery stores and must be purchased and used. The form includes a list of items for which the community may be expected to spend its money and another list of items from which income is derived. It is the secretary's work actually to fill in the form in quadruplicate. He does so at a meeting of village secretaries called by the nomarch and held in Levadhia. The forms are then checked by the nomarch's office and some changes may be imposed. The expenses listed on the form include the secretary's salary, the salaries of the two village policemen, the salary of an assistant treasurer in Amphiklia, whatever is due the tax collector (who seemed in 1956 to be getting six percent of the amount collected), rent to the church for office space, several newspapers brought by train from Athens each day, books for the school (but not for individual students), road repairs, and the like. The completed document becomes, in fact, a theoretical model for appropriate village income and expenditure rather than a reasonable estimate of future financial transactions. Some of the income actually will be deposited in the account of the village and some of the expenditures will be made, but most will not, and even those transactions that do occur may not be made in the sums designated in the budget.

Let us consider income first. The collection of taxes from the farmers is not carried out regularly. When no collector comes to the village, the farmers are supposed to go to Amphiklia to pay their taxes, but few do so. During our stay in the village, a new collector came to Vasilika and sat in the *aghora* for an entire day accepting money from the farmers. They paid only part of their previous year's assessment, and so remained a year in arrears. The interest charge on late tax payments is only sporadically collected from the farmers. Just as the collection of monies is irregular, so is the payment of salaries and the expenditure of other funds. For example, the secretary at one point had not received his monthly salary of 350 drachmas for several months. The use of monies for other purposes depends on the interest of the villagers in village projects, and for the most part such interest is lacking. The village governing body and the secretary fulfill the formal responsibilities placed upon them by the national government, but do not seem to feel that the forms must reflect reality.

It is clear from the foregoing that in the formal political organization of Greece the village council has little power even over affairs for which it has some

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planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons. 563

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export. 433 13 433 [439] [241]

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks. [505] [651] [464] [505]

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since 648

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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622 As one would expect in any small community whose members
624 are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to
[702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group
[653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central govern-
[651] ment. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improve-
631 ments requiring money or supplies from outside sources does
652 the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not
654 altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of gov-
x178 ernment representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent per-
[609] suasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a [197] degree of kinship.

[619] Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there [631] from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-[727] fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 161 x 178 The real question for the future is whether or not the village will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving popu-[728] lation is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children between the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-[885] seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

621 a distinguished man in any company. Authority seemed to rest
631 as naturally upon his shoulders as the callouses rested upon
178 his palms. This easy relation between village officers and the people of their community had definitely not been characteristic in 1947.

621 Local government in Greece was suffering, however, from a
631 chronic and serious handicap. Local authorities lacked funds,
652 and could seldom do anything beyond routine administration without borrowing from some agency of the central government.[1] The result of this situation was to extend greatly the real authority and influence of the central government over local affairs. Village and municipal authorities spent a great deal of time waiting in the anterooms of officials of the central government in the hope of securing money with which to carry through some local improvement.

621 Villages had always depended on the Agricultural Bank or
651 on one of the central ministries for finding money for any im-
652 portant project; cities and towns until 1949 had financed their local expenditures mainly through excise duties imposed upon
178 goods brought into the municipality. Before that year, long
631 lines of peasant carts, waiting their turn at municipal excise stations, were a frequent sight in the outskirts of every town. Internal tariffs were abolished in 1949, however, and the share of the cigarette tax, levied nationally, which was assigned to municipalities in lieu of these excises proved generally inadequate. Town governments were therefore in poor shape financially, and any public improvements that were made came from special grants or loans from the central government.

[633] [365] 1. The municipality of Athens, for example, had been insolvent for as long as anyone cared to recall. The problem was such that in 1955 and again in 1956, the Athens Power Company threatened to cut off the supply of electricity to municipal institutions unless some of the back bills were paid.

1:Sanders 7-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

121 throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959
[114] gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.

124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai, were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan.

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they organized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future.

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem.

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the government agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity."

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

221 82 [186]

Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

241 [291]

Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

[492] [427] [652]

We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

[369]

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

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Thessaly

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here. 241 179

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary. [407] [445]

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say, much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: "Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody cry out, 'Americans!' " [123] [651] [609] [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin. [522] [609]

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type. [407]

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 241 461 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who, in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari, 178

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe. 233 533

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community. 221 621

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis. [623] [622]

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots. [666]

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school. [871] [794] [474] [652] [233]

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous 621 [186] [175] [776] [669] [778]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly
578 made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they
654 must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep, which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas-
[241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and
[249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 to shift away from the village to the national capital, where the Agricul-
177 tural Bank is located, or to the provincial cities, where the bank has
[652] branches to which the individual peasants are supposed to go to "process" their loans.

A second important question touched upon in the FAO report was whether the producers' cooperative ought to be compulsory in one or both of two ways: first, requiring all of those who produce a given commodity (such as tobacco) and who live in a given village to belong to a cooperative and, second, forcing all cooperative members to market their produce and buy their supplies only through the cooperative. The FAO Mission counseled against making the cooperatives compulsory, and the same point of view has been held by most of the American advisers who have worked with the American Aid Mission in Greece. Greek government officials,
[241] however, sometimes think that legal sanctions would strengthen cooperatives and thereby tighten the economic machinery through which 10–12 percent of the Greek tobacco crop and about 80 percent of olive oil, to mention but two crops, reach the market.[7]

474 The cooperative leaders, however, face a problem of social as well as
626 legal sanctions: they would like to guide the cooperative movement from the stage where each cooperative member is a law unto himself to the point where any farmer who fails to sell his produce through his cooperative has to reckon with the disapproval of his fellow farmers. This can only be done through a long-term program of education which stresses not cooperation as an abstract ideal but the fact that a cooperative organization depends upon the support of every member and is not much stronger than its weakest link. It is in this matter of interpretation, of teaching the villager the meaning of cooperation, that the cooperative movement is not very successful. Cooperative officials are so busy being administrators that they do not take time to be interpreters, to be sure their communication strikes a responsive chord in the peasant. Then, too, they tend to feel that they have so much authority (such as fiscal control) in their hands that they do not have to depend upon the subtler forms of authority — namely, pressure by loyal members upon those who would deviate from what is considered good cooperative practice. This is tied in with the psychological problem of making the members feel that the cooperative is theirs rather than the instrumentality of cooperative and governmental officials who live outside the community.

474 One report by A. W. Willis, an American marketing specialist, goes so far as to say: "The Greek cooperative law makes cooperatives an arm of the Government and actually prohibits member control as well as any profit acquiring to members. The entire agricultural economy of this state could profit through true Cooperatives but not through those now in existence under the present law."[8]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

How strong are cooperatives in Greece today? In 1957, they numbered 7,127 and had a membership of 718,000.[9] They therefore constitute the principal farm organization in Greece. Those who lead the cooperative movement are quick to point out what they hope to achieve: to narrow the ratio between prices received by the farmers and prices paid by the farmers; to market members' products and purchase for them equipment and supplies; to process farm commodities, produce pesticides, farm machinery; and to provide special services for members such as plowing, cultivating, and harvesting.[10] Since many of the Greek farmers are too impoverished to raise sufficient capital on their own to finance a local cooperative, they are therefore dependent upon those cooperatives for which the government, through the Agricultural Bank, provides all the funds and over which it insists on centralized control.

474 241 [652] 471

How the Villagers View Cooperatives

What the FAO study team, the American missioners, and even the Greek government officials think about agricultural cooperatives is secondary to what the Greek peasants themselves think. Their opinions ranged all the way from those of open resentment and hostility to those of great pride in local cooperative achievements. To be told, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, that some villagers whom we wanted to see had hid upon our arrival, for they thought that we were either cooperative officials or connected with the Agricultural Bank, was an object lesson in itself. We asked one of them why he had run away. He replied: "I still owe the Bank a great deal. We have to pay 9 percent interest on what we borrow, 1 percent to the cooperative and 8 percent to the Bank. Last year I hadn't paid off my loan ($70.), so I couldn't get a new loan. I borrowed what I needed from a private individual at 20 percent and paid off this loan to the bank so that I could obtain potato seed on a new loan. Now I have sold my potatoes and the Bank will be after me to pay them what I owe."

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When we asked what happened to people who did not repay their loans, we were told that in such cases the collector came out, wrangled with the people, and if he received no repayment took them to court. To such villagers, cooperatives were chiefly credit agencies and in no sense stood for a local association of farmers pooling their energies and resources to achieve joint goals.

Now and then we found peasants who were anxious to start a cooperative but considered the initiation difficult. In a village near Megalopolis in the Peloponnesos, the people were well aware of the difference between prices received in the village for watermelons and what such products cost in Athens. Like farmers everywhere, they thought the price differences unjust. They blamed bureaucratic red tape for holding up the establishment of a cooperative. Some of the more dubious went on to say: "Even if we do

[435]

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
[124] asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500 in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a com-
[621] mittee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all
[243] family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me:

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

474 the executive committee five, and the supervising board three. This coop-
[233] erative helps bring in fodder, sell milk, arrange loans. If a member has
taken a loan, he must give milk to the cooperative as payment on the loan.
[652] In some types of loan the shepherd can be responsible directly to the Agri-
[245] cultural Bank. There are three other cooperatives of lesser importance.
Everybody belongs to the vineyard cooperative, for all grow grapes, but
this cooperative has not been very active of late due to a number of eco-
[231] nomic changes taking place in the village. Fifteen people belong to an apiary
[235] cooperative; and fifteen others belong to a poultry cooperative, since this
[434] is a growing source of income for the local people.

These reactions to cooperatives document some of the general observations made earlier about the movement. There is a tendency for the foreigner to side with those peasants who are most critical of the way cooperatives are now being run, but any such critic must be prepared to explain how one can expect much local control unless the local villagers put up some of the working capital, as did the villagers of Kalivi with their pasture land. For the most part, members of the Greek cooperatives make no contributions, buy no shares, pay only nominal membership fees, for the reason that they do not have sufficient economic margin. Those officials who lend public funds have to concentrate on control and collection, since it is an accepted practice in Greece, as in many parts of the world, for the farmer to borrow as much as he can and pay back as little as he can. The educational task, then, is the difficult one of teaching the necessity of honoring one's contracts to the cooperative as truly as the peasant honors his informal agreements to pay back labor in a traditional mutual-aid activity. It also calls for the community-wide recognition that peasants who are defaulting on their payments are hurting fellow members in the cooperative and should in time be made to feel the censure of those who are keeping agreements. But, most important of all, the cooperatives could be interpreted as social mechanisms through which the peasants can do more than merely borrow money or get fertilizer on credit — as avenues through which they can effectively increase their general economic well-being.

[471] [652]

476 In the final analysis, however, mutual aid in a Greek village consists of more than the informal patterns, such as the potato-digging group of Neochori; it is more than the cooperative organizations in all of their variations. It also includes the philanthropic assistance, to be discussed in connection with religion, and the "voluntary labor" required of the community members by their community council, an interesing form of mutual effort to be discussed under local government.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

mata, at the southern part of the Peloponnesos. When we discussed the attitude of the peasants toward Athens and the central government, he commented: "Life in the village is difficult; Athens has had special privileges. The villages are 100 percent right in their complaints. In my nomos many of them have no roads, no irrigation or drainage. Their education is so far behind that it is pitiful; their homes are in awful condition. How can a peasant under such circumstances feel gratitude! Paying for the priest and the teacher should be the job of the central government in the same way that a father supports a child. The recent decision to turn back to the communes a share of the tobacco tax is encouraging the villagers very much. Here it will amount to about one dollar yearly per capita."

When I asked him more about the actual workings of the communes in his nomos, he repeated much that others had said:

The president of the community represents in a small way the national government. So the community council is both an arm of the central government and also a representative of the local village. All decisions of the council have to be communicated to the nomarch; this is compulsory. If the council and president decide to spend any of the local funds the nomarch has the right to say "yes" or "no." If they wish to add a paid employee, the nomarch will check to see whether it is legal or not. If the nomarch does not answer in two weeks' time, then the local council has the right to go ahead without further permission. But the villagers for the most part are not conscious of their rights after the expiration of the two-week period and are capable of waiting fifteen years. The chief reason for delays in such matters is the lack of sufficient personnel in the nomarchy.

During 1952–53, the possibility seemed strong of developing a capable, well-trained group of nomarchs, all of whom were supposed to have security of tenure and not be subject to dismissal except for carefully defined "cause." These nomarchs were being sent to England, the United States, and elsewhere to study how local governments functioned, and to see what ideas might be adaptable to Greece. The community presidents, over and over again, expressed appreciative comments on the work of many of these nomarchs. To be sure, in some villages I found that the nomarch had not yet made himself known, but I had the general impression that a much better relationship was building up between the peasantry and the national government because of the changed attitudes of friendliness and understanding on the part of these key officials. When I revisited Greece in 1955 for another study period, I found that the Minister of Interior in early March 1954 had rescinded the career-nomarch legislation and had immediately dismissed one third of the nomarchs. According to one observer:

The odd characteristic about these dismissals was that they were not necessarily based on political opinions nor on efficiency. Several strongly-pro-government nomarchs were dismissed despite known efficiency. Apparently this arose

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steel plow, or he can hire a tractor to do the job. The hiring of the tractor includes fuel and the services of a tractor operator. 243 427

Two farmers in Vasilika own tractors—one made the purchase in 1952 (a British Ferguson), the other in 1956 (a British Fordson). They were bought on the installment plan with credit extended by the Agricultural Bank of Greece. The tractor operators are a son and a nephew, respectively, of each of the owners. Both of the farmers who purchased tractors have landholdings which are large for the region, perhaps as many as sixty *stremata* but divided into tracts of some ten to twenty *stremata* each. Even if the land were not divided into such small parcels, there would not be enough return on so little land for economically sound use of a tractor. Both the bank management and the farmers are well aware of this, so that credit for the purchase of the machinery is given with the understanding that the owner will use the tractor as a capital investment and earn income from it by renting it out. [407] [492] [652] [423] [471] [652]

Farmers decide to hire or not to hire a tractor for the fall plowing on the basis of practical considerations of the moment. If weather conditions have been normal in the late summer and early fall, a farmer will be more likely to proceed with his horse-drawn plowing. If, however, early rains have delayed the cotton picking and all hands are needed in the cotton fields when the wheat fields should be plowed, a farmer may hire a tractor to be sure that the job gets done before the winter rains. Most of the farmers maintain a horse to use as a pack animal, in any case, so that it is obviously cheaper to plow with the horse. For increased efficiency, two farmers sometimes contribute one horse apiece, so that the team of horses working on each of their fields in turn will get the work done faster and at no additional cost. For wheat, the farmers say, the deeper plowing of the tractor is not important, so whenever possible they work with the animals. For cotton, as we shall see later, they believe tractor plowing increases the yield. Generally speaking, as one might expect, the farmers with fewer land resources tend to make less use of the tractors than those who can expect a good cash income from their fields and so can afford the outlay for the hire of a tractor. 243 427 492 [221] [248] [464] [476] [248]

After the broadcast sowing of the wheat (which is done on each *strema* immediately after it has been plowed) and the dragging of the fields, what remains is some light hoeing to be done in February and March, the spreading by hand of some chemical fertilizer at about the same time, and when the weather warms up, the spraying of a chemical weed killer by means of a hand-operated pressure pump. A farmer who does not own such a pump borrows one from a neighbor, and no charge is made for its use. 243 221 [242] [406] [426]

Harvesting of the wheat crop is done almost entirely by machine in Vasilika. Reaper and thresher combines, with their operators, make the rounds of the Boeotian plains villages at harvest time in June. The threshed wheat is weighed out in the fields and the machine operators are paid promptly with twelve percent of the crop. Chaff and straw left in the fields are collected by the household and made into small packages to be used for bedding down the animals. Each farmer may set aside four or five *stremata* of his wheat field to be reaped by hand with a standard sickle. He then hires a thresher with operator [407] [445] [427] [231] [412]

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243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[231] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
[471] towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
[241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
[438] bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally, in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
312 and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

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and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another, at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

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night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka,* he receives the equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is added to that derived from cotton.

Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat, cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which accumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields. This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds, but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions, lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya.* The wire or reed fenc-

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the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

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653 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not
461 from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual
491 labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility
623 of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis.* The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vine-
[627] yard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to
[634] the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur,
651 and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two com-
628 munities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the
692 question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

641 In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some
651 power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a non-resident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If
621 no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The
233 question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is,
[622] full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis,* was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

423 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agree-
651 ments among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily
[623] represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis.* Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their
[583] transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the records may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records
[652] are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

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Vasilika

The village council also has initial jurisdiction over monies which are not derived from the taxes already mentioned. There is a levy amounting to two percent a year of the value of the cotton and wheat produced by each farmer, three percent of the value of any inheritance, and three percent of the value of money and property given as a dowry for any village girl. The proceeds of these taxes are deposited in the village account in Amphiklia. A tax on tobacco production is paid to the national government. The amount collected from the tobacco tax is redistributed to all communities in Greece on a per capita basis for schools, roads, and the like. Tobacco-growing villages like Vasilika receive an additional sum in proportion to the quantity of tobacco produced in the community. 651 [623] 652

Initial jurisdiction in the disposal of all monies belonging to the *kinotis* consists in the preparation of the village budget by the council. The task is done under the close supervision of the nomarch's office. Printed forms for village budgets are available at stationery stores and must be purchased and used. The form includes a list of items for which the community may be expected to spend its money and another list of items from which income is derived. It is the secretary's work actually to fill in the form in quadruplicate. He does so at a meeting of village secretaries called by the nomarch and held in Levadhia. The forms are then checked by the nomarch's office and some changes may be imposed. The expenses listed on the form include the secretary's salary, the salaries of the two village policemen, the salary of an assistant treasurer in Amphiklia, whatever is due the tax collector (who seemed in 1956 to be getting six percent of the amount collected), rent to the church for office space, several newspapers brought by train from Athens each day, books for the school (but not for individual students), road repairs, and the like. The completed document becomes, in fact, a theoretical model for appropriate village income and expenditure rather than a reasonable estimate of future financial transactions. Some of the income actually will be deposited in the account of the village and some of the expenditures will be made, but most will not, and even those transactions that do occur may not be made in the sums designated in the budget. 652 623 634 624 652

Let us consider income first. The collection of taxes from the farmers is not carried out regularly. When no collector comes to the village, the farmers are supposed to go to Amphiklia to pay their taxes, but few do so. During our stay in the village, a new collector came to Vasilika and sat in the *aghora* for an entire day accepting money from the farmers. They paid only part of their previous year's assessment, and so remained a year in arrears. The interest charge on late tax payments is only sporadically collected from the farmers. Just as the collection of monies is irregular, so is the payment of salaries and the expenditure of other funds. For example, the secretary at one point had not received his monthly salary of 350 drachmas for several months. The use of monies for other purposes depends on the interest of the villagers in village projects, and for the most part such interest is lacking. The village governing body and the secretary fulfill the formal responsibilities placed upon them by the national government, but do not seem to feel that the forms must reflect reality. [651] [465] [623] [624]

It is clear from the foregoing that in the formal political organization of Greece the village council has little power even over affairs for which it has some 623

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers), who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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622 624 As one would expect in any small community whose members are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to [702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group [653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central govern- [651] ment. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 631 652 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improvements requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 654 x178 [609] Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of government representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 453 435 654

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

433 511 454 556 178x 438

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

x 178 commands a premium price in Athens and elsewhere, the use
245 of fertilizer becomes a somewhat dubious economic advantage.
[438] The fact is, I believe, that the age-old adjustment of traditional peasant agriculture in the olive-growing regions of Greece is very nearly perfect. Certainly every scrap of potential soil is used in Kardamili, and the peasants know very well how to care for their trees. Except for chemical sprays that discourage a number of insect pests damaging to the crop, scientific agriculture has not yet devised any very important improvement upon traditional peasant methods of olive culture. But sprays were known in Kardamili before the war, and their use was resumed as soon as the chemicals became available.

x 178 In 1956 the village launched a project for bringing water
312 down the mountain. An interest-free government loan made the
[652] enterprise possible; but, even when completed, the water pipes will not supply more than household needs, leaving a little over, perhaps, for watering gardens. Shortage of water has been the long-standing problem of the community. There was scarcely enough to drink when I was there, and each glassful was treated as something precious, since the women of the village had to carry it in jars from a trickling spring half a mile away.

x 178 Yet in spite of the stability of agricultural methods, the social
621 system of the village, to all appearances, is beginning to change,
873 more or less as the social system of Nea Eleftherohori is changing. For one thing, the villagers have begun to place great hopes in education, seeing in it a means of escaping from the land. Fifteen boys from the village were enrolled in the gymnasium in Kalamata in 1956, a quite considerable number in view of the fact that they had to live away from home, and thus had to meet expenses far greater than those confronting the boys from Nea Eleftherohori. In Kardamili itself, there is a school that teaches the first two years of the standard four-year gymnasium course. This school had eighty students, five more than

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

621 a distinguished man in any company. Authority seemed to rest
631 as naturally upon his shoulders as the callouses rested upon
178 his palms. This easy relation between village officers and the people of their community had definitely not been characteristic in 1947.

621 Local government in Greece was suffering, however, from a
631 chronic and serious handicap. Local authorities lacked funds,
652 and could seldom do anything beyond routine administration without borrowing from some agency of the central government.[1] The result of this situation was to extend greatly the real authority and influence of the central government over local affairs. Village and municipal authorities spent a great deal of time waiting in the anterooms of officials of the central government in the hope of securing money with which to carry through some local improvement.

621 Villages had always depended on the Agricultural Bank or
651 on one of the central ministries for finding money for any im-
652 portant project; cities and towns until 1949 had financed their local expenditures mainly through excise duties imposed upon
178 goods brought into the municipality. Before that year, long
631 lines of peasant carts, waiting their turn at municipal excise stations, were a frequent sight in the outskirts of every town. Internal tariffs were abolished in 1949, however, and the share of the cigarette tax, levied nationally, which was assigned to municipalities in lieu of these excises proved generally inadequate. Town governments were therefore in poor shape financially, and any public improvements that were made came from special grants or loans from the central government.

[633 365] 1. The municipality of Athens, for example, had been insolvent for as long as anyone cared to recall. The problem was such that in 1955 and again in 1956, the Athens Power Company threatened to cut off the supply of electricity to municipal institutions unless some of the back bills were paid.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

of local resources were to occur, then restriction of current consumption would be necessary. Money and goods would have to be diverted from consumption to capital construction. Without such diversion, the country was condemned to chronic poverty, unless foreign investment and financing came to the rescue. Up to 1956 Greece had indeed depended upon foreign investment for its capital development; but the United States Congress could scarcely be counted upon to continue its support indefinitely. In fact, between 1954 and 1956 it became clear that American aid to Greece was to be shaped by more narrowly conceived American interests, which would mean that military subsidy and the disposal of surplus American agricultural products would take precedence over industrial or any other sort of capital investment in Greece. Moreover, a Greek government that depended upon American bounty would necessarily surrender a large portion of its effective sovereignty, as happened between 1947 and 1952. Such a policy would expose Greek authorities to charges of acting as craven "yes men" to the Americans, and of betraying Greek national interests, as, for instance, in Cyprus.

471 457 648 663

Dependence upon foreign funds to finance capital development was therefore a poor substitute for financing such development from local resources. Yet no one in Greece wanted to reduce and few wished to restrict the standard of living. The general public was impatient of austerity and wanted an immediate and miraculous increase in consumption levels. The chronic disbalance of the governmental budget reflected (among other factors) the pressure of these demands – demands for higher pensions and salaries, for better unemployment, medical and old-age benefits, and the like. To offer present hardship in the hope of future amelioration of economic conditions was therefore politically unthinkable, even though this was the only program that could really cope with the prob-

471 511 652 663

471 lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current
511 running expenses and to finance a modest program of govern-
652 ment capital investment proved far more palatable politically,
[458] even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

433 Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped na-
511 tions in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip
663 increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

647 To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of politi-
177 cal debate and the planning of technicians in the economic
433 ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only
645 slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In
663 some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

/20 cont./ In 443 438

exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants, visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks, creates more enemies than anything else. 436

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers. At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses. They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The

443 452 [433] [451] [578] [652]

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece. There is pride in the many co-operatives, spread throughout the country; there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there, and there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means, that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village, to be prevented from destroying its resources, and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare. There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government. All this is true. According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units, the Greeks were, and to some extent are now completely co-operative. Families and villages were responsible for their own indigent; a prominent peasant would impoverish himself to build a village school or improve the water system. They made their own decisions and carried them out; they chose their own leaders. The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century. But later, the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern, taking no account of the existing units of co-operation, or of the existing patterns of self-participation. The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact, in co-operating. The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair. Actually the rate, which was eight per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928, and is now as high as 18 per cent, with incidental fees, which peasants get from the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set with the welfare of the farmers in view, or according to their decision. In 1936, more than 3,000 of the 3,761 were credit co-operatives under the central supervision of the state. The others, such as the producers' co-operatives, were mainly compulsory. Such were the citrus growers' associations in Crete, the wine growers' association in Samos, Levkas, Attica, and Chalkis. There are now marketing co-operatives and machine-owning co-operatives, as well as a growing number of processing co-operatives. In general, the co-operatives are firmly controlled by the central government and the farmers are not even allowed to co-operate to the extent of electing their own officers. As a result, the attitude toward external authority has been evoked, and, in most cases, co-operation has to be compulsory as all government legislation has to be compulsory, and the so-called co-operative decisions are circumvented like all government decisions. Another attitude has also been evoked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed the dictatorship; deprived of responsible decision and participation, these people fell into the pattern of accepted dependency; such people, unaware that they are "co-operating", say: "The government is

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

public facilities can also be provided where the people are concentrated in villages. 361

Students of village life, in addition to deciding why settlements are found where they are, also try to describe the different shapes which the settlements assume. In Greece one finds a great many compact (nucleated) villages in which the lanes move in all directions from the central square and houses are built along these lanes. Another type, found, for instance, in the northern Peloponnesos between Corinth and Patras, is the line village which extends like a ribbon along some main highway and has little depth in either direction. Sometimes these line villages also follow a narrow river valley. In any event, the lay of the land contributes to the shape of the settlement, as well as to its aesthetic effect upon the passerby. [363]

The Importance of Roads

One need not sit in the village square or around a fire in the main room of a peasant's house very long before learning that roads are important topics of conversation.[7] They loom large in the peasant's consciousness, revealing a growing desire on the part of the villagers for a rapid link with the outside. Their isolated world is breaking down, much to their joy, and they are feeling more and more a part of the body politic of Greece. 491 [521] [619]

Today one can travel to most of the major towns of Greece on relatively narrow but high-speed, black-topped roads. Every few miles an all-weather gravel road leads off from these highways to serve a number of villages through which it winds; it also serves an even greater number connected with it by a road passable only in good weather or by a donkey track over which no motor vehicle can travel. Many familiar with the contribution of the American aid program to Greece maintain that, aside from the turning of the tide against the Communist guerrillas, the most lasting reminder of American help will be the greatly expanded road system. In Northern Greece, in particular, military roads are being constructed through areas which formerly were hours away from any contact with trucks or buses; and in all parts of Greece villagers through the "personal labor" program are building roads to connect their communities with some good highway not too far away. [177] [653]

Sensing the stress placed upon roads, we began to talk to people about the difference that a new road made to the villages it reached. Everywhere the testimony was much the same. One nomarch (or prefect) gave this explanation: "With a new road the state functions can be more immediately brought to the people. The new agricultural extension program can be taken to a village on a road and people can go to the center to talk to the officials. But there are more gradual changes as well: the peasant wants to improve his home because his wider travel helps him see a better life; he wants to keep his home cleaner." 491 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
● 653 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor. 623 653 [651] [727]

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done. [316] [333]

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax: 651 [203]

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

Here the local authorities were following the ancient practice of "farming" out the taxes to the highest bidder who, in turn, was expected to derive from rigorous collection much more than he paid for the right. Every time a bleating goat or an ox changed masters, the successful bidder would collect his 2 percent of the sale price.

The community council has other duties in addition to managing a community-owned radio, rebuilding churches, and collecting taxes. It conducts local elections as well.[6] By 1951 the political situation had stabilized to the point that local elections could be held throughout the country. Of the registered voters, a greater proportion of women than men voted, thereby showing their appreciation of the right of suffrage. From nine to thirty-one 623 666 [633]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw 000
Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it
lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were 746
still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek 625
officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the 735
International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village 622
presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the
outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, 578
as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly 622
toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In 661
one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My [653]
brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built.
He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the 622
president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council 623
will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed [208]
on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect
the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

> Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

622
623 cil members who are in some way connected with the project or activity. The mayor usually introduces topics for the approval of the council, but no action can be taken before the prefect of the area gives his final approval.

[208] In Stavroupolis, people respond quite emotionally to each method applied by the village government. Problems are discussed by the council before decisions are made and are discussed again by the male population in the coffeehouse with interest and emotion. . . . The village government's business is their business and these informally-made decisions are important since no project can operate normally or smoothly if their informal decisions are opposed.[8]

651 But no picture of local government is complete without some sketch of the tax and financial picture. According to the 1950–51 legislation, local governments gain their revenues from the following sources.[9]

Property Revenues
— For the use of slaughterhouses
— Grazing rights on communal-owned land

Dues and Excises
— Building dues, ½ to 1 percent of the amount of cost
— For the use of sidewalks, streets, and public squares
— Dues on hotels, beds, and bills
— Weight and measure excises; advertisement excises
— For the use of municipal and communal property, works and services including garbage and cleanliness, electricity and gas

Direct Taxes
— Tax on agricultural and forestry products: 2 percent mandatory, 4 percent optional
— Tax on cattle; tax on poultry and fish up to 3 percent of price
— Tax on vacant plots within town plan areas in demes over 20,000 and those in the capital area and Thessalonike area
— Tax on property which has gained value owing to deme or communal public works

Indirect Taxes
— Tax on sale and purchase of cattle
— Tax on olive oil dregs

Contributions
— Contributions determined by council not over 30 million drachmas per head in Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika; 15 million on other demes; 5 million in communes

Personal Work
[653] — In demes and communes under 10,000 population, men over eighteen work ten days a year. Also includes their animals and motor equipment

Loans, Donations and Legacies

Sale of Real Estate and Movable Property

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many argu-
578 ments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
634 for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
623 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The
653 nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guerrillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office 75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
634 twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a
275 truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted, "did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sundays before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
369

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban
[212] Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent
[369] among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men).
[562] Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were
[669] deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war
[875] many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen to us if we can't read?"

871 LOCAL SUPPORT FOR THE SCHOOL

Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by
[875] the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school, since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many
[875] parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people and the community council toward the education of their children.

[634] One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred
[653] schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board, the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable. 871

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities. 346 [177]

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture: [177] 346 727

The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[6] [634] [658] [653]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7] 872 [346] [875]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned.

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities.

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments.

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II.

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev-

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias*, often translated "welfare through
653 employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
207 Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administra-
491 tion (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds
178 true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
[247] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these
and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire
[654] for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 178 ● 653 During this same September 1959 visit I had occasion to review, as on a previous occasion, the community-development program of the Save the Children Federation, an American organization. It contributes its funds, set aside for community development, only if the adults of the community agree to make contributions of their own (labor, materials, money) to the construction of a better school, the installation of a public water supply, the planting of a school orchard, or the construction of a dock to bring economic advantages to an otherwise bypassed coastal village.

177 178 [65] Anyone trying to cover completely the numerous programs designed to change village life for the better would find them springing up in a variety of places. The official government programs, each under one of the ministries, cover a wide range of activities. Agriculture is more adequately represented than health, education more than social welfare, and economic programs more than recreational programs. But this emphasis is not unexpected in a rural setting. All official American programs, being governmental, work through the Greek ministries and agencies. Next, in drawing up a comprehensive list, one could chronicle the quasi-governmental programs such as those embodied in the King's Fund and the Queen's Fund, the Volunteer Nursing Corps, and similar bodies. In addition to these, there are numerous groups started and managed by public-spirited Greek citizens interested in rural improvement. These range from agricultural education to reforestation to preservation of the folk arts. To those already found could be added the programs of a variety of international agencies, such as UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, and the Secretariat of the United Nations, as well as the very active International Red Cross. Finally, one could include a large assortment of private efforts sponsored by organizations from several European countries as well as Canada and the United States. Such organizations might be religious in nature, strictly welfare, or a combination of both.

No wonder, then, that the Greek villager becomes confused about who promises what and fails to deliver, or whom to thank for a bundle of clothes received in the mail. No wonder that he sometimes is nonplussed about what government official to wait upon. If he is a community president, he will probably visit his nomarch, but the chances are that the nomarch is not altogether versed in the number of programs intent upon effecting change in the villages under his supervision.

178 More than ever before, the Greek villager's way of life has become a target of change. In this sense, he typifies efforts being made in other countries and on other continents to move people from an archaic to a modern style of life, and to help them realize expectations and hopes of which they are only now becoming aware.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the community. The secretary tends to remain in office for many years, thereby becoming the equivalent of a permanent civil servant.

The president is held responsible for the completion of the tasks assigned to him and to his council. These include registration of births and deaths, a census of males every five years, the physical maintenance of the roads and public wells in the village, the preparation of the community tax rolls, and the preparation of an annual village budget.

In a community the size of Vasilika the maintenance of vital statistics is not an onerous task, since births, deaths, and the age and sex distribution of the population are matters of common knowledge. The maintenance of village property is a more complicated matter. Funds for materials are available in the village's account, which is held by the treasury at Amphiklia. The community may not draw on its account without the approval of the nomarch. Therefore, any public works program in the village is first formulated by the council and then sent for final approval to the nomarch's office. Village males who are more than fifteen years old are responsible for providing labor for road building and for minor repairs of village property. They may either give a certain number of days a year to work on such public projects or fulfill the obligation by furnishing money for a substitute. There is no effective practical way of enforcing adherence to the commitment. The state of the village roads and wells depends, therefore, on whether the village men are willing to work together to create a village asset.

In the course of our 1955–1956 stay at Vasilika a special impetus for road repairs presented itself. The council had requested that one bus a day traveling between Kifisokhori and Levadhia be rerouted so as to pass through the village. The nomarch had indicated that he would approve the change if the village road was repaired, and he authorized the necessary materials. One day in March, truckloads of earth were brought into the village and about one quarter of the adult male population shoveled the loose earth into the main ruts on the village road. The road was superficially improved thereby, and a month or so later a bus was routed through the village. The poor drainage from one of the wells was not corrected, however, so that the regular spillage from the well quickly restored the old puddles in the road.

The men and boys who worked on the road project lacked their customary vigor. Indeed, the majority of the male population of the village claimed to have work to do in the fields that day and did not join in the road work at all. There was much joking, teasing, and clowning while the work was going on, and the efforts of two of the older men to convince the group to set to work with a will were unavailing. The attitude of the road workers requires explanation because all the villagers were agreed on the importance of the new bus route and they actively dislike mud. The muddiness of the village road in winter and early spring was a particular subject for comment and several times evoked the question, "Do you have mud in America, too?" An Athenian who visited the village in late spring was critical of the villagers because their *aghora* was unpaved. "Don't you have a lot of mud all winter?" she asked. "Oh no, we don't have any mud in winter. Very little," was the response from one of the villagers. He would not even admit to so unsightly a condition.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vineyard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur, and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two communities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a nonresident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agreements among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the cords may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Village Life]

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their tradi-
[458] tional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[642] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and contributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas
[701] attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by launching an ambitious program of public works, especially
[625] road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

622 624 As one would expect in any small community whose members are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to [702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group [653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central government. [651] This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 631 652 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improvements requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 654 x178 [609] Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of government representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

669 722 [727] too, burned some houses, including those belonging to the three "rich" families of the community. These had fled to Volos, together with some other families from the village. The people who remained were inclined to support the guerrillas.

The guerrillas,

About two weeks after my visit in 1947, the army evacuated all the remaining inhabitants of Cherasia to Volos. There they remained in refugee quarters for two and a half years. The last guerrilla band disappeared from Mount Pelion only in 1950, some six months after the main guerrilla army in the north had retreated across the Albanian frontier. It was therefore late in 1950 before the inhabitants of Cherasia were allowed – or compelled – to return to their village.

727 •653 [657] [233] Government authorities were, however, well aware of the difficulties that confronted the community. The returned refugees were given every help to re-establish themselves. They received, gratis, 238 sheep to serve as a nucleus for their flock, as well as materials for the reconstruction of their houses, most of which had suffered damage. Officials issued seed and implements as well. A comprehensive work relief program was set up; for about two years after their return, the men of Cherasia received wages for working on projects that directly benefited their community. In this fashion the new road over the mountain was built – shortening the way to Volos by nearly half. [346] [312] Similarly, new and very handsome school and church buildings were constructed; and pipes from the spring in the upper village brought fresh water into lower Cherasia for the first time. This was vital if the population was to remain in the lower village the year around, since water had previously been unavailable there in summer. Another side of the government policy was to give no help toward reconstruction of the village of upper Cherasia – perched, as it was, high on the mountain beyond the reach of roads. No doubt the authorities in this fashion hoped to tie the villagers to the accessible lower village, and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
727 forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
[669] expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
[653] in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

in order to help him in his activities; thus he creates deviations from the traditional type, variations from the original form. The scholar may see the solutions which the man of the people finds for the various problems connected with house construction, with storage of cattle foodstuffs, shelter of cattle and arrangement of space. He may see his very spiritual and productive forces in action and in full application. For, the methods and means which the popular builder uses in solving these problems, reflect the thought, the practical mind, the creative force, the sence of beauty of the man of the people. This is why it is difficult for me to understand how it is possible that a study of art and material life of the people can be separated from the whole folklore research, as if it was a separate subject; because the things as such are of great interest for folklore study as constituting elements of popular civilization studied by it, and on the other hand, because the man of the people, whose spiritual and creative forces are investigated by Folklore, is acting behind these things. 121 342*

Researches on the popular house are naturally of great importance both for ethnology and for the general history of civilization, but the same holds true for all the subjects of folklore research, especially for those transmitted from people to people.

It is evident that each effort to proceed to a general synthesis of the forms of the Greek house and of its relation to the houses of the other peoples of the Balkans and of Asia Minor assumes the collection of various and abundant comparative material, pertaining to the arrangement of the plan as well as to the methods of construction. I think however that such an attempt, at least as far as the Greek side is concerned, is not premature to-day.

The war and the occupation, and later the communist rebellion, supported from abroad, apart from the other calamities, had as a result the destruction of a great number of houses. The private houses, public buildings, schools, churches and communal buildings destroyed amount to 430.000. The destruction is so big that in future we shall know the architectural forms of some areas only by surveys made in those areas. 121 362 727 653

The urgent need to reconstruct the ruins and to rehabilitate the agricultural economy of the country, made necessary, even during the occupation, the reorganization of the Survey Office of the Town Planning Service, and the creation, immediately after the liberation, of the Ministry of Reconstruction, whose program of works includes the knowledge of the locally prevailing types and forms of popular

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
● 653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions
were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously
carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus
compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to
the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
* 342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
511 are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[583] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the
[597] daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build
his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are
obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bun-
galow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the
area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards im-
prove, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a
comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a
new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing
prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can
follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the
intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphic-
ally on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can
find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. (1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein. — I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

426,654

/For information on the granting of loans by the Agricultural Bank see category 652./

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[16] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests. 233 241 578 621

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in. [423] [474]

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The 233 578 185 [656] [669] [654]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep, which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peasant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her
[584] husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of
[654] Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own
[511] money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

These two home economists made the further observation that the "mar-
[578] ried couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[831] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

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Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

[462] [574] [511] [369]

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Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch
[124] with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis— vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
[621] in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[18] 664

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead. [369] [654]

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter. 622 664 [669] [646]

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch 662 664

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4] 565 554

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand. [423] [427]

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below: 575 621 [369]

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities. 575 654 [242]

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned.

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities.

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments.

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II.

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev-

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias*, often translated "welfare through
653 employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
207 Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administra-
491 tion (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds
178 true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
[241] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these
and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire
[654] for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

increased economic activity and not become a disturbing political force. A further fact is the peasant's chronic tendency to assume that he is not getting a square deal, or everything that is due him, because throughout his memory and that of his forebears he has been used to what he considers exploitation by a government or those from the city who would take advantage of him. No aid program can ever create a contented peasantry. Yet it is fair to ask what is being done in Greece today to help the individual villager solve the problems of immediate interest to him. The brightest hope, and one recognized by Munkman, is the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service, so organized as to take advantage of the long American experience in this field, the lessons learned by the Near East Foundation in Greece, and the application by dedicated Greeks of these lessons to contemporary conditions. A comparison between what is now available to the farmer and what was available before the war shows a tremendous gain in his behalf. To be sure, the peasant does not apply all that he is taught by the extension worker, and now and then administrative decrees (such as cutting from the budget the transportation item) limit the effectiveness of the extension worker. But in every part of Greece trained personnel are visiting the villagers and, as never before, showing an interest in their welfare and helping them think through their economic problems. Home-economics workers, working with the farm women, are also making considerable headway.

When I investigated social changes occurring between 1952-53 and 1959, those whose knowledge of Greek village life I have found to be most accurate said, "Certainly the greatest change you will find is the development of the agricultural-extension program and the service it is rendering." In other words, the central government is sending "change agents" [10] throughout Greece to help initiate improvements in farming and homemaking, and it is not waiting for the peasants to journey to Athens for answers to their problems. There are limits to what any professional staff can do, but to the extent that these extension workers, both men and women, receive necessary support, to that extent one will find rapid change in the countryside.

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 15, of the organizations being set up in Greek villages by the extension service as well as by the Queen's Fund. This fund concentrates primarily upon Northern Greece and through its village welfare centers seeks to raise the educational, cultural, and economic level of the villages. The King's Fund is interested in the villager. In September 1959 I visited near Athens the handsome Community Development Training Center, financed by this fund, where I met with a group of about fifty teachers who had been invited there, with all expenses paid, to study how teachers can be agents of community improvement. When I joined the group, they were listening to a lecture on scientific beekeeping so that they could talk intelligently on this subject to their pupils and the pupils' parents.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

56 hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and
828 some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but
771 God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes
867 affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an
omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God
[776] has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does
the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physi-
[821] cal phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual
protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to
adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

855 Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There
854 are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika.
Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other
peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In
addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human
beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start
to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself
away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as
she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has
exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling
bands.

855 Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents
in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other
matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the
sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his
father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth
and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon
away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets
the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

[865] In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen en-
couraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight
with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made
them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children
were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough
earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and
then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed
[654] them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government
agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against New-
[232] castle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned
him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959):863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the child that he would have the agent inject him just as if he were a chicken. The child started to cry, and after two or three minutes, his father righted the child and comforted him.

Sometimes adults use similar methods to discipline a child. On one occasion, a group of women were discussing the coming Easter festivities, and the two-year-old niece of one of them kept climbing on and off her aunt's lap. The child was told several times to sit still but ignored the request. Finally, her aunt laid the child on its back across her knees and laughingly told her they would kill her like the Easter lamb. The woman ran the edge of her hand over the child's throat to demonstrate the slitting of the lamb's throat. The others laughed and added vivid details. The child's eyes showed panic; she struggled up out of her aunt's lap and sat quietly on a stool for about fifteen minutes until they both left. We heard the aunt speaking gently and endearingly to the child as they departed.

As the foregoing examples indicate, when adults deliberately frighten children or even stimulate milder forms of distress, they do not abandon the child to his misery but try to relieve the anxiety by physical affection and soothing words. In spite of this, however, a three-year-old child will often try to hit a parent or elder brother or sister who is causing distress. He is laughed at for his futile efforts by those watching the scene. Four- and five-year-old children respond to the teasing by walking away or by maintaining stolid expressions. Once they do this, the severity and frequency of the teasing by elders decreases, and the pattern continues mostly among the children themselves in their relations with each other. Practical jokes continue on into adolescence. From the adults' point of view, the teasing is no longer amusing or valuable for discipline because the child has gained enough knowledge, enough intelligence to know that the process is a kind of game and has acquired the skill with which to handle his side of it. Mentally retarded individuals never learn, and they are baited and teased for the amusement of the watchers all their lives. From the child's point of view, the constant reassurance he receives after the pain may teach him that there is no real or permanent danger in the adult actions except that of ridicule, and that is what he learns to try to avoid.

Just as the teasing leads to a recognition that other people's actions and words should not be taken at face value, so does another common pattern of dealing with children—the pattern of deliberately lying to them. Usually, parents or older brothers and sisters lie to a child to get him to do what he does not want to do. For example, a three-year-old child may be asked to go into another room to fetch something. The child does not respond to several requests; his mother then tells him his father is in the other room and will give him candy if he goes. The child thinks he remembers that his father left for the fields early in the morning, and therefore is not likely to be in the next room; he makes a comment to this effect; his mother seriously reassures him that his father is really in the next room; he becomes uncertain and, finally, cautiously goes to the door, opens it slowly and looks inside. At this point his mother and anyone else around laugh at his look of chagrin.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

622 As one would expect in any small community whose members
624 are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to
[702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group
[653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central govern-
[651] ment. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improve-
631 ments requiring money or supplies from outside sources does
652 the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not
● 654 altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of gov-
x 178 ernment representatives, whom they suspect of being more
[609] often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community.

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today.

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress.

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

178x 652 241 453 435 654

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

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If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

178x 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

647 in the office concerned, in order to open a door for prompt and
662 courteous service by means of private communication. As a result, a comparatively small number of persons whose social position or family connections gave them an inside track enjoyed a great advantage in dealings with officialdom, while the poor and friendless could hardly regard the government machine as anything but an obstacle between themselves and their legal rights.

647 The idea that officials should be public servants rather than
661 public masters has never been firmly rooted in modern Greece. Byzantine and Turkish tradition, transformed according to Bavarian and then German models, shaped the civil service; and the fact that educated persons regard themselves as elevated far above their ignorant fellows has reinforced and perpetuated the old dichotomy between official and subject.

647 It must be said that the fault has not lain entirely with the
661 civil servants. The ordinary private citizen in Greece is prone
662 to look upon the government as his natural enemy – a group of men who are out to tax him and interfere with what he wants to do. It follows that almost any device to foil the agents of the government is considered legitimate – deceit, lying, bribery or just the exertion of "influence." Indeed, almost all Greeks entertain a kind of admiration for a man who is clever or bold or lucky enough to get around the law and the bureaucracy. Sense of duty to public authorities and laws has never been very strong in the country. More than most nations, the Greeks remain anarchists and individualists at heart; and rather high-handed methods, together with rigid punctiliousness in matters of red tape, is a natural and perhaps almost inevitable official response to such public attitudes.

647 A few segments of the bureaucracy, however, were making
663 serious efforts to serve the public. The most conspicuous of
177 these were the agricultural extension agents, whose contacts
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the reinvigoration of local government. During the war and afterward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Cherasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Cherasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

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A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241
munity is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/15 cont./

people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

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Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

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a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

/63 cont./

Unfortunately the women lack even the simplest /64/ knowledge in nutrition and always prepare an unbalanced diet, although available food stuffs are enough to prepare a balanced diet. Thus the diet is poor. The local doctor always mentioned the fact that medicines will not cure the disease unless the people have a diet suitable to their work and conditions. 146

The question is not how to teach them a balanced diet and nutrition but how to use advantageously the existing food materials and to study the economic conditions so as to ascertain a feasible program for balancing their diet. It was one of the mistakes of the home demonstration center which started teaching them science and nutrition, instead of trying to find out what they had and how they were using it so as to improve their methods of utilizing it better. [654]

PART V. HEALTH.

Home Remedies. The people of Megali Vrisi can never forget what they learned from their parents regardless of education and new environment. Both the doctor and the local nurse would advise the women how to take care of the sick, but still one would find them trying their own methods before attempting the doctors or the nurses. Through experience the farmers found certain plants that have definite results for every disease and /65/ sickness. For a cold they drink boiled camomile. For stomach troubles they boil the roots of a plant and drink the juice. For boils they put on boiled onion, boiled linseed and fresh cow manure. 757 178

Regardless of whether they have the nurse and the doctor in their village, in case of sickness they will consult first the experienced neighbor and as a last resort they will consult the nurse or the doctor. [759]

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in. [165]
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by
[167] Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the
[526] village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
463
423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests. 233 241 578 621

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in. [423] [474]

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The 233 578 185 [656] [669] [654]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes
476 closely identified with the central government, which immediately intro-
478 duces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting
438 past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic
474 greatness because of the well-run association which administered the com-
621 munity's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish
474 masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece
426 today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village
[875] of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with
656 at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [167] [241] [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] 474 652 [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity 474 177 [652]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 435 cost because for the women, in particular, work on the farm was a way of life. "After all, what else would they do?" the visitors contended.

248 472 451 434 461 The discussion was extraordinarily illuminating because of the clarity with which it defined the villagers' overt conception of their own purpose in farming. The Vasilika men were thinking of their farms as commercial enterprises and were applying to their operation, however unwittingly, modern cost accounting principles whereby the labor of members of a family is a proper charge against profits in a family enterprise. The Vasilika farmers do not actually keep sets of books on their farming operations, but they do keep records, in an unsystematic way, of some transactions. Even though they do not keep exact accounts, they think of their agricultural activity as a business enterprise and evaluate the success or failure of their family farms in monetary terms. The visitors, in contrast, were recommending that Vasilika's farmers think of themselves as peasants, not as entrepreneurs. In other words, the visitors were suggesting that farming in the Boeotian countryside is a way of life. They meant that its satisfactions should come as much from the means as from the ends. For the women, at least, the visitors contended, work in the fields and in the subsidiary agricultural tasks was as good a way to pass the time as any other and that their work was merely one aspect of their roles as wives and daughters. The farmers said, in effect, that their women were performing specialized agricultural tasks primarily as a means to an end, the end of earning a profit from the operation of the family farm. Therefore, contended the farmers, when women do agricultural jobs, they are properly considered as agricultural labor, like the hired workers with which the households ordinarily supplement their manpower.

[242] The villagers' arguments were entirely consistent with their behavior. To accept machinery and chemical aids which increase yields and save time, as Vasilika's farmers have done, presumes that they place a value both on quantity of production and also on man-hours of work. In other words, they run their farms, at least partly, from the standpoint of rational economic efficiency. Actual accomplishment of efficiency is far from complete in Vasilika. Our point here has to do with attitudes and tendencies.

249 434 656 [221] The tobacco crop gives an even greater cash yield than cotton in relation to the investment, and its cycle of production fits well into otherwise slack periods. Vasilika's farmers would prefer to raise more tobacco, but the acreage devoted to this plant is centrally controlled by the Greek government. Each year, farmers are assigned the right to plant a specific number of *stremata* to tobacco, with the variations dependent on the anticipated world market for the crop.

249 221 [462] Men plow tobacco fields in November at about the same time and in the same way as they do the wheat fields. In December, the men prepare the frames for the tobacco seed beds, and the women plant and tend the seeds. The seed beds are usually near the farmer's house. During this month, the canes which will later be used for hanging the tobacco are cut and stored. The villagers use burlap lightly stretched over reed frames to protect the seedlings from the cold

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3] 428 423

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands controlled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef- 621 669 578

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, consequent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the difference, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher. 621 163 433 [563]

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land distributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them. [656]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

By 1956 "everybody"
178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
435 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
[241] with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat, raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Eleftherohori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[245]
[452] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricultural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hopefully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but because the villagers failed to look after them.

Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land – the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a forest preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical – pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

178x 829 669 433 313 656 [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

669 722 657 178x

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

217 166 727

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works

793 The contrast between an ordinary priest's home and the bishop's palace
794 in Kalamata is quite marked, for the latter was once the ornate building
[346] housing the local branch of the Bank of Greece. But the bishop's interest in the people of his diocese, both the city dwellers in Kalamata and the farmers in the surrounding villages, equaled that of any priest for his parishioners. The bishop, when visited in 1953, proved a friendly, jovial person, with an iron-gray beard, a dignified though rotund figure, and a very forward-looking social philosophy. It was this latter quality in particular that had made me seek him out after hearing from friends in Athens of his unusual achievements in the welfare field.

He began to talk about what he had done and hoped to do for his people: "I became interested when I saw their great needs, for, as a church leader, I am responsible for the welfare of whatever people are under me." But before he started on any specific projects after his arrival in this diocese, he had thought it best, as he phrased it, "to put myself at the disposal of the people." He gradually gained the confidence of the members of his diocese by making available to them for local use all of the church's funds derived from festivals. The people began to realize that this bishop was interested in them. Later on, when he began asking them to support the various projects which he started, they gladly cooperated.

793 His first project was a day nursery, which takes care of one hundred and twenty children whose mothers are at work, started in 1947. Visiting this
747 nursery in the afternoon when all of the children had gone home, we noted the cleanliness and the simple but adequate facilities. The success of this nursery prompted the bishop to start another one in Mycenae for one hundred children in 1948.

736 One perplexing problem was that of illegitimate children. In many cases
793 the mother would kill such a child or leave it with people who exploited it
848 unmercifully. So he started a home for these children in 1947. Since then, two hundred and fifty children have gone through the home, sixty of them
[597] have been adopted and fifty were there then. The equipment was simple
[847] and bare, but everything was spotless. When we entered, the children came up to the bishop with great pleasure, for he is a favorite with the young children. One of the nurses told us: "When we have a child that is lonesome, who won't eat, we ask the bishop to come feed the child. When he comes, the child always eats."

793 The bishop noticed, however, that many of the boy foundlings, but relatively few of the girl foundlings, would be adopted. The boys who were not
736 taken by foster parents by their fifth or sixth year would go into the National
[597] Boys' Orphanage of Kalamata, largely supported by the state, which had
[657] one hundred and fifty boys in 1953. Something had to be done for the girls.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave
788 them an emotional uplift.

But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he
793 had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in
[737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a poly-
[874] technic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about
[177] $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more ac-
[743] tivity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

793 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole
794 complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country, especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never
● 657 confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of in-
794 mates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their
[428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial
[769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the
[748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance
669 for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
166 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did
[657] not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as
[369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes follow-
[302] ing the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was
> [657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

created as it were out of nothing. Everywhere these institutions were hastily improvised in the face of desperate and clamorous necessity, and, more often than not, maintained with a heroic disregard for the universal lack of material resources, and a courage worthy of a St. Vincent de Paul. 727 794

In almost every diocese the bishop bore a heavy responsibility in this work of relief. Nearly always he exercised a close personal supervision over the various institutions which had come into being in response to the need of a people driven, for the second time within less than ten years, from their homes and lands; over the *estia* where for several years milk was distributed daily to thousands of refugee children; the *paidikos stathmos* where infants were cared for during the day; the distribution of clothing, black stuff for cassocks, soap, cocoa, macaroni, beans, sugar, boots and shoes—all the multiplicity of urgently needed supplies with which a host of relief organisations, societies, British and American towns and villages, and private benefactors sought to succour the people of Greece in their distress. [648]

At Siderokastro, for example, the Metropolitan (who as assistant bishop of Salonica was an ardent supporter of the work of the Near East Foundation during the period between the wars), founded a small hospital where poor families could receive free medical attention, as well as a remarkable school of housekeeping for girls of marriageable age. Like all the Macedonian 'despots', the Bishop was president of the local branch of the national relief organisation known as P.I.K.P.A., and supervised the two centres from which milk and cocoa were issued daily to thousands of refugee children from the villages of his diocese. [657] [793]

At Edessa, in western Macedonia, the Metropolitan founded, shortly after the end of the occupation, an orphanage for twenty-five boys. This was originally situated in a house on the outskirts of the town, but during the heavy fighting at Epiphany, 1949—when Naoussa, a few kilometres to the southward, was sacked by the Communists and more than 600 of its inhabitants carried away captive to the mountains —this building was extensively damaged and rendered almost uninhabitable. The Bishop then established his orphans under the care of a monk in a dilapidated Turkish house next to the metropolis, and this was subsequently transformed into a permanent orphanage. Not content with this, the Bishop proceeded to found two further orphanages attached to nearby monasteries, as soon as the district was sufficiently tranquil [669] [792]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 flickered within the church. Leaving the saints to their solitary vigil we plunged deeper into the uninhabited wastes that stretched southward toward Metsovo and the Thebaid of Staghi.

During the course of the next four days we worked our way eastwards to Trikomon and Kipouryio, and then turned north towards Mavranaioi and Grevena, to complete the first part of my itinerary. At three of the villages on our route there were isolated garrisons: otherwise the whole district lay abandoned. We passed through hamlet after hamlet where every house was destroyed, where churches stood open to the skies and no living creature broke the three-year silence. At Kipouryio the chapel [669] of St. Paraskeve—a saint whose apparent connexion with the sixth day [346] of the week (in Greek, *paraskew*, the day of preparation) has given rise to some very singular local cults in the country districts—had been [776] stripped of its furnishings and turned into a hospital by the Communists: empty bottles and boxes which had contained medical supplies lay strewn about the building.

Upon our return to Grevena we encountered a vast multitude of [657] ragged children straggling back towards the refugee camp, grasping huge slabs of bread and honey: more than 4,000 children were being fed daily at the *estia* outside the high school. We found the Lord Theokletos a little concerned lest I should have fallen into the hands of the *katsapliades*—communications in the mountains out beyond Mavranaioi were notoriously unreliable. I waded through the mud 484 with my captain from Volos to call on the colonel of the local militia, under whose protection I should be travelling for the rest of my itinerary. There was no news to be had anywhere save of the forthcoming elections.

At ten o'clock the following morning we were making slow progress westwards through melting snow: four militiamen, the president of the village of Elatos and myself; a large American mule floundering astern 727 with the baggage. Above the ruins of Doxaras we turned aside to view the pile of stones which was all that remained of the church of St. 346 George. A few families had returned to this hamlet and were living in nissen huts on the hillside below the ruined church. The whole village had been destroyed.

An hour later we found ourselves among the newly built cottages of Elatos. Above a cluster of wretched *kalyvai* rose the fabric of an unfinished church. The village, the president told us, had been burned down in July, 1942, and reduced to ruins. The work of rebuilding was begun

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

727 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of
621 young men dressed in homespun.

[571] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat
[657] from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today
[491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn al-
[233] most the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The
[492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta
241 is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres
233 of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one
[242] of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

669 722 [727] too, burned some houses, including those belonging to the three "rich" families of the community. These had fled to Volos, together with some other families from the village. The people who remained were inclined to support the guerrillas.

The guerrillas,

About two weeks after my visit in 1947, the army evacuated all the remaining inhabitants of Cherasia to Volos. There they remained in refugee quarters for two and a half years. The last guerrilla band disappeared from Mount Pelion only in 1950, some six months after the main guerrilla army in the north had retreated across the Albanian frontier. It was therefore late in 1950 before the inhabitants of Cherasia were allowed – or compelled – to return to their village.

727 653 [657] [233] Government authorities were, however, well aware of the difficulties that confronted the community. The returned refugees were given every help to re-establish themselves. They received, gratis, 238 sheep to serve as a nucleus for their flock, as well as materials for the reconstruction of their houses, most of which had suffered damage. Officials issued seed and implements as well. A comprehensive work relief program was set up; for about two years after their return, the men of Cherasia received wages for working on projects that directly benefited their community. In this fashion the new road over the mountain was built – shortening the way to Volos by nearly half. [346] [312] Similarly, new and very handsome school and church buildings were constructed; and pipes from the spring in the upper village brought fresh water into lower Cherasia for the first time. This was vital if the population was to remain in the lower village the year around, since water had previously been unavailable there in summer. Another side of the government policy was to give no help toward reconstruction of the village of upper Cherasia – perched, as it was, high on the mountain beyond the reach of roads. No doubt the authorities in this fashion hoped to tie the villagers to the accessible lower village, and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia
[Hill Villages]

badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly 647 663
effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for [177] [654] American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another [657] branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced 178
highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the re- 631
invigoration of local government. During the war and after- 621
ward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed 647
through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elec- 666
tions were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly — witness Che- 621
rasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 631
1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Che- 178
rasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have [461]
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [242]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that 178
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old 461
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 462
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton.
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five [556]
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-
to-do peasantry. 178

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechaniza- 241
tion. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 407
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with [435]
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [452]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the re-
maining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government offi-
cials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be im- [439]
ported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem [444]
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of [874]
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
241
434

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither.

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws.

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues." [4]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior.

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The children in our village are tyrannized. Just as they sit down to study their mother says, "Get up. Break your bones, take your papers and the goat, and take her out to pasture." "Get up, get some water, get some wood, go and bring in the oxen. Don't you hear? In the evening you can study." The children go do their different tasks and in the evening come back broken with fatigue and drop off to sleep. In the morning they are cuffed by the teacher because they haven't written their lesson, and thus it goes. Black letters they learn! As if they had a lamp! Most of them read sitting on the floor; they drop on their stomachs near the fireplace and read in the light of the burning wood. From exhaustion they fall asleep and there is danger that they might get burned if the elders do not pull them away. In spring when the days are longer they read outside; they take the hog and the goat and go here or there and read while the animals pasture. What sort of reading can they do? As soon as they start, the hog escapes here and the goat there; they try to catch the hog, the goat escapes again. They start crying and lost is the reading. They also get beaten if the animals cause damage to the crops. Most of the children work also in the field; they also do some heavier tasks. What sort of letters can they learn? It's lucky they learn as much as they do.

When I discussed parental attitudes toward education with an experienced school man in Northern Greece, he said: "Less land and more knowledge is needed. A farmer can't see the need of educating a son who is to farm. He will keep the one to succeed him at home and send the others off for an education." The people of Vilia, a village in Central Greece, brag that the parents there see to it that the children go through eight grades but indicate that the other villages do not do this. "We do this," they say, "because an educated man commands more respect." But what about the children in the other villages?

From time to time an Athens newspaper comes out with some shocking statistics which cause a sensation and are then forgotten. Such accounts point out that the Article 16 of the Constitution states: "Elementary education is obligatory for all and is supplied gratis by the state." In 1951–52 it was estimated that two hundred thousand Greek children of school age were not in attendance. Conditions have improved considerably since then, but the effects of this nonattendance will be felt for many years to come. At that time it was also stated that at about the third grade the numbers of those who started are halved, a truly high drop-out rate, although other reports place this reduction at the end of the fourth grade.[5] One article comments:

> Although the Constitution states that elementary schooling is supplied gratis, the various stamps and taxes, not to mention the prohibitive prices of schoolbooks, writing materials, and other paraphernalia, make this statement null and void.[6]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable. 871

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities. 346 [177]

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture: [177] 346 727

> The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[5]

[634] [658] [653]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7] 872 [346] [875]

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Therefore, the school board in many villages has its hands full trying to provide an adequate school building by seeking aid from the King's Institute, from the local community council, or from whatever other source can be tapped. The village is much more apt to procure and hold a teacher, since teachers are in such short supply, if it can provide him something approximating satisfactory living conditions. That is why some school boards, in constructing a new school, include a room in which the teacher can live, for such private accommodations are not available in many Greek villages. Providing necessary equipment and school supplies is another persistent problem for the school board, particularly since many of the parents cannot afford to buy for their children what the teacher thinks essential. Nor should it be supposed that the national government is indifferent to this state of affairs. Its funds for education are necessarily limited and these are first earmarked for teachers' salaries. What kind of person, one might ask, would care to teach under some of the difficulties encountered in the village schools?

[875] [346] [658]

The Village Teacher

875 872 For the almost 940,000 pupils in elementary school in 1956–57, there were 19,872 teachers. This means a national average of about 47 pupils per teacher, although as an average it indicates that a large number of teachers have more than this. In many of the smaller villages, the teachers have from four to six grades in one room, reminiscent of the rural one-room school in America of many years ago.

If we turn to accounts of village life, we gain a quick insight into, but certainly not a representative sampling of, the number of teachers one would meet, since each of these villages has at least three teachers:

[874] In a fairly large Macedonian village we find five teachers, three with the rank of "instructors" who have finished a two-year normal school beyond secondary school. The two others are trained kindergarten or nursery-school teachers. They have 402 pupils, of whom 358 are in the regular six grades and 44 are in kindergarten and nursery. Most of these teachers have been in this village for at least five years. Nevertheless, because of their urban background, their thinking is urban and they find it difficult to take part in village activities.

In a village near Xanthe there are three teachers, all new to the community, who are paid by the central government. Two of these are from the Peloponnesos far to the south. All are graduates of the pedagogical academies. They have 156 pupils with an average daily attendance of 142.

Another village in Central Greece has three teachers: one man and two women. The man has resided in the village since 1947; one woman was appointed head of the school in 1942 but was away during the German occupation; the third was appointed in 1951. All are graduates of the normal school.

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. 476
This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 621
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built [345]
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [533]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [735]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [314]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation [185]
project which was started by this group has led to the development [526]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

132

Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a different administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, 625 659
such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, [167]
we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental services enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not 65
have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local [369]
people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area. [625]
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the taxation and standardization of tobacco. [249]
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[12]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government car- 651
ries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support 631
of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

795 which are found throughout the Balkans, speaks of the rich texture of
184 Christianity there, which came to the Balkan nations in the shape of Byzantine Orthodoxy and which meant a particular culture, comprising art, literature, and theology, in the service of the Church.[3]

One has only to review the brief description of the peasant and nature or the peasant approach to sickness and child care in earlier chapters to see how lively is the environment for any peasant who believes in the Evil Eye or the omens of spiders, birds in flight, or the hooting of an owl.[4] The peasant, instead of being made over into some sort of revolutionary Christian image, was able to take early Christianity and make it over into the even earlier Greek image. That is what survives in rural Greece today.

The educated Greek went through almost the same process, but on a much more sophisticated level. Instead of equating the sun god with St. Elijah, he equated Platonic teachings with the doctrines of St. Paul. Thanassis Aghnides sets forth this theme:

> As regards religious life, let us not forget that the New Testament was written in Greek, and most of the principles of Christianity are loans from Greek moral philosophy. Plato's ideas could find no better means of diffusion in the world than the New Testament.
>
> Thus a Greek never feels that the Christian religion is a Jewish gift to the world. When he reads the New Testament he is reminded of the highest precepts of the Greek classical period. Here again the modern Greek is not very conscious of the lines of demarcation between the high precepts of Christianity, and, let us say, those of Socrates. The latter's principles and those of the Galilean are derived from the same source. The modern Greek is confusedly aware of this. He may not say it in as many words but he feels the modern ethical standards of the Christian world as being part and parcel of his own heritage from his classical ancestors.[5]

In support of this point of view among the peasants, I can mention the consternation shown by some Greek village women when, for the first time, they learned that Christ was a Jew. They had always assumed that he was Greek and would not believe otherwise until they had gone to check with the priest.

795 Orthodoxy and Greekness are tied in together not only because of the
619 continuity between ancient traditions and Christian doctrine; the Orthodox Church was also the vehicle through which Greekness was preserved under
● 659 alien conquerors. Church and politics went hand in hand. The Greek Orthodox Church, which was the basic institution of the Byzantine Empire, continues as such within the modern Greek nation, and contemporary Greeks, like the Byzantines, find it hard to accept political ideas which do not assume the complete unification of church and state. Today the church is still an integral part of the Greek government, its affairs administered
[793] within the Ministry of Education and Religion, the salaries of the clergy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religious belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interest and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[6]

Greeks view contemporary events in terms of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[7] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because these touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priest, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married and unmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmarried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks, can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many
[423] cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a
few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from
[441] the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usu-
[571] ally lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a
little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher
standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to
mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest mini-
[554] mum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called
a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

[794] The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop
appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can
raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways
the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the
kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often ac-
[428] quires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his chil-
dren. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service
of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now
off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a
fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When
I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they
pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the
names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family
was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as
a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church
papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all quali-
fied people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible
candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the
notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not
serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he
makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who dis-
cussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

793 In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest
465 and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop
(Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping
[659] his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupa-
tion back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid
by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products
from the parishioners. *Kondota,* or the subscription by families of so much
wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was
[794] widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round
figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

> As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

Social Drift

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *aghora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes 619
of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed 795
steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. [722]
The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious
defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God".
Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably [346]
linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood
paintings of the *Averoff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the
relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms
of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain 619
weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that 795
measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people
would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples 659
of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments 793
within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to
be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on
the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as compared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potentialities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed 178
to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only 795
dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping:
conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on
intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it
seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true
character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully
these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren
of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled
with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in
this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it
has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the
growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians,
the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of
incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for
Christendom as a whole.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

793 peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who
[463] exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

793 The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age, and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight
465 increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one
[874] of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—
[589] which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of
[659] his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this
792 may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic
[423] property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

793 Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in
[795] work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece.
[589] There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

792 have been allowed to rust these many years, and armed resistance,
727 however effective it may have been a century ago against a lightly armed assailant, could have availed the monks but little in the face of an enemy equipped with modern artillery. The monasteries lay at the mercy of the *barbaroi*: an easy prey, holding out a tempting prospect of plunder.

Elsewhere in Greece the destruction and pillage of religious houses has been less universal than in the isolated dioceses of the north. The ascetic life still flourishes in many communities scattered amongst the islands and in the Peloponnese; one may still find convents where the unrelenting battle with the powers of darkness is waged with something of its ancient ardour and where the monk is still manifestly the guardian of the walls; but such houses, it must be confessed, are now few and far between.

792 It must not, however, be supposed that the present decline of Greek
178 monasticism is wholly attributable to the effects of a decade of war.
659 Long before the storm burst upon them in 1940 the Greek monasteries had, with few exceptions, been reduced to a sorry plight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century many convents were very wealthy. Since then the foundations of their economy have been undermined by the loss of their properties situated in Rumania, the Caucasus and elsewhere, and as the result of a series of confiscations by the Hellenic government dating from 1833 onwards. Although a portion of the wealth made available by these confiscations has gone to swell the General Ecclesiastical Fund, and so to benefit the work of the Church, this anti-monastic legislation continues to arouse acrimonious controversy not only among the monks but (for rather different reasons) among churchmen in general.

There are, nevertheless, few laymen who would oppose the diversion of monastic property to the furtherance of social and educational projects and the improvement of the condition of the parochial ministry.
792 The contemplative life has few champions outside the *skitai* of the holy
178 mountain. There are many who value the monasteries for their former contribution to the life of the nation, for their traditions of hospitality, and for their archaeological interest, but few indeed who now regard them as centres of spiritual power. The traditional monasticism has come to be looked upon—at any rate in the towns—as an out-of-date phenomenon, quite irrelevant to the needs of the present time.

This is true not least of many of the leaders of the new movements,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know. 621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never 621 178x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

665 578 666 the rival party the other sixty percent support. However, should occasion seem opportune, a great number of them might switch to the support of a third party simply as a means of expressing disapproval of the performance of the ones they have been supporting. But let the men of a village find some common denominator, such as the erection of a school or a church building, and they will forget their political differences.

829 66 369 In conclusion, the best way to characterize "the peasant and politics" is in terms of indifference. This is especially true if one looks on politics as an organized way of bringing certain measures to pass through the election of officials committed to carrying them out. This has never worked for the Greek peasant in the past, and he is dubious about its merits in the future. If one means by politics the utilization of personal and family contacts with politicians and officials to get some gain for oneself, then the peasant can understand its significance and see its value. For, after all, politics and politicians are associated with the city and especially with Athens. Villagers are caught up in the backwash and, in their view of the world, have little importance as active agents. Political phenomena, like the weather, have to be endured, although now and then some useful protection from each might be sought in personal initiative, but not by group effort.

668 and then destroy the parliamentary machinery and civil liberty in favor of Communist dictatorship.

668 In 1956 these things were not apparent. Communism was not
648 an issue; Cyprus had replaced it, and the Communist party had officially endorsed the Cyprus struggle over the radio. No one admitted to being a Communist, since to do so would have been a short way to jail. The people seemed quite genuinely glad to be relieved of the long preoccupation with the Communist question, and to find a cause upon which everyone could unite. This was, indeed, one of the reasons why Cyprus was such a heart-warming cause for the Greeks. Everyone, no matter what his opinions on domestic issues, was behind the Cypriotes. The Greeks had not known what it was to be united on an important public issue since the time of the Albanian war in 1940. Yet if Communists and nationalists were to quarrel in Cyprus, a possibility of which there were already some convincing signs in the summer of 1956, then the Communist question would emerge again in Greece with new bitterness, as each side sought to blame the other for the disruption of the Cypriote struggle.

• 66 In any analysis such as this it is easy to overemphasize the instability and insecurity of Greek political affairs. Certainly Greek politics are unstable, and the parliamentary regime in Greece is insecure. But it is well to remember that these conditions are not new. Exactly the same could be said of the political scene at any time since 1909, when the current phase of modern Greek political life began. The Greeks have learned to
[829] live with such conditions, and even manage to derive lively ex-
[521] hilaration from the perpetual uncertainty of their politics. Without politics, what would there be to talk about in the cafés?

647 The things that are new in Greek public life attract little pub-
829 lic attention. The man in the street and in the village coffee

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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we ate, we watched the milking going on nearby. There was a rhythmic pitter-patter as the milk was squirted into the big receptacles. Each animal was named according to some physical characteristic, corresponding to "Brownie," "Dotty," "Blackie," or after some person whom the shepherd thought the sheep resembled. As the men sat there we asked them how they milked when it rained. They told us that they simply put on their heavy waterproof capes and kept right on milking.

Some of the sheep were sheared. We learned that the shearing was done below (on the plains) and sold unwashed for "it weighs more with the oil in it." The unsheared animals were simply carrying up to the summer camp the supply of wool that the women would need to use in making their blankets and heavy garments. Some of the animals were sheared in various symmetrical patterns, a style of decoration which pleases the children, so the older people said. These fancy designs are not nearly so common now as formerly, according to Berates.

Despite the magnificent mountain setting and the fascinating activities going on in the fire-lit darkness, the conversation itself — focusing on the present problems facing nomadic peoples — stands out most vividly as I look back upon this evening. Since my central interest was social change, I welcomed the turning of the talk into such a channel.

Without any doubt, the life of the nomad is getting more difficult every year. A major problem had already been brought out in many conversations along the roads of Greece as well as with the people of Valtetsi: land on the plains below is no longer so available as it used to be. Scientific agriculture is winning the day and pastoralism is on the way out. But Berates and his men were most bitter about the difficulties they faced on the road between summer and winter pastures. We had noticed the many signs represented by a pile of stones perhaps a foot high or by tufts of straw twisted onto a branch, warning the nomad not to trespass. These signs were numerous even as one approached and entered the mountain areas. That was why the men had had to drive in one day the sheep all the way from Kalpaki to Konitsa, using routes shorter than the main road but nevertheless arriving late at night. Tired from this experience, they felt such a long march to be most unfair. One man said, "Here in the mountains a peasant will sow only one oka of seed in a field so he will have an excuse to keep us out."

The field policeman, who serves a commune although under the authority of the central government, patrols his beat most vigorously during these days of migration. He not only sees that the animals keep out of the forbidden fields, but also enforces the custom that no nomad family camp in one place longer than twenty-four hours. But most field policemen are quite ready to show the nomads where they can find a camp site in the event some old one is no longer available, for these guards expect a tip — a box of cigarettes or "whatever one has the pleasure to give," as Berates put it.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built. He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

> Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

mata, at the southern part of the Peloponnesos. When we discussed the attitude of the peasants toward Athens and the central government, he commented: "Life in the village is difficult; Athens has had special privileges. The villages are 100 percent right in their complaints. In my nomos many of them have no roads, no irrigation or drainage. Their education is so far behind that it is pitiful; their homes are in awful condition. How can a peasant under such circumstances feel gratitude! Paying for the priest and the teacher should be the job of the central government in the same way that a father supports a child. The recent decision to turn back to the communes a share of the tobacco tax is encouraging the villagers very much. Here it will amount to about one dollar yearly per capita."

When I asked him more about the actual workings of the communes in his nomos, he repeated much that others had said:

> The president of the community represents in a small way the national government. So the community council is both an arm of the central government and also a representative of the local village. All decisions of the council have to be communicated to the nomarch; this is compulsory. If the council and president decide to spend any of the local funds the nomarch has the right to say "yes" or "no." If they wish to add a paid employee, the nomarch will check to see whether it is legal or not. If the nomarch does not answer in two weeks' time, then the local council has the right to go ahead without further permission. But the villagers for the most part are not conscious of their rights after the expiration of the two-week period and are capable of waiting fifteen years. The chief reason for delays in such matters is the lack of sufficient personnel in the nomarchy.

During 1952–53, the possibility seemed strong of developing a capable, well-trained group of nomarchs, all of whom were supposed to have security of tenure and not be subject to dismissal except for carefully defined "cause." These nomarchs were being sent to England, the United States, and elsewhere to study how local governments functioned, and to see what ideas might be adaptable to Greece. The community presidents, over and over again, expressed appreciative comments on the work of many of these nomarchs. To be sure, in some villages I found that the nomarch had not yet made himself known, but I had the general impression that a much better relationship was building up between the peasantry and the national government because of the changed attitudes of friendliness and understanding on the part of these key officials. When I revisited Greece in 1955 for another study period, I found that the Minister of Interior in early March 1954 had rescinded the career-nomarch legislation and had immediately dismissed one third of the nomarchs. According to one observer:

> The odd characteristic about these dismissals was that they were not necessarily based on political opinions nor on efficiency. Several strongly-pro-government nomarchs were dismissed despite known efficiency. Apparently this arose

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
[758] rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[465] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

651 specialists think it undesirable to have over 90 percent of all taxes collected
631 by the national government, as is done in Greece, even though much of it is channeled back through various services to the local communities. At the same time, they admit that there is great reluctance on the part of local authorities to take on the tax-collection function and that in those instances where they do collect local funds they do so inefficiently. Obviously, the golden mean has not yet been found in this delicate area of the relationship between local and central government.[13]

647 When the topic of conversation turns from the services to the officials who carry them out, local informants respond fast and furiously, much of the comment in disapproving tones. I have yet to find a description of Greek life, past or present, that deals very kindly with Greek officialdom. This might be said of many countries, but in Greece the lowly and even high-placed official is beset with so many difficulties that it is a wonder he functions at all. His first problem is the low standards traditionally expected
647 of the civil servant. Most Greeks think that it is perfectly proper procedure for them to bestow a favor upon some official so that he will give their case
662 preference, either in considering it before other cases or in recognizing certain extenuating circumstances in their favor. The law may or may not be abrogated and regular channels set aside, but the irregularities deal quite often with rearrangements and interpretations within the scope of the limits set by the law so that one person gets preferential treatment over others. When one comes face to face with the great number of papers that have to be signed to do even a simple transaction involving governmental authority, one realizes how great is the temptation to bribe or bring to bear some other consideration (such as working through the good graces of a relative of the official) to shorten the red tape and wind up the matter more quickly than usual. Not all officials would condone such measures, but they are subjected to much temptation.

647 A second problem, tied in with the first, is the low compensation which officials receive in the face of increased living costs. Since many govern-
[465] ment workers cannot live even modestly on their salaries, they take on
[464] other commitments. These part-time jobs cause them to slight their full-time government employment, for which supervision is frequently lax.

Insecurity in the job is a third difficulty for many of the higher officials.
[661] The ministries, which in countries like France are run by highly skilled civil servants no matter how many cabinet ministers come and go, are
[645] staffed in Greece by people, many quite capable, who are apt to be swept out of office when a new minister comes in. Many, because of sheer competence and skillful legerdemain, manage to survive from one change of ministers to the next, but are never sure that they will weather the next changeover. In some ministries there have been as many as forty different ministers in six years.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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669 sure that aid would come, or if it came that it would arrive soon
648 enough and in large enough quantity to turn the tide. Yet for-
433 eign aid was clearly needed if the Communist guerrillas were to be stopped. Without it, the government could scarcely hope to maintain its army for long. More than that, the fabric of the civil economy could not stand by itself, especially when guerrilla raids and road mines made transport and communication unsafe.

727 Apart from the military and diplomatic aspects, there was
648 another and more fundamental sense in which the morale of the government and of the conservative classes was damaged. The general ideas and presuppositions of the non-Communist politicians and their supporters were badly shaken by the course of events in the immediate postwar period. Their general assumption had been that once the Germans had withdrawn and a transition period of special emergency had been passed through, then the society and economy of Greece would return of themselves to something like stability and the prewar pattern. Yet now the Germans had departed, UNRRA had come and gone (save for a small rear guard), and still there was no stability and no security. Far less was there any prospect of prosperity.

The upheaval of the war years had in fact been too drastic to permit any automatic return to normal. But the political lead-
[661] ers of the country, all of whom had grown up in a world where government economic policy and administration were conceived in terms of doing favors for one's friends and withholding them from one's opponents, had no idea how to cope with the disturbed and unhappy society entrusted to their guidance. No idea, that is, except to ask for help from Britain or the United States.

[665] The politicians could scarcely be accused of not having done their part to bring things back to normal. During the brief res-

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pite between the time when British troops had suppressed the wartime guerrilla army in December 1944, and the resumption of the guerrilla war in the summer of 1946, the politicians resumed the prewar game of politics with an exemplary faithfulness to old customs and methods. Two of the principal figures of Greek politics, Sophocles Venizelos and Constantine Tsaldaris, carried family names that had been illustrious in the twenties and thirties, and owed their leadership more to their names than to any personal attributes. Quarrels between royalists and republicans, which dated back to the first world war, remained the principal line of demarcation between rival groups of politicians; and demands for territorial expansion at the expense of the defeated powers – primarily Bulgaria – remained a major stock-in-trade of political oratory, and the best antidote the political leaders could find for the discontent and unrest of the nation. This, after all, had been the dominant theme in the career of the great Eleftherios Venizelos, who had almost doubled Greek territory between 1912 and 1919, and even for a dizzy moment seemed to have the old Byzantine capital of Constantinople within his grasp. And how could any politician hope to improve on Venizelist models?

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Fame and fortune had always been the stuff and substance of a political career; special favors to friends and supporters had always been the means by which power was sustained; parties had always been fragile coalitions of ambitious public men who combined for a longer or shorter time under the leadership of one of their number, only to scatter and re-form in some new constellation when the restless striving for place and position dictated a change.

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To be sure, even before the war, extensive social legislation had been enacted, and the idea that the government was somehow responsible for maintaining the welfare of the population at large was not unknown. But such measures were conceived

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727 primarily as electoral maneuvers, aimed to win votes, rather
661 than as aspects of any general social policy. A managed econ-
433 omy, or even a semi-managed economy, in which government decisions influenced the flow and volume of investment, regulated the supply of money, and adjusted the share of the national income to be enjoyed by different groups in the population was scarcely within the purview of the old-style politicians. Once again, this was not because the government had not intervened repeatedly and with telling effect in the economic life of the country. It had, but usually in the spirit of helping political or personal friends and thwarting foes.

Yet in spite of the faithful and unimaginative efforts of the political cosmos (the name Greeks give to the small number of men who play leading roles in political life) to return to a comfortable prewar pattern of behavior, the country ungratefully failed to follow suit. The times remained desperately out of joint, but knowing no way to set them right, the conservative politicians and their supporters were in a quandary. Their morale was destroyed by the lack of any clearly defined and firmly felt purpose and program, quite as much as by the diplomatic and material difficulties they confronted. Among the men of the right, apathy and hopelessness alternated with sporadic anti-Communist and extra-legal violence; but neither the one nor the other seemed to do anything but make the situation worse.

665 The Greek Communist party was not without its own internal
727 difficulties, but by comparison with the old-style politicians the Communists had tremendous advantages. First and foremost, they commanded a disciplined, enthusiastic and energetic body of committed followers, men who could be counted upon to follow instructions and who were willing to undergo personal hardship in the service of their dream for the future. Beyond this, the Communists enjoyed the sympathy or admiration of a

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, 665
and it was not yet clear that American support would be forth- 669
coming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not 648
strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, 727
while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their 669
opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine 647
of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure [648]
this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in [666]
1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and 647
occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to ex- 661
cessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, [634]
the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 tions with higher authority, promote their own careers, and
661 enjoy the amenities of Athenian existence. But in the meantime much that should have been done remained undone.

Senior officials and ministers were harrassed by incredible numbers of papers requiring their signature or countersignature; they were harrassed even more by the crowds of petitioners who stood outside every door and not infrequently pushed their way inside to watch for a chance to seize the great man's attention. Subordinates, on the other hand, seldom would or could take any initiative themselves, but referred everything to higher authority, where the papers added to the jam at the top.

185 Perhaps the greatest weakness of the whole system was that
727 officialdom shared the intellectual and technical deficiencies of
647 the politicians. In the general confusion and pressure of daily
433 business, no one had time or opportunity to try to think in long terms, measure the economic and other needs of the country, and attempt to establish some sort of priority among them, so that a beginning, however modest, could be made toward repairing some of the disbalances and defects of Greek society. Perhaps the magnitude of the problems and the sheer inadequacy of Greek resources to cope with most of them made such calculations impracticable. But it was also true that the officials of the Greek government were not accustomed to thinking in such terms, and tended to assume that problems of this nature should be left to solve themselves by the spontaneous action of private citizens, within the framework of traditional patterns of living. In proportion as the physical and psychological basis of such a traditional framework had been destroyed by the war, this assumption was no longer valid; but few, indeed, in the turmoil of the civil administration realized this fact, and fewer were ready, intellectually or morally, to try to move into the gaps thus created in the social structure, and attempt to put the scattered fragments back into some sort of working order.

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times of high ability and energy, many of them well at home in the language of post-Keynesian economics. A national statistical service was organized to provide them with data for their calculations; and innumerable plans and surveys were made, priorities agreed upon, and projects for future expansion worked out in varying degrees of detail.

Two aims dominated most of the planning of these men. One was to improve the country's balance of payments, partly by producing goods domestically that had hitherto been imported, and partly by developing new exports (especially minerals) or enlarging old ones. The second general aim was to expand employment. Military considerations figured only indirectly in their calculations, and helping political and personal friends or penalizing opponents played almost no role at all. This was a great departure, for in the prewar years, whatever economic planning the Greek government had undertaken was heavily colored by these calculations, and paid little attention to broader aims which were assumed to be beyond deliberate manipulation.

Conversations with representatives of this rising group of civil servants gave me the impression that they were more buoyantly optimistic about the future of Greece than the American economists in the aid mission. Greek economic planners were not much inclined to worry about inflation and disbalanced government budgets: they wanted to see new dams, irrigation canals, factories and mines, and felt that if inflation was the easiest way to finance the internal costs of such construction, then inflation was preferable to standing still and waiting until private savings or a government surplus was on hand to pay for the new investment. I also gained the impression that they felt themselves embarked upon a new adventure: striving for conscious management of the direction and pace of economic growth on a nation-wide basis. Moreover, they found

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American economist of the aid mission had in mind when he 178
declared that nothing had changed in the civil service.

In dealing with the public, Greek civil servants often gave a 647
most unfavorable impression. Aside from the airs they assumed
as representatives of authority and power, they frequently 661
seemed not in the least concerned to help an individual solve a problem or attain something to which he was legally entitled. Instead, petty details of paper work – making application with all the correct verbiage on sheets of paper of the right size for easy filing, and so on – these were what seemed to matter; and I felt, more than once, that when an official found some flaw in the papers submitted to him, he took a certain pleasure in rejecting them and ordering the applicant to return some other time with the red tape properly tinted.

Correctness in details of this sort did, of course, assist in making clerical routine easy, but this was not, I feel sure, the compelling motive. Rather, insistence upon jots and tittles protected a subordinate from criticism by his superior, and at the same time gave him a satisfying sense of his own power as against the public.

On the other hand, when an important man – that is, some- 647
one with connections higher up – came along, he claimed and 662
received very special treatment. He was privileged to follow his papers into the inner sanctums of senior officials, thus making sure that prompt action was taken on them. Obstacles were smoothed over and procedural rules were sometimes suspended
for a man with influential friends. Foreigners often, though not [609]
always, were given the same sort of red-carpet treatment, and were accorded privileges and deference withheld from ordinary Greeks.

When a private person had business with a government agency, he would first try to find someone who knew someone

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647 662 in the office concerned, in order to open a door for prompt and courteous service by means of private communication. As a result, a comparatively small number of persons whose social position or family connections gave them an inside track enjoyed a great advantage in dealings with officialdom, while the poor and friendless could hardly regard the government machine as anything but an obstacle between themselves and their legal rights.

647 661 The idea that officials should be public servants rather than public masters has never been firmly rooted in modern Greece. Byzantine and Turkish tradition, transformed according to Bavarian and then German models, shaped the civil service; and the fact that educated persons regard themselves as elevated far above their ignorant fellows has reinforced and perpetuated the old dichotomy between official and subject.

647 661 662 It must be said that the fault has not lain entirely with the civil servants. The ordinary private citizen in Greece is prone to look upon the government as his natural enemy – a group of men who are out to tax him and interfere with what he wants to do. It follows that almost any device to foil the agents of the government is considered legitimate – deceit, lying, bribery or just the exertion of "influence." Indeed, almost all Greeks entertain a kind of admiration for a man who is clever or bold or lucky enough to get around the law and the bureaucracy. Sense of duty to public authorities and laws has never been very strong in the country. More than most nations, the Greeks remain anarchists and individualists at heart; and rather high-handed methods, together with rigid punctiliousness in matters of red tape, is a natural and perhaps almost inevitable official response to such public attitudes.

647 663 177 654 A few segments of the bureaucracy, however, were making serious efforts to serve the public. The most conspicuous of these were the agricultural extension agents, whose contacts

577 867 are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to 577 671 [619] something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

577 602 [661] Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

577 [476] Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

[867] 577 [602] Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this [829] 671 structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience [875] and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserving by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry. This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the 851
baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of god- 608
parents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free [662]
to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, still- [842]
birth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume [845]
that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty-
four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her [782]
desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the [833]
morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People stand- [777]
ing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church [574]
for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to [123]
be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the [846]
child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does [783]
not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

651 specialists think it undesirable to have over 90 percent of all taxes collected
631 by the national government, as is done in Greece, even though much of it is channeled back through various services to the local communities. At the same time, they admit that there is great reluctance on the part of local authorities to take on the tax-collection function and that in those instances where they do collect local funds they do so inefficiently. Obviously, the golden mean has not yet been found in this delicate area of the relationship between local and central government.[18]

647 When the topic of conversation turns from the services to the officials who carry them out, local informants respond fast and furiously, much of the comment in disapproving tones. I have yet to find a description of Greek life, past or present, that deals very kindly with Greek officialdom. This might be said of many countries, but in Greece the lowly and even high-placed official is beset with so many difficulties that it is a wonder he functions at all. His first problem is the low standards traditionally expected
647 of the civil servant. Most Greeks think that it is perfectly proper procedure for them to bestow a favor upon some official so that he will give their case
662 preference, either in considering it before other cases or in recognizing certain extenuating circumstances in their favor. The law may or may not be abrogated and regular channels set aside, but the irregularities deal quite often with rearrangements and interpretations within the scope of the limits set by the law so that one person gets preferential treatment over others. When one comes face to face with the great number of papers that have to be signed to do even a simple transaction involving governmental authority, one realizes how great is the temptation to bribe or bring to bear some other consideration (such as working through the good graces of a relative of the official) to shorten the red tape and wind up the matter more quickly than usual. Not all officials would condone such measures, but they are subjected to much temptation.

647 A second problem, tied in with the first, is the low compensation which officials receive in the face of increased living costs. Since many govern-
[465] ment workers cannot live even modestly on their salaries, they take on
[464] other commitments. These part-time jobs cause them to slight their full-time government employment, for which supervision is frequently lax.

Insecurity in the job is a third difficulty for many of the higher officials.
[661] The ministries, which in countries like France are run by highly skilled civil servants no matter how many cabinet ministers come and go, are
[645] staffed in Greece by people, many quite capable, who are apt to be swept out of office when a new minister comes in. Many, because of sheer competence and skillful legerdemain, manage to survive from one change of ministers to the next, but are never sure that they will weather the next changeover. In some ministries there have been as many as forty different ministers in six years.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[18] 664

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead. [369] [654]

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter. 622 664 [669] [646]

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch 662 664

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

662 replaced. Indications such as these showed the importance of the legislature
664 in keeping the administrative apparatus in check, but did not provide any guidelines as to how this might best be done.

But this approach has its negative overtones as well. Over and over again
665 I was told that such-and-such a thing was impossible for the village because
662 it had not voted in support of the party in power. This was one of the points cited by a prosperous Greek merchant, who travels much throughout the country, when he listed changes he considered necessary in the rural parts of the country:

1. Smaller interest rates so there will be greater ease in handling money.
2. Less red tape so that the peasant when he comes to borrow money for a drill doesn't spend more money waiting than he spends for the pump.
3. State employees must understand that they are in the service of the people, especially the peasants, and not expect to be bribed to get a job done.
4. Greater justice so that the gendarme and judge are not primarily interested in a person's party affiliation but will carry out justice.

In other words, party affiliation may influence the administration of justice. From another point of view, working through a member of parliament is really the peasant's way of trying to get around a law. To do this is considered a great accomplishment, for he thinks that rules are made to be broken and evaded. This is because the rules have been made by others whose criteria for developing them are different from his own. For him, individual criteria are more important than rules others have made.

662 I had an impression, gained from hundreds of conversations with peasants throughout Greece, that the peasant prefers the political to the administrative approach. At first, the explanation was hard to find because it was obvious everywhere that the government agencies, though inefficient at times, were helping him reconstruct his destroyed home, assisting him in the purchase of agricultural equipment, teaching his wife and daughters how to can tomatoes and cook fish, and bringing more water to his parched fields. The reason became apparent, however, when I remembered that the
571 Greek peasant is more interested in personal relationships than he is in
662 things or in concrete achievements. He complains if he does not have things, especially if those in other villages are getting them, but does not value them in their own right. They are a measure of how his personal relationships are working out. He honestly feels that he can deal with the politicians sent up from his district to parliament and continues to share this optimistic frame of mind no matter how many times he has been disappointed in the past. Of course, he is content to work through the government official if he can personalize that relationship, to his own advantage, and not be treated as an anonymous citizen who must be dealt with impartially in keeping with the rules. He would rather be dealt with as a person

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life. [571] [461]

As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[16] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance. 665 829

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise. 666 665 829

When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician." 665 829 156

I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back 665 578 666

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797 good People . . . for the encouraging and encreasing of their Devotion, and for the better management of their Lives and Conversations". 794 The foundation of the School of the Logos constitutes an important 797 landmark; it inaugurates the era of the voluntary movements and establishes the essential features of a pattern of missionary activity 175 which has held the field until our own day, and from which the foundation of an official Home Mission marks the first radical departure.

In September, 1876, Makrakes and his associates founded the School of the Logos which combined the functions of a private *gymnasium* with those of an evening school for adults. Father Eusebius (who had been ordained priest a month before) was appointed chaplain and *pneumatikos* of this remarkable institution—he also made himself responsible for the cleaning of the school (especially, it is related, "of its vilest places", *τῶν εὐτελεστέρων τόπων αὐτῆς*: a phrase charged with sinister meaning for anyone acquainted with the lamentable decline in the standards of Hellenic plumbing since the far-off days when King Minos flourished in his Cretan palace!) The outstanding qualities of this young priest were quickly discerned by those about him, and not a few who were many years his senior in age and experience came to rely upon him as counsellor and spiritual father. It was during this period that Father Eusebius began his experiments with the small groups (*omades*) which were to become so important a feature of the brotherhood which he founded some thirty years later.

But the School of the Logos was not destined to enjoy a long career. Scarcely two years had elapsed from its foundation when Makrakes and his associates became involved in a violent controversy with the authorities, which brought their educational and spiritual work in Athens to an abrupt conclusion and scattered the leaders of the movement to remote islands and monasteries. In 1875, as the result of a scandalous 793 transaction involving payments to certain ministers of the State, three 797 men succeeded in obtaining the vacant bishoprics of Patras, Messenia ● 662 and Kephallenia. The facts became widely known and public opinion 175 was deeply aroused. Makrakes and certain of his fellow-workers published fiery articles denouncing this flagrant violation of the holy canons. A trial ensued; the guilty ministers were imprisoned and fined, while the three simoniacal bishops were committed to the Holy Synod, which should then, according to the canons, have proceeded to a sentence of deposition.

793 The Synod, however, declined to take this step. Makrakes thereupon
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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American economist of the aid mission had in mind when he 178
declared that nothing had changed in the civil service.

In dealing with the public, Greek civil servants often gave a 647
most unfavorable impression. Aside from the airs they assumed
as representatives of authority and power, they frequently 661
seemed not in the least concerned to help an individual solve a problem or attain something to which he was legally entitled. Instead, petty details of paper work – making application with all the correct verbiage on sheets of paper of the right size for easy filing, and so on – these were what seemed to matter; and I felt, more than once, that when an official found some flaw in the papers submitted to him, he took a certain pleasure in rejecting them and ordering the applicant to return some other time with the red tape properly tinted.

Correctness in details of this sort did, of course, assist in making clerical routine easy, but this was not, I feel sure, the compelling motive. Rather, insistence upon jots and tittles protected a subordinate from criticism by his superior, and at the same time gave him a satisfying sense of his own power as against the public.

On the other hand, when an important man – that is, some- 647
one with connections higher up – came along, he claimed and 662
received very special treatment. He was privileged to follow his papers into the inner sanctums of senior officials, thus making sure that prompt action was taken on them. Obstacles were smoothed over and procedural rules were sometimes suspended for a man with influential friends. Foreigners often, though not [609]
always, were given the same sort of red-carpet treatment, and were accorded privileges and deference withheld from ordinary Greeks.

When a private person had business with a government agency, he would first try to find someone who knew someone

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647 662 in the office concerned, in order to open a door for prompt and courteous service by means of private communication. As a result, a comparatively small number of persons whose social position or family connections gave them an inside track enjoyed a great advantage in dealings with officialdom, while the poor and friendless could hardly regard the government machine as anything but an obstacle between themselves and their legal rights.

647 661 The idea that officials should be public servants rather than public masters has never been firmly rooted in modern Greece. Byzantine and Turkish tradition, transformed according to Bavarian and then German models, shaped the civil service; and the fact that educated persons regard themselves as elevated far above their ignorant fellows has reinforced and perpetuated the old dichotomy between official and subject.

647 661 662 It must be said that the fault has not lain entirely with the civil servants. The ordinary private citizen in Greece is prone to look upon the government as his natural enemy – a group of men who are out to tax him and interfere with what he wants to do. It follows that almost any device to foil the agents of the government is considered legitimate – deceit, lying, bribery or just the exertion of "influence." Indeed, almost all Greeks entertain a kind of admiration for a man who is clever or bold or lucky enough to get around the law and the bureaucracy. Sense of duty to public authorities and laws has never been very strong in the country. More than most nations, the Greeks remain anarchists and individualists at heart; and rather high-handed methods, together with rigid punctiliousness in matters of red tape, is a natural and perhaps almost inevitable official response to such public attitudes.

647 663 177 654 A few segments of the bureaucracy, however, were making serious efforts to serve the public. The most conspicuous of these were the agricultural extension agents, whose contacts

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665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even he was not always successful. General Papagos achieved something similar during the first year or so when he held office, before his failing health raised the question of the succession and induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the
662 political scene – and this was normal – then political life became a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals. Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes, originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations
[433] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention
[663] to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952
666 was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United
645 States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal
[177] parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces. But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties. Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments, to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted this process and made few promises to the politicians who

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joined his Rally; yet even he, when it came to appointing his cabinet, rewarded the most conspicuous leaders of personal parties who had merged their following into his, by appointing them to ministerial positions. 665 666 645

By 1956, when the commanding personality of General Papagos had been removed from the scene, the actual differences made by the new electoral law were a good deal less marked than might at first appear. Under the old proportional electoral system, the critical negotiations to form a cabinet occurred after the elections; under the new majority system very similar negotiations preceded the elections. In either case, personal followings gathered around a specially conspicuous individual were the basic elements from which cabinets and coalitions were built. Even these building blocks of the political edifice were not very firm; a leader might find, almost overnight, that "his" followers had gone off after someone else who seemed to promise something new or different.

How a man became a party leader was hard to say. Very diverse personalities were active in Greek politics, and some party leaders seemed, at least from the outside, to have little personal impressiveness. Inheritance was a factor in some cases. Sophocles Venizelos, for example, had made his political career on the strength of his father's name, and on little else. Men who lacked such an advantage normally established leadership by oratory in the Chamber of Deputies and through newspaper publicity. 665 645 662

As the game of politics was played, the opposition regularly enjoyed certain advantages. This implied a degree of instability for any government. First of all, in any distribution of ministerial seats and other plums of office, more contenders were bound to be left out than could possibly be included. Efforts to solve this difficulty by enlarging the size of the cabinet have been made from time to time, but always at the cost of effi-

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665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
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bring about the overthrow of the Karamanlis government and the installation of a cabinet far less inclined to cleave to the western alliance system of NATO in foreign affairs, and far less amenable to American advice concerning home policy.

What the effect of such a change might be upon the development of the economy, or upon the civil servants who were so busily planning its growth, cannot be forecast. My point merely is this: that the divorce between the realm of political discourse in Greece and the real problems of economic and social melioration within the nation is so wide as to be dangerous. Some economically ruinous action, rising from feelings of outraged nationalism, and provoked by politicians who hope to win place and prestige by risking everything on a politico-military gamble, may damage much of what has already been accomplished, or postpone indefinitely the realization of plans which have been laid for future economic expansion.

There are here the makings of a vicious circle. The major cause of the characteristic irresponsibility and extremism of Greek politics in recent decades, I am convinced, has been the chronic discontents and personal frustrations which tens of thousands of white-collar and professional people have felt. For them, politics offers a psychological release from daily difficulty and disappointment. To act as an adequate catharsis, political argument must be exciting, indeed inflammatory. The politicians therefore offer excitement, and when they cannot find it they try to manufacture it. If no internal foe seems sufficiently evil, then attacks are turned against some foreign antagonist. Political instability and changeability are the result, and when words boil over into actions real economic setbacks often follow – setbacks that feed the chronic discontent behind the political manifestations themselves.

Much of the domestic history of modern Greece can be interpreted as the result of such a vicious circle in action. The re-

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433 construction of the economy and the transformation of the civil
662 service since 1947 seem to offer a chance for escape from this
663 circle, but escape is as yet by no means assured.

The Communist Problem

668 The Communist party was declared illegal in October 1947,
669 and has remained illegal since then. Communist party leaders first joined the guerrillas, then retreated with the remnant of the guerrilla army behind the iron curtain. It seems entirely likely that the exile leadership was torn by faction and recrimination. Backwash from the shipwreck of their hopes on the Macedonian issue in 1949 must have continued to distract the secret councils of the party. Equally, the changing winds of doctrine that followed Stalin's death shook the Greek Communist party, and, combined perhaps with other factors, led in the fall of 1956 to the demotion of Nicholas Zachariades and the substitution of an almost unknown personality as Secretary General.

Rather strenuous police measures were taken during the guerrilla war to break up the Communist underground organization. Many people were arrested and several hundred were shot. How effective these measures were in breaking down the party organization cannot be judged by anyone standing outside the inmost party circles. Furthermore, the failure of the guerrilla enterprise, and the collision between Greek national feeling and international Communist policy over the question of the future of Macedonia must have disheartened even the most fanatical Communists in Greece, and certainly discredited Communism in the eyes of many who had formerly been sympathetic.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Evidence suggests that

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

647 662 in the office concerned, in order to open a door for prompt and courteous service by means of private communication. As a result, a comparatively small number of persons whose social position or family connections gave them an inside track enjoyed a great advantage in dealings with officialdom, while the poor and friendless could hardly regard the government machine as anything but an obstacle between themselves and their legal rights.

647 661 The idea that officials should be public servants rather than public masters has never been firmly rooted in modern Greece. Byzantine and Turkish tradition, transformed according to Bavarian and then German models, shaped the civil service; and the fact that educated persons regard themselves as elevated far above their ignorant fellows has reinforced and perpetuated the old dichotomy between official and subject.

647 661 662 It must be said that the fault has not lain entirely with the civil servants. The ordinary private citizen in Greece is prone to look upon the government as his natural enemy – a group of men who are out to tax him and interfere with what he wants to do. It follows that almost any device to foil the agents of the government is considered legitimate – deceit, lying, bribery or just the exertion of "influence." Indeed, almost all Greeks entertain a kind of admiration for a man who is clever or bold or lucky enough to get around the law and the bureaucracy. Sense of duty to public authorities and laws has never been very strong in the country. More than most nations, the Greeks remain anarchists and individualists at heart; and rather high-handed methods, together with rigid punctiliousness in matters of red tape, is a natural and perhaps almost inevitable official response to such public attitudes.

647 663 177 654 A few segments of the bureaucracy, however, were making serious efforts to serve the public. The most conspicuous of these were the agricultural extension agents, whose contacts

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the reinvigoration of local government. During the war and afterward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Cherasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Cherasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563] [619] [648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even he was not always successful. General Papagos achieved something similar during the first year or so when he held office, before his failing health raised the question of the succession and induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 662 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the political scene – and this was normal – then political life became a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals. Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes, originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations [433] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention [663] to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 666 645 [177] The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952 was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces. But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties. Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments, to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted this process and made few promises to the politicians who

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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of local resources were to occur, then restriction of current consumption would be necessary. Money and goods would have to be diverted from consumption to capital construction. Without such diversion, the country was condemned to chronic poverty, unless foreign investment and financing came to the rescue. Up to 1956 Greece had indeed depended upon foreign investment for its capital development; but the United States Congress could scarcely be counted upon to continue its support indefinitely. In fact, between 1954 and 1956 it became clear that American aid to Greece was to be shaped by more narrowly conceived American interests, which would mean that military subsidy and the disposal of surplus American agricultural products would take precedence over industrial or any other sort of capital investment in Greece. Moreover, a Greek government that depended upon American bounty would necessarily surrender a large portion of its effective sovereignty, as happened between 1947 and 1952. Such a policy would expose Greek authorities to charges of acting as craven "yes men" to the Americans, and of betraying Greek national interests, as, for instance, in Cyprus.

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Dependence upon foreign funds to finance capital development was therefore a poor substitute for financing such development from local resources. Yet no one in Greece wanted to reduce and few wished to restrict the standard of living. The general public was impatient of austerity and wanted an immediate and miraculous increase in consumption levels. The chronic disbalance of the governmental budget reflected (among other factors) the pressure of these demands – demands for higher pensions and salaries, for better unemployment, medical and old-age benefits, and the like. To offer present hardship in the hope of future amelioration of economic conditions was therefore politically unthinkable, even though this was the only program that could really cope with the prob-

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471 lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current
511 running expenses and to finance a modest program of govern-
652 ment capital investment proved far more palatable politically,
[458] even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level outran their incomes.

433 Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped na-
511 tions in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip
663 increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary, but can and should be relieved by government action. Under these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a normal and all but inevitable result.

647 To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of politi-
177 cal debate and the planning of technicians in the economic
433 ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only
645 slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In
663 some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister, could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas about how the Greek government should try to shape the economy had much in common with the civil servant's approach, and little with that of the politicians.

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It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political process by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians. 647 177 433 663

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus? 648 668

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in

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bring about the overthrow of the Karamanlis government and the installation of a cabinet far less inclined to cleave to the western alliance system of NATO in foreign affairs, and far less amenable to American advice concerning home policy.

What the effect of such a change might be upon the development of the economy, or upon the civil servants who were so busily planning its growth, cannot be forecast. My point merely is this: that the divorce between the realm of political discourse in Greece and the real problems of economic and social melioration within the nation is so wide as to be dangerous. Some economically ruinous action, rising from feelings of outraged nationalism, and provoked by politicians who hope to win place and prestige by risking everything on a politico-military gamble, may damage much of what has already been accomplished, or postpone indefinitely the realization of plans which have been laid for future economic expansion.

There are here the makings of a vicious circle. The major cause of the characteristic irresponsibility and extremism of Greek politics in recent decades, I am convinced, has been the chronic discontents and personal frustrations which tens of thousands of white-collar and professional people have felt. For them, politics offers a psychological release from daily difficulty and disappointment. To act as an adequate catharsis, political argument must be exciting, indeed inflammatory. The politicians therefore offer excitement, and when they cannot find it they try to manufacture it. If no internal foe seems sufficiently evil, then attacks are turned against some foreign antagonist. Political instability and changeability are the result, and when words boil over into actions real economic setbacks often follow – setbacks that feed the chronic discontent behind the political manifestations themselves.

Much of the domestic history of modern Greece can be interpreted as the result of such a vicious circle in action. The re-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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433 construction of the economy and the transformation of the civil
662 service since 1947 seem to offer a chance for escape from this
663 circle, but escape is as yet by no means assured.

The Communist Problem

668 The Communist party was declared illegal in October 1947,
669 and has remained illegal since then. Communist party leaders first joined the guerrillas, then retreated with the remnant of the guerrilla army behind the iron curtain. It seems entirely likely that the exile leadership was torn by faction and recrimination. Backwash from the shipwreck of their hopes on the Macedonian issue in 1949 must have continued to distract the secret councils of the party. Equally, the changing winds of doctrine that followed Stalin's death shook the Greek Communist party, and, combined perhaps with other factors, led in the fall of 1956 to the demotion of Nicholas Zachariades and the substitution of an almost unknown personality as Secretary General.

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668 Whether these events mean that the Communist threat to Greece is lastingly removed, or whether the Greek Communist

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years.

Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.

Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because of inefficient and shortsighted administration.

Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.

Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural products in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or overlook, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also,
[664] from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch
[124] with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
[621] in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 sought to strengthen the hands of those favoring decentralization in the
647 belief that this would accomplish more with American aid money. On the
[177] other hand, those who favor strong centralization tend to think of government primarily in political rather than administrative terms. They see government as an arena where personalities and parties struggle for the opportunity of directing the affairs of state. They realize that much political power is built on patronage or at least the promise of patronage; they also argue that the political process is built upon compromise and that many administrative practices are established in governmental bureaus to forestall any such compromises. Which group is prompted more by disinterested, public-spirited motives can best be determined by the observer on the spot as different personalities, representing these varying points of view, step onto the stage.

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The Peasant and Politics

Shortly after my arrival in Greece in the fall of 1952, I encountered an interesting case study of the peasant and politics. All over Greece, one September Sunday, the farmers demonstrated against their government. This affair was treated, as one would expect, quite differently by the various Athenian newspapers, but the general tone of argument never got down to the facts of the peasants' grievance but instead haggled over who was responsible for getting them all stirred up.

[204] One newspaper, *Philelevtheros*, under the caption "The Farmers' Plight," wrote:

> There is no Greek who does not admit the rights of the farmers, or the fact that they are, and always were, the most neglected class in this country. Everyone feels the farmers' plight as if it were his own, and they know that Greek society will never stand on its feet as long as the farmer's lot is a miserable one. Their present fate, however, is not the fault of the Government, but is due to a whole century of reactionary rule. The farmers' demonstrations would have
> [665] been even stronger and more genuine if the Rally Party agents had not attempted to exploit them. However, they failed in this attempt.

[204] *Ethnos*, a newspaper representing a rival party, reported under the caption "Farmers' Demonstrations":

> Over the whole of Greece, in all those areas where men strive to get the maximum crop from our not very fertile soil, solid demonstrations were held last Sunday. The farmers were protesting with absolutely justified indignation against the indifference the Government is showing in handling their problems, and the way in which it has withdrawn its promises to them.
>
> In the face of this Pan-Hellenic uprising, the Government, through its comic Minister of Coordination, and through its press, finds nothing better to give in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[18] 664

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead. [369] [654]

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter. 622 664 [669] [646]

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch 662 664

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

662 replaced. Indications such as these showed the importance of the legislature
664 in keeping the administrative apparatus in check, but did not provide any guidelines as to how this might best be done.

665 But this approach has its negative overtones as well. Over and over again I was told that such-and-such a thing was impossible for the village because
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1. Smaller interest rates so there will be greater ease in handling money.
2. Less red tape so that the peasant when he comes to borrow money for a drill doesn't spend more money waiting than he spends for the pump.
3. State employees must understand that they are in the service of the people, especially the peasants, and not expect to be bribed to get a job done.
4. Greater justice so that the gendarme and judge are not primarily interested in a person's party affiliation but will carry out justice.

In other words, party affiliation may influence the administration of justice. From another point of view, working through a member of parliament is really the peasant's way of trying to get around a law. To do this is considered a great accomplishment, for he thinks that rules are made to be broken and evaded. This is because the rules have been made by others whose criteria for developing them are different from his own. For him, individual criteria are more important than rules others have made.

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There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece. There is pride in the many co-operatives, spread throughout the country; there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there, and there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means, that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village, to be prevented from destroying its resources, and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare. There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government. All this is true. According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units, the Greeks were, and to some extent are now completely co-operative. Families and villages were responsible for their own indigent; a prominent peasant would impoverish himself to build a village school or improve the water system. They made their own decisions and carried them out; they chose their own leaders. The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century. But later, the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern, taking no account of the existing units of co-operation, or of the existing patterns of self-participation. The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact, in co-operating. The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair. Actually the rate, which was eight per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928, and is now as high as 18 per cent, with incidental fees, which peasants get from the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set with the welfare of the farmers in view, or according to their decision. In 1936, more than 3,000 of the 3,761 were credit co-operatives under the central supervision of the state. The others, such as the producers' co-operatives, were mainly compulsory. Such were the citrus growers' associations in Crete, the wine growers' association in Samos, Levkas, Attica, and Chalkis. There are now marketing co-operatives and machine-owning co-operatives, as well as a growing number of processing co-operatives. In general, the co-operatives are firmly controlled by the central government and the farmers are not even allowed to co-operate to the extent of electing their own officers. As a result, the attitude toward external authority has been evoked, and, in most cases, co-operation has to be compulsory as all government legislation has to be compulsory, and the so-called co-operative decisions are circumvented like all government decisions. Another attitude has also been evoked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed the dictatorship; deprived of responsible decision and participation, these people fell into the pattern of accepted dependency; such people, unaware that they are "co-operating", say: "The government is

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

1844-54, tells the tale and says the entire bratstvo was extinct. The fishermen on the lake had to pay the vladika yearly a barrel of fish for fishing rights. No barrel arrived. They were asked why, and wickedly replied that they had not been able to catch any fish. The vladika was patient. Still no fish arrived. The fishermen then explained: "There are now no fish in the lake." "No," said the vladika firmly, "*there are none and there will be none.*"

M 754 681
M 226 577

To everyone's horror the lake was fishless. The fishermen hurried to the vladika and prayed him to withdraw his curse. He kindly did so—and the fish reappeared.

This mighty prelate was canonized by the Montenegrin Church shortly after his death, and is the revered St. Petar Cetinski.

His curses, however, pale before that laid on the Greek statesman Venizelos in 1916. I give it to show what the Orthodox Church is capable of when roused, and the present belief in the curse in the Near East. Venizelos was denounced for having "betrayed the nation to the Anglo-French." "Therefore against the traitor Venizelos we have invoked the following injuries: the ulcers of Job, the whale of Jonah, the leprosy of Naaman, the bite of Death, the shuddering of the dying, the thunderbolt of Hell, and the malediction of God and man. We shall call for the same injuries upon those who, at the forthcoming elections, shall vote for the traitor Venizelos, and further pray for their hands to wither and for them to become deaf and blind. Amen."

G 754 664

Curse-pits were dug, and crowds, filing by, put their curses upon stones and hurled them into the pits.

True, the ecclesiastics who laid the curse got into trouble. But they had, in fact, but expressed—flamboyantly—the feelings of the people. Venizelos, having once fallen, has never returned to power. The peasant has little faith in elections—he has every reason to doubt their efficacy; but of the efficacy of a real good curse he has ample evidence.

In Albania a curse may lie for generations on a family and end it. I visited the house of a family group at Plani in Pulati. The curse was that the family should not multiply, and I was assured it was dying out. No one knew who had laid the curse and all attempts to remove it had failed. Eighteen persons were living crowded in its one room. In cases of this kind it is obvious that unwholesome surroundings, bad water, or inherited disease is the origin of the "curse." To those so "cursed," however, the thing is a mystery, and mysterious means are the only ones used to combat it.

A 754

All medicine begins as magic. The invention of the microscope has at last revealed many of the real "demons." But even in England there are still people who prefer quack remedies to scientific "demon"-slaying ones.

A 121

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 sought to strengthen the hands of those favoring decentralization in the
647 belief that this would accomplish more with American aid money. On the
[177] other hand, those who favor strong centralization tend to think of government primarily in political rather than administrative terms. They see government as an arena where personalities and parties struggle for the opportunity of directing the affairs of state. They realize that much political power is built on patronage or at least the promise of patronage; they also argue that the political process is built upon compromise and that many administrative practices are established in governmental bureaus to forestall any such compromises. Which group is prompted more by disinterested, public-spirited motives can best be determined by the observer on the spot as different personalities, representing these varying points of view, step onto the stage.

664 THE PEASANT AND POLITICS

Shortly after my arrival in Greece in the fall of 1952, I encountered an interesting case study of the peasant and politics. All over Greece, one September Sunday, the farmers demonstrated against their government. This affair was treated, as one would expect, quite differently by the various Athenian newspapers, but the general tone of argument never got down to the facts of the peasants' grievance but instead haggled over who was responsible for getting them all stirred up.

[204] One newspaper, *Philelevtheros,* under the caption "The Farmers' Plight," wrote:

> There is no Greek who does not admit the rights of the farmers, or the fact that they are, and always were, the most neglected class in this country. Everyone feels the farmers' plight as if it were his own, and they know that Greek society will never stand on its feet as long as the farmer's lot is a miserable one. Their present fate, however, is not the fault of the Government, but is due to a whole century of reactionary rule. The farmers' demonstrations would have
> [665] been even stronger and more genuine if the Rally Party agents had not attempted to exploit them. However, they failed in this attempt.

[204] *Ethnos,* a newspaper representing a rival party, reported under the caption "Farmers' Demonstrations":

> Over the whole of Greece, in all those areas where men strive to get the maximum crop from our not very fertile soil, solid demonstrations were held last Sunday. The farmers were protesting with absolutely justified indignation against the indifference the Government is showing in handling their problems, and the way in which it has withdrawn its promises to them.
>
> In the face of this Pan-Hellenic uprising, the Government, through its comic Minister of Coordination, and through its press, finds nothing better to give in

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life. 571 461

As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[16] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance. 665 829

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise. 666 665 829

When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician." 665 829 156

I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back 665 578 666

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

665 578 666 the rival party the other sixty percent support. However, should occasion seem opportune, a great number of them might switch to the support of a third party simply as a means of expressing disapproval of the performance of the ones they have been supporting. But let the men of a village find some common denominator, such as the erection of a school or a church building, and they will forget their political differences.

829 66 369 In conclusion, the best way to characterize "the peasant and politics" is in terms of indifference. This is especially true if one looks on politics as an organized way of bringing certain measures to pass through the election of officials committed to carrying them out. This has never worked for the Greek peasant in the past, and he is dubious about its merits in the future. If one means by politics the utilization of personal and family contacts with politicians and officials to get some gain for oneself, then the peasant can understand its significance and see its value. For, after all, politics and politicians are associated with the city and especially with Athens. Villagers are caught up in the backwash and, in their view of the world, have little importance as active agents. Political phenomena, like the weather, have to be endured, although now and then some useful protection from each might be sought in personal initiative, but not by group effort.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

197 538 poor in those abstract words of the arts and sciences which were not the concern of the common people who kept it living. Today, this lack of abstract words is the despair of the modern poet who wishes to express a thought of any metaphysical nicety, and he is driven to paraphase or symbol.

Since the eighteenth century, when the demotic had crystallized in folk poetry, the battle between the use of purist and demotic in prose and poetry has raged, but the battle has finally been won by the demotic, Today the contemporary poet may hold his expression on a living language and borrow his vocabulary as he can from a rich tradition of three thousand years, from Ancient, Hellenistic, Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek and its many dialects, and especially from the purist itself.[15]

Not just poets but almost any literate Greek can construct a private language of his own, within limits to be sure, and use a vocabulary which others may understand and appreciate but which they themselves would never use under the same circumstances. A person is always on safe ground in criticizing the sentence structure, vocabulary, and idiom of a Greek writer, since he is criticizing what is of necessity a personalized [872] style. In other words, the Greek language is still evolving, which means that "the language question" has perennially plagued the school authorities.

197 872 Should, for example, the beginning pupils in the first grade start out learning to read and write the kind of Greek they speak at home (demotike), or should they start out studying a kind of Greek which they cannot understand but which they will have to learn to understand if they are to be considered educated? There seems to have been little disagreement [873] over the matter of teaching the purist Greek in the secondary school. That is an accepted fact. But what about the elementary school?

In the beginning of the new state in 1830, the purist language was supposed to be used throughout the whole school system, even with the beginning pupils. By 1911 people were suggesting that maybe it would be [665] best to use demotike in the elementary school but the Royalists, then a political opposition party, raised such a hue and cry that action was deferred. The Royalists were supported in their stand by some professional men "on the grounds of prestige, and from some teachers who only knew the grammar of the *katharevousa*."[16]

In 1917 Venizelos adopted the proposal, but when the Royalists came to power in 1920,

they forbade the use of *demotike* in schools and made a public bonfire of the new textbooks which had just been written in it. Chaos followed. Every change in government meant a change in the medium of primary education: in 1922 *demotike* was reintroduced by Plastiras; in 1925 Pangelos forbade its use; in 1928, it was restored by the Coalition government with the proviso that *katharevousa* should be taught four hours weekly in the two top forms; in 1932, *katharevousa* was to be taught in all forms; in 1933 the two top forms were to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Village Notables

554 Contrary to popular belief, one does not always find the village notables sitting around the coffeehouse. Most of them are usually busy people, working in their fields, around their houses, or in a shop. They do make at least brief appearances around the square some time during the day, most probably after supper. Loafers do not become notables in a Greek village. To learn who these notables were, I asked throughout mainland Greece: "Who are the most important people in your village? Why are they important?"

[622] I was struck by the fact that in 1955 and 1959 more people seemed to stress the high prestige of the community president than they had done in 1953. This impression, if fully verified, would indicate a growing importance of and a re-emphasis upon local government in the Greek scheme of things. One priest in the Peloponnesos attributed this shift to the fact that "interest in religion is not as great as twenty years ago and church attendance has declined." A few typical replies, many contradicting each other in some details, will convey the villager's view of the notables in his community. From Central Greece:

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The greatest honor in our village is to be president of the community. Those who are most respected are those with the most money. Anyone who has money receives a hearty "good morning"; without money he doesn't. This is because our people are not educated. In fact, the priest gets more respect than the teacher, which is not as it should be. The local doctor, too, is respected.

From another village in Central Greece we hear:

The most important people are the most educated, either the doctor or the teacher who, thanks to his education, can solve a problem in which the people are interested. We have some clever people who try to overshadow the teacher in order to influence other villagers, but if they are to do this they must be respected. If an extremely clever person is immoral, he has no great prestige. Two things influence other people: to be just in his judgment and honorable. We respect a man more if he is honorable than if he is rich. Even an uneducated man who is a good farmer and has good judgment and is honorable can have influence.

Party leaders in former times would have been included among the notables, according to a businessman from Thebes: [665]

In my childhood days the party leader would have ranked as most important, particularly if he belonged to the strongest party and would be able to help local people solve their problems. Nowadays in the village the president of the community would play a great part. The doctor, if there is one, has high position, provided that he is respected by the others. In the old days the priest and teacher were more respected than today. In my childhood when the teacher

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

575 [474] For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion 575 of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant 571 of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

621 182 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 578 ●665 669 182 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search

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for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today. 621 578 665 669

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo*, or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait: 156 828 577

> Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*. . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.[3]

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Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [665 829]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
369 better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
665 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
829 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some countries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
178 peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
82 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
184 growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
156 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bound by any loyalty greater than that to their family and their village. Whether through a highly virulent nationalism or a growing sense of participation in a multinational state, the individual — to change from a subject to a citizen — must expand his circle of loyalties to encompass the larger political unit of which he supposedly is a first-class citizen. 641

A second condition, tied in with the first, is the growing sense on the part of the villager that the central government is concerned with his welfare. Without this, the necessary loyalty will not develop. Villagers need both physical manifestations of governmental activity in their behalf (new schools, roads, bridges) and expanding economic opportunities. To some extent, foreign-aid programs can help in this area, particularly in seeing that the benefits are not all concentrated in the cities and mushrooming towns but that even remote sections gain some sense of benefit.

A third corollary is the necessity for widespread education. In the developing countries, the young people with the most education are often viewed as the troublemakers, so much so that some observers may even question the assumption that stable democratic government depends on a highly literate and educated electorate and point out that some of the most educated people, such as the Germans, have moved on occasion whole heartedly into totalitarianism. They argue that a little education is a dangerous thing politically. But it seems clear that the alternative of holding back educational programs is fraught with even more political danger if truly democratic regimes are to become established. Since every regime has to think about ways and means of staying in power, it is all too tempting to promote only that kind of education which most benefits the regime and to forget future needs. Studies of the experiences of many new nations would probably show that education and economic opportunity need to go hand in hand if serious dislocations are to be avoided. Increased income among the uneducated is socially unproductive, and an educated segment with no suitable employment possibilities leads to political discontent. It is also true that a people lacking the basic reading and mathematical skills cannot achieve modern economic development. Thus, if a subject is to become a citizen, he needs to receive an education that fits him not only to perform as an economic producer but also to play his part in the political process.

Since democratic governments depend upon active political organizations — such as parties — the villager must learn how to participate in formal organizations. As pointed out in Chapter 10, the Greek villager does not think in terms of formal organizations to the same extent as the Western European or American. He uses the direct personal approach rather than relying upon organized joint action to gain his goals. In this sense, the rural Greek is much like villagers throughout the world. To take part in a democratic government, therefore, he must gain experience in [665]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 663 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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The Village: As a Community

The Village Government

621 IN THE FIRST CHAPTER the village was described as a setting for the life of families, which are the most significant social groups in the settlement. It now becomes possible to consider the functions of the village itself as an entity in its own right. First, the formal organization of village-wide activities and responsibilities will be discussed, and second, the attitudes of the inhabitants toward Vasilika in contrast with their attitudes toward the family and the nation.

[631] The Greek government classifies Vasilika as a *kinotis* for administrative purposes despite its small population. A *kinotis* is legally a populated center with at least 300 inhabitants and a school, and constitutes one of the four kinds of administrative subdivisions in each of the nomes (provinces) of Greece.

622 The formal governmental activities of the *kinotis* are the responsibility of
623 a locally elected president and council. A community the size of Vasilika is
665 entitled to a council of five members elected for a four-year term. Voting must
666 be done along party lines; and voters select five names from among those listed by the party of their choice. Vasilika had only two political parties in its local elections in 1956. Under the system of proportional representation then operating, the four men with the most votes from the party which itself had the majority of votes were elected to the council. The fifth member should have been the man with the most votes in the minority party. At the last Vasilika election, however, the man in this position preferred not to act as a minority representative and the second man on the list became the council member. The five representatives then elect a president and a vice-president from among their number, usually for two-year terms. The council and community are served by an addi-
624 tional official, the secretary of the *kinotis*. The secretary is not elected and has no
[634] vote on the council. He is appointed by the nomarch (governor) of the province upon nomination from the village council. His salary varies with the income of

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669 sure that aid would come, or if it came that it would arrive soon
648 enough and in large enough quantity to turn the tide. Yet for-
433 eign aid was clearly needed if the Communist guerrillas were to be stopped. Without it, the government could scarcely hope to maintain its army for long. More than that, the fabric of the civil economy could not stand by itself, especially when guerrilla raids and road mines made transport and communication unsafe.

727 Apart from the military and diplomatic aspects, there was
648 another and more fundamental sense in which the morale of the government and of the conservative classes was damaged. The general ideas and presuppositions of the non-Communist politicians and their supporters were badly shaken by the course of events in the immediate postwar period. Their general assumption had been that once the Germans had withdrawn and a transition period of special emergency had been passed through, then the society and economy of Greece would return of themselves to something like stability and the prewar pattern. Yet now the Germans had departed, UNRRA had come and gone (save for a small rear guard), and still there was no stability and no security. Far less was there any prospect of prosperity.

The upheaval of the war years had in fact been too drastic to permit any automatic return to normal. But the political lead-
[661] ers of the country, all of whom had grown up in a world where government economic policy and administration were conceived in terms of doing favors for one's friends and withholding them from one's opponents, had no idea how to cope with the disturbed and unhappy society entrusted to their guidance. No idea, that is, except to ask for help from Britain or the United States.

[665] The politicians could scarcely be accused of not having done their part to bring things back to normal. During the brief res-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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pite between the time when British troops had suppressed the wartime guerrilla army in December 1944, and the resumption of the guerrilla war in the summer of 1946, the politicians resumed the prewar game of politics with an exemplary faithfulness to old customs and methods. Two of the principal figures of Greek politics, Sophocles Venizelos and Constantine Tsaldaris, carried family names that had been illustrious in the twenties and thirties, and owed their leadership more to their names than to any personal attributes. Quarrels between royalists and republicans, which dated back to the first world war, remained the principal line of demarcation between rival groups of politicians; and demands for territorial expansion at the expense of the defeated powers – primarily Bulgaria – remained a major stock-in-trade of political oratory, and the best antidote the political leaders could find for the discontent and unrest of the nation. This, after all, had been the dominant theme in the career of the great Eleftherios Venizelos, who had almost doubled Greek territory between 1912 and 1919, and even for a dizzy moment seemed to have the old Byzantine capital of Constantinople within his grasp. And how could any politician hope to improve on Venizelist models?

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Fame and fortune had always been the stuff and substance of a political career; special favors to friends and supporters had always been the means by which power was sustained; parties had always been fragile coalitions of ambitious public men who combined for a longer or shorter time under the leadership of one of their number, only to scatter and re-form in some new constellation when the restless striving for place and position dictated a change.

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To be sure, even before the war, extensive social legislation had been enacted, and the idea that the government was somehow responsible for maintaining the welfare of the population at large was not unknown. But such measures were conceived

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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727 primarily as electoral maneuvers, aimed to win votes, rather
661 than as aspects of any general social policy. A managed econ-
433 omy, or even a semi-managed economy, in which government decisions influenced the flow and volume of investment, regulated the supply of money, and adjusted the share of the national income to be enjoyed by different groups in the population was scarcely within the purview of the old-style politicians. Once again, this was not because the government had not intervened repeatedly and with telling effect in the economic life of the country. It had, but usually in the spirit of helping political or personal friends and thwarting foes.

Yet in spite of the faithful and unimaginative efforts of the political cosmos (the name Greeks give to the small number of men who play leading roles in political life) to return to a comfortable prewar pattern of behavior, the country ungratefully failed to follow suit. The times remained desperately out of joint, but knowing no way to set them right, the conservative politicians and their supporters were in a quandary. Their morale was destroyed by the lack of any clearly defined and firmly felt purpose and program, quite as much as by the diplomatic and material difficulties they confronted. Among the men of the right, apathy and hopelessness alternated with sporadic anti-Communist and extra-legal violence; but neither the one nor the other seemed to do anything but make the situation worse.

665 The Greek Communist party was not without its own internal
727 difficulties, but by comparison with the old-style politicians the Communists had tremendous advantages. First and foremost, they commanded a disciplined, enthusiastic and energetic body of committed followers, men who could be counted upon to follow instructions and who were willing to undergo personal hardship in the service of their dream for the future. Beyond this, the Communists enjoyed the sympathy or admiration of a

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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considerable proportion of the population, especially among the workmen of the towns and the peasants of the hill villages. No one can say how large this group was, but to estimate it at about 20 per cent of the nation's total population is a reasonable guess. 665 727

Another important asset of the Communists was their wartime record as leaders of resistance against the Germans and Italians. They could plausibly paint themselves as true champions of Greek national freedom and of democracy, while accusing their opponents of betraying the interests of the nation first to the Axis and then to the British. To be both a patriot and a Communist sympathizer did not therefore seem incompatible. [726]

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the Communists did have a more or less definite program of action and knew what they wanted. They were able to explain the continued distress of the country as a natural result of the creeping crisis of capitalism. They had a ready cure at hand in the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, as a preliminary to planned industrial expansion, on the Russian model. To many Communist followers, no doubt, the program meant little more than an angry intention to take from the rich and give to the poor, i.e., to themselves, all the good things which had selfishly and unjustly been withheld from them. Others, more sophisticated, realized that there would inevitably be a long period of time when suffering and poverty still would prevail, but believed that in the long run the dream of abundance for all could be realized, if the government planned economic activity and compelled sufficient investment. And no matter what the degree of economic understanding among their followers, the Communists had the advantage of offering the distressed and confused a cause to which to dedicate themselves, an enemy against

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665 whom to fight, and a hope for the future. None of the old-line
727 political parties or leaders could do any of these things nearly so effectively.

665 Only the inner circle of the Greek Communist party was di-
669 rectly affected by the very real fissure between what may be called "home grown" and "Russian" Communists. The rank and file of party members and sympathizers were perhaps scarcely aware of any such tensions, and accepted without any special notice the transfer of authority over the Greek Communist party from the hands of George Siantos, who had led it during the war years, to those of Nicholas Zachariades, who had spent the war in a German concentration camp. Yet this shift, accomplished in May 1945, represented the assertion of control by leaders trained and directed by Moscow, as against the more independent "home grown" leadership which Siantos had embodied.

In any case, this fissure was only of potential importance. If Russian policy should diverge seriously from lines acceptable to "home grown" Communists, then the factions in the Greek Communist party might be expected to come into the open. So long as no such divergence appeared – and in 1946 and 1947 it did not – the only consequence was to elevate some persons to positions of authority in the party and to blight the careers of others who had thrown in their lot with the defeated side.

665 Hence, in 1946 and 1947 the advantages enjoyed by the Greek
669 Communist party in competition with its rivals were actual, its
648 weaknesses only potential. This was true not only within the
727 country, but internationally as well. The Communist countries to the north began actively assisting the Greek Communist bands, sending arms and ammunition, allowing hard-pressed units to find refuge across the border, and providing hospital and other services to them as far as geographical difficulties permitted. On the other hand, British military and economic

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support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, 665
and it was not yet clear that American support would be forth- 669
coming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not 648
strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, 727
while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their 669
opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine 647
of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure [648]
this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in [666]
1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and 647
occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to ex- 661
cessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, [634]
the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

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x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left be-
166 hind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one
[369] of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are pre-
[427] pared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

647 One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The
• [665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers
[186] that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against
[625] natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the
433 difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563] [619] [648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

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665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even he was not always successful. General Papagos achieved something similar during the first year or so when he held office, before his failing health raised the question of the succession and induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the
662 political scene — and this was normal — then political life became a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals. Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes, originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations
[433] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention
[663] to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952
666 was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United
645 States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal
[177] parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces. But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties. Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments, to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted this process and made few promises to the politicians who

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joined his Rally; yet even he, when it came to appointing his cabinet, rewarded the most conspicuous leaders of personal parties who had merged their following into his, by appointing them to ministerial positions.

By 1956, when the commanding personality of General Papagos had been removed from the scene, the actual differences made by the new electoral law were a good deal less marked than might at first appear. Under the old proportional electoral system, the critical negotiations to form a cabinet occurred after the elections; under the new majority system very similar negotiations preceded the elections. In either case, personal followings gathered around a specially conspicuous individual were the basic elements from which cabinets and coalitions were built. Even these building blocks of the political edifice were not very firm; a leader might find, almost overnight, that "his" followers had gone off after someone else who seemed to promise something new or different.

How a man became a party leader was hard to say. Very diverse personalities were active in Greek politics, and some party leaders seemed, at least from the outside, to have little personal impressiveness. Inheritance was a factor in some cases. Sophocles Venizelos, for example, had made his political career on the strength of his father's name, and on little else. Men who lacked such an advantage normally established leadership by oratory in the Chamber of Deputies and through newspaper publicity.

As the game of politics was played, the opposition regularly enjoyed certain advantages. This implied a degree of instability for any government. First of all, in any distribution of ministerial seats and other plums of office, more contenders were bound to be left out than could possibly be included. Efforts to solve this difficulty by enlarging the size of the cabinet have been made from time to time, but always at the cost of effi-

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665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
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8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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Pirin district; but it was most unsatisfactory to Sofia, and the whole controversial question was in fact still open when the Cominform resolution of June 1948 ended all prospect of friendship, let alone of federation. The discussion of the proposal for federation actually contributed, as we shall see in the next chapter, to Moscow's growing mistrust of Tito and hence to the final break.

Even after Stalin had lost Tito as an ally he found difficulty in exploiting the Macedonian question profitably in Soviet propaganda. The natural course would have been to come out openly for transferring control over Jugoslav Macedonia from the new enemies in Belgrade to the eager sycophants in Sofia. But to indicate that Tito's fall would produce this result would have strengthened his régime and ended the hope of Cominform forces overturning it from within. The best that Moscow could do was to permit the revival of Bulgarian propaganda for the creation of a separate Macedonian republic, in the name of Macedonian nationalism, but to take no part in it officially.

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Even this limited Bulgarian propaganda complicated things for the Greek Communists. The Greek people suspected one wing of the Greek Communist Party of being willing to contribute Greek territory to bring a separate Macedonian state into existence. The suspicion had been strengthened by a story that one of the old-line Greek Communists, Yannis Ioannides, had agreed in July 1943 with a Bulgarian Communist named Dushan Daskalov to carve a Macedonian state out of Greek, Bulgarian and Jugoslav territory after the war and incorporate it directly into the Soviet Union. The plan as reported was grandiose; apparently Turkey was to be deprived of Istanbul, which was to be included in the Macedonian Soviet Socialist Republic along with Salonika. Russia would at last control the Straits and dominate the Aegean. When the American intelligence first got wind of the story it assumed that it had been planted by Nazi propagandists; but then it learnt that Ioannides had visited Moscow just before his meeting with Daskalov, and other bits of corroborative evidence indicated the probability that the Soviets actually were setting up an alternative design for use in the event that Tito proved troublesome or Bulgaria in some manner escaped the Soviet net. True or not, the story aided the Greek anti-Com-

[i.e. Bulgarian propaganda for the creation of a separate Macedonian republic --- Analyst]

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munists by raising popular fears that a Soviet-dominated régime might partition Greece.

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To add one more convolution to the involved situation, a strong element among the Greek Communists had always hoped to bring Communist Greece into a federation of East European Communist states—precisely the sort of federation which Russia was determined never to tolerate lest it limit her own control of the area.[3] By something more than a coincidence, the announcement that a "Free Greek Government" was to be established by the Greek Communists had occurred at about the same time that Tito and Dimitrov were meeting at Bled; and it also is significant that when such a government actually was set up in December 1947, with General Markos Vafiades as a principal leader, it was not accorded recognition by the Soviet Union or any of the satellites. Whether other satellite leaders were involved in the project, Gomulka in Poland, for example, or Clementis in Czechoslovakia, is not known. But the signs that Markos was suspect in Moscow from then on are unmistakable.

Tito's expulsion from the Cominform faced Soviet policy-makers with a hard choice in Greece. Tito had been an indispensable middleman in transporting Soviet help to the Greek rebels and their most active supporter on his own account. Soviet military equipment and arms went to the rebel bands over Jugoslav railways and Jugoslav food and uniforms nourished and clothed them. When the mountain fighters found themselves in a tight corner the Jugoslav frontiers always were open to them, their wounded were succored and cared for in Jugoslav hospitals, reënforcements were trained in Jugoslav camps and the Greek children whom they evacuated (or kidnapped) on their retreats found homes in Jugoslav institutions. Neither of Greece's other satellite neighbors, Bulgaria and Albania, was so well situated geographically to provide this help. Besides, all Greeks, including Communists, had hateful memories of wartime experiences in Albania and under the Bulgarian occupation of Greek Macedonia; and these memories would not down despite the ideological affinities existing between the Greek guerrillas and the Com-

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[3] *Pravda* in January 1948 condemned the idea of a "Balkan or Danubian federation including Poland, Czechoslovakia *and Greece*" (my italics) and forced Dimitrov to disown it (*cf.* Chapter XVII).

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munist régimes now installed in Sofia and Tirana. No such memories troubled the relations of Greek and Jugoslav Communists. But now the Jugoslav Partisan leader who had been extolled among Greek Communists not only for his outstanding Communist zeal but as the closest and most helpful of allies was suddenly declared an enemy of all true Communists and the Greek rebel bands were ordered to cease traffic with him.

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The conflict between the call of warfare in the Greek mountains as heard by the guerrillas directly and the call of international revolutionary tactics as relayed from Moscow split the Greek Communists. In the ensuing confusion the Greek guerrilla chieftain, General Markos Vafiades, disappeared from view. After his absence had been noted for some time both in Greece and abroad, the Greek rebel radio simply announced, early in February 1949, that he had been superseded. But soon afterwards it admitted that the Greek Communist Party had been purging itself of "opportunists" and "national deviationists" and was now being reorganized on stricter "monolithic" lines. Evidently Titoism had an appeal for some of the Greek mountain fighters, and evidently Markos was one of them.

The man chosen to succeed him was the same Ioannides who reportedly had been ready to sacrifice Salonika and the rest of Greek Macedonia in 1943. Markos and other nationalistically inclined Rightists having been purged or cowed, and with Moscow's unquestioning servants in charge, the "People's Liberation Front" adopted a propaganda line like the Bulgarian and called for "the union of Macedonia as an independent equal state in a confederation of Balkan peoples" (February 27, 1949). In March, Nicolas Zachariades, the Secretary-General of the Party, and Constantin Karageorgis, commanding the guerrillas in the Peloponnesos, attended a meeting in the mountains of northwest Greece described by the rebel radio as concerned principally with building a "Front of Macedonian National Liberation." All Macedonians—Greek, Jugoslav, Bulgar, Albanian and Turk—were to be brought into an "autonomous" state under Cominform auspices. The composition of the new rebel "government" announced in April confirmed the trend: it contained two non-Greeks described as "Slav-Macedonians."

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066 which to receive Western war materials and the Greeks would be as exposed to the new invaders as they were to the Nazis.

It was a bitter decision for the Russians to end the Greek civil war, but they saw the risks of any other course. One factor was the growing strength of the Greek Army. Following accepted international practice, the United States had supplied the legal Greek Government with arms. As a result, the armies taking the field in 1949 were well equipped and had good morale. Another influential factor was that the United Nations Commission had kept world opinion posted about the aid reaching the rebels from Communist sources abroad. Thirdly, now that Jugoslav railways could no longer be used, the best overland line for Soviet shipments via Bulgaria was cut. In future, Russian help could not be so easily disguised, would involve Soviet prestige directly and hence if supplied at all would have to be supplied on a scale to be decisive. This would amount to open intervention and involved the risk of general war.

•665 648 In the spring of 1949 the Communist and fellow-traveller press of the world had still been talking bravely of certain victory for the Greek "democrats." "The Monarchists could never repeat the scale of their offensive in Grammos last summer," and "this year will mark the turning point in the task of liberating Greece."[5] But after General Papagos's victories at Vitsi and Grammos that summer the Russian decision to liquidate the civil war became final. On October 9 the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party accepted defeat. It held that the hopes of the year before had been correct, "under the conditions when the Tito clique had not yet openly gone over to the imperialist camp and pretended to be a friend of the Greek democratic movement." Now, however, the Jugoslavs had "stabbed the Democratic Army in the back" and the military struggle had to cease.[6] The rebel radio broadcast the news on November 4, summarizing the reasons as follows: "Tito's treachery; the exploitation of this treachery by the Americans; the latter's growing determination to hold their bridgehead in Greece;

[5] *The New Central European Observer*, London, April 30, 1949.

[6] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, Bucharest, November 18, 1949.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Greece EH1
Bulgaria EI

increased U.S. aid to Monarcho-Fascism; and so forth." The Party line, the radio added, was formally changed. Henceforth the emphasis would be on "the organization and leadership of the political and economic struggles of all the strata of the working people—above all, the working class and employees, the displaced peasants, the hundreds of thousands of wounded, the war victims, the women and the youth."

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The admission that Greek nationalism had won a military victory and that Greek Communism must try to regain its hold on the masses by returning to the first principles of social action did not mean, of course, that propaganda warfare or even terroristic acts had to cease. Soon Nicolas Zachariades was writing in the Cominform journal that the American aim of creating a "Belgrade-Athens axis" must be fought "concretely, daily, constantly and tirelessly." As an example of what he meant he suggested sabotage of Jugoslav railway lines. But nothing could hide the fact that once again the feud with Belgrade had damaged Soviet Russia. It had drawn attention to the difference between her interests and those of her satellites. It had split the Greek Communist forces. It had helped the Truman Doctrine achieve its purpose sooner than might otherwise have happened.

In the autumn of 1950 as so often in the past Russia faced the old dilemma that if she favored one Balkan nation too openly she would outrage the others. The Soviet leaders now were aware, too, that when they spoke of a nation they could not exclude the Communists in it: Tito had added a complication to the Soviet game instead of simplifying it. The temptation to set the Bulgars loose against Tito must nevertheless have been very strong. The Bulgarian Army was newly equipped with Russian arms and had been reorganized by the new Minister of Defense, Lieutenant-General Peter Panchevsky, a former Soviet Army officer. Another former Soviet officer, General Novikov, was in command at the key center of Plovdiv. The size of the Bulgarian Army was not known precisely—certainly it was in excess of the 55,000 permitted by the peace treaty—but in any case, though growing, it was still smaller than the Jugoslav Army and inferior to it also in training and morale. Nevertheless Korea

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1:Sanders Z-5,f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe. 233 533

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community. 221 621

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis. [623] [622]

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots. [666]

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school. [871] [794] [474] [652] [233]

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous 621 [186] [175] [776] [669] [778]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[8]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 218]

XII

Local Government

829 154 If the Greek villager did not have a government to curse, he would be in a bad way indeed. Somewhere he has to find a scapegoat for the hard life that he leads. He could berate his wife or beat his children, but that would give only limited relief, since he knows they are not responsible for his difficulties; he could raise his clenched fist to the heavens and curse the Almighty, and he does this in some of the most colorful language known to man, but that too has its possible dangers, since the Almighty in a less genial mood might give him his comeuppance. What better object for his scorn could he find than the government, which is always wanting taxes, takes him off to military service, asks him innumerable questions every time he seeks a loan, and stages a periodic election prior to which "lying" politicians come to seek his vote. [666]

829 619 At the same time, the peasant is shrewd enough to distinguish between Greece as a nation, to which he can be tremendously loyal should anyone cast aspersions upon it, and whatever national government is in power. He also draws a distinction between the local government of his village and the central government in Athens, with his views of the former going up and down, but his regard for the latter seldom going up. There is no mercurial quality, therefore, to peasant politics. If the peasant does shift his [666]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor.

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done.

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax:

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

Here the local authorities were following the ancient practice of "farming" out the taxes to the highest bidder who, in turn, was expected to derive from rigorous collection much more than he paid for the right. Every time a bleating goat or an ox changed masters, the successful bidder would collect his 2 percent of the sale price.

The community council has other duties in addition to managing a community-owned radio, rebuilding churches, and collecting taxes. It conducts local elections as well.[6] By 1951 the political situation had stabilized to the point that local elections could be held throughout the country. Of the registered voters, a greater proportion of women than men voted, thereby showing their appreciation of the right of suffrage. From nine to thirty-one

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

councilmen could be elected in demes and from five to fifteen in communes, on the basis of population.

An account of local officialdom taken from almost any commune in Greece closely resembles that from other communes, although the number of council members may vary. Here are the facts for Gourie, near Mesolongi on the western coast of Greece.

The village has the following officers: a president and a deputy president, who replaces the former in his absence. The president is the paid governmental representative in the village. The secretary is a salaried, permanent employee of the community, whose duty is to keep all community records, conduct all correspondence, and do all other clerical work. The village council: it is the duty of this council to help the president solve the various community problems, to attend regular meetings and take the necessary resolutions. The councilmen are unpaid officers; the president is paid a yearly allowance of one thousand drachmas for his extra expenses. The council and the president were elected during the last national municipal elections. Later the president was elected by the councilmen.

The old school building is now used for the community office. This has two rooms; one is used for the president's office and the other for the secretary's; its furniture is very poor; it has six chairs, a divan, and a bookcase used for filing.[7]

Of course, villages differ in the facilities provided for the community-council officers. In Tsepelovo, an Epirus village, the office of the council was well furnished. Cushioned benches lined the walls. Other furniture included a long table at which the secretary worked; a storage chest; a glassed, built-in cabinet containing shelves for filing; four straight-back wicker chairs; and another cabinet built into the wall which contained a store of medical supplies. The room was decorated with an *Ohi* sign, commemorating the refusal by Metaxas to capitulate to the Italians early in World War II, pictures of the royal family, portraits of local dignitaries, and two pictures of Eisenhower. Some American Mission material lay on the long table. This council, too, had the responsibility of taking care of the high-powered American Mission radio, similar to the one in Phrangista.

As I talked with the village officials here and throughout Greece, I tried to understand their conceptions of their jobs. I knew what the law stated to be their functions but wondered how closely their own ideas corresponded with the legal description. In an Attica village (1953) I found a council consisting of eight members and the president. The secretary there, as elsewhere, had no vote at council meetings, but introduced the topics on the agenda. I asked this secretary whether he considered himself an employee of the community council or of the central government. In Communist countries to the north I had known that the secretary of local government was usually a trusted Communist imposed on the community and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life.

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As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[14] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance.

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise.

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When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician."

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I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

665 578 666 the rival party the other sixty percent support. However, should occasion seem opportune, a great number of them might switch to the support of a third party simply as a means of expressing disapproval of the performance of the ones they have been supporting. But let the men of a village find some common denominator, such as the erection of a school or a church building, and they will forget their political differences.

829 66 369 In conclusion, the best way to characterize "the peasant and politics" is in terms of indifference. This is especially true if one looks on politics as an organized way of bringing certain measures to pass through the election of officials committed to carrying them out. This has never worked for the Greek peasant in the past, and he is dubious about its merits in the future. If one means by politics the utilization of personal and family contacts with politicians and officials to get some gain for oneself, then the peasant can understand its significance and see its value. For, after all, politics and politicians are associated with the city and especially with Athens. Villagers are caught up in the backwash and, in their view of the world, have little importance as active agents. Political phenomena, like the weather, have to be endured, although now and then some useful protection from each might be sought in personal initiative, but not by group effort.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others. They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more education, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage. Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women, for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 663 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

6

The Village: As a Community

The Village Government

621 IN THE FIRST CHAPTER the village was described as a setting for the life of families, which are the most significant social groups in the settlement. It now becomes possible to consider the functions of the village itself as an entity in its own right. First, the formal organization of village-wide activities and responsibilities will be discussed, and second, the attitudes of the inhabitants toward Vasilika in contrast with their attitudes toward the family and the nation.

[631] The Greek government classifies Vasilika as a *kinotis* for administrative purposes despite its small population. A *kinotis* is legally a populated center with at least 300 inhabitants and a school, and constitutes one of the four kinds of administrative subdivisions in each of the nomes (provinces) of Greece.

622 623 665 666 The formal governmental activities of the *kinotis* are the responsibility of a locally elected president and council. A community the size of Vasilika is entitled to a council of five members elected for a four-year term. Voting must be done along party lines; and voters select five names from among those listed by the party of their choice. Vasilika had only two political parties in its local elections in 1956. Under the system of proportional representation then operating, the four men with the most votes from the party which itself had the majority of votes were elected to the council. The fifth member should have been the man with the most votes in the minority party. At the last Vasilika election, however, the man in this position preferred not to act as a minority representative and the second man on the list became the council member. The five representatives then elect a president and a vice-president from among their number, usually for two-year terms. The council and community are served by an additional official, the secretary of the *kinotis*. The secretary is not elected and has no 624 [634] vote on the council. He is appointed by the nomarch (governor) of the province upon nomination from the village council. His salary varies with the income of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Public Life in 1947]

support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, 665
and it was not yet clear that American support would be forth- 669
coming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not 648
strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, 727
while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their 669
opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine 647
of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure [648]
this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in [666]
1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and 647
occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to ex- 661
cessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, [634]
the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

162 worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as 217 against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the 621 village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that 178 × is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until 582 the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young [583] man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the 621 officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, 666 ● represented the extreme right. The president and secretary 669 were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble 565 in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to 578 use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

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with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the reinvigoration of local government. During the war and afterward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Cherasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Cherasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

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The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained true that plans for economic development and for most local improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate. 645 646 433 663

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches. 666 433 663

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism. 665 [563] [619] [648]

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

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665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even he was not always successful. General Papagos achieved something similar during the first year or so when he held office, before his failing health raised the question of the succession and induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the
662 political scene – and this was normal – then political life became a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals. Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes, originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations
[433] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention
[663] to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952
666 was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The
645 effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal
[177] parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces. But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties. Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments, to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted this process and made few promises to the politicians who

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joined his Rally; yet even he, when it came to appointing his cabinet, rewarded the most conspicuous leaders of personal parties who had merged their following into his, by appointing them to ministerial positions. 665 666 645

By 1956, when the commanding personality of General Papagos had been removed from the scene, the actual differences made by the new electoral law were a good deal less marked than might at first appear. Under the old proportional electoral system, the critical negotiations to form a cabinet occurred after the elections; under the new majority system very similar negotiations preceded the elections. In either case, personal followings gathered around a specially conspicuous individual were the basic elements from which cabinets and coalitions were built. Even these building blocks of the political edifice were not very firm; a leader might find, almost overnight, that "his" followers had gone off after someone else who seemed to promise something new or different.

How a man became a party leader was hard to say. Very diverse personalities were active in Greek politics, and some party leaders seemed, at least from the outside, to have little personal impressiveness. Inheritance was a factor in some cases. Sophocles Venizelos, for example, had made his political career on the strength of his father's name, and on little else. Men who lacked such an advantage normally established leadership by oratory in the Chamber of Deputies and through newspaper publicity. 665 645 662

As the game of politics was played, the opposition regularly enjoyed certain advantages. This implied a degree of instability for any government. First of all, in any distribution of ministerial seats and other plums of office, more contenders were bound to be left out than could possibly be included. Efforts to solve this difficulty by enlarging the size of the cabinet have been made from time to time, but always at the cost of effi-

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665 ciency, since the more voices that have to reach agreement
645 upon any policy, the more difficult it is to decide anything.
662 Hence the size of Greek cabinets has fluctuated very markedly since World War II, from over twenty-five to less than fifteen members. But even when a cabinet was made unwieldy by the effort to include as many potential supporters as possible, there were always more disappointed than successful candidates; and to such discontented persons it was a standing temptation to break party lines and vote the government down in the Chamber of Deputies on any convenient issue. In the ensuing cabinet reshuffle they might always hope to do better, having proved their indispensability to the government by unseating it.

665 Second, the opposition was always in the position of being
666 able to criticize without suggesting specific and practicable alternatives. It was easy to denounce half measures, to attack policies limited by the availability of money or of physical resources, to criticize the gaps between promises and actual achievements. The fact that much of what was thus attacked could not have been done much differently by anyone in power made little difference, since the opposition was not seriously concerned with what could or could not be done. Most politicians out of office were inclined to feel that any stick with which to beat the government, even a rotten one, was better than silence, so long as the stick hurt.

[663] The irrelevance of much of the language of political debate to the real, underlying problems of Greek society was easy to criticize from the outside. Yet a sober technical discussion of what the government could and should accomplish, of relative priority among the many desirable projects, and of long-range policies calculated to relieve overpopulation and underemployment lacked all political appeal.

471 The difficulty was that Greece faced a formidable political-
457 psychological problem. If large-scale investment on the basis
648
663

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party will be able to rise once more from its defeat and become again a disciplined, dominating force in internal Greek politics, will depend at least as much upon the course of international affairs as upon any efforts the Greek Communists may make by themselves. 668

Nevertheless, in 1956 signs were not wanting to show that Communism was still a force to be reckoned with in Greece. In spite of all the police had been able to do, it seemed certain that an illegal underground organization continued to exist, aimed more, perhaps, at collecting intelligence for foreign Communist states than at fomenting revolution in Greece. Greek-language broadcasts from behind the iron curtain continued to reach the country, informing the faithful of the proper attitudes to take on current political questions. The fact has already been mentioned that one Athens newspaper faithfully followed the line laid down by Communist broadcasts; a second appeared most sympathetic, though its editors did not always conform completely to Soviet directives. [204]

On the political stage, a new party was formed in advance of the elections of September 1951 which seemed very like EAM, the Communist-dominated resistance front which had so nearly won control of Greece in 1944. This new party was known by the initials EDA (Enosis Dimikratikon Aristera, or Union of the Democratic Left). Its candidates in 1951 were drawn in considerable measure from among persons who had made a name for themselves during the wartime resistance – many of them being in jail as Communists when the elections were held. 666 668

In spite of these circumstances, EDA met with very considerable success. In 1951 it won 180,640 votes, and in the elections of 1952, 152,011. In both cases, the EDA total was close to 10 per cent of all valid ballots, amounting to 10.6 per cent in 1951 and 9.6 per cent in 1952. Inasmuch as EDA participated in an electoral coalition with other opposition parties in the election

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666 of 1956, it is impossible to tell how many votes it may have con-
668 tributed to the opposition's total on that occasion.

In 1951 and 1952, the defeat of the guerrilla army was still fresh and the demoralization of the Greek Communist party must have been serious. It therefore seems safe to assume that the proportion of about 10 per cent which EDA won in these elections represented about the minimal support the Greek Communist party commanded in the country. It is interesting to note, in passing, that a public opinion survey conducted by American and British experts in 1946 found 9.3 per cent of the population willing to declare to the faces of western interrogators an intention of following Communist instructions to abstain from the elections of that year. Very nearly the same proportion, and probably many of the same persons, supported EDA in 1951 and 1952. They must be regarded as "hard core" Communists or sympathizers so strongly attached to the party that nothing is likely to alienate them from Communist leadership.

Given the hardships under which many Greek families live and the history of the past fifteen years, during which on two separate occasions a Communist-led movement seemed on the verge of winning power, this proportion may appear satisfactorily, and even surprisingly, small. Many thousands of young people, after all, dedicated several years of their lives and underwent very real risks and discomforts in the service of a cause offered them by Communist propaganda. Such experiences and loyalties are not easily wiped out, especially when a person who has once been identified as a member of any sort of Communist organization is likely to suffer discrimination in job-hunting and in all contacts with the government forever after.

At the same time, a hard core of about 10 per cent of the voters constitutes a great political asset. It opens the door for

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deals with other parties and coalitions that may badly need just such support to win office. In 1956, the opposition coalition, under the leadership of George Papandreou, yielded to this temptation and accepted the proffered support of EDA. Papandreou was careful to announce, however, that in the event of victory he would not assign any seats in his cabinet to members of EDA; and after the election cooperation between EDA and Papandreou was promptly broken off. 666 668

Year in and year out, in the kaleidoscopic shifting of personal reputation that constitutes the warp and woof of Greek politics, it seems very doubtful whether any of the leaders of personal parties can regularly count on as much as 10 per cent of the vote. The apparently solid character of the Communist hard core thus takes on still greater significance. And in times when the discredit of the Communist party is not so recent as it was in 1951 and 1952, it seems at least possible that a fringe of fellow travelers and vague sympathizers – people who wish to protest vigorously against the status quo, and feel, quite correctly, that the Communists represent the most effective challenge to the prevailing social order – may add their votes to those of the hard core, and swell the proportion of the electorate responsive to Communist leadership quite considerably, perhaps to something like 20 per cent of the total.

This means, I believe, that the Communist problem has not been really solved. There still exists an important minority in the country which is prepared to go outside the framework of legality whenever opportunity offers a favorable prospect of success; a minority which on other occasions is ready to participate in the parliamentary process, to join electoral coalitions and to carry on newspaper campaigns against the government, but does all this fundamentally in bad faith, hoping to gain a toehold in the government only to convert it into a stranglehold, 668

East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful 177
in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable 571
changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political 666
bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal 571
loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of 571
humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only 577
recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a 73
plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience 577
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[Village Life]

When the second world war came, followed by Italian and German occupation and drastic derangement of the national economy, the situation of the hill villages became truly desperate. Starvation visited many of them. 433 731

Famine in time of war was age-old; and the response of the hillsmen of Greece also had very ancient precedent behind it, for they took gun in hand, and attempted to seize forcibly what they could no longer gain peaceably from the plains. They formed the backbone of the wartime ~~resistance forces~~, and justified their violence by patriotism, quite in the spirit their forefathers had shown in attacking the Turks. Yet the resistance movement was not merely a reassertion of old patterns. Its leadership was mainly provided by Communists, who in earlier years had been a small and not very significant group, largely confined to the towns.[1] [579] 726 669 433 [668]

In the wartime resistance movement the inhabitants of the hill villages found a sort of economic relief, inasmuch as the guerrilla bands lived by raiding the plains, taking by force a part of the agricultural surplus of those regions in order to feed themselves. A young man, without any real occupation in his native village, and without any hope of a career at home which could satisfy even the traditionally low level of expectation among the hillsmen, could, by joining a guerrilla band, hope to feed himself and relieve his family of the burden of his presence. In addition, he could become a hero, fighting for freedom and liberty, social justice and a better life for all.

For most peasant boys, the ulterior aims of their Communist leaders meant little or nothing. Indeed, the Communists were at very considerable pains to play down any plans they had for social revolution, and welcomed persons of widely differing social views into the ranks of the resistance. This was, of course, 669

1. There were a number of non-Communist resistance bands also, but most of them did not last long, and the successful ones were confined to Epirus, in the northwest.

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[Village Life]

in the hill villages (and in only slightly less degree the other young people of Greece also) lacked, yet desperately needed in order to confront the daily hardships and disappointments of private life. Here, I think, lay and continues to lie the secret of Communist influence in Greece. It was not so much the ultimate vision of wealth and ease and justice – Greek peasants are quite sophisticated enough to distrust such glittering baubles – but the mobilization of energies in the here and now to form a purposeful movement, surcharged with hope and optimism, that attracted the allegiance of so many restless young people. 669 433

At the least it seems correct to say that the guerrilla movements, with their attendant propaganda and real life experiences, created a population more or less chronically open to fresh revolutionary winds, from whatever direction they may blow. Even when jobs on roads and other sorts of construction opened up again in the 1950's, so that something resembling the old symbiosis of hill and plains could be resumed, the changed attitudes among the hillsmen remained quite obvious. Greece will have, for some considerable time to come, a substantial group of its population that is peculiarly receptive to movements of political dissent or outright revolution. [208] [668]

The real, physical problems presented by too many mouths and too little land have not been solved, and cannot be solved quickly by anything short of wholesale depopulation. But the tradition-bound attitudes which once made this precarious life seem inevitable, even if not right, have been profoundly eroded. Clearly, this is a dangerous and potentially explosive situation. What happens in the hill villages is likely to constitute the critical factor in the future political history of Greece.

The situation in the plains was different. Guerrilla bands seemed suspiciously like robbers, or at best like tax collectors, to the peasants of the plains villages from whom they demanded food. Comparatively few young men left such villages to join

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It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political process by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians. 647 177 433 663

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus? 648 668

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in

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648 668 the summer of 1956. The opposition belabored the government for failing to free the Cypriotes; the government swore that no effort had been spared; and each side rivaled the other in denouncing the stubbornness of Britain, the meddling of Turkey and the indifference of the United States. Events in Cyprus, where nearly every day people were killed as a result of the guerrilla operations of an organization known by the initials EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kypriakou Agonos, or National Organization of Cypriote Fighters), occupied the most prominent place in every newspaper, and speeches or statements about the Cyprus question filled an amazing proportion of the space that remained. Nothing else seemed to matter very much; [521] and this attitude was not confined to newspapers. No conversation could long continue before the Cyprus question came up, and even very casual contacts between a Greek and an American were likely to produce an impassioned plea for Cyprus, together with reproaches against the United States government for failing to act in the matter.

From the point of view of someone interested in confronting and trying to relieve the economic and social difficulties of contemporary Greece, the Cyprus question was bound to appear totally irrelevant. If the Cypriotes were accorded the right to determine their own form of government, and if, as seemed overwhelmingly probable, the majority of the island's inhabitants then elected to unite with Greece, nothing would be helped so far as Greece's own problems were concerned. Yet by 1956 the liberation of Cyprus had become the very stuff and substance of Greek political debate. A more effective red herring would be difficult to imagine.

From the point of view of the Greek public, however, the Cypriote cause was sacred, and far more worthy of attention than merely economic questions. This attitude was deeply rooted in the political tradition of the nation. Indeed, the whole

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career of modern Greece, since the days when a small segment of the peninsula first won independence from the Turks, has been punctuated by recurrent bouts of intense popular excitement over the liberation of one or another portion of the Greek-speaking world that still remained under foreign sovereignty. In spite of costly failures, this agitation, and actions in accord with it, sooner or later added the Ionian Islands, Thessaly, Crete, Macedonia, the easterly Aegean Islands and part of Thrace to the Greek state. So successful has the nationalist program been that by 1956 Cyprus remained the only important area where a large Greek-speaking majority lived under foreign rule. The Greeks, therefore, felt entirely justified in demanding that such an anomaly end.

Anyone who takes democratic doctrines seriously must agree that the Greek case in Cyprus was a good one, since about 80 per cent of the islanders speak Greek and have given strong evidences of identification with Greece in recent years. Nor has the social and economic level of the Cypriotes been such as to justify a denial of self-government. Hence the Greeks of Greece had a good cause, and felt that the indifference of the United States to the issue, and the refusal of Britain to agree to grant self-government to Cyprus, represented a repudiation of their democratic professions. The burning conviction that the great powers were in the wrong and that the Greeks were in the right added fuel to the agitation, while Turkey's intervention in the question had the effect of opening once again all the wounds inflicted by past warfare between the two peoples.

On two occasions in the past, war with the Turks resulted from the desire of Greeks to liberate their fellow nationals, and on several other occasions war was narrowly averted by the intervention of the great powers. These wars and war scares cost Greece dearly in the past. One of the reasons for the failure of the economy to develop more rapidly was the financial bur-

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648 den the government incurred as a result of these enterprises;
668 and the complete catastrophe which came to the Hellenic com-
[433] munities of Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, following the failure of the Greek effort to annex part of the eastern Aegean coast, left marks upon the Greek body social which are still conspicuous. Yet then, as more recently in the case of Cyprus, counsels of caution or calculations of expediency scarcely found a hearing. The warm feeling of patriotism, all the warmer for being so reckless of consequences, overcame and continued to overcome every obstacle.

The Cyprus question became acute in the spring of 1955 when EOKA began issuing manifestoes and throwing bombs in the island, demanding self-determination and the end of colonial administration. Whether, or in what degree, the Greek government was an accomplice in provoking EOKA to action is impossible to say. Clandestine support of irregular armed action against a foreign government is an old tradition in the Balkans. The Greek government was itself attacked in this indirect fashion by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania during the guerrilla war; and all the Christian nations of the Balkans used similar methods against the Turks. The fact that the leader of EOKA was reputed to be Colonel George Grivas, a man who had once served in the Greek army, and who had been the head of an extra-legal rightist armed band in the years just after the end of World War II, suggested, but by no means proved, that agents of the Greek government may have had a hand in organizing the guerrillas in Cyprus.

If so (and this is not a proven fact), it seemed fairly clear that in the months that followed EOKA's appearance in Cyprus agitation in Greece grew to proportions that the government had not expected, and did not really desire. To have an issue upon which all Greeks could unite behind a government that

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boldly demanded justice for the Cypriotes was one thing; to have an issue that threatened to disrupt the NATO alliance in the eastern Mediterranean and gave the opposition a chance to attack the government for its inability to bring the situation to a satisfactory conclusion was quite another. Yet it was this second, embarrassing position into which the Greek government soon fell. The British refused to give in; and during the summer of 1955 the Turks began to assert their own interest in the fate of Cyprus.

Greece and Turkey had both been admitted to NATO in the fall of 1951, and in 1954 Greece had also concluded an alliance with Yugoslavia. This laboriously constructed diplomatic and military bulwark, within which Greece might hope to shelter as securely as any nation could that stood on the frontier between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, now began to crumble; and by 1956, although the treaties remained nominally in existence, the ill feeling between Greeks and Turks had reached a pitch that made real cooperation impossible. Joint naval maneuvers had to be called off, and acute difficulties arose in the NATO headquarters at Smyrna, where Greek and Turkish officers had been working side by side.

As this situation developed, the Greek government became seriously embarrassed. On the one hand, it could not allow the opposition to flaunt the garb of patriotism without challenge. The publicity agencies of the government and the Athens radio thereupon indulged in a veritable orgy of rhetoric which could not fail to have an inflammatory effect in Cyprus and also at home in Greece. On the other hand, rumor had it that the royal palace and the Foreign Office urged caution and moderation — a spirit which, however carefully it was kept under cover, still gave the opposition a chance to denounce the halfheartedness and secret duplicity of the government.

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648 668 Through 1956 at least, the Greeks had spilled nothing more precious than words over Cyprus. The economic programs of the government had not been affected, nor had the social realities of Greece been touched. What had changed were Greek relations with Turkey and Britain; and in 1956 it was hard to see how the resultant damage to the NATO alliance could be repaired. A change in British policy might bring the Cypriotes self-determination and union with Greece – an upshot that would gratify the Greeks, but scarcely improve relations between Greece and Turkey. On the contrary, such an eventuality might well be accompanied by open violence between Turks and Greeks on Cyprus itself, where the Turkish minority constitutes about 20 per cent of the population; and similar and more dangerous disorders might spread into Turkish and Greek Thrace, where the two peoples remain mingled owing to the exclusion of this area from the exchange of populations that followed World War I.

The embitterment of Greek-Turkish relations seemed likely to endure for a long time, to the embarrassment of the Americans who wished to remain in alliance with both sides of the quarrel. It was, of course, because American diplomats dreaded such difficulties, and did not wish to antagonize the British, that the official policy of the United States remained so much aloof from the Cyprus question in 1955 and 1956.

Whatever the eventual outcome may be, it seems clear that the excitement over Cyprus had the effect not only of distracting attention from home policy, but also of weakening the Greek cabinet and restricting its freedom of maneuver. Feeling was directed most strongly against the Turks, secondly against the British, and more faintly but still definitely against the Americans. The emotional involvement with Cyprus was so strong that in the summer of 1956 it did not seem beyond the bounds of possibility that some turn of events in Cyprus might

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bring about the overthrow of the Karamanlis government and the installation of a cabinet far less inclined to cleave to the western alliance system of NATO in foreign affairs, and far less amenable to American advice concerning home policy. 648 668

What the effect of such a change might be upon the development of the economy, or upon the civil servants who were so busily planning its growth, cannot be forecast. My point merely is this: that the divorce between the realm of political discourse in Greece and the real problems of economic and social melioration within the nation is so wide as to be dangerous. Some economically ruinous action, rising from feelings of outraged nationalism, and provoked by politicians who hope to win place and prestige by risking everything on a politico-military gamble, may damage much of what has already been accomplished, or postpone indefinitely the realization of plans which have been laid for future economic expansion. 433 662 663

There are here the makings of a vicious circle. The major cause of the characteristic irresponsibility and extremism of Greek politics in recent decades, I am convinced, has been the chronic discontents and personal frustrations which tens of thousands of white-collar and professional people have felt. For them, politics offers a psychological release from daily difficulty and disappointment. To act as an adequate catharsis, political argument must be exciting, indeed inflammatory. The politicians therefore offer excitement, and when they cannot find it they try to manufacture it. If no internal foe seems sufficiently evil, then attacks are turned against some foreign antagonist. Political instability and changeability are the result, and when words boil over into actions real economic setbacks often follow – setbacks that feed the chronic discontent behind the political manifestations themselves.

Much of the domestic history of modern Greece can be interpreted as the result of such a vicious circle in action. The re-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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433 construction of the economy and the transformation of the civil
662 service since 1947 seem to offer a chance for escape from this
663 circle, but escape is as yet by no means assured.

The Communist Problem

668 The Communist party was declared illegal in October 1947,
669 and has remained illegal since then. Communist party leaders first joined the guerrillas, then retreated with the remnant of the guerrilla army behind the iron curtain. It seems entirely likely that the exile leadership was torn by faction and recrimination. Backwash from the shipwreck of their hopes on the Macedonian issue in 1949 must have continued to distract the secret councils of the party. Equally, the changing winds of doctrine that followed Stalin's death shook the Greek Communist party, and, combined perhaps with other factors, led in the fall of 1956 to the demotion of Nicholas Zachariades and the substitution of an almost unknown personality as Secretary General.

Rather strenuous police measures were taken during the guerrilla war to break up the Communist underground organization. Many people were arrested and several hundred were shot. How effective these measures were in breaking down the party organization cannot be judged by anyone standing outside the inmost party circles. Furthermore, the failure of the guerrilla enterprise, and the collision between Greek national feeling and international Communist policy over the question of the future of Macedonia must have disheartened even the most fanatical Communists in Greece, and certainly discredited Communism in the eyes of many who had formerly been sympathetic.

668 Whether these events mean that the Communist threat to Greece is lastingly removed, or whether the Greek Communist

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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party will be able to rise once more from its defeat and become again a disciplined, dominating force in internal Greek politics, will depend at least as much upon the course of international affairs as upon any efforts the Greek Communists may make by themselves. 668

Nevertheless, in 1956 signs were not wanting to show that Communism was still a force to be reckoned with in Greece. In spite of all the police had been able to do, it seemed certain that an illegal underground organization continued to exist, aimed more, perhaps, at collecting intelligence for foreign Communist states than at fomenting revolution in Greece. Greek-language broadcasts from behind the iron curtain continued to reach the country, informing the faithful of the proper attitudes to take on current political questions. The fact has already been mentioned that one Athens newspaper faithfully followed the line laid down by Communist broadcasts; a second appeared most sympathetic, though its editors did not always conform completely to Soviet directives. [204]

On the political stage, a new party was formed in advance of the elections of September 1951 which seemed very like EAM, the Communist-dominated resistance front which had so nearly won control of Greece in 1944. This new party was known by the initials EDA (Enosis Dimikratikon Aristera, or Union of the Democratic Left). Its candidates in 1951 were drawn in considerable measure from among persons who had made a name for themselves during the wartime resistance – many of them being in jail as Communists when the elections were held. 666 668

In spite of these circumstances, EDA met with very considerable success. In 1951 it won 180,640 votes, and in the elections of 1952, 152,011. In both cases, the EDA total was close to 10 per cent of all valid ballots, amounting to 10.6 per cent in 1951 and 9.6 per cent in 1952. Inasmuch as EDA participated in an electoral coalition with other opposition parties in the election

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666 of 1956, it is impossible to tell how many votes it may have con-
668 tributed to the opposition's total on that occasion.

In 1951 and 1952, the defeat of the guerrilla army was still fresh and the demoralization of the Greek Communist party must have been serious. It therefore seems safe to assume that the proportion of about 10 per cent which EDA won in these elections represented about the minimal support the Greek Communist party commanded in the country. It is interesting to note, in passing, that a public opinion survey conducted by American and British experts in 1946 found 9.3 per cent of the population willing to declare to the faces of western interrogators an intention of following Communist instructions to abstain from the elections of that year. Very nearly the same proportion, and probably many of the same persons, supported EDA in 1951 and 1952. They must be regarded as "hard core" Communists or sympathizers so strongly attached to the party that nothing is likely to alienate them from Communist leadership.

Given the hardships under which many Greek families live and the history of the past fifteen years, during which on two separate occasions a Communist-led movement seemed on the verge of winning power, this proportion may appear satisfactorily, and even surprisingly, small. Many thousands of young people, after all, dedicated several years of their lives and underwent very real risks and discomforts in the service of a cause offered them by Communist propaganda. Such experiences and loyalties are not easily wiped out, especially when a person who has once been identified as a member of any sort of Communist organization is likely to suffer discrimination in job-hunting and in all contacts with the government forever after.

At the same time, a hard core of about 10 per cent of the voters constitutes a great political asset. It opens the door for

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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deals with other parties and coalitions that may badly need just such support to win office. In 1956, the opposition coalition, under the leadership of George Papandreou, yielded to this temptation and accepted the proffered support of EDA. Papandreou was careful to announce, however, that in the event of victory he would not assign any seats in his cabinet to members of EDA; and after the election cooperation between EDA and Papandreou was promptly broken off. 666 668

Year in and year out, in the kaleidoscopic shifting of personal reputation that constitutes the warp and woof of Greek politics, it seems very doubtful whether any of the leaders of personal parties can regularly count on as much as 10 per cent of the vote. The apparently solid character of the Communist hard core thus takes on still greater significance. And in times when the discredit of the Communist party is not so recent as it was in 1951 and 1952, it seems at least possible that a fringe of fellow travelers and vague sympathizers – people who wish to protest vigorously against the status quo, and feel, quite correctly, that the Communists represent the most effective challenge to the prevailing social order – may add their votes to those of the hard core, and swell the proportion of the electorate responsive to Communist leadership quite considerably, perhaps to something like 20 per cent of the total.

This means, I believe, that the Communist problem has not been really solved. There still exists an important minority in the country which is prepared to go outside the framework of legality whenever opportunity offers a favorable prospect of success; a minority which on other occasions is ready to participate in the parliamentary process, to join electoral coalitions and to carry on newspaper campaigns against the government, but does all this fundamentally in bad faith, hoping to gain a toehold in the government only to convert it into a stranglehold, 668

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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668 and then destroy the parliamentary machinery and civil liberty in favor of Communist dictatorship.

668 648 In 1956 these things were not apparent. Communism was not an issue; Cyprus had replaced it, and the Communist party had officially endorsed the Cyprus struggle over the radio. No one admitted to being a Communist, since to do so would have been a short way to jail. The people seemed quite genuinely glad to be relieved of the long preoccupation with the Communist question, and to find a cause upon which everyone could unite. This was, indeed, one of the reasons why Cyprus was such a heart-warming cause for the Greeks. Everyone, no matter what his opinions on domestic issues, was behind the Cypriotes. The Greeks had not known what it was to be united on an important public issue since the time of the Albanian war in 1940. Yet if Communists and nationalists were to quarrel in Cyprus, a possibility of which there were already some convincing signs in the summer of 1956, then the Communist question would emerge again in Greece with new bitterness, as each side sought to blame the other for the disruption of the Cypriote struggle.

66 In any analysis such as this it is easy to overemphasize the instability and insecurity of Greek political affairs. Certainly Greek politics are unstable, and the parliamentary regime in Greece is insecure. But it is well to remember that these conditions are not new. Exactly the same could be said of the political scene at any time since 1909, when the current phase of modern Greek political life began. The Greeks have learned to live with such conditions, and even manage to derive lively exhilaration from the perpetual uncertainty of their politics. Without politics, what would there be to talk about in the cafés?

[829] [521]

647 829 The things that are new in Greek public life attract little public attention. The man in the street and in the village coffee

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us
124 there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along
[491] the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely
669 off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still
727 stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
241 get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble
[511] the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
511 their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and
[221] children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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[The Tselingata]

used for public works, especially for the operation of schools. All these accounts are regulated by the general assembly of the members of the union.

In my conversations with Berates, the visit to whom has just been described, I learned that he considered himself an architselingas. True enough, he owned most of the sheep, but he did allow the six men who worked for him to have flocks of their own, say fifty to sixty head, if they could get a start. One of his shepherds was assigned the task of keeping the records of milk production so that each one could have a share prorated on the basis of the number of animals in the common flock. Every six months Berates draws up a contract with those associated with him; he supervises the cheese production up in the highland pastures and even helps process the milk for some of the smaller owners who are not in position to set up their own plant.

Those who knew Epirus a generation or so ago tell of the great authority these chief shepherds had, each ruling in autocratic fashion his people and the area in which they were established. Should one of the shepherds associated with any of these chieftains become dissatisfied and want to move away, he found it impossible to attach himself to any other chief shepherd, for these men of position stuck together. In the days of turmoil and disorder early in this century, it was almost necessary for a small owner to be connected in some way with a leading figure who could protect him and represent him to outside authorities.[14]

The tselingata, from many accounts, were not necessarily based on kinship, though there were interesting examples of the group of relatives being so large that they formed a union by themselves. In such a case, age and generation would usually determine who had the authority and his word would carry great weight among the others.

Even today there are powerful chief shepherds. The mayor of the city of Egoumenitsa, along the Ionian Sea, was the head of the Petoules family which is run on the principles of the traditional tselingata. There are eighty members in the family and all of them obey him. In 1953 I was told that the Petoules family collectively owned from 12,000 to 14,000 sheep, in spite of the fact that on one day in 1948 the Communist guerrillas took 4,200 sheep from them. Although they owned sufficient land to graze at least 14,000 sheep, they were improving the pastures by sowing wild clover. The summer area alone added up to about 3,450 acres and the winter area was additional.

One official in describing this family said that in 1952 some of the governmental representatives in Ioannina were ordered by the central government to go to the head of the Petoules family and take some of the pasture land for the settlement of refugees who needed land. They expected trouble but were pleasantly surprised when the architselingas agreed to give the land and also went with them to select it. Two villages were constructed,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests. 233 241 578 621

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in. [423] [474]

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The 233 578 185 [656] [669] [654]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[18] 664

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead. [369] [654]

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter. 622 [669] [646]

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch 662 664

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men). Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen to us if we can't read?"

[212] [369] [562] [669] [875]

Local Support for the School

871 Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school, since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people and the community council toward the education of their children.

[875] [875]

One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board, the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

[634] [653]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

be taught exclusively in *katharevousa;* and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17] 197 872

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level. 197 [554]

But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm," [18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medium over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words: 197 212 204 669 197

If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

575 For men, the cooperatives are the chief associations, although meetings
[474] are relatively infrequent since these are primarily service organizations. They have not yet really taken on the educational role displayed by the youth or women's groups.

At best, these organizations which have been described exist to satisfy the interests of the members who affiliate. Unlike the institutionalized church board, school board, and community council, they do not exist to serve community-wide needs even though many of their stated purposes might contain grandiose aims. Most of these are not organizations which the villagers themselves have created, but have been formed in response to outside pressures and have been founded in the hope that they will do something to help the villagers have a better life. What makes the promotion
575 of such organizations difficult is the utter lack on the part of the peasant
571 of an abstract loyalty to an organization; he goes if he wants to or if he likes the agent from outside — not because he feels it his duty as a member to support the group of which he is a part.

Even if the numbers of organizations in rural Greece were doubled and the membership quadrupled, it is hardly likely that the Greek peasant would think of the "organizational approach" to problem solving. Where some Americans might get together and form a group to deal with a problem, the Greek peasants would either say "let the central government do it" or, if they are more sophisticated, relegate it to the community council to worry about. There is no tie-in between individual responsibility and membership-in-action groups, such as one finds in suburban America; the peasant is in the preorganization stage, which perhaps indicates why his life seems so untrammeled to those who get to know him well.

The Sense of Community

621 Greek village life has a unity in the sense that the peasants see their life
182 as a whole and do not compartmentalize it in the way that it has been presented here. They make no distinction between religion and agriculture, family life and recreation, mutual aid and local government. Life flows on day by day, each day with its own tasks and joys, but marked by the variations which the seasons bring. Nor does the Greek villager distinguish in his mind among his village as a place or physical setting, his home, or the people who walk the streets. All these, to which we might also add the donkeys, goats, and other animals, possess a unity in that they fit together as a part of his accustomed world.

621 But Greek village life does not have a unity in the sense that there is
578 perfect agreement within the community on every course of action or in the sense that people placidly sit by and concur in what a few self-appointed
665 leaders might choose to do. Factions arise, and many of them persist. These
•669 can arise in time of war when rival armies visit the village in the search
182

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo*, or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

> Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*. . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.[8]

Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance
669 for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
166 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town
[657] or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as
[369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes follow-
[302] ing the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

[515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was
[657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

> As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

Social Drift

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

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Athens-Piraeus region—is no more than about 85,000 souls. In terms of parishes there is considerable disparity between different dioceses: that of Ioannina, in Epirus, one of the largest, includes 230 parishes—many of them mere hamlets of forty or fifty families—while that of Nevrokopi, on the frontier of eastern Macedonia, has only fifteen. The average number is rather less than 100. If we take the twenty-four dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace, for example, we find that the average works out at seventy-eight parishes to the diocese, while the metropolitans of Philippi and Neapolis, Xanthi, Nevrokopi, Eleftheroupolis, Nea Zichni, Alexandroupolis and Hierissos all have less than sixty communities committed to their care, and only five bishops—the metropolitans of Salonica, Drama, Kilkis, Serres and Florina—more than 100.

As against this comparatively low average population and number of parishes one has, of course, to set in the balance the extremely primitive nature of the communications which the Greek bishop can command. To this day the majority of the villages of northern Greece are inaccessible to wheeled transport, at any rate during the winter months; and while the truly remarkable achievements of the last few years—the repair of the shattered railways, and the construction of roads and air-strips—have given Greece a very fair system of long-distance communications, the facilities which most bishops enjoy for travel within their own dioceses remain much as they have been since apostolic days. The metropolitan of a country diocese will think nothing of long journeys by mule or mountain pony across appallingly difficult terrain, his episcopal vestments slung from the high wooden saddle; of fording torrents swollen by the melting snows, and negotiating precipitous slopes where the path seems scarcely to afford adequate foothold for a goat—much less for an elderly ecclesiastic. It is little wonder that many mountain villages saw their father in God but seldom, even in the days before the natural hazards which confronted the traveller had been supplemented by mines and wandering bands of *katsapliades*, as the Communists were styled in the villages.

When we turn to the internal organisation of the dioceses we find many features which cannot but seem strange to most western Christians. We have come to take for granted the fact that a bishop, charged with the pastoral care of a vast and unmanageable diocese, inevitably delegates most of his priestly functions to his parish clergy. In the small country dioceses of Greece, however, the bishop retains a far greater measure of

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

Mary". To the simple Greek, however, it is *the* feast of the *Panaghia*, which not the Marys only but also the men and boys named Panaghiotis keep as their name-day: a very much more important occasion in Greece than the mere commemoration of one's birth after the flesh. The importance of the festival is emphasised by a fast of two weeks' duration immediately preceding it.[1] The other liturgical commemorations of the *Theotokos* centre on particular events. March 25th, for example, apart from the national associations which have made it one of the greatest days of the year among Greeks, is essentially the memorial of the Annunciation: "To-day," runs the dismissal hymn, "is the chapter-head of our salvation and the revelation of the eternal mystery. The Son of God becomes the Son of the Virgin, and Gabriel brings the good news of grace". So with the other evangelical commemorations. The liturgy of August 15th, on the other hand, seems to sum up the whole work in the pattern of man's redemption of her who contained Him whom the heavens cannot contain, and who, through the mysterious operation of the life-giving Spirit, herself became the dwelling of the infinite Creator.

All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured;
Both the assembly of the angels and the race of men.
O hallowed temple and logical paradise, the boast of virgins,
From whom God took flesh and became a little child,
Who is from all eternity our God.
For He made thy womb His throne
And fashioned thy body broader than the heavens.
All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured:
Glory to thee!

*

On August 13th, 1949, furnished with a document wherein the officer commanding the Drama gendarmerie called upon all whom I should encounter in my travels to give me all conceivable manner of assistance, I embarked in the antique vehicle which then connected the village of Kato Nevrokopi with the rest of Christendom (it was blown up by a Communist mine a few months later). During the early stages of our somewhat wayward progress through the narrow streets of Drama it became evident, from the sounds which came from overhead that, in addition to the forty-four Greek passengers who occupied the

[1] [ie before Aug. 15th[41] - ANALYST]

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494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high
[669] peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight
[726] of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[521] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

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792 later in the day. There was, alas! no bedding at the monastery, said
[669] Father Ambrose: everything had been carried off by the Communists, to equip a field-hospital which they had established in the mountains to the northward; "What is to be done? But we will find something for you when you return this evening."

792 We spent the rest of the day scrambling about the rocks and visiting long-abandoned monasteries and hermitages. At St. Nicolas—fast
346 falling into ruin, and where one must tread with circumspection—we found a few paintings remaining in the two chapels and the refectory, as well as an iron chest containing liturgical books and an eikon of the Forerunner; elsewhere, nothing save slowly crumbling masonry and the all-enveloping silence. We paid a fleeting visit to Kalambaka and returned to St. Barlaam a little before sunset laden with cognac and cigarettes. Like the Great Meteoron, this monastery, which crowns the
[361] towering cliffs of Drakospelaia, was until quite recent times inaccessible
[133] save by net and windlass. It is a sixteenth-century foundation, having been built about 1517 by two brothers from Ioannina—Nektarios and Theophanes—on the site of the fourteenth-century hermitage founded by the solitary from whom the monastery takes its name. In 1950 it
792 was inhabited by six monks. The *Igoumenos*, Father Christopher, told
[162] us he had been at the monastery for twenty-one years, and for another twenty years at a convent to the westward of Trikkala. He was seventy-seven—twelve years older than Father Ambrose, an Athenian who was ordained many years ago at Moni Petraki in the shadow of Lykavettos. This was the only one of the monasteries where we came across any novices. Father Bessarion (who came from a village near Larissa and who had seen service with the British army in the Middle East), had been received only five months earlier, as had another young deacon, a native of Chios. There were in addition two simple monks, one of them more than ninety years old.

That night it snowed heavily. Father Bessarion produced a threadbare
[346] carpet which, folded double, afforded us a little protection against the bitter cold; and he and a shepherd from Kalambaka, who was living at the monastery, kindled a huge fire which blazed on the open hearth of our cell until morning, while the wind howled along the deserted galleries, the ancient timbers groaned and shivered, and it seemed that an exceptionally heavy squall would send the whole monastery with its domed chapels and its frail scaffolding of cells and domestic buildings spinning off into the abyss. When daylight came we seemed to be sus-

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792 727 Daniel—a native of Thasos, who had taken refuge in the village of Palaiochori, on the lower slopes of Pangaion, when the district was invaded by the Bulgars. He was tortured before being put to death. The other monk who perished was the *hieromonachos* Sophronios, carried off as a hostage to Bulgaria. The *igoumenos* of the monastery, Gregorios Katsivakes, fled with several other monks to the village of Nikesiani, a few miles to the northward. There he fell into the hands of the Bulgars and was carried off into exile in northern Bulgaria. After six terrible months he was allowed to return, broken in health, to Nikesiani where he remained supported by the alms of the people.

When the occupation was over, Mount Pangaion—together with the [669] heights of Chalkidiki (with which it enjoys easy communications)—became a stronghold of the *katsapliades*. The coastal road between Cavalla and Salonica was closed to traffic after it had been mined repeatedly, and all vehicles had to make a long detour to the north of Pangaion by way of Drama and Serres. The ruins of Eikosiphoinisses remained uninhabited. Only recently have a handful of monks gone back to the monastery which lies desolate like the city of the Philippians amidst the marshes far below.

A few miles to the north-west of Eikosiphoinisses and close to the town of Serres stands another historic convent, that of St. John the Forerunner. This, too, has fallen a prey on more than one occasion to the rapacity of the Bulgars. In 1918 the conventual library was looted and its chief treasures carried off to the Bulgarian monastery of Rila. Thence, in due course, they were returned to the Greek government, and (with a view to their greater security), distributed amongst the libraries of Athens. The cataloguing of the library of this Macedonian convent had, incidentally, been carried out some years before this calamity by one who was subsequently to become a well-known figure throughout western Christendom: the late Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos.

In 1941 the monastery was sacked by the Bulgars. The monks joined the innumerable host of refugees. Several are said to have died of starvation in the streets of occupied Serres. Others escaped to Nigrita, Salonica and Athens. Seven of them came back in 1945 and were [669] joined by two novices. It was not long, however, before the monastery was again attacked and pillaged—this time by the Communists. Every scrap of food and clothing was carried off to sustain the democratic warriors of the mountains. In view of the constant threat of further

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raids, the Metropolitan of Serres arranged for rations to be sent daily to the monastery, and this state of affairs endured down till the summer of 1949, when it was considered safe to lay in stores once again. In the spring of 1950 only three monks were living in the convent: one of them a priest who could celebrate the divine mysteries. The other monks had been sent by the Metropolitan to serve in parishes of the diocese, where (owing to the very high proportion of casualties amongst the village clergy), the shortage of clergy was peculiarly grave. 792 727

All over northern Greece the same tragic history has been re-enacted time and time again. The monastery of Aghios Nikanor, Zavordas, lies at the heart of a barren and desolate region to the southward of Kozani, and within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Grevena. Like so many Greek monasteries its situation is remarkable: the summit of a high rock set amidst the swirling waters of the Aliakmon. The remoteness of its site, far from the lines of communication, brought this convent through the years of occupation unscathed; isolation, however, afforded little protection against the Communists. The monastery was attacked and looted; everything of the slightest value was borne off to the mountains together with the convent's pack-animals and its 300 sheep and goats. The abbot, Father Gabriel Balayiannes, and an older monk named Gerasimos Stathopoulos were murdered, and the survivors fled to the village of Palaiochori (some four hours' journey from the monastery) where they were still living when I visited this region in the spring of 1950. [361] [669]

Southwards, over the pass which skirts snow-capped Olympus and connects western Macedonia with the broad plains of Thessaly, stands the ancient monastery of Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elassona. This, too, was pillaged, the monks driven out, the abbot severely beaten, imprisoned and sent into exile. In almost every diocese of Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus the few surviving monasteries and their inhabitants have suffered a like fate.

The Abbé de St. Michon observes that in his day the Greek monk was a patriot who fought for the independence of his country, and who was loved for virtues which belong more to the soldier than to the man of prayer. The cannon of Megaspelaion were indeed used to some purpose against the Turk during the war of independence, and Urquhart gives a vivid description of his arrival at the monastery of Lezini, in the guise of a "goul or spirit of the marsh", with twenty muskets and a nine-pounder full of grape trained upon him. Alas! the monkish batteries

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diocese of Drama no less than forty of the 112 parish churches were burned down, as well as the monastery of Eikosiphoinisses. 722 727

Elsewhere in Greece, and particularly in those areas traversed by important lines of communication, the number of the homeless mounted steadily as guerilla activity drew savage reprisals upon the villages. One had only to spend a few days in the mountains which lie to the westward of the Thessalian township of Kalambaka, for example, to see something of the effect of these reprisal raids. Church after church was gutted: mere empty shells with fragments of ancient paintings clinging to the tottering walls. In this diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone, twenty-four village churches were completely destroyed during the occupation and many others more or less seriously damaged. Nor did the towns escape the flood of destruction: Edessa, for example, which was set on fire by the Germans on September 12th, 1944, and where five churches perished in the ensuing conflagration, or Iannitsa which suffered a like fate two days later; Larissa, which had scarcely recovered from an earthquake when it was bombed by the Italians, and Kerkyra where more than sixty per cent. of the buildings were destroyed or damaged. 795

After the occupying troops had withdrawn from Greece in the autumn of 1944 and the Communist sedition had met with its first reverse, there ensued a period of comparative tranquillity. The refugees returned to their villages and some progress was made in repairing the damage wrought during the years of occupation. But a greater trial was still to come. From the autumn of 1946 onwards the full violence of the armed sedition which had slowly been gathering its energies since its temporary set-back of December, 1944, was let loose upon the country dioceses. It was utterly out of question for the Greek army, even with the assistance of the gendarmerie and the local militia, to garrison hundreds of isolated hamlets lying in mountainous districts where communications were of the most rudimentary kind. The defence of the northern frontiers presented problems enough and to spare. It was not long, therefore, before the country people were forced to flee from their lands and homes and to seek refuge in those centres which possessed a garrison. Large areas of northern and central Greece were soon abandoned to the roving Communist bands. 722 727 669

Some of the refugees found their way to Athens and Salonica, but the majority crowded with their surviving animals and such few possessions as they had been able to carry with them in their flight into 722 362

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A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION 793

"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen." 798

But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands. 722 793

It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation. 722 727 795 669 [619]

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created as it were out of nothing. Everywhere these institutions were hastily improvised in the face of desperate and clamorous necessity, and, more often than not, maintained with a heroic disregard for the universal lack of material resources, and a courage worthy of a St. Vincent de Paul. 727 794

In almost every diocese the bishop bore a heavy responsibility in this work of relief. Nearly always he exercised a close personal supervision over the various institutions which had come into being in response to the need of a people driven, for the second time within less than ten years, from their homes and lands; over the *estia* where for several years milk was distributed daily to thousands of refugee children; the *paidikos stathmos* where infants were cared for during the day; the distribution of clothing, black stuff for cassocks, soap, cocoa, macaroni, beans, sugar, boots and shoes—all the multiplicity of urgently needed supplies with which a host of relief organisations, societies, British and American towns and villages, and private benefactors sought to succour the people of Greece in their distress. [648]

At Siderokastro, for example, the Metropolitan (who as assistant bishop of Salonica was an ardent supporter of the work of the Near East Foundation during the period between the wars), founded a small hospital where poor families could receive free medical attention, as well as a remarkable school of housekeeping for girls of marriageable age. Like all the Macedonian 'despots', the Bishop was president of the local branch of the national relief organisation known as P.I.K.P.A., and supervised the two centres from which milk and cocoa were issued daily to thousands of refugee children from the villages of his diocese. [657] [793]

At Edessa, in western Macedonia, the Metropolitan founded, shortly after the end of the occupation, an orphanage for twenty-five boys. This was originally situated in a house on the outskirts of the town, but during the heavy fighting at Epiphany, 1949—when Naoussa, a few kilometres to the southward, was sacked by the Communists and more than 600 of its inhabitants carried away captive to the mountains —this building was extensively damaged and rendered almost uninhabitable. The Bishop then established his orphans under the care of a monk in a dilapidated Turkish house next to the metropolis, and this was subsequently transformed into a permanent orphanage. Not content with this, the Bishop proceeded to found two further orphanages attached to nearby monasteries, as soon as the district was sufficiently tranquil [669] [792]

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largest in the region—was complete and spectacular. The shattered walls were daubed with Communist slogans. We threaded our way amongst the ruined houses to a building on the farthest side of the village which had been roughly repaired to afford shelter for an advanced outpost, drank a glass of cognac whilst my escort laced up their boots and buckled on their equipment, and left for Spelaion and Trikomon shortly after eleven. 727

The paths were ice-bound and treacherous, the snow deep in places. Spelaion came into view after half an hour, set amongst towering cliffs. A long and laborious ascent between high rocks, the Venetikos murmuring through its gorge far below, the path clinging to precipitous cliffs rising from the dwarf oaks and myrtle to lose themselves in the grey mists that swirled about their summits, brought us to a point immediately below the village. After a stiff climb through massive fortifications of uncertain date, we suddenly found ourselves looking down upon a tiny Byzantine church with twin domes, sharply outlined against the untrodden snow; a sombre red jewel laid in a setting of purest white. 484

This proved to be the catholicon of a small monastery, dedicated to the Mother of God. The interior of the church was dark and silent as a tomb; within the sanctuary liturgical books, eikons and vestments were strewn in confusion. The book of the Gospels lay closed upon the holy table, between two reliquaries of tarnished silver. We found a few stumps of candle and lighted them before the eikons of the Lord and His Mother; the spluttering flames banished the darkness and disclosed the presence of a host of emaciated figures gazing down upon us from wall and eikonostasis. We said a prayer and withdrew. 727 346

Though the church was undamaged, the other buildings which enclosed three sides of the roughly quadrangular space occupied by the monastery were all in ruins. Below, in the centre of the village, we found a second church, dedicated to St. Athanasius. This too had escaped serious damage, though the windows were unglazed and dead leaves lay piled against the eikonostasis and rustled about the throne of the bishop. Inaccessible on the cliffs above the Venetikos, Spelaion seemed built to withstand a siege, and we were not surprised to find that it had apparently served as a base for the *katsapliades*. A large house in the centre of the village had evidently been the Communist headquarters, and party slogans were scrawled over every wall. When we returned to the monastery, where the animals had been tethered, the candles still 727 [669]

727 flickered within the church. Leaving the saints to their solitary vigil we plunged deeper into the uninhabited wastes that stretched southward toward Metsovo and the Thebaid of Staghi.

During the course of the next four days we worked our way eastwards to Trikomon and Kipouryio, and then turned north towards Mavranaioi and Grevena, to complete the first part of my itinerary. At three of the villages on our route there were isolated garrisons: otherwise the whole district lay abandoned. We passed through hamlet after hamlet where every house was destroyed, where churches stood open to the skies and no living creature broke the three-year silence. At Kipouryio the chapel [669] of St. Paraskeve—a saint whose apparent connexion with the sixth day [346] of the week (in Greek, *paraskeve*, the day of preparation) has given rise to some very singular local cults in the country districts—had been [776] stripped of its furnishings and turned into a hospital by the Communists: empty bottles and boxes which had contained medical supplies lay strewn about the building.

[657] Upon our return to Grevena we encountered a vast multitude of ragged children straggling back towards the refugee camp, grasping huge slabs of bread and honey: more than 4,000 children were being fed daily at the *estia* outside the high school. We found the Lord Theokletos a little concerned lest I should have fallen into the hands of the *katsapliades*—communications in the mountains out beyond Mavranaioi were notoriously unreliable. I waded through the mud 484 with my captain from Volos to call on the colonel of the local militia, under whose protection I should be travelling for the rest of my itinerary. There was no news to be had anywhere save of the forthcoming elections.

At ten o'clock the following morning we were making slow progress westwards through melting snow: four militiamen, the president of the village of Elatos and myself; a large American mule floundering astern 727 with the baggage. Above the ruins of Doxaras we turned aside to view the pile of stones which was all that remained of the church of St. 346 George. A few families had returned to this hamlet and were living in nissen huts on the hillside below the ruined church. The whole village had been destroyed.

An hour later we found ourselves among the newly built cottages of Elatos. Above a cluster of wretched *kalyvai* rose the fabric of an unfinished church. The village, the president told us, had been burned down in July, 1942, and reduced to ruins. The work of rebuilding was begun

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week-end. Conversation turned to the subject of the parish clergy; 793
Papa Athanasi was a whole-hearted admirer of the new system; he was not one who could learn only from the Lord or rest content with a mere facility in turning the pages of the service-books:

"The divine liturgy, *Kyrie Petre*, can be gabbled through by a man who is all but illiterate: we are called to be shepherds, and a shepherd has need of great knowledge and wisdom."

Next morning Father Athanasius celebrated the holy mysteries in 727
the village church. It was one of the Saturdays of all souls, and the [769]
priest's daughter was early astir, making preparations for the commemoration of departed relatives and friends. Before the service was ended I left for the neighbouring village of Sydendron, where the curate, Papa Constantinos, introduced himself as "the priest who bore the machine-gun in the sacred company of the despot". St. [346]
Nicolas, Sydendron, had been a fine church, apparently dating from the [669]
sixteenth century. It had survived the years of occupation only to be set on fire by the Communists on the night of July 25th, 1947. The ancient frescoes were slowly crumbling away, but sufficient remained to show something of the former splendour of the church.

I lunched at the presbytery and rode on to Amygdalies in the early afternoon. Most of the village's 200 children seemed to be dancing barefoot in the sun outside their newly opened school: a nissen hut [346]
erected on the site of the building destroyed by the Germans in July, 1943. A huge new church was in process of construction, but work was at a standstill through lack of funds, and the liturgy had to be celebrated in a brick chapel hastily constructed in 1946 within the walls of the unfinished church. Being anxious to reach Aghios Georgios before 722
nightfall I resisted the efforts of the parish priest to persuade me to stay the night at Amygdalies, and as twilight deepened into darkness came clattering down the steep slopes to the stream where a few children still lingered, on a mule which I would have pitted even against Urquhart's Aristotle, and dismounted outside the house of the president.

Aghios Georgios was one of the only two villages in the diocese of Grevena where the population had remained throughout the troubled years which followed the end of the occupation, and had, moreover, afforded shelter to many refugees from other communities. The [712]
church—a massive structure dating from the middle of the nineteenth [346]
century—stood on rising ground in the centre of the village. The [669]

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722 windows had been blocked with masonry and stones, and the church, thus barricaded and surrounded by an elaborate system of trenches, 712 pill-boxes and barbed wire defences, transformed into a citadel. Here 346 the greater part of the population had taken refuge while the militia, 669 with a stiffening of gendarmerie, had fought off an assault on the village which raged for a night and a day on May 8th-9th, 1948. The fabric had suffered extensive damage from mortar and machine-gun fire, but the Communists had eventually been driven off. Earlier, the village had suffered grievously at the hands of the Germans. Though the church had been spared, the school and a large proportion of the houses had been destroyed. The school was now flourishing in a large nissen hut: formerly it had been housed in the nave of the church.

574 On Sunday morning there was great scrubbing and polishing of muddy boots, and at half-past eight I ventured forth, looking as spruce as three weeks of sleeping in my clothes would permit, in company with the *proedros*. The latter was anxious not to be too early at church, and, since the second bell had not yet sounded, we went first to inspect the new school. After smoking a cigarette with the *didaskalos* we proceeded to the church at the third bell, followed by all the children of the village. [537] When the liturgy was ended the president climbed with great dignity to the top of one of the pill-boxes and made an impassioned oration welcoming the representative of Greece's great and traditional ally to their gallant and Christ-loving village, and dwelling at some length on the ties which, despite the infernal machinations of the Accursed of God, would surely bind together for all ages the Hellenic and British nations. The said representative thereupon made a brief, but it is to be hoped fitting, reply to this masterpiece of presidential rhetoric, and the whole company drifted away in high good humour to sip cognac and discuss the latest news which had arrived from Kozani.

After a visit to the family of a young theologian from Salonica I went to feast, first with the president and then—at the dictates of charity rather than of appetite—with the parish priest also. The influence of [794] the Kozani seminary had made itself felt in this village, and the catechetical school was in full swing as I passed the new school-house on my way to the parsonage. There the wine that makes glad the heart of man flowed freely, and it was a drowsy traveller who rode across the hills to the neighbouring village of Kivotos later that afternoon. Communications having proved unreliable, I was constrained to accept the hospitality of one of the churchwardens. Shortly before noon the

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following day I rode into Vatolakkos with an escort of six militiamen and fell straight into the hands of the parish priest, who was sunning himself on a bench outside the gendarmerie station. This *papas* was a graduate of the Kozani seminary; his father had been a priest in Smyrna (like Kivotos, this was a refugee village). He spoke with pride of the catechetical school which had been flourishing in the village since the previous autumn.

Vatolakkos, like Aghios Georgios, had never been abandoned by its inhabitants. Owing to its important position—astride the main road from Grevena to Kozani—it had been strongly garrisoned throughout the troubles, and had offered sanctuary to the fugitives from no less than ten neighbouring communities, despite the fact that the greater number of the houses had been destroyed in the German advance of 1941—there were bomb craters all along the road from Kivotos southward. The parish priest had sheltered five refugee families in his house for more than two years. The church, which had never been completed, had, according to the Bishop's report, been pillaged by the Germans. It had moreover been damaged by mortar fire during an attack on the village by the Communists. A new school had just been opened to take the place of the one destroyed by the Germans.

From Vatolakkos I succeeded in telephoning to army headquarters at Grevena, and shortly after three o'clock I was picked up by my friend from Iannina. After attending the evensong of the refugee clergy, in company with the Bishop's deacon, and a long talk with the fugitive *ephemerioi* of Spelaion and Kosmati, I paid a final visit to the metropolis. The Bishop was unwell: he had been ill for some time past, and I took my leave early. Some months later, after a letter enclosing photographs of the ruined churches of the diocese had remained long unanswered, I saw from a notice in *Ekklesia* that the Lord Theokletos had passed to his rest.

Like Father Ioakeim, his deacon, he was a native of the Piraeus and had laboured there for thirty-three years as vicar of the parish of St. Constantine before being called to take charge of the see of Grevena in the third year of the occupation. The state of the diocese even in those days was serious enough, and had the new *despotes* been able to foresee the full extent of the catastrophe which was to overwhelm the widely scattered communities committed to his charge within the space of another five years, he might understandably have shrunk from the heavy burden of responsibility that he was called to bear.

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'Ecclesiastical Seminaries' (*Ekklesiastika Phrontisteria*) some fourteen of which are now in existence. One of these, the Rizareion Ecclesiastical School at Athens, stands apart from the rest; it celebrated its centenary during the occupation and was for many years the sole institution of its kind in all Greece. Most of these seminaries, however, were founded within the last twenty years. The dioceses of Old Greece are now served by seminaries at Corinth, Patras and Pyrgos, in the Peloponnese, and at Lamia, Larissa and Volos. Crete has its own seminary. At Ioannina there is another older foundation, the *Hierodidaskaleion Vellas* (of which the present Archbishop of Athens was once director) which serves the whole of Epirus. The parish clergy of Thrace and eastern Macedonia can now attend courses at Xanthi (founded in 1945), at Aghia Anastasis in the Chalkidiki peninsula, or at Salonica, where there is a 'higher' seminary. Another post-war foundation at Kozani, in western Macedonia, may serve to illustrate the general characteristics of these training schools for country clergy. This seminary was subsequently transferred to Florina.

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The Lower Ecclesiastical Seminary of the Metropolis of Kozani, as it was known locally, was founded in 1946, during the lull which followed the Varkiza agreement. The director was a lay theologian, a member of the Zoë Brotherhood, and the seminary was under the immediate supervision of the Metropolitan of Servia and Kozani. During the first few months after its foundation there were no fewer than ninety students in residence, drawn from several different dioceses. Many had to leave, however, as fighting became general during the course of the following year and the refugees again flocked to the towns. By the winter of 1948–49, when the situation in the country dioceses was at its worst and the whole parochial organisation threatened to collapse, only twenty-five students remained. With the suppression of the Communist sedition, and the return of some measure of security, the number slowly increased again, and by March, 1950 (when I last visited the seminary), it had risen to thirty-five.

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Only three of these students were laymen, sent by their bishops to the seminary for a pre-ordination course—all three were over thirty years of age. The rest were parish clergy, some of whom had been in orders for many years. They had come not only from the diocese of Kozani but from many different districts of northern Greece. The dioceses along the western fringes of Macedonia—Grevena, Kastoria and Florina—were particularly well represented, but there were other

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upon Palaiochori. The people fled to the forest and watched helplessly while the invaders set fire to their homes and slaughtered their animals. When at length they withdrew the whole valley was shrouded in smoke: the incendiaries had done their work only too thoroughly. The church of St. Bessarion—the most prominent building in the village—had been amongst the first to be set on fire. When Papa Costas and a few companions ventured down from the mountainside to make a cautious reconnaissance they found nothing save the blackened walls and a great pile of charred timbers. The school, just below the parish church, was likewise completely gutted, and more than forty of the village's seventy-odd houses were irreparably damaged. The parsonage, a somewhat more substantial edifice than most of its neighbours—a monument to the professional skill of its builder—had resisted the first attempts of the incendiaries, and before the flames had thoroughly obtained a hold Papa Costas and his sons had come scrambling down from amongst the trees, and the building—though badly damaged—was not utterly destroyed. Amongst the smoking ruins of another cottage was found the body of an old woman who had been unable to make good her escape. Every animal in the village had been slaughtered.

After this catastrophe the people of Palaiochori took refuge in Kalambaka—already crammed with refugees from a score of similarly stricken villages—and there, in the shadow of the great rocks, they remained until 1945. In January and February of that year they went back to the village that had become a wilderness. During the first few months after their return home there was tremendous activity at the sawmill and in Papa Costas' workshop. No sooner had a sufficient number of cottages been rendered habitable than the parish priest turned his attention to the church. With the assistance of his elder son and a score of willing if unskilled helpers, the requisite timber was cut and shaped; and soon—though the church was without vestments and Papa Costas had with difficulty been able to procure copies of a few of the most indispensable liturgical books—there was at least a roof to the building and it was no longer necessary for the people to stand for long hours without protection against wind and snow whilst the holy mysteries were celebrated. Then the school was re-roofed, and as summer gave place to autumn the regular pattern of village life began to reassert itself—though Papa Costas no longer had twenty sheep and there were no more than three pack-animals available for the whole community.

But security was short-lived. The following year brought wandering

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159 bands of *andartai* and rumours of terrible deeds wrought in the darkness
793 of long winter nights. In August, 1946, the parish priest of Palaiochori
received warning that the Communists planned to murder him as a
727 'traitor'. Papa Costas fled for the second time within less than three
669 years to Kalambaka. There, at the foot of the limestone cliffs crowned by the hermitages of the ascetics of Staghi, he built a little *kalyva*: a wooden cottage consisting of a single room and a large porch.

Before many months had passed, the whole village was back in the comparative security of Kalambaka, and the mountains were given over to the Accursed of God. Papa Costas and his family (all except Leonidas, who had gone off to the wars) settled down in their new house and the younger boy began to attend the overcrowded school. There were many other refugee clergy in the town: not from the diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone but also from many of the villages lying to the north and west of Kalambaka towards the *comopolis* of Grevena.

The second period of exile lasted until October, 1949. As a refugee
[465] priest, Papa Costas was entitled to a monthly stipend of 175,000 dr. (the equivalent of a little more than four pounds sterling) and the usual refugee rations of flour, sugar, etc.; but there was no ground to be tilled, no sheep or goats, no fees from baptisms or weddings to supplement the meagre wages of a 'fourth-class priest'. There was, however, some slight measure of security in Kalambaka, with its garrison and its communications, and Papa Costas' wife and daughter wove gaily coloured rugs, and adorned the little house with lace and tins of basil until any craftsman might have rejoiced in his handiwork.

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The defeat of the Communists at Florina early in 1949 marked the turning point in the seemingly interminable struggle against an enemy who, when defeated, could always withdraw beyond the northern frontiers of Greece to lick his wounds and build up his strength for another assault. During the summer months the wild region that lies to the westwards of Kalambaka was laboriously combed by units of the Greek army, and in October Papa Costas led the first party of returning refugees back to Palaiochori. His daughter and his younger son remained behind, however, in order that the boy might complete his studies at the high school, and it was in Kalambaka in January, 1950, that we first encountered our country parson.

GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

mean a making—or that the other "Garments and Accoutrements" of the clergy are "very Glorious and different". The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings. 793 292 727

The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred. [648]

During the winter of 1949-50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves. [669]

The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

> In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askue even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various 793 292 186

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agamos (adj.) unmarried.

agios saint—commonly used of a bishop.

ambon pulpit.

anagnostes reader.

[669] *andartes* insurgent, rebel. Commonly applied to Communists, who were also known as *katsapliades* and *symmoritai*.

antidoron the blessed bread distributed at end of liturgy.

archegos leader, chief.

artos bread.

azymos unleavened bread.

basilissa queen.

caloyer see *kalogeros*.

catholicon principal church of a monastery.

coenobium, koinobion monastery of the common life.

comopolis a large village.

despotes (pl. *despotades*) master—commonly used of a bishop.

didaskalos (f. *didaskalissa*) teacher in a primary school (the first syllable is commonly omitted).

eikonostasis the screen which supports the holy *eikons*.

ekphonesis something pronounced aloud.

eparchia district, province; often used of a diocese.

ephemerios curate, parish priest.

epitropos one to whom a charge is entrusted, a guardian; commonly used of a churchwarden.

estia literally, a hearth or home; *Christianike estia* is the name often given to the headquarters of the Christian movements of a diocese.

geros old man, ancient.

gymnasion secondary school.

hegoumenos abbot, superior of a monastery (f. *hegoumenissa*).

hierarchia the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy

hierokeryx preacher (lit. 'sacred herald').

hieromonachos monk in holy orders.

igoumenos, igoumenissa see *hegoumenos*.

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GLOSSARY

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kakodoxia heterodoxy

kalogeros monk; literally 'good old man'.

'kalos orisete' welcome!

'kalo taxridi' *bon voyage!*

kalymmafchion clerical hat

kalyva cottage or hut.

kapetanios one who leads (the English 'captain' fails to convey the full meaning of the word).

katbisma in general, a seat or chair. In particular: (*a*) a cell attached to a monastery; (*b*) a division of the psalter—a group of psalms for which one sits down.

katsapliades see *andartes*.

koritsi a young girl.

ktopodi (κτωπόδι) *oktapodi* octopus.

kyrios lord; colloquially Sir, Mr. (f. *kyria*).

latreia worship, service.

lavra a monastery organised somewhat less rigidly than a *coenobium*.

mesochori open space in centre of village.

mesonyktikon the midnight office, mattins.

metanoia, metagnia a prostration.

metousiosis approximate equivalent of transubstantiation.

oikoumene the inhabited world, the Byzantine empire.

orthros the office of the dawn, lauds.

ouzo a white spirit.

paidikos stathmos a sort of day nursery.

paidoupolis institution for children evacuated from dangerous areas during the Communist sedition. [669] [722]

palto overcoat.

Panagbia 'The All-holy': the Virgin Mary.

Pantocrator 'He who governs all things': the Almighty.

papadia priest's wife.

papas married priest (pl. *papades*).

paradosis teaching, tradition.

parekklesion chapel.

phakais (φακαίς) lentils.

phrontisterion training school for clergy, seminary.

pneumatikos spiritual father, confessor.

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[Village Life]

When the second world war came, followed by Italian and German occupation and drastic derangement of the national economy, the situation of the hill villages became truly desperate. Starvation visited many of them. 433 731

Famine in time of war was age-old; and the response of the hillsmen of Greece also had very ancient precedent behind it, for they took gun in hand, and attempted to seize forcibly what they could no longer gain peaceably from the plains. They formed the backbone of the wartime ~~resistance forces~~, and justified their violence by patriotism, quite in the spirit their forefathers had shown in attacking the Turks. Yet the resistance movement was not merely a reassertion of old patterns. Its leadership was mainly provided by Communists, who in earlier years had been a small and not very significant group, largely confined to the towns.[1] [579] 726 669 433 [668]

In the wartime resistance movement the inhabitants of the hill villages found a sort of economic relief, inasmuch as the guerrilla bands lived by raiding the plains, taking by force a part of the agricultural surplus of those regions in order to feed themselves. A young man, without any real occupation in his native village, and without any hope of a career at home which could satisfy even the traditionally low level of expectation among the hillsmen, could, by joining a guerrilla band, hope to feed himself and relieve his family of the burden of his presence. In addition, he could become a hero, fighting for freedom and liberty, social justice and a better life for all.

For most peasant boys, the ulterior aims of their Communist leaders meant little or nothing. Indeed, the Communists were at very considerable pains to play down any plans they had for social revolution, and welcomed persons of widely differing social views into the ranks of the resistance. This was, of course, 669

1. There were a number of non-Communist resistance bands also, but most of them did not last long, and the successful ones were confined to Epirus, in the northwest.

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[Village Life]

669 thoroughly in harmony with the "popular front" tactics inculcated by international Communist policy. When British intervention in 1944 prevented the resistance forces from seizing power in Greece, the rank and file of those who had supported the Communists during the war had little reason to distrust their leaders, since the Communists had not had time or opportunity to carry through the revolution they hoped for. [648]

669 433 As a result, when in 1946 international Communist policy again mobilized the energies of the Greek Communist party to begin a new guerrilla war, Communist organizers found little difficulty in winning the sympathy and support of the same social groups that had participated in the wartime resistance movement. The hill villages were prepared to send their young men into the guerrilla ranks for the same reasons as before. Liberation had not brought prosperity, and without prosperity in the cities and plains, life in the hills was very hard. Hence the Communists found it easy to create guerrilla bands in all the mountainous regions of the country.

In the most obvious sense, both of these recent guerrilla movements failed. Their leaders were killed or driven from the country, and the government remained in other hands. Yet in another sense, it must be recognized that the imprint of the two guerrilla enterprises upon the attitudes of the hill villages of Greece has been deep, and seems likely to last a long time. [208]

Basically, what the Communists achieved was to convince nearly everyone in the villages that the traditional way of living was no longer even to be wished for and striven after. Instead, they held out fascinating and quite unrealizable dreams of bathtubs and electric refrigerators for all. Or rather, they held this out as an ultimate goal, and offered in the more immediate future a life of activity, violence and dedication – a life that at least seemed to have significance and purpose and hope. These were just what the average young man or woman

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[Village Life]

in the hill villages (and in only slightly less degree the other young people of Greece also) lacked, yet desperately needed in order to confront the daily hardships and disappointments of private life. Here, I think, lay and continues to lie the secret of Communist influence in Greece. It was not so much the ultimate vision of wealth and ease and justice — Greek peasants are quite sophisticated enough to distrust such glittering baubles — but the mobilization of energies in the here and now to form a purposeful movement, surcharged with hope and optimism, that attracted the allegiance of so many restless young people. 669 433

At the least it seems correct to say that the guerrilla movements, with their attendant propaganda and real life experiences, created a population more or less chronically open to fresh revolutionary winds, from whatever direction they may blow. Even when jobs on roads and other sorts of construction opened up again in the 1950's, so that something resembling the old symbiosis of hill and plains could be resumed, the changed attitudes among the hillsmen remained quite obvious. Greece will have, for some considerable time to come, a substantial group of its population that is peculiarly receptive to movements of political dissent or outright revolution. [208] [668]

The real, physical problems presented by too many mouths and too little land have not been solved, and cannot be solved quickly by anything short of wholesale depopulation. But the tradition-bound attitudes which once made this precarious life seem inevitable, even if not right, have been profoundly eroded. Clearly, this is a dangerous and potentially explosive situation. What happens in the hill villages is likely to constitute the critical factor in the future political history of Greece.

The situation in the plains was different. Guerrilla bands seemed suspiciously like robbers, or at best like tax collectors, to the peasants of the plains villages from whom they demanded food. Comparatively few young men left such villages to join

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669 433 the guerrillas, even in the south, where landless families existed in many plains communities. The hard times that drove the hillsmen from home, gun in hand, impelled the plainsmen to stay home where there was food. More recently, the revival and improvement of agriculture naturally proceeded furthest and fastest in regions where the soil was reasonably fertile and abundant. Hence, the plains villagers have been able to achieve far better results than the hillsmen from technical and marketing changes. They have property and social status to defend, and know quite enough about Communist agrarian policy in neighboring countries to distrust beguiling words from Communist lips.

The farmers of the plains are therefore not revolutionary, even though they may grumble about present hardship, and envy others better off than themselves. They have seen quite enough of the violence and suffering which revolutions, or attempted revolutions, involve. The hillsmen, too, have suffered, and do not love violence for its own sake. But, unless I am much mistaken, they remain potential revolutionaries.

Town Life

369 184 Just as the combine and the sickle join in uneasy partnership to harvest the wheat fields of Greece, so also in the towns an age-old style of life is set side by side with a few completely up-to-date factories and the most modern urban amenities. The juxtaposition in an urban context is no less awkward than in the country.

443 369 Particularly in the north, where Turkish times are still within living memory, in towns like Jannina or Kozani, one can see streets where artisans pursue their trades in little shops just as their predecessors have done for centuries. The old medieval principle still holds, whereby shops dealing in the same goods

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[Town Life]

sions, only to remember how precious a job is to every Greek, 466
and how impossible it is for a man to throw up a position in dis- 557
gust in the hope of finding another and better one. There are, 476
however, other factors which make the position of wage and salary earners difficult, and foster chronic discontent among them.

Wages are low, and are constantly in danger of being under- 464
cut by young men coming from the villages in search of work. [465]
Such new arrivals can often afford to work for less than a regular urban resident, for they have no homes or families to maintain, and can, in summer at least, sleep outdoors and eat very little in order to save a small sum with which to return home in the fall. As a result, a large part of the building trades, for example, is in the hands of migrant labor. Unions can do little to [467]
improve wages or working conditions when dozens of applicants seek every job that opens, and are ready, if need be, to bid against one another in order to get employment at all. More- 565
over, the prestige accorded to white-collar work and to immu- 578
nity from manual toil obviously puts the working class at a psy- 669
chological disadvantage, and builds up a sense of grievance [554]
among those condemned to labor with their hands.

Like the hill villagers, the workingmen of the towns were [208]
deeply infiltrated by Communist propaganda during the second world war. Attacks upon the rich, as traitors to the nation and oppressors of the poor, won widespread response. And indeed, the conduct of the small group of wealthy men in Greece lent some color to the accusations which Communists launched against them. Most men of property felt it more vital to safeguard their possessions than to join in any active resistance to [609]
the German and Italian authorities. Many of them exhibited the same ruthlessness against everyone beyond the family circle that most Greeks exhibit, and did so even when people were actually starving in the streets, as they were in 1941. Acts of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Town Life]

565 generosity and kindliness did something to redeem the balance,
578 but were comparatively rare. The wealthy classes did not, as a
669 rule, show much sign of social conscience or sense of obligation to the poor. Once again, the solidarity and exclusiveness of family sentiment interfered with larger loyalties and sympathies. The result was that antagonism between rich and poor broke out into the open during the war years, and has never since ceased to trouble the political stability of the country.

458 Economic conditions have been acting, for at least fifteen
465 years, to sharpen this feeling. Since 1941 Greece has experi-
578 enced a series of monetary inflations that raised prices, sometimes rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but always faster than adjustments were made in wage and salary scales. As prices outran wages, workingmen faced a series of crises, the more serious because their wage rates were low to begin with. Adjustments of wages, when they came, relieved the problem only temporarily until continuing inflation once again robbed the currency of part of its purchasing power.

The economic plight of white-collar employees was nearly the same as that of manual workingmen, for they, too, had to live on an income that regularly lagged behind the price level.
[554] Moreover, the fact that such persons had gone to school, and therefore felt they had a rightful claim to superior social status, did not make it easier for them to face a life of poverty. The fierce struggle to win a place in the government civil service was only matched by the chronic discontent of those who had succeeded in getting government jobs and then found that they could scarcely live on their salaries.

578 Fortunately for the political stability of the country, wage
669 earners and salaried classes are a minority in Greece. This is no more than a corollary of the small size and family character of
[565] most Greek economic undertakings. Nevertheless, if one adds the hillsmen of the countryside as a third more or less chroni-

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cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping 578
of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present- 669
day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of
the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in [178]
the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the bal- 669
ance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of [703]
the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Com- 669
munist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by finan- 648
cial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was 433

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669 sure that aid would come, or if it came that it would arrive soon
648 enough and in large enough quantity to turn the tide. Yet for-
433 eign aid was clearly needed if the Communist guerrillas were to be stopped. Without it, the government could scarcely hope to maintain its army for long. More than that, the fabric of the civil economy could not stand by itself, especially when guerrilla raids and road mines made transport and communication unsafe.

727 Apart from the military and diplomatic aspects, there was
648 another and more fundamental sense in which the morale of the government and of the conservative classes was damaged. The general ideas and presuppositions of the non-Communist politicians and their supporters were badly shaken by the course of events in the immediate postwar period. Their general assumption had been that once the Germans had withdrawn and a transition period of special emergency had been passed through, then the society and economy of Greece would return of themselves to something like stability and the prewar pattern. Yet now the Germans had departed, UNRRA had come and gone (save for a small rear guard), and still there was no stability and no security. Far less was there any prospect of prosperity.

The upheaval of the war years had in fact been too drastic to permit any automatic return to normal. But the political lead-
[661] ers of the country, all of whom had grown up in a world where government economic policy and administration were conceived in terms of doing favors for one's friends and withholding them from one's opponents, had no idea how to cope with the disturbed and unhappy society entrusted to their guidance. No idea, that is, except to ask for help from Britain or the United States.

[665] The politicians could scarcely be accused of not having done their part to bring things back to normal. During the brief res-

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665 whom to fight, and a hope for the future. None of the old-line
727 political parties or leaders could do any of these things nearly so effectively.

665 Only the inner circle of the Greek Communist party was di-
669 rectly affected by the very real fissure between what may be called "home grown" and "Russian" Communists. The rank and file of party members and sympathizers were perhaps scarcely aware of any such tensions, and accepted without any special notice the transfer of authority over the Greek Communist party from the hands of George Siantos, who had led it during the war years, to those of Nicholas Zachariades, who had spent the war in a German concentration camp. Yet this shift, accomplished in May 1945, represented the assertion of control by leaders trained and directed by Moscow, as against the more independent "home grown" leadership which Siantos had embodied.

In any case, this fissure was only of potential importance. If Russian policy should diverge seriously from lines acceptable to "home grown" Communists, then the factions in the Greek Communist party might be expected to come into the open. So long as no such divergence appeared – and in 1946 and 1947 it did not – the only consequence was to elevate some persons to positions of authority in the party and to blight the careers of others who had thrown in their lot with the defeated side.

665 Hence, in 1946 and 1947 the advantages enjoyed by the Greek
669 Communist party in competition with its rivals were actual, its
648 weaknesses only potential. This was true not only within the
727 country, but internationally as well. The Communist countries to the north began actively assisting the Greek Communist bands, sending arms and ammunition, allowing hard-pressed units to find refuge across the border, and providing hospital and other services to them as far as geographical difficulties permitted. On the other hand, British military and economic

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support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, 665
and it was not yet clear that American support would be forth- 669
coming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not 648
strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, 727
while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their 669
opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine 647
of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure [648]
this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in [666]
1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and 647
occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to ex- 661
cessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, [634]
the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

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Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

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government. Unassisted, they would certainly not have been able to do anything effective to overcome the Communist menace. 185 727 433 669

To sum up: The nature of Greek society and the shortcomings of the Greek government, together with the constellation of international relations in 1946 and 1947, made Communist revolution possible, indeed probable. But the injection of a massive new force, United States aid, changed the direction of events and prevented that consummation. The activity of the American aid missions will therefore be the subject of the next chapter. [648]

[PP. 33-84 not Processed]

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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

than 400 stremmata of cultivated land. Presumably the owner had divided legal title among relatives or friends without surrendering real control of his land.) 423

The village is very small. In 1956 its population was only 130,[1] yet it occupies no less than 6,000 acres, excluding the absentee landowner's estate, which is counted as part of the lands of Lofiscos by official government reckoning. This amounts to more than 46 acres per capita; and even though more than half of the land remains rough pasture, subject to flooding for part of every year, such an abundance of land represents solid wealth by Greek peasant standards. And indeed, the village is wealthy. Farmers find little difficulty in accumulating gold sovereigns with which to dower their daughters, for wheat is always in demand and a government purchase scheme keeps the price stable and well above world market levels. In spite of the shabby appearance of their houses and the untidy appearance of their clothes, the families of Lofiscos are, by their own standards, very well off. Almost all of them probably have several hundred gold sovereigns hidden away, but this no stranger could ever expect to know. 621 423 [162] [161] 621 511 [435] [454]

The tribulations of the second world war, of the occupation and of the guerrilla war made almost no impression on Lofiscos. The young men served in the army, of course, and saw something of the outer world. But on their return they seemed to fit back smoothly into the familiar routine. As the guerrillas never 621 178x 669

1. This and all subsequent figures for village populations are rough approximations. Village records do not include any sort of census figure. They are confined to registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the most important function they serve is to provide the basis for the annual call-up of military recruits. Moreover, a family often remains registered in a village long after it has moved away; in such instances births and deaths are likely to be omitted from the village books, and may or may not be recorded elsewhere. One must therefore depend upon informal estimates of village officials. This leaves a considerable margin for error, unless the officials consulted are unusually careful. [659] [217]

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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most 428
families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to 423
present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3]

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in 621
still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it 669
lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands con- 578
trolled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef-

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that 621
village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the 163
wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. 433
Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, consequent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the difference, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some [563]
recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher.

3. In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land distributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original [656]
justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them.

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Nea Eleftherohori
[Villages of the Plains]

621 therohori and plundered an UNRRA storehouse which had
669 been set up there. This was bad enough from the point of view
578 of the villagers; but what was far more awkward was the fact that sentiment was seriously divided within the village itself. Approximately half the population sympathized more or less completely with the guerrillas, and in 1947–48 about twenty young men and women from the village fought in their ranks. Only three of them returned. In 1947, when I first visited Nea Eleftherohori, the atmosphere was exceedingly tense. No one was quite sure of his neighbor, and no one was sure whether the government or the guerrillas would win in the end. Armed men patrolled the village at night on behalf of the government, and felt free to pay disconcerting calls upon families known or believed to be sympathetic with the guerrillas. Fifteen persons were arrested by the nearby gendarmes after the raid of 1947, and one of them was executed; the rest returned only after two and a half years of detention. The general mood of the village at that time was one of fear and frustration. No one could see any solution to the difficulties of the present, still less those of the future. What could the young boys do who were not needed at home? With no land available in the village, and no jobs obtainable in town, the situation seemed nearly hopeless.

By 1956 the outlook had changed. First of all, the political division within the village had healed over, leaving almost no trace. The renewed solidarity of village feeling dated from 1950, when the president and council of the community – who, as appointees of the Ministry of Interior, were of course leading anti-Communists – asked the local police to release two of the village boys who had returned from serving with the guerrillas and had been arrested on general suspicion. The police acted favorably upon this request, and allowed their prisoners to go free without further punishment. This affair, which showed a degree of magnanimity on the part of the anti-Communist lead-

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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for [241]
jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [434]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising market crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

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[Villages of the Plains]

×178 of older peasant customs. The dowry has always been a part of
582 marriage customs in Greece, but it used to be relatively small
583 and easily within the means of the average family. Moreover, not to marry off one's daughters at a rather early age – before twenty-two or so – was regarded as a disgrace. It was felt that something must be wrong, either with the girl or with her parents; that she was running a grave risk of immorality and consequent loss of reputation; and that the parents were delinquent in their duty if they failed to marry her off in the bloom of her youth. Because the new customs run contrary to these older attitudes, a very special tension exists among the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori. They feel it is wrong that their young people cannot marry when they should; they feel even more strongly that marriages must wait until the means of livelihood are assured. This requires the new dowry and land inheritance pattern. But no one is happy with the way the system has worked out, particularly the young people themselves, who see a long and dreary time of waiting ahead before they can hope to start families of their own.

×178 This discontent is compounded by the feeling, which seems
369 very strong in the village, that people in the towns have the best of everything: less work, more income; less boredom, more excitement. City standards of dress and manners have made extraordinary inroads in recent years, and aspiration toward a more comfortable and less laborious life is very strong.

×178 Consequently, although by economic criteria the village is
621 very much better off than before, and although the political
●669 tensions within the village have sunk back into insignificance, discontent is much alive and near the surface. It no longer takes
433 political form as it did during and immediately after the war, when the Communists appealed to, and found a response among, many of the young people. As long as the majority of families in the village continue to see a path by which they

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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be 1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This [166]
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village

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Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

Particularly fortunate conditions in Old Corinth – tourism, irrigation, the proximity to the Athens market, and the effective leadership of the village president – have permitted the villagers to maintain their old family customs almost unchanged, and in spite of the rapid growth of population which such customs entail, they have not had to sacrifice their standard of living. Instead, living conditions have improved, with electricity, tractors and the like. 178x 621 511

This is a situation very rare in Greece. It makes Old Corinth the happiest village I visited, a community at peace with itself and with the world, mildly surprised by the prosperity that has descended upon it, and generally well content with the way things are going. The contrast is strong with the internal condition of the village in 1947, when, like Nea Eleftherohori, the community was sharply divided between left and right. In 1947, indeed, the bitterness between the two political parties was far deeper than in Nea Eleftherohori, for in Old Corinth the political lines were drawn, more or less exactly, between farmers and landless men, that is, between buyers and sellers of labor. Two particularly squalid "political" murders occurred within the village in the last days of the German occupation; and the Communist-inspired regime, which lasted for a few months in 1944, aroused strong revulsion among the substantial farmers. These memories now seem almost forgotten, though the sense of solidarity between rich and poor in Old Corinth is by no means so strong as the community feeling among the villagers of Nea Eleftherohori, where everybody is nearly equal economically. 621 578 565 [669]

The inequalities in landholding, and the existence of a fairly numerous landless class in the village, certainly constitute a potential source of trouble. If currant and tomato prices should fall, or if more migrants from the hills should come to the village and push wages down by competing for jobs in the fields, the existing harmony and general satisfaction could easily

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boundaries that existed before 1881, village life has not suffered drastic upheaval since 1821, if then. Changes have come slowly and by evolution. The case is far otherwise in New Greece – Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus and Thrace. There the violent elimination of Turkish landlords and peasants through war was followed by governmental creation of egalitarian peasant communities. This amounted to an agrarian revolution from above, in some cases fully satisfying the peasants – as in Lofiscos – but often failing to do so, as in Nea Eleftherohori. 178 x 184 423 621

The slower evolution of village life in Old Greece has meant, at least until the present, the preservation of a fairly firm cake of custom, governing the daily lives of the inhabitants. In this respect, Old Corinth is quite typical. Consequently, in spite of the contrast between rich peasant and landless laborer, the social stratification within these peasant communities has not bred so many revolutionists as have been bred by the hardships of life in an equality of poverty, characteristic of many villages in the north. Conservatism, royalism, traditionalism have all centered in the south; while radicalism, republicanism, restlessness and revolution have found their strongest expression in the north. 178 x 184 621 669 ● [565]

Yet while these generalizations are true, I must hasten to add that the villages of the plains never were the main centers of political revolt. Too many had too much to lose in such communities. Rather it was in the hill villages, where life was harder and the prospect of maintaining a given standard of life was dimmer, that revolution found its most congenial ground. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, if not before, this has been the really vulnerable point in Greek society, the source of major disturbance and of recurrent civil violence. In the hills, even more than in the plains, the future stability or instability of Greek society is likely to be decided in time to come, as it has in times past. Let us therefore leave the plains and turn to the hills.

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Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not [191] more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis- [162]
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [511]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends [463]
meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [333]
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [464]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construction – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and drastic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead. 669 728 621 161

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age? [842]

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage. 621 161 167 457

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly relaxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, for example. 727 621 511 [457]

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corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the village should once again begin to grow. 178x 241 233

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise. 669 621 [241] [517] [619]

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the village speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the 621 178x 197 [669] [191] [619]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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community where very early marriages have been the rule, a woman of thirty or thirty-five is already old.) Between 1952 and 1956 there were only four marriages in the village, twelve births, sixteen deaths. Under the circumstances, it seems certain that the population will decrease still further in the immediate future. 621 161 178 × [885]

Yet even four or five families could turn out to be quite enough to repopulate the village, if the old patterns of early marriage and numerous children prevail. Indeed, the close blood relationships of all the villagers suggests that in times past the community may well have contained only a handful of families from whom hundreds (or, counting those overseas, thousands) in due course descended. Thanks to the depopulation brought by the guerrilla war, the traditional life of Kotta has become easy once again, and if the young people accept the old ways, and do not allow the glitter of urban life overseas, reflected in the letters and money orders sent back by friends and relatives, to change their outlook, then it seems fairly certain that within a decade or less the depopulation of the village will come to a halt, and rapid growth in numbers will begin once more. If so, after something like thirty or forty years Kotta will probably be back in the impossible position of 1947.

This cycle is, I believe, the key to much Balkan history. The peasant family system was adjusted, from age-old antiquity, to supply large numbers of children, most of whom died from violence or disease before attaining adulthood. With the more or less effective pacification of the countryside in the last couple of centuries, together with the elimination of some epidemic diseases and the control of others, this age-old balance was thrown out of kilter, so that the peasant population began (as early as the mid-eighteenth century) to run far ahead of the development of resources that might sustain it. 175 161 669

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175 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords
● 669 of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Un-
619 til 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such
161 warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopula-
433 tion – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
433 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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the village joined the resistance during the occupation period; 726
but my guess is that practically every able-bodied man took 669
part at some time or other in guerrilla actions, even though
some of the villagers remained ostensibly civilian. A conse- [727]
quence was that in 1943 a German expedition burnt all the
houses of the upper village and made it uninhabitable. The people of Cherasia, fortunately, saw them coming and had time to escape over the mountain.

The "liberation" of Greece in 1944 brought no liberation to 669
Cherasia. Quite the contrary, it interfered with the process by [579]
which armed men from the village had been able during the occupation to get grain and other goods from the plains. Consequently, when three men appeared on Mount Pelion in 1946 and summoned the young men of the village to take arms again, the response was immediate. When I visited the village in 1947, a guerrilla band, some thirty strong, was encamped in the ruins of the upper village. A detachment descended each evening to gather supplies from the inhabitants of the lower village and from other villages out in the plain. Most of the members of the band were sons of families living in lower Cherasia, although the leaders of the band came from elsewhere.

During the day, the Greek army, from a strong point in a neighboring plains village, took possession of Cherasia. Each morning a patrol of soldiers came to the village and demanded to know who had been collaborating with the guerrillas; each evening the guerrillas came down from the mountain and demanded to know who had been helping the soldiers. Under the circumstances, life was difficult, to say the least. The army sometimes beat those suspected of sympathizing with the guerrillas. In addition, irregular rightist bands visited the commu- [727]
nity several times and indulged in greater violence, killing several people and burning down seven houses. The guerrillas,

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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669 722 [727] The guerrillas, too, burned some houses, including those belonging to the three "rich" families of the community. These had fled to Volos, together with some other families from the village. The people who remained were inclined to support the guerrillas.

About two weeks after my visit in 1947, the army evacuated all the remaining inhabitants of Cherasia to Volos. There they remained in refugee quarters for two and a half years. The last guerrilla band disappeared from Mount Pelion only in 1950, some six months after the main guerrilla army in the north had retreated across the Albanian frontier. It was therefore late in 1950 before the inhabitants of Cherasia were allowed – or compelled – to return to their village.

727 653 [657] [232] Government authorities were, however, well aware of the difficulties that confronted the community. The returned refugees were given every help to re-establish themselves. They received, gratis, 238 sheep to serve as a nucleus for their flock, as well as materials for the reconstruction of their houses, most of which had suffered damage. Officials issued seed and implements as well. A comprehensive work relief program was set up; for about two years after their return, the men of Cherasia received wages for working on projects that directly benefited their community. In this fashion the new road over the mountain was built – shortening the way to Volos by nearly half. [346] Similarly, new and very handsome school and church buildings were constructed; and pipes from the spring in the upper village brought fresh water into lower Cherasia for the first time. [312] This was vital if the population was to remain in the lower village the year around, since water had previously been unavailable there in summer. Another side of the government policy was to give no help toward reconstruction of the village of upper Cherasia – perched, as it was, high on the mountain beyond the reach of roads. No doubt the authorities in this fashion hoped to tie the villagers to the accessible lower village, and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178× 829 669● 241 433

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x 178 829 669 241 433 various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hopefully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but because the villagers failed to look after them.

Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land – the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

x 178 829 669 433 313 656 Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a forest preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical – pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

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badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

178x 829 669 433 313 656 [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

669 722 657 178x

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

217 166 727

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worth, however, the records showed 45 births since 1951 as against 18 deaths, and everything I heard and observed in the village pointed to a very high rate of natural increase.

Marriages occur early. When nearly everyone lacks land that is worth much of anything, there is no tendency to wait until the new family can be assured a landed inheritance. One young man said, somewhat cynically: "What I had when I married was a donkey, an axe and a strong back. I still have all three, and three children as well." The donkey, I gathered, was his wife's contribution to the new household; the axe and the back, his own. This, it seems, is more or less normal in the village; and one can easily understand how a desire to escape the nagging poverty of the parental household would lead young men and girls into early marriage, in order at least to enjoy personal independence and the satisfactions of the marriage bed. Even though the rest of their traditional style of life seems on the verge of ruin, this still is possible. Feeling a general despair of ever being able to live decently, feeling also a certain reckless defiance of all forms of authority – including parental authority – there seems to persons such as the young man who spoke to me no reason not to marry as soon as one can find a partner.

In spite of the rebellious mood prevailing in Cherasia, the officials of the village in 1956, although supposedly elected, represented the extreme right. The president and secretary were both members of the "rich" families, possessing comparatively broad acres, and both were very emphatic and voluble in asserting that the only way to deal with Communists was to use force. Indeed, they said that peace could come to Cherasia and to Greece only when Russia was blown up by American atom bombs. How they were elected, I do not know, but I am certain the election was not a free one. Suspicion and thinly veiled hostility dominated the relation between the villagers and their official leaders.

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621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
727 forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
[669] expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
[653] in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

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city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century.

621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil.

621 433 [241] [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few

[366] [438] [491]

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621 433 animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought [366] their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, [438] where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five [491] miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-[258] pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which em-[464] ployed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the sea-[388] son. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed [258] down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had [491] been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. [438] Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a 621 purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a de-• 669 crease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabit-722 ants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the [161] village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kala-[162] mata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

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433 construction of the economy and the transformation of the civil
662 service since 1947 seem to offer a chance for escape from this
663 circle, but escape is as yet by no means assured.

The Communist Problem

668 The Communist party was declared illegal in October 1947,
669 and has remained illegal since then. Communist party leaders first joined the guerrillas, then retreated with the remnant of the guerrilla army behind the iron curtain. It seems entirely likely that the exile leadership was torn by faction and recrimination. Backwash from the shipwreck of their hopes on the Macedonian issue in 1949 must have continued to distract the secret councils of the party. Equally, the changing winds of doctrine that followed Stalin's death shook the Greek Communist party, and, combined perhaps with other factors, led in the fall of 1956 to the demotion of Nicholas Zachariades and the substitution of an almost unknown personality as Secretary General.

Rather strenuous police measures were taken during the guerrilla war to break up the Communist underground organization. Many people were arrested and several hundred were shot. How effective these measures were in breaking down the party organization cannot be judged by anyone standing outside the inmost party circles. Furthermore, the failure of the guerrilla enterprise, and the collision between Greek national feeling and international Communist policy over the question of the future of Macedonia must have disheartened even the most fanatical Communists in Greece, and certainly discredited Communism in the eyes of many who had formerly been sympathetic.

668 Whether these events mean that the Communist threat to Greece is lastingly removed, or whether the Greek Communist

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of
241 summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illustrate modern Greek land reform.[12] The size of the farm holding in Thes-
[241] saly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still exists for those poor villagers who need it.

● [671] During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

governmental structure which tied together these separated local governments into any larger whole. Thus, as Greece moved toward modern nationhood, the type of local government which had existed under the Ottoman Empire began to wither. 175 623 642

One Athenian professor said to me that after ten years of revolution (1821–1830) the people wanted a king who could end anarchy and bring order. They had to accept a centralized government and put up with laws not natural to the country but which were necessary if Greece were to appear "civilized" enough to get loans from abroad. "We still need a legal system agreeing better with our country," he concluded. This is one reason, he thinks, why the peasant tries to get around the laws; he does not look upon them as his laws, as Greek laws. [671]

During the first forty years of this century, the greatest changes in community life occurred under Venizelos in 1912 and under Metaxas in 1935. Venizelos, for instance, refashioned the old demes, or local units consisting of several villages, and made each village a unit responsible for supporting many local services under a community council and president. The deme still had the taxing, police, and judicial powers. The central government attempted to supply teachers for communities, a step which meant much less local autonomy but which was essential if Greece were to have a uniform system of education. Many other activities which local governmental bodies had handled up to this time had to be approved by the nomarch (administrator of the nomos) and ministry. Even the Constitution of 1927, though leaving to local government matters managed directly by the citizens, left the definition of "local matters" so vague that the demes and communes were at the mercy of the legislators and ministries who, by law and decree, could "outline their powers, procedures, and revenues." [4] 631 642 [658]

Metaxas, after abrogating the Constitution of 1927, imposed on the total Greek population "modern" methods of hygiene, childrearing, and education. He even attempted to introduce early weaning and the use of bottles. In community affairs, local elections were abolished and local officials could be dismissed and replaced by the Minister of the Interior. [185]

Today, according to one authority:

> The local government units in Greece are demes and communes. There are 217 demes and 5,746 communes. Demes, under the 1912 law, were those units with 10,000 or more population; but recent amendments allowed so many exceptions that there are now 144 below this minimum standard. Communes are supposed to have 300 or more people and an elementary school; but this standard was also relaxed so that now there are many below this figure. As a matter of fact, half of the communes today have less than five hundred inhabitants.[5]

[621] [633] [162]

Since such small population centers cannot support all of the expected services, some kind of amalgamation of units is thought desirable. But how

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
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4

The Family: Dowry and Inheritance; Formal Structure[1]

182 THE DOWRY AND INHERITANCE SYSTEM in Vasilika is primarily a mecha-
428 nism by which property is transferred from one generation to the next.
It is this kind of mechanism, but it is also more. By reason of the context
583 of values in which they operate and because of their specific characteristics,
dowry and inheritance patterns as they function in Vasilika have ramifications not only for the Boeotian countryside but also for Greece as a whole.

Inheritance by Sons

428 Both the Greek laws of inheritance and village custom require that
583 property be divided equally among all the children, sons and daughters alike.
Some receive their shares through inheritance or by gifts while the parents are
[671] still alive, but the daughters of a family are entitled to their share at marriage in
the form of a dowry. Since, from the standpoint of the villagers, a man's most
[594] compelling obligation is to arrange for the successful marriage of his daughters,
and since no girl in Vasilika can normally expect to marry without at least a
token dowry, the girls have first lien on the family's property. For most of
[423] Vasilika's families, land holdings are the most valuable assets, and dowries are,
therefore, calculated ordinarily as a transfer of a share of the land from parents
to a daughter and through her to the jurisdiction of her husband. However, if
a family's land holdings are such that it is obvious that by giving daughters their

[1] Portions of this chapter were presented as a paper at a conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean held at Burg Wartenstein in July 1959, and will appear in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, scheduled for publication in 1962.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have 581
who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the 584
house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the [454]
groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the 593
future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emo- 428
tional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for 583
her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he
had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton [584]
from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial 581
household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will 583
accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's 606
wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has al- 607
ready expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. 578
From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they
want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the [584]
fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony 421
with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their 581
marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry proper- 583
ties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in mar- 593
riages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the
management and control of movable and personal property that he received with his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The [671]
alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the standpoint of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control [606]
over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

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Vasilika

lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, 425
therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be will- 583
ing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good 182
purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for 574
years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between [602]
a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these 423
questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land 432
inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the 428
symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of 425
dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that 583
dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually [671]
inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the [586]
wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a 596
room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau [591]
gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm holdings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and [434]
unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash 454
portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some 471
other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the 432
villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordi- 523
nary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live 596
with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they 428
decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property [591]
their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the
425 Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent
[795] with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

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planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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[The Tselingata]

used for public works, especially for the operation of schools. All these accounts are regulated by the general assembly of the members of the union. G V 233 474

In my conversations with Berates, the visit to whom has just been described, I learned that he considered himself an architselingas. True enough, he owned most of the sheep, but he did allow the six men who worked for him to have flocks of their own, say fifty to sixty head, if they could get a start. One of his shepherds was assigned the task of keeping the records of milk production so that each one could have a share prorated on the basis of the number of animals in the common flock. Every six months Berates draws up a contract with those associated with him; he supervises the cheese production up in the highland pastures and even helps process the milk for some of the smaller owners who are not in position to set up their own plant. G V [675] [234]

Those who knew Epirus a generation or so ago tell of the great authority these chief shepherds had, each ruling in autocratic fashion his people and the area in which they were established. Should one of the shepherds associated with any of these chieftains become dissatisfied and want to move away, he found it impossible to attach himself to any other chief shepherd, for these men of position stuck together. In the days of turmoil and disorder early in this century, it was almost necessary for a small owner to be connected in some way with a leading figure who could protect him and represent him to outside authorities.[14] V G 233 474 622

The tselingata, from many accounts, were not necessarily based on kinship, though there were interesting examples of the group of relatives being so large that they formed a union by themselves. In such a case, age and generation would usually determine who had the authority and his word would carry great weight among the others.

Even today there are powerful chief shepherds. The mayor of the city of Egoumenitsa, along the Ionian Sea, was the head of the Petoules family which is run on the principles of the traditional tselingata. There are eighty members in the family and all of them obey him. In 1953 I was told that the Petoules family collectively owned from 12,000 to 14,000 sheep, in spite of the fact that on one day in 1948 the Communist guerrillas took 4,200 sheep from them. Although they owned sufficient land to graze at least 14,000 sheep, they were improving the pastures by sowing wild clover. The summer area alone added up to about 3,450 acres and the winter area was additional. V G 233 474 G [669]

One official in describing this family said that in 1952 some of the governmental representatives in Ioannina were ordered by the central government to go to the head of the Petoules family and take some of the pasture land for the settlement of refugees who needed land. They expected trouble but were pleasantly surprised when the architselingas agreed to give the land and also went with them to select it. Two villages were constructed, G [423]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 544
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one
[577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

•682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life.
627 Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught
[685] stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in
[834] turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you."[8]

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful,"
[177] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and
[825] for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the
[685] point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever."
[521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land re-
241 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant became about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the
[311] entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 3 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists, however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres, except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only, but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and
476 the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the
571 life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communities. A man or woman's *patridha,* that is, his village of origin in this context (*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently mentioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise. The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place, and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away, and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni,* people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages, and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,
123 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
●685 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were
621 thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothespins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
000 to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

621 Evidence suggests that 186 an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609 they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574 thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [577] expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation. [828]

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always [685] raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually [521] in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers [522] began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika. [183]

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621 identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it 186 must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156 reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 828 and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of 476 such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594] family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464] daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663] official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554] his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he [185] does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619 for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829 as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they [621] wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181] with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578] [685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692]
what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685]
families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578]
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

take it." In the *Great Euchologion*, or Prayer Book, of the Greek Church the order for confession is in fact immediately preceded by a short office for the making of a *pneumatikos*, or spiritual father, in which the bishop, after he has read the Gospel containing our Lord's words: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained", addresses the would-be *pneumatikos* (who must, needless to say, be in priests' orders) as follows:

"Our mediocrity, through the grace of the all-holy and divine Spirit, promotes thee, the most pious N. *Pneumatikos*, to the ministry of spiritual fatherhood, etc."

Covel quotes ancient canons to the effect that "if any one without the Mandate of the Bishop of the place shall dare to receive . . . spiritual accounts and Confessions, such a one shall be Canonically punished as a Transgressor of the Divine Canons; because he hath not only destroy'd himself, but all they also who have been Confessed by him are still unconfessed, and whatever things he hath Bound or Loosed, are yet uncorrected". And again: "Let all the Priest-Monks, who take Confessions, or Bind and Loose know that our Holy Fathers will not suffer any Priests to reconcile Penitents without the Archbishop's Order". According to an old canonist "a Bishop may . . . according to his Judgment, give this Right or Power of receiving Confessions to a secular Priest, but this is to be done discreetly, to some choice or well approved Persons only, and upon some extraordinary occasions".

Professor Bratsiotes, in the introduction which he contributed to the English translation of the life of the Archimandrite Eusebius Matthopoulos, observed that "unhappily there are very few confessors, because it is much more difficult to develop confessors than to train preachers; and it requires much individual genius and great maturity in virtue and experience to be a proper confessor". At the time when these words were written only eight members of the Zoë Confraternity—all trained theologians as they are—were licensed as confessors. In the country dioceses to-day the only clergy who are permitted to assist the bishop as *pneumatikoi* are the priest-monks attached to the metropolis; married priests who are authorised to hear confessions are rare indeed.

What then of the parish clergy? There is no parallel in Greece to the country parson who has "read the Fathers also and the Schoolmen and the later writers", and who has been one of the fairest ornaments of the English Church these many centuries. The Greek country parson is a

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vineyard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur, and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two communities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a nonresident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agreements among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the cords may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

/89 cont./
a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness. 621 476 [533] [152]

/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial 623 627 578 [692] [554]

/91 cont./ 623
general approval of all. The punishment of the "Gerousia" is 627
ostracism until the person repents and asks forgiveness. The fear 578
and respect towards "Gerousia" is greater than to anybody or group of people. One of the young men planning to divorce his wife because she could not bear any child, told of his experience with the "Gerousia". "Their words are sharper than the sharpest sword".

Latent Neighborhood Conflict Attitudes. The jealousy of the 621
nearby villages toward the successful cooperation of the villagers 628
of Megali Vrisi was noticed many times. The success of Megali Vrisi in bringing the doctors who serve the area to their village, and in making it the center for the health project, naturally created hard feelings with the competing villages. The success with which the Caucasians of Megali Vrisi worked /92/ in organizing a young men's organization, increasing the number of teachers, building their church and having one of the well-organized cooperatives, has made it the leading village of the area.

Active Conflicts. One of the active conflicts that exists in 621
Megali Vrisi is the one between the Thracians and Caucasians. 578
Each group in trying to preserve its identity tries to dominate the other by having more power in controlling the village council and cooperative. The Thracians as a minority, have never had any chance to get to any office for the last 16 years. The strong opposition they had from the Caucasians, united them on every question raised, and their inability to compete with the Caucasians has developed within every Thracian the illogical type of opposition. "Vote it down if it is a Caucasian proposal, whether good or bad." Regardless of this opposition, the Caucasians undertook to carry on their constructive community work by bearing the share of the Thracians too. Conflicts among different kinship groups were of a minor type and never developed to such a magnitude as to have destructive results. The "Gerousia" checked them. 627
The conflict between the Thracians and the Caucasians was beyond [623]
the power of the "Gerousia". The Thracians never had any [692]
"Gerousia" and as a result took more cases to the court and spent more /93/ money and time for it. The conflicts among the

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692] what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685] families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626 women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273 but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543 fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621 motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476 in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578 so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461 problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517 to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241 time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578] of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Social Class in the Village

The notables just described constitute the village élite; they are at the top of the status system and represent the village's contact with the outside world. If they are originally from outside, they are supposed to possess the qualities that the peasants ascribe to the educated city person. Their reputation in turn is based largely on the traditional classical education which sets them apart from those less fortunate. As one commentator pointed out: "The civil servant or poor lawyer has little out of life other than his prestige. This takes the form of petty autocracy and the assumption of superiority over the nonprofessional classes." Such a person coming to live in the village feels it incumbent upon him to maintain something of a social gulf between him and the peasants, who also share this feeling. But this "assumption of superiority" is in itself not enough. It will wear thin after a while if the individual does not prove himself competent in his job or show an understanding of the problems that the villagers face. Even if he does it arrogantly, he nevertheless must produce some benefits for the villagers. There is a shrewd practicality in the Greek peasant with which any intellectual has to reckon.

Those notables who are from the village, whether educated or not, must also possess those qualities stressed locally. To some extent, they have to fit into the value systems of both the city and the village, not favoring one so much that they alienate those subscribing to the other.

Very few studies have been made of the status distinctions in Greek villages, with the result that we cannot prove or disprove the existence of regional differences in ascribing status. In a Greek community, as in an American one, people when asked about class differences will be apt to deny them, claiming, "everybody here is as good as everybody else. We have no class distinctions." But as the questioner probes, he learns that one part of the community is considered a very good residential area and another part very poor; some families are at the very top of the social scale for a variety of reasons, others are generally recognized to be at the bottom, and those in between can be sorted out in a loose way according to the criteria (or social values) prevailing in that place. John Photiadis lists the following as the factors for class distinction in the Macedonian village he studied: education; occupation; money; family name; approved achievement; community activities; origin (whether refugee or not); area of residence. On the basis of these he delineates three classes in a larger-than-average village:

The *upper class* consisting of professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers), tobacco merchants, larger storekeepers, and office managers.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[8]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[9] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an arrangement [*kondoia*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat
[758] to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[465] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points. I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in
[701] every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

than a two-year stint. But they do get higher pay than those in the army. 625
They must apply for this service, are carefully investigated before they are [701]
accepted, and then are carefully trained. Some stay on after their three-year tour of duty is up and are given, at the end of twelve years, a lump sum as severance pay. With this, many of them open up some business of their own.

The field guards, also under the Ministry of Interior, are under a differ- 625
ent administration but work closely with the gendarmerie, since many cases, 659
such as theft from a field, involve both services. The gendarmes, because they are responsible for public security, also make their own investigations. In the village of Kyparissia (Peloponnesos) at the time of our visit, the people were temporarily without the services of field policemen, although they still received gendarme service from Tripolis. They were then working out an arrangement to pay a field policeman in products, although they would hold him responsible if he did not find the animals which had damaged crops. They expected him to work only during the day, for there was little danger at night. Far to the north in Epirus, near the Albanian border, [167]
we came across field policemen who also assumed security functions not only against animals but also against infiltrators from across the Iron Curtain.

The larger villages and towns serving as centers for governmental serv- 65
ices enjoy many advantages that the smaller, more isolated villages do not [369]
have. In Dimitsana, in the Gortynia section of the Peloponnesos, the local people say that their economy is kept going only because of the state employees located there. It is the seat of a gymnasium (secondary school), a lower court, the gendarmerie command, a field-guard office, a tax office, and a postal and telegraph office. In Northern Greece the governmental facilities in Stavroupolis include:

1. The court house which serves the area of thirty villages.
2. A police station which also serves a neighboring commune.
3. Farm-security service (field policemen) which operates under the auspices [625]
of the government but is supported by a separate local tax on the area.
4. Tobacco board which operates on an area level and is responsible for the [249]
taxation and standardization of tobacco.
5. Extension service which serves the whole area. There is a home club which operates under a home agent who belongs to a different institution but is supervised by the extension service. The rural club located in the village operates under the supervision of the extension agent.
6. Forestry-conservation service which controls lumbering and protects the forest sections of the area from erosion.[12]

Perhaps the least appreciated service which the central government car- 651
ries out for the commune is the collection of those taxes used in the support 631
of church, school, police, and a number of advisory services. Many tax

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

XII

THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

Η ΜΑΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΟΥΣ

MOTTO OF THE APOSTOLIC DIACONATE OF THESSALONICA

IT IS a good general rule in dealing with something that lies outside the experience of one's audience to attempt to describe it in terms of what is known and familiar. Father Michael Manousakes, Hierokeryx of the Sacred Metropolis of Drama, no doubt had some such maxim in mind when he introduced the present writer to an audience made up of members of his catechetical schools as "a *theologos* of the Oxford Movement: a movement which closely resembles out own Zoë Brotherhood". It must nevertheless be admitted that the compact, well-disciplined organisation into which the little brotherhood founded by Eusebius Matthopoulos in 1907 has since developed bears little apparent resemblance to the movement which was stirring in the Oriel S.C.R. during the eighteen-thirties.

The Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë (to give the movement its proper title), now consists of some ninety men—all graduates, the great majority of the theological faculty of the University of Athens—about thirty of whom are in orders, the remainder laymen. The organisation of the brotherhood is monastic in character, though its members do not bind themselves by permanent vows and are at liberty to withdraw at any time. They must be unmarried—though a lay theologian who leaves the movement is free to marry—and property is held in common. The superior holds office for life (at the death of Father Eusebius in 1929 the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas was elected as his successor).

Seven priests and ten laymen were in the spring of 1950 resident in Athens, five other theologians in Salonica. At that time no less than twenty-seven members of the brotherhood (including seven priests) were serving as 'preachers' with the army, and another was acting as

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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[701]
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chaplain to the camp in Leros where boys who had fallen beneath the influence of the Communists were being given the opportunity to rediscover the fundamental loyalties within the setting of a Christian community. The remaining members of the brotherhood were dispersed amongst the dioceses of Greece, preaching, confessing the people, training young catechists and preachers, supervising seminaries for the country clergy, directing catechetical schools and youth movements: in these and many other ways building up the body of Christ in each village, town and diocese; seeking, above all, to follow in the steps of their founder by living in the power of the Holy Spirit that Christ might indeed be formed in them.

Every summer all the members of the brotherhood assemble for a period of retreat at Aghia Paraskevi (on the outskirts of Athens), and each is called upon to give an account of his labours during the previous year.

There can be little question that the most potent factor in the religious revival which has transformed the outward face of the Greek Church within the last 100 years has, under God, been the hidden life and apostolic labours of Eusebius Matthopoulos, and of the brotherhood he founded. The latter is still far the most important of the many missionary and evangelistic movements that have sprung up during the last two generations. The number and complexity of these movements is at first quite bewildering, and the visitor to Greece will need to spend a little time in Zoë circles before he can hope to avoid confounding *X.E.N.* with *X.E.E.N.*, or to be able to distinguish with assurance between the spheres of activity appropriate to *X.M.O.*, *X.O.N.*, *X.Φ.E.*, *X.E.E.* and *X.E.E.Λ.* respectively.

There are, on the one hand, all the movements more or less closely connected with the Zoë Brotherhood: some under the immediate supervision of the central organisation, others enjoying a measure of independence. On the other, there are several entirely separate movements which sprang up within the circle of clergy and laity who gathered about Apostolos Makrakes; and, finally, there are several vigorous organisations which have grown up in provincial centres such as Patras and Salonica and are still flourishing at the present time. A detailed account of all these movements would afford material for a substantial volume, and I propose to attempt no more within the limits of a single chapter than the most cursory description of their scope and general characteristics.

[Village Life]

464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
[653] when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[701] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially
[625] road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the wide world.

[186] The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural [463] pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these [702] island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible uni-
829 verse. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of
186 Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from
511 and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out
[829] in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their
184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job.

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed.

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter.

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 193 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the
462 morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing; and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and
[227] dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household
221 often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on
[702] his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

However, Vasilika is an open community in
369 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
463 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
871 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
[873] any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
[166] gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent
[702] years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
[873] charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
554 tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
58 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is almost impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[2] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual, therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of
602 his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a taxi-driver, to

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

622 As one would expect in any small community whose members
624 are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to
[702] allow the army to draft the young men when their age group
[653] is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central govern-
[651] ment. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

622 Only when a village chooses to undertake local improve-
631 ments requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal mini-
652 mum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

621 Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not
654 altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of gov-
x178 ernment representatives, whom they suspect of being more
[609] often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626 834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538 702]

/28 cont./ 603 867 702 [538]
always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present-day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

578 669 [178]

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the balance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist promises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

669 [703]

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Communist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by financial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was

669 648 433

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

164 Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a
744 story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

364 Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

342 As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can
184 associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years, [712] plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the [333] *mastora* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling [178] but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains. [712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From [247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and 252 made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. [184] It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from [245] entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[12]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic- 184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house [231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base- [251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

week-end. Conversation turned to the subject of the parish clergy; 793
Papa Athanasi was a whole-hearted admirer of the new system; he was not one who could learn only from the Lord or rest content with a mere facility in turning the pages of the service-books:

"The divine liturgy, *Kyrie Petre*, can be gabbled through by a man who is all but illiterate: we are called to be shepherds, and a shepherd has need of great knowledge and wisdom."

Next morning Father Athanasius celebrated the holy mysteries in 727
the village church. It was one of the Saturdays of all souls, and the [769]
priest's daughter was early astir, making preparations for the commemoration of departed relatives and friends. Before the service was ended I left for the neighbouring village of Sydendron, where the curate, Papa Constantinos, introduced himself as "the priest who bore the machine-gun in the sacred company of the despot". St. [346]
Nicolas, Sydendron, had been a fine church, apparently dating from the [669]
sixteenth century. It had survived the years of occupation only to be set on fire by the Communists on the night of July 25th, 1947. The ancient frescoes were slowly crumbling away, but sufficient remained to show something of the former splendour of the church.

I lunched at the presbytery and rode on to Amygdalies in the early afternoon. Most of the village's 200 children seemed to be dancing barefoot in the sun outside their newly opened school: a nissen hut [346]
erected on the site of the building destroyed by the Germans in July, 1943. A huge new church was in process of construction, but work was at a standstill through lack of funds, and the liturgy had to be celebrated in a brick chapel hastily constructed in 1946 within the walls of the unfinished church. Being anxious to reach Aghios Georgios before 722
nightfall I resisted the efforts of the parish priest to persuade me to stay the night at Amygdalies, and as twilight deepened into darkness came clattering down the steep slopes to the stream where a few children still lingered, on a mule which I would have pitted even against Urquhart's Aristotle, and dismounted outside the house of the president.

Aghios Georgios was one of the only two villages in the diocese of Grevena where the population had remained throughout the troubled years which followed the end of the occupation, and had, moreover, afforded shelter to many refugees from other communities. The [712]
church—a massive structure dating from the middle of the nineteenth [346]
century—stood on rising ground in the centre of the village. The [669]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

722 windows had been blocked with masonry and stones, and the church, thus barricaded and surrounded by an elaborate system of trenches, ●712 pill-boxes and barbed wire defences, transformed into a citadel. Here 346 the greater part of the population had taken refuge while the militia, 669 with a stiffening of gendarmerie, had fought off an assault on the village which raged for a night and a day on May 8th-9th, 1948. The fabric had suffered extensive damage from mortar and machine-gun fire, but the Communists had eventually been driven off. Earlier, the village had suffered grievously at the hands of the Germans. Though the church had been spared, the school and a large proportion of the houses had been destroyed. The school was now flourishing in a large nissen hut: formerly it had been housed in the nave of the church.

574 On Sunday morning there was great scrubbing and polishing of muddy boots, and at half-past eight I ventured forth, looking as spruce as three weeks of sleeping in my clothes would permit, in company with the *proedros*. The latter was anxious not to be too early at church, and, since the second bell had not yet sounded, we went first to inspect the new school. After smoking a cigarette with the *didaskalos* we proceeded to the church at the third bell, followed by all the children of the village. [537] When the liturgy was ended the president climbed with great dignity to the top of one of the pill-boxes and made an impassioned oration welcoming the representative of Greece's great and traditional ally to their gallant and Christ-loving village, and dwelling at some length on the ties which, despite the infernal machinations of the Accursed of God, would surely bind together for all ages the Hellenic and British nations. The said representative thereupon made a brief, but it is to be hoped fitting, reply to this masterpiece of presidential rhetoric, and the whole company drifted away in high good humour to sip cognac and discuss the latest news which had arrived from Kozani.

After a visit to the family of a young theologian from Salonica I went to feast, first with the president and then—at the dictates of charity rather than of appetite—with the parish priest also. The influence of [794] the Kozani seminary had made itself felt in this village, and the catechetical school was in full swing as I passed the new school-house on my way to the parsonage. There the wine that makes glad the heart of man flowed freely, and it was a drowsy traveller who rode across the hills to the neighbouring village of Kivotos later that afternoon. Communications having proved unreliable, I was constrained to accept the hospitality of one of the churchwardens. Shortly before noon the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community. 621 654 178x

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today. 361 [132] [138] [243]

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress. [487] [356] [712]

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the 361 423 [712] ooo

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and 602
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [596]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the [178]
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. [621]
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro- [582]
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [736]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under [737]
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in. 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

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of a masterbuilder [1]. Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. [2].

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peniusula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules**. Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

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as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghia and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (2). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (3). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

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[177]

A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors aud is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ πυλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1911 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Staries on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 233), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. IB 85. See also **D. Loukopoulos** Λεωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

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Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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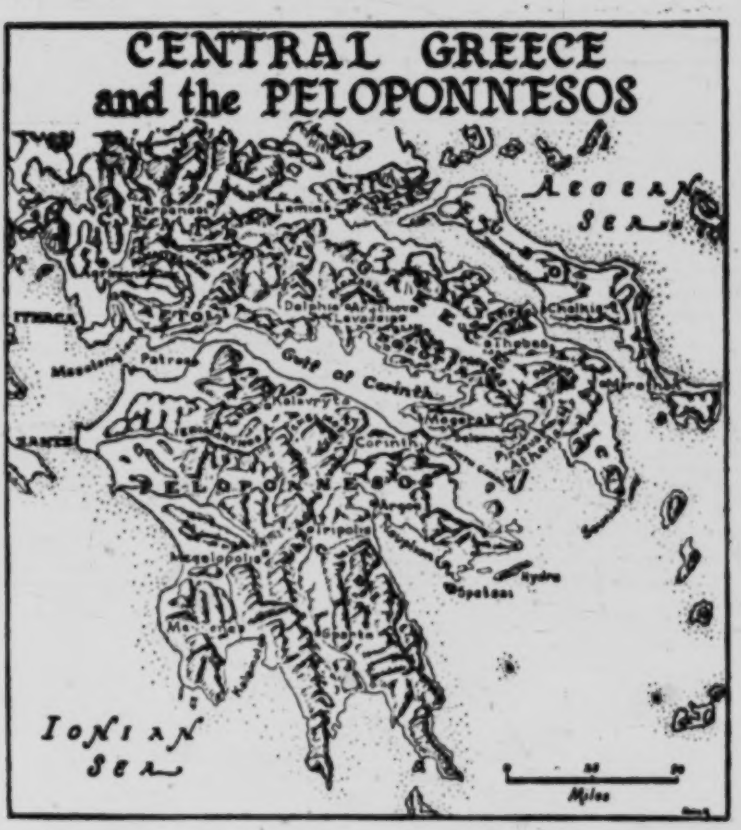

184 would have normally been paid to the mountain people, to Patras and sold it for
433 its weight in gold. As a result, the highland villagers faced serious difficulties.

511 About this time a band of five young guerrillas came by the village and
722 demanded hospitality. The villagers took them in and killed a lamb so that they could dine in plenty. After a few months, the same band put in another appearance, but this time the people could only provide a cock for the dinner. On the third visit, much later on, a wheat dish had to be the main course. Finally, on a fourth visit, when the members of the band were served only onions and garlic, they turned to the villagers and said: "You are hungry. Do you see those villages on the plain below? Why don't you go down there and take the food away from them, take their land, and let them come up here and live?"

An old villager answered: "Yes, we may be able to go down there and beat

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

them now and begin to live in their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can." 184 433 511

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains. [722]

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are: 184 157 829

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it." 184 511

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna- 184 157 829 [166] [722]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism. 795 798 173 [797]

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate. 619 795 178

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles 619 795 722

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of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes 619
of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed 795
steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. [722]
The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious
defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God".
Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably [346]
linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood
paintings of the *Averoff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the
relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms
of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain 619
weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that 795
measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people 659
would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples 793
of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments
within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to
be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on
the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as com-
pared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that
bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to
the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potential-
ities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed 178
to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only 795
dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping:
conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on
intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it
seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true
character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully
these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren
of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled
with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in
this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it
has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the
growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians,
the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of
incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for
Christendom as a whole.

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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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727 foreign occupation and armed sedition, that it is possible to grasp the
794 full significance of the spiritual ferment which marked these ten years, or to understand the magnitude of the task which the Church faces at the present time. For this reason I make no apology for dwelling at some length on the extent of the all-engulfing catastrophe which overwhelmed the Greek nation from the time of the Italian invasion of 1940 down to the decisive defeat of the Communists in the campaigns of 1949.

722 Much has already been written concerning the sufferings of the
727 people of Greece during these terrible years: about the horrors of the occupation, the burning and pillage of undefended villages, the famine which carried off more than 300,000 men, women and children, and the multitude of the homeless approaching in number the population of Athens and the Piraeus. Long before the end of the struggle with the Communists was in sight the destruction had become so manifest, so universal, that after a time one no longer marvelled. One came to accept the long lines of shattered rolling-stock stretching westwards from the walls of Salonica across the plain towards the muddy waters of the Vardar; the rusting carriages which lay strewn around the fair shores of Salamis. It was impossible to travel for any distance without encountering a dynamited bridge, a recently filled mine-crater, or the blackened ruins of an abandoned village. Every town of northern Greece was crowded with refugees, and even the suburbs of Salonica were liable to nocturnal bombardment.

722 Little attention, however, has as yet been given to the effect of ten
727 years of all but unbroken warfare upon the life of the Church: to the breakdown of normal parochial organisation over large tracts of country
795 for two or three years at a stretch, in consequence of the flight of the
[793] clergy together with their people from the villages; to the slaughter of the country parsons, and the destruction and looting of countless churches and monasteries which were to create such insuperable problems when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes; to the fate of those dioceses which were occupied by the Bulgars, who attempted to eradicate every trace of 'Hellenism' from those areas of eastern Macedonia and Thrace which fell to their lot; where the Greek bishops and their clergy were supplanted by Bulgars, the Greek service-books burned; where the very saints were de-Hellenised and had their names repainted in Slavonic characters. All who were able to do so fled from this region and took refuge in Salonica or in other towns to the west of the river Strymon, though some 40,000 were massacred. In the

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diocese of Drama no less than forty of the 112 parish churches were burned down, as well as the monastery of Eikosiphoinisses. 722 727

Elsewhere in Greece, and particularly in those areas traversed by important lines of communication, the number of the homeless mounted steadily as guerilla activity drew savage reprisals upon the villages. One had only to spend a few days in the mountains which lie to the westward of the Thessalian township of Kalambaka, for example, to see something of the effect of these reprisal raids. Church after church was gutted: mere empty shells with fragments of ancient paintings clinging to the tottering walls. In this diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone, twenty-four village churches were completely destroyed during the occupation and many others more or less seriously damaged. Nor did the towns escape the flood of destruction: Edessa, for example, which was set on fire by the Germans on September 12th, 1944, and where five churches perished in the ensuing conflagration, or Iannitsa which suffered a like fate two days later; Larissa, which had scarcely recovered from an earthquake when it was bombed by the Italians, and Kerkyra where more than sixty per cent. of the buildings were destroyed or damaged. 795

After the occupying troops had withdrawn from Greece in the autumn of 1944 and the Communist sedition had met with its first reverse, there ensued a period of comparative tranquillity. The refugees returned to their villages and some progress was made in repairing the damage wrought during the years of occupation. But a greater trial was still to come. From the autumn of 1946 onwards the full violence of the armed sedition which had slowly been gathering its energies since its temporary set-back of December, 1944, was let loose upon the country dioceses. It was utterly out of question for the Greek army, even with the assistance of the gendarmerie and the local militia, to garrison hundreds of isolated hamlets lying in mountainous districts where communications were of the most rudimentary kind. The defence of the northern frontiers presented problems enough and to spare. It was not long, therefore, before the country people were forced to flee from their lands and homes and to seek refuge in those centres which possessed a garrison. Large areas of northern and central Greece were soon abandoned to the roving Communist bands. 722 727 669

Some of the refugees found their way to Athens and Salonica, but the majority crowded with their surviving animals and such few possessions as they had been able to carry with them in their flight into 722 362

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722 362 the small country towns which serve as centres for the ecclesiastical administration. Here many of them remained for three years. Some, and those the most fortunate, were able to build themselves wooden houses or *kalyvai*; others were lodged in huts; multitudes, especially in Macedonia, lived (often twenty or twenty-five families together) in old Turkish houses; those who fared worst of all had to be content with hastily improvised shelters of mud and thatch, or even to pass the bitter months of winter in tents. By the end of 1948 the number of the refugees exceeded 700,000: for the second time within ten years a tenth part of the whole nation was homeless. The country towns were packed with refugees: not a ruined cottage or a stable but sheltered two or three families. Some words from Thomas Alcock's *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece in 1828-29* might well have been written 120 years later: "Nothing in Greece", says this traveller, "can more forcibly give an idea of the war that has been carried on, than finding on inquiry that not a third of the residents in any place are natives of it, but only sojourners there, till security is afforded them in their own birth-places."

727 793 [792] [798] The parish clergy fled with their people to the comparative security of the towns, but the priest was a marked man and many failed to make good their escape. No less than 239 priests and monks were done to death by the Communists alone, and seventy-seven by the Germans, while a further forty-seven died at the hands of Bulgars, Italians or Albanian moslems. Of the total number of 363 the majority (297 to be precise) were parish priests: no single category of the population sustained heavier casualties in the slaughter of these years than the village *papades*.

793 798 "I triumphed", says De Quincey, "but infer not, reader, a condition of joy or exultation." Not all of those who died were men of the quality of the heroic parish priest of the village of Megarchis, Papa George Skrekas, who was crucified by the Communists on Good Friday, 1947. Nor, needless to add, did every Christian who suffered for the faith during the first three centuries of our era embrace death with the ardour of an Ignatius or the serenity of a Polycarp. The Church of Greece has ever been rich in martyrs, and there are not a few names—unknown though they be to Christendom at large—which have been added during the last ten years to the roll of those who will be remembered in the mountain dioceses whenever the Church gathers for the eucharist:

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A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION 793

"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen." 798

But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands. 722 793

It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation. 722 727 795 669 [619]

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer a-sonder.

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722 204 A FEW paces from the gates of the University of Salonica, just south of the Via Ignatia where antique tramcars go clanging across the dusty waste that was once the Jewish cemetery, the daily papers, which play so important a part in Greek intellectual and social life, used to be publicly displayed every morning so that all men—poor scholars and unbeneficed clerks as well as prosperous merchants rich in this world's goods—might read of the heroic exploits of the armies which strove to drive the Accursed of God from the snowy heights of Pindos: a public-spirited gesture, worthy of a people who have ever set the pursuit of truth far beyond mere commercial advantage, and one of which I was often glad to avail myself on my way from the university library at midday.

722 793 One sunny forenoon in the spring of 1949 as I scanned the headlines of *Kathimerini* and *Akropolis* a photograph caught my eye. At first sight it seemed in no way remarkable: a group of country clergy gathered about their father in God—the latter an impressive figure wearing the *enkolpion*, or pectoral eikon, which is the mark of the higher clergy. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed that this was no ordinary clerical assembly, for every one of these reverend personages had a rifle slung across his shoulder. I turned in some astonishment to the accompanying paragraph and read that "in the war against the insurgents, the clergy of Grevena hastened to be enrolled under the banner of the movement for the deliverance of the Hellenic race. . . ." The photograph, it concluded, "shows the Metropolitan of Grevena with his armed priests".

727 793 I went to lunch with my curiosity whetted. Grevena, I knew, was a peculiarly isolated diocese and one that had suffered severely, first at the hands of the Germans and again in the present troubles. Further enquiries disclosed that the present Metropolitan, the Lord Theokletos, was a man renowned for his ardent patriotism and his immense stature.

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491 snows, westwards towards Metsovo and Epirus. To the southward a few paths—impassable save on foot during the winter months—gave access to Kalambaka and the plains of Thessaly.

793 After paying my respects to the colonel in command of the garrison I plunged afresh into the inland sea and struck out for the metropolis: a simple cottage where the Bishop rented a couple of rooms. The Lord Theokletos—a monumental figure in an ungirt robe of indigo—looked strangely out of place in such a setting. The Friday fast was waived out of regard to the presence of a traveller, and when we had eaten the Metropolitan told me something of the state of his diocese. It was a gloomy picture that he outlined.

[785] [574]

722 Owing to the remoteness of the district and its poor communications almost every village had been abandoned by its inhabitants from 1947 till the summer of 1949. Grevena itself, a comopolis with a pre-war population in the region of 3,500, had, for more than two years, sheltered five times that number of refugees. During the past six months it had been possible for the people to return to certain villages situated in the northern part of the diocese, but there were reputed to be more than 2,000 families still living in the great refugee camp on the southern fringes of the town, and sixty-four of the diocese's ninety-six villages were still, after three years, uninhabited. Many of the fugitives had fled southwards to Kalambaka, Trikkala and Larissa; others had sought refuge in Kozani.

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The refugees had included seventy-five parish priests, only sixteen of whom had as yet been able to return to their villages. Two priests had been done to death by the Germans; three others, as well as three monks, murdered by the Communists. As recently as October, 1949, the solitary occupant of the monastery of St. Athanasius, close to the village of Trikomon, had returned home after two years' exile, despite the advice of the Bishop and others who counselled him to wait two or three months longer, only to be brutally murdered within the space of a few days. It was when matters were at their worst that the Bishop formed his clerical militia and drilled his venerable warriors in the square where stands the monument to his predecessor in the see of Grevena, the Metropolitan Aimilianos, who had suffered death at the hands of the Turks in 1911 and is revered in this region as a martyr. This redoubtable force had never been called upon to take the field against the Accursed of God, but, said the Lord Theokletos, it had served as an example.

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As to the destruction of churches, it seemed that some months must

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inevitably elapse before the Bishop could hope to be in a position to make a detailed statement. He instructed his secretary to provide me with a report embodying such information as had reached him. Grevena itself had suffered a heavy bombardment during the retreat of 1941 and the cathedral church of the Annunciation had been seriously damaged (the old cathedral of St. George had been destroyed by fire several years earlier). On the outskirts of the town lay a little church dedicated to St. Archelaos of Larissa. This had become the parish church of the refugees. Here, from 1947 onwards, the refugee clergy had assembled daily to sing mattins and evensong, and on Sundays and festivals to celebrate together the divine mysteries. This church, as I subsequently discovered, also served as a centre for the distribution of rations to the vast multitude of the homeless who dwelt in the nissen huts on the edge of the town. On my way back to the metropolis I ran into a large group of refugee clergy. They had got wind of my projected expedition and begged me to visit their villages and to bring back news of their condition after three years' abandonment.

I returned to the regimental headquarters at dusk, armed with my report, and spent an hour poring over maps with a young captain from Volos. We finally decided upon two itineraries, each of several days' duration. The first would enable me to see something of those parts of the diocese which were still uninhabited, and about which the Bishop had little information; the second, to visit several villages north and west of Grevena to which the refugees had lately returned. Arrangements having been made for a nine o'clock start the following morning, I returned to the metropolis for supper and discussed the Zoë movement and the architectural projects of the Metropolitan of Siatista with the Lord Theokletos until it was time for bed.

Saturday, February 4th, dawned fine and dry. The first stage of my journey was accomplished in a jeep driven by an *Epeirotes* who had concealed two British soldiers in his house at Iannina during the occupation. Less than five miles from Grevena the track which we were following gave up the ghost and further progress was impossible. At this point we were met by a sergeant and two soldiers, mounted on mules and leading a handsome bay mare caparisoned after the European manner. It took us an hour to climb to the village of Mavranaioi, which was strongly garrisoned (it had been partly inhabited since the previous October). After lunching with the officers of the garrison I resumed

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week-end. Conversation turned to the subject of the parish clergy; Papa Athanasi was a whole-hearted admirer of the new system; he was not one who could learn only from the Lord or rest content with a mere facility in turning the pages of the service-books: 793

"The divine liturgy, *Kyrie Petre*, can be gabbled through by a man who is all but illiterate: we are called to be shepherds, and a shepherd has need of great knowledge and wisdom."

Next morning Father Athanasius celebrated the holy mysteries in the village church. It was one of the Saturdays of all souls, and the priest's daughter was early astir, making preparations for the commemoration of departed relatives and friends. Before the service was ended I left for the neighbouring village of Sydendron, where the curate, Papa Constantinos, introduced himself as "the priest who bore the machine-gun in the sacred company of the despot". St. Nicolas, Sydendron, had been a fine church, apparently dating from the sixteenth century. It had survived the years of occupation only to be set on fire by the Communists on the night of July 25th, 1947. The ancient frescoes were slowly crumbling away, but sufficient remained to show something of the former splendour of the church. 727 [769] [346] [669]

I lunched at the presbytery and rode on to Amygdalies in the early afternoon. Most of the village's 200 children seemed to be dancing barefoot in the sun outside their newly opened school: a nissen hut erected on the site of the building destroyed by the Germans in July, 1943. A huge new church was in process of construction, but work was at a standstill through lack of funds, and the liturgy had to be celebrated in a brick chapel hastily constructed in 1946 within the walls of the unfinished church. Being anxious to reach Aghios Georgios before nightfall I resisted the efforts of the parish priest to persuade me to stay the night at Amygdalies, and as twilight deepened into darkness came clattering down the steep slopes to the stream where a few children still lingered, on a mule which I would have pitted even against Urquhart's Aristotle, and dismounted outside the house of the president. [346] 722

Aghios Georgios was one of the only two villages in the diocese of Grevena where the population had remained throughout the troubled years which followed the end of the occupation, and had, moreover, afforded shelter to many refugees from other communities. The church—a massive structure dating from the middle of the nineteenth century—stood on rising ground in the centre of the village. The [712] [346] [669]

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722 windows had been blocked with masonry and stones, and the church,
712 thus barricaded and surrounded by an elaborate system of trenches,
346 pill-boxes and barbed wire defences, transformed into a citadel. Here
669 the greater part of the population had taken refuge while the militia, with a stiffening of gendarmerie, had fought off an assault on the village which raged for a night and a day on May 8th-9th, 1948. The fabric had suffered extensive damage from mortar and machine-gun fire, but the Communists had eventually been driven off. Earlier, the village had suffered grievously at the hands of the Germans. Though the church had been spared, the school and a large proportion of the houses had been destroyed. The school was now flourishing in a large nissen hut: formerly it had been housed in the nave of the church.

574 On Sunday morning there was great scrubbing and polishing of muddy boots, and at half-past eight I ventured forth, looking as spruce as three weeks of sleeping in my clothes would permit, in company with the *proedros*. The latter was anxious not to be too early at church, and, since the second bell had not yet sounded, we went first to inspect the new school. After smoking a cigarette with the *didaskalos* we proceeded to the church at the third bell, followed by all the children of the village.

[537] When the liturgy was ended the president climbed with great dignity to the top of one of the pill-boxes and made an impassioned oration welcoming the representative of Greece's great and traditional ally to their gallant and Christ-loving village, and dwelling at some length on the ties which, despite the infernal machinations of the Accursed of God, would surely bind together for all ages the Hellenic and British nations. The said representative thereupon made a brief, but it is to be hoped fitting, reply to this masterpiece of presidential rhetoric, and the whole company drifted away in high good humour to sip cognac and discuss the latest news which had arrived from Kozani.

After a visit to the family of a young theologian from Salonica I went to feast, first with the president and then—at the dictates of charity rather than of appetite—with the parish priest also. The influence of

[794] the Kozani seminary had made itself felt in this village, and the catechetical school was in full swing as I passed the new school-house on my way to the parsonage. There the wine that makes glad the heart of man flowed freely, and it was a drowsy traveller who rode across the hills to the neighbouring village of Kivotos later that afternoon. Communications having proved unreliable, I was constrained to accept the hospitality of one of the churchwardens. Shortly before noon the

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following day I rode into Vatolakkos with an escort of six militiamen and fell straight into the hands of the parish priest, who was sunning himself on a bench outside the gendarmerie station. This *papas* was a graduate of the Kozani seminary; his father had been a priest in Smyrna (like Kivotos, this was a refugee village). He spoke with pride of the catechetical school which had been flourishing in the village since the previous autumn.

Vatolakkos, like Aghios Georgios, had never been abandoned by its inhabitants. Owing to its important position—astride the main road from Grevena to Kozani—it had been strongly garrisoned throughout the troubles, and had offered sanctuary to the fugitives from no less than ten neighbouring communities, despite the fact that the greater number of the houses had been destroyed in the German advance of 1941—there were bomb craters all along the road from Kivotos southward. The parish priest had sheltered five refugee families in his house for more than two years. The church, which had never been completed, had, according to the Bishop's report, been pillaged by the Germans. It had moreover been damaged by mortar fire during an attack on the village by the Communists. A new school had just been opened to take the place of the one destroyed by the Germans.

From Vatolakkos I succeeded in telephoning to army headquarters at Grevena, and shortly after three o'clock I was picked up by my friend from Iannina. After attending the evensong of the refugee clergy, in company with the Bishop's deacon, and a long talk with the fugitive *ephemerioi* of Spelaion and Kosmati, I paid a final visit to the metropolis. The Bishop was unwell; he had been ill for some time past, and I took my leave early. Some months later, after a letter enclosing photographs of the ruined churches of the diocese had remained long unanswered, I saw from a notice in *Ekklesia* that the Lord Theokletos had passed to his rest.

Like Father Ioakeim, his deacon, he was a native of the Piraeus and had laboured there for thirty-three years as vicar of the parish of St. Constantine before being called to take charge of the see of Grevena in the third year of the occupation. The state of the diocese even in those days was serious enough, and had the new *despotes* been able to foresee the full extent of the catastrophe which was to overwhelm the widely scattered communities committed to his charge within the space of another five years, he might understandably have shrunk from the heavy burden of responsibility that he was called to bear.

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

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From 1947 onwards the Lord Theokletos found himself the bishop of a vast multitude of displaced persons; the whole outward framework of diocesan administration disrupted; his parish clergy driven from their cures and scattered to far corners of Greece, or crowded together in the nissen huts on the margins of Grevena; the town itself threatened by the Communists. Called to face a truly desperate situation, the Metropolitan set an example worthy of his predecessor, the martyred Aimilianos, and of the great traditions of the Greek Church. Somehow, despite all material difficulties, food, shelter and clothing were provided for the innumerable refugees who descended upon Grevena during the fourth year of his episcopate, the philanthropic institutions of the battered township continued to function, and the Saint and Despot of Grevena, at the head of his 'sacred company' of refugee clergy, showed that the spirit of the warrior-prelates of the old wars was not yet extinct.

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This alone was sufficient to ensure that the episcopate of the Metropolitan Theokletos of Grevena would long be remembered, not merely in western Macedonia but throughout the Church of Greece. But this was not all. I have said that it was often in those districts where devastation and suffering had left their deepest mark that the Church manifested most plainly the Source of her life. The episcopate of Theokletos of Grevena may well serve to illustrate this truth.

The late Metropolitan had not been long in residence (he had been forced to spend some months in Kozani before coming to his diocese) before he summoned to his assistance a priest-monk then working in Florina, the Archimandrite Augustine: a powerful preacher, an ardent evangelist noted for his adherence to the letter of the dominical counsels in such matters as personal property, and an outspoken rebuker of vice —even when manifested in high places. This last characteristic having apparently rendered Father Augustine's relations with a certain dignitary of the Church somewhat delicate, he established himself at Grevena during the third year of the Lord Theokletos' episcopate and threw himself into the task of building up a Christian movement among the young men and girls of the diocese.

Father Augustine's method was to gather round him a little band of potential leaders: a score of young catechists of both sexes, the majority drawn from the senior classes of the high school, who would in time be able to carry on the work which he had begun. Before long it had proved possible to organise catechetical schools for children of all ages, and (as the refugee camp became more and more swollen

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had regrettable consequences for the development of the new movements, with which the theological schools have, in general, little vital connexion—although more than one professor of the theological faculty at Athens has played an important rôle in their work and organisation. In many quarters—and especially, perhaps, within Zoë circles—a sense of the apparent irrelevance of this theoretical science to practical piety has given rise to an impatience with all theological questions. We must, it is said, be *practical*—and this theology of the schools is not practical; it is a theoretical science wholly unrelated to the urgent problems which are the daily concern of the preacher and the confessor. Such an attitude cannot but strike one as curiously out of place in an Orthodox *milieu* and is not without its dangers. 779 794 874

A few of the clergy go abroad to continue their studies after graduating from the Greek theological schools. Many a young layman is sent to western Europe or America for post-graduate study in the hope that upon his return to Greece he will offer himself for ordination; but a first acquaintance with ecclesiastical conditions very different from those to which he has been accustomed (particularly in the matter of the status of the married clergy and their field of activity) can easily have an unsettling effect upon the potential *despotes*, and it is not unknown for a young graduate, not conscious of a very definite call to the celibate life, to waver in his first resolve of becoming a priest, after two or three years in England or America. 793 177

Apart from the minority who go abroad after leaving the university, the celibate clergy normally pass immediately to an episcopal household without further study. Until quite recently there was nothing in Greece comparable to the English theological college. Since the war, however, there has been opened in Athens an establishment which approximates in some measure to the English institution. This is the 'School for Preachers' which is housed in the hostel of the Apostoliki Diakonia: a fine modern building occupying two sides of the quadrangle at Moni Petraki and overlooking the garden of the British School of Archaeology. Though completed some years ago, it was long requisitioned as a military hospital, and it was not until the early part of 1950 that the whole building was made available to the Church. 793 874 [346] [722]

The School for Preachers provides a two-year course of study (primarily of a pastoral character) for men who have already graduated from the theological school of the university. In 1950 a considerable [794]

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sweeps away so inordinate a number of archimandrites to Athens and its suburbs, leaving the mountain dioceses wretchedly short of trained theologians. 793 369

It is interesting to note that the present Archbishop of Athens has recently been moved by the continuing shortage of clergy of all classes in the outlying districts of Greece to conscript from amongst the clergy of the Athens-Piraeus area a 'Sacred Company', consisting of fifty archimandrites, for a 'Spiritual Campaign' (*Pneumatike Ekstrateia*) of a month's duration and covering the dioceses of Didymoteichon, Maroneia (Comotini), Drama, Serres, Siderokastro, Kilkis, Verroia, Edessa, Florina, Kastoria, Grevena and Naupaktos: 393 parishes in these dioceses were without a priest in September, 1951. It may well be that similar campaigns, and perhaps some kind of clerical conscription of a more permanent character, will be forced upon the Church if many of her children are not to be left without adequate spiritual guidance.

It is perhaps needless to add that the reader would be greatly deceived if he should suppose for one moment that Athens and its suburbs afford a refuge for idle drones of archimandrites who have from time to time to be dragged forth from their retreats by a stern archbishop, and packed off to the barren mountain dioceses of Macedonia for a month's hard work. Nothing could be farther from the truth: were there three times the present number of educated clergy in the Athens-Piraeus area there would yet be urgent tasks left undone for want of priests capable of tackling them. The Athenian archimandrite is the busiest of men, constantly in demand, not merely to serve on committees, but for preaching and confessing and real spiritual work.

In the country dioceses, nevertheless, the present situation is still more serious; the shortage of educated clergy is even more acute. True, the position is slightly better now than it was in 1949, when many a diocesan *hierokeryx* was somehow contriving to combine his already arduous duties with those of an army chaplain, and others had had to abandon their dioceses for a time in order to minister to isolated mountain outposts, but it remains sufficiently disturbing. Many a provincial 'saint' is acutely conscious of vital work still neglected, which could be undertaken could he but command the services of a single priest-theologian. [722]

The Metropolitan of Kilkis, for example, charged with the care of 140 scattered communities, had only one priest qualified to assist him in the work of preaching and confessing the people; a priest already [794]

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159 to be tilled and seed to be sown and a score of sheep to be cared for,
793 as well as an occasional expedition to Trikkala. Fourteen years slipped by: there were good harvests and bad; once a blight fell on the vineyards and once the bishop rode out from Trikkala and preached in the village church where, since the death of his father, Constantinos Photis had been the chief singer. The people of Palaiochori heard few sermons; they worked and prayed, sinned and repented; danced in the square on warm Sunday afternoons and argued about the doings of the great world beyond the mountains as they sipped their ouzo in the village tavern.

In 1937 the parish priest died. The elders of the village debated the question of a worthy successor—and who more suitable than the carpenter, Constantinos Photis? A man universally respected among his fellows for his uprightness and integrity; who knew the intricacies of the Venetian service-books with a familiarity such as could come only from long experience. Polycarp, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, willingly acquiesced in the village's choice of a pastor, and Constantinos Photis, the carpenter, went off one day to Trikkala (after a short stay in a nearby monastery) and returned clad in black gown and *kalymmafchion* as 'Papa Costas'. Back in Palaiochori, life went on much as before. The village priest now wore a cassock of the same indigo homespun in which he had been clad from infancy. There was the same pattern of feast and fast, of eucharist and office; and though an occasional wedding or funeral now broke the regular rhythm of the carpenter's life and the former *psaltes* had a different liturgy to perform on Sundays and holy days, it was one with whose least detail he had long been familiar. The tools in the workshop were not permitted to rust, and the vegetables and the vines, the twenty sheep and the pigs, needed no less attention now that their owner wore a cassock and addressed his wife as *Papadia*.

159 Early in 1941 the Germans poured into Greece. For many months
793 the mountain villages of Pindos, remote from the lines of communication, were scarcely affected by the occupation which, even at that period,
648 brought such acute suffering and privation to the townsfolk and to the
722 villages of the plains. As guerrilla activity became increasingly widespread, however, German and Italian troops were employed in a series of reprisal raids upon the undefended villages lying north and south of a road which connects the Thessalian plain with Epirus by way of the Metsovo pass.

One day early in November, 1943, several hundred soldiers descended

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upon Palaiochori. The people fled to the forest and watched helplessly while the invaders set fire to their homes and slaughtered their animals. When at length they withdrew the whole valley was shrouded in smoke: the incendiaries had done their work only too thoroughly. The church of St. Bessarion—the most prominent building in the village—had been amongst the first to be set on fire. When Papa Costas and a few companions ventured down from the mountainside to make a cautious reconnaissance they found nothing save the blackened walls and a great pile of charred timbers. The school, just below the parish church, was likewise completely gutted, and more than forty of the village's seventy-odd houses were irreparably damaged. The parsonage, a somewhat more substantial edifice than most of its neighbours—a monument to the professional skill of its builder—had resisted the first attempts of the incendiaries, and before the flames had thoroughly obtained a hold Papa Costas and his sons had come scrambling down from amongst the trees, and the building—though badly damaged—was not utterly destroyed. Amongst the smoking ruins of another cottage was found the body of an old woman who had been unable to make good her escape. Every animal in the village had been slaughtered.

After this catastrophe the people of Palaiochori took refuge in Kalambaka—already crammed with refugees from a score of similarly stricken villages—and there, in the shadow of the great rocks, they remained until 1945. In January and February of that year they went back to the village that had become a wilderness. During the first few months after their return home there was tremendous activity at the sawmill and in Papa Costas' workshop. No sooner had a sufficient number of cottages been rendered habitable than the parish priest turned his attention to the church. With the assistance of his elder son and a score of willing if unskilled helpers, the requisite timber was cut and shaped; and soon—though the church was without vestments and Papa Costas had with difficulty been able to procure copies of a few of the most indispensable liturgical books—there was at least a roof to the building and it was no longer necessary for the people to stand for long hours without protection against wind and snow whilst the holy mysteries were celebrated. Then the school was re-roofed, and as summer gave place to autumn the regular pattern of village life began to reassert itself—though Papa Costas no longer had twenty sheep and there were no more than three pack-animals available for the whole community.

But security was short-lived. The following year brought wandering

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torrent bed, and we followed while Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood beneath the great tree in the village square and waved farewell: 123 484

"*Kalo taxidi; o Theos mazi sas!*"

A good journey; may God go with you.

At dusk we rode into Chrysomelia—a large village lying at 900 metres—after a journey which will long linger in my memory. For the best part of an hour Antony the Zealot (our guide) had questioned me relentlessly as to the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the jurisdiction of the *metropolites* of Canterbury, whilst the mules floundered in deep snow as we climbed laboriously towards the village, the buildings of an abandoned monastery far below among the pines. We had been delayed at the cottage of Papa Nicolas, the *geros*, till it was close on three o'clock. There had been a misunderstanding as to the rendezvous, arising, apparently, from the fact that the curate of the neighbouring hamlet of Aidona was also a Papa Costas.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Antony, and the Zealot was preparing to celebrate his name-day. In a tiny chapel on the outskirts of the shattered village vespers was drawing to a close. The village church, dating from 1580 and dedicated to St. George, was a total ruin. We stayed for the liturgy next morning and all the men and boys of the village accompanied us to church. After a distribution of the blessed bread Papa Athanasius Tsergoulas, the pastor of this mountain flock, took us to see his dwelling—a tiny cell of mud bricks set amidst the ruins of the house which he had built some thirty years earlier—and there we sat around a table in the pale sunlight outside the newly-opened tavern and sipped ouzo with the village elders, while crowds of wild, ragged children played amongst the ruins of the church—there were nearly 300 of them and it was eight years since the school had ceased to perform its liturgy. 727 796 346 [342]

Chrysomelia had been one of the most important villages of this region, with a population of 1,050. It had suffered at the hands of the Germans at the same time as Palaiochori. The people had begun to return in October. Scarcely a house in the whole village had escaped destruction. 727 722

The devastation was no less widespread at the hamlet of Kato Perlangion, where we slept the following night, wrapped in rugs on the 727 346 123

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GLOSSARY

104

kakodoxia heterodoxy

kalogeros monk; literally 'good old man'.

'kalos oriste' welcome!

'kalo taxidi' *bon voyage!*

kalymmafchion clerical hat

kalyva cottage or hut.

kapetanios one who leads (the English 'captain' fails to convey the full meaning of the word).

kathisma in general, a seat or chair. In particular: (*a*) a cell attached to a monastery; (*b*) a division of the psalter—a group of psalms for which one sits down.

katsapliades see *andartes*.

koritsi a young girl.

ktopodi (κτωπόδι) *oktapodi* octopus.

kyrios lord; colloquially Sir, Mr. (f. *kyria*).

latreia worship, service.

lavra a monastery organised somewhat less rigidly than a *coenobium*.

mesochori open space in centre of village.

mesonyktikon the midnight office, mattins.

metanoia, metagnia a prostration.

metousiosis approximate equivalent of transubstantiation.

oikoumene the inhabited world, the Byzantine empire.

orthros the office of the dawn, lauds.

ouzo a white spirit.

paidikos stathmos a sort of day nursery.

paidoupolis institution for children evacuated from dangerous areas during the Communist sedition. [669] [722]

palto overcoat.

Panaghia 'The All-holy': the Virgin Mary.

Pantocrator 'He who governs all things': the Almighty.

papadia priest's wife.

papas married priest (pl. *papades*).

paradosis teaching, tradition.

parekklesion chapel.

phakais (φακαίς) lentils.

phrontisterion training school for clergy, seminary.

pneumatikos spiritual father, confessor.

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Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not [191] more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

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ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722 Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, although one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, 669 made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the [464] upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621 200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433 fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was miserably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [162] its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep [511] on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [463] traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [333] addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construction – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947 [464] such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621 tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433 seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457 world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167 ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto, Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree, helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family expected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters who stayed home.

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Kotta
[Hill Villages]

who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and drastic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of population was the removal of the village children by the guer-

[Hill Villages]

669 722 [727] too, burned some houses, including those belonging to the three "rich" families of the community. These had fled to Volos, together with some other families from the village. The people who remained were inclined to support the guerrillas.

The guerrillas,

About two weeks after my visit in 1947, the army evacuated all the remaining inhabitants of Cherasia to Volos. There they remained in refugee quarters for two and a half years. The last guerrilla band disappeared from Mount Pelion only in 1950, some six months after the main guerrilla army in the north had retreated across the Albanian frontier. It was therefore late in 1950 before the inhabitants of Cherasia were allowed – or compelled – to return to their village.

727 653 [657] [233] Government authorities were, however, well aware of the difficulties that confronted the community. The returned refugees were given every help to re-establish themselves. They received, gratis, 238 sheep to serve as a nucleus for their flock, as well as materials for the reconstruction of their houses, most of which had suffered damage. Officials issued seed and implements as well. A comprehensive work relief program was set up; for about two years after their return, the men of Cherasia received wages for working on projects that directly benefited their community. In this fashion the new road over the mountain was built – shortening the way to Volos by nearly half. [346] [312] Similarly, new and very handsome school and church buildings were constructed; and pipes from the spring in the upper village brought fresh water into lower Cherasia for the first time. This was vital if the population was to remain in the lower village the year around, since water had previously been unavailable there in summer. Another side of the government policy was to give no help toward reconstruction of the village of upper Cherasia – perched, as it was, high on the mountain beyond the reach of roads. No doubt the authorities in this fashion hoped to tie the villagers to the accessible lower village, and

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badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land. 178x 829 669 433 313 656 [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death. 669 722 657 178x

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five 217 166 727

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili, where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which employed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the season. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port. Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a decrease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabitants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kalamata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

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Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

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Boundaries and Neighborhoods of the village. 621

Megali Vrisi itself falls into six neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are on the basis of kinship relationships. There are two in the Thracian section and four in the Caucasian section. The village has nearby villages such as Metallikon, South East 1 1/2 miles, Vaptistis, South West 1 3/4 miles, Castanies, 2 miles North West, and North East is Stayrohori, 1 1/2 miles. There is a hard-surfaced road which connects all these villages to Megali Vrisi. 628 361 491

A people of the Soil and their Mobility for the last 25 Years. 167 723

In spite of the fact that the people of Megali Vrisi are a people of the soil, yet some of them were the victims of the great destructive waves of war. The Caucasians were rather stable in their own country, and this forced movement, due to communism, was the first of its kind in their lives for many generations. The un-/11/ fortunate Thracians, because of their position in the much fought Balkan states, had to move very regularly from their village. I was often told that this was the fourth village they were building in less than 14 years, due to the Greco-Turkish war, the Greco-Bulgarian war, the first world war and the war of 1920 between Turkey and Greece. After the end of each war the survivors would return back to their village from their place of exile. One could almost read in their faces the effect of the hardships they had been through. The effect is noticed by the type of life they developed which has already become a part of their whole philosophy of living in this world. Small temporary houses--not much furniture, no mattresses, a straw mat and two heavy hand woven blankets for cover--a kettle to cook in, one common bowl for the whole family to eat in, one suit of clothes and few implements. In case of forced movement the wife and the husband are able to carry everything they have on their backs. Usually mobility makes a person cosmopolitan-minded and good mannered, but it had the opposite effect on these people. This may be due to the conditions under which they had to move. [648] 511 167

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger.

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not.

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*.

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
577 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
722 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

178 To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of
156 living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as
511 a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of
577 God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until
727 the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and
746 to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated
[173] to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

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494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[521] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

When the Second World War came, followed by Italian and German occupation and drastic derangement of the national economy, the situation of the hill villages became truly desperate. Starvation visited many of them. 433 731

Famine in time of war was age-old; and the response of the hillsmen of Greece also had very ancient precedent behind it, for they took gun in hand, and attempted to seize forcibly what they could no longer gain peaceably from the plains. They formed the backbone of the wartime ~~resistance forces~~, and justified their violence by patriotism, quite in the spirit their forefathers had shown in attacking the Turks. Yet the resistance movement was not merely a reassertion of old patterns. Its leadership was mainly provided by Communists, who in earlier years had been a small and not very significant group, largely confined to the towns.[1] [579] 726 669 433 [668]

In the wartime resistance movement the inhabitants of the hill villages found a sort of economic relief, inasmuch as the guerrilla bands lived by raiding the plains, taking by force a part of the agricultural surplus of those regions in order to feed themselves. A young man, without any real occupation in his native village, and without any hope of a career at home which could satisfy even the traditionally low level of expectation among the hillsmen, could, by joining a guerrilla band, hope to feed himself and relieve his family of the burden of his presence. In addition, he could become a hero, fighting for freedom and liberty, social justice and a better life for all.

For most peasant boys, the ulterior aims of their Communist leaders meant little or nothing. Indeed, the Communists were at very considerable pains to play down any plans they had for social revolution, and welcomed persons of widely differing social views into the ranks of the resistance. This was, of course, 669

1. There were a number of non-Communist resistance bands also, but most of them did not last long, and the successful ones were confined to Epirus, in the northwest.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Public Life in 1947]

considerable proportion of the population, especially among 665
the workmen of the towns and the peasants of the hill villages. 727
No one can say how large this group was, but to estimate it at about 20 per cent of the nation's total population is a reasonable guess.

Another important asset of the Communists was their wartime record as leaders of resistance against the Germans and [726] Italians. They could plausibly paint themselves as true champions of Greek national freedom and of democracy, while accusing their opponents of betraying the interests of the nation first to the Axis and then to the British. To be both a patriot and a Communist sympathizer did not therefore seem incompatible.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the Communists did have a more or less definite program of action and knew what they wanted. They were able to explain the continued distress of the country as a natural result of the creeping crisis of capitalism. They had a ready cure at hand in the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, as a preliminary to planned industrial expansion, on the Russian model. To many Communist followers, no doubt, the program meant little more than an angry intention to take from the rich and give to the poor, i.e., to themselves, all the good things which had selfishly and unjustly been withheld from them. Others, more sophisticated, realized that there would inevitably be a long period of time when suffering and poverty still would prevail, but believed that in the long run the dream of abundance for all could be realized, if the government planned economic activity and compelled sufficient investment. And no matter what the degree of economic understanding among their followers, the Communists had the advantage of offering the distressed and confused a cause to which to dedicate themselves, an enemy against

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
433 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion, within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

• 726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

the village joined the resistance during the occupation period; 726
but my guess is that practically every able-bodied man took 669
part at some time or other in guerrilla actions, even though
some of the villagers remained ostensibly civilian. A conse- [727]
quence was that in 1943 a German expedition burnt all the
houses of the upper village and made it uninhabitable. The people of Cherasia, fortunately, saw them coming and had time to escape over the mountain.

The "liberation" of Greece in 1944 brought no liberation to 669
Cherasia. Quite the contrary, it interfered with the process by [579]
which armed men from the village had been able during the occupation to get grain and other goods from the plains. Consequently, when three men appeared on Mount Pelion in 1946 and summoned the young men of the village to take arms again, the response was immediate. When I visited the village in 1947, a guerrilla band, some thirty strong, was encamped in the ruins of the upper village. A detachment descended each evening to gather supplies from the inhabitants of the lower village and from other villages out in the plain. Most of the members of the band were sons of families living in lower Cherasia, although the leaders of the band came from elsewhere.

During the day, the Greek army, from a strong point in a neighboring plains village, took possession of Cherasia. Each morning a patrol of soldiers came to the village and demanded to know who had been collaborating with the guerrillas; each evening the guerrillas came down from the mountain and demanded to know who had been helping the soldiers. Under the circumstances, life was difficult, to say the least. The army sometimes beat those suspected of sympathizing with the guerrillas. In addition, irregular rightist bands visited the commu- [727]
nity several times and indulged in greater violence, killing several people and burning down seven houses. The guerrillas,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[10] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[5] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[6]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

166 voices, questioned: "Just how would a fisherman know how to guard
361 livestock?" The new site had been chosen because it was sheltered, near
the water, and on the road. The houses had been provided free by the
727 Ministry of Reconstruction, each being set in a plot of four hundred square meters in which a small vegetable garden was possible. As the surrounding cropland was insufficient to support all of these families, the men had to go far away in search of jobs while leaving the women and children behind.

361 In the beginning of the reconstruction period, private contractors were
727 given the task of rebuilding the destroyed villages and in some cases put
up shoddy dwellings in a location where people did not want to live. Some
178 of these stand today between Lamia and Volos abandoned, mute testimony to the failure of projects carried out without consulting those supposed to benefit from them. But most of the postwar villages are now inhabited and contrast, because of their straight streets and their houses in a perfect line, with the older villages where the streets wander and each individual put up his house on his lot as it pleased him.

361 Location, however, is more complex than some of the peasants' explanations or the contractors' choices would imply. It usually represents over a long period of time an adjustment to the resources which people need for their livelihood. First of all, there must be water available for drinking
[312] and washing. Should a spring upon which everyone depended dry up, the people of the village would move, ghosts or no ghosts, particularly if the women got tired of carrying water from some unreasonable distance. Over a period of time, also, the peasants locate their settlements as a compromise between the requirements for wood and pastures on heights above the village and the need for daily travel to their fields lying below. That is why villages are so frequently perched on a hillside instead of on the level land beneath. Of course, if the plain is large and the hills distant from land owned by the peasants, they will build a village on the plain and make long trips for their wood. Another factor affecting location in the days of Turkish rule was the villager's desire to be off the main road and thus less subject to taxation by officials and to requisition of foodstuffs by passing troops. He valued his freedom. Those old villages are now suffering from the isolation which was once a blessing. But many of the people still cling to residence in the old village in preference to separate farms because of the protection a village gives against wild animals and predatory armies, and because neighbors help each other to cultivate the earth. A further reason for the long survival of the village was its suitability to the system of large landholdings prevalent through much of Greece before the liberation from the Turks. Estate owners or managers could better control and supervise the rural workers whose houses were conveniently grouped together. Nowadays, according to those engaged in community development, better provisions for schools, roads, medical services, mail, and other

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
178 treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
462 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum. The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors — [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of [454] his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.
>
> At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.
>
> Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer [476] spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu- [461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Tobacco Growing in Thrace

249 During an interview with some peasants in the office of the commune
276 secretary of Toxotae in Thrace during May 1955, I was surprised to see
656 some of the men pull out pink cigarette paper in which they expertly rolled cigarettes for a leisurely smoke.

"But why the pink paper?" I wanted to know.

"We are tobacco producers," they answered with an air of distinct pride. "We can keep some of the crop for our own use, but must use pink paper to distinguish our cigarettes from those that are bought."

"Yes," a gendarme added. "Any time I see a person smoking a pink cigarette I can go up to ask for a certificate showing that he is a tobacco grower and thus entitled to 'roll his own'!"

249 This conversation, which lasted for more than four hours, gave me an
[123] even better understanding of tobacco farming than I had gained on previ-
[312] ous trips, as did frequent visits in the fields with the peasants who were transferring the plants from the seedbeds to the carefully prepared land or hauling barrels of water in their oxcart from a spring or well to the place where the planting was going on. What was most helpful of all, however, was the intimate story of one tobacco village, as described in the Near East Foundation study mentioned earlier. It gave me a deeper realization of the problems that the people there continue to face.[1]

621 Dafnon, a village of 1145 people in 1952, is northwest of the city of
162 Xanthe. This community, like so many in Northern Greece, was settled by Greek refugees from Asia Minor and the Pontus following the departure
[167] of 127 Turkish families in 1924. By 1935, 294 families had moved in, attracted as they were by the rich vegetation, the good climate of this semi-mountainous area, and the possibility of raising a high-priced product such as tobacco. When the first official land redistribution was carried out in 1935, and a second in 1938, it became apparent that the allotments were too small for the support of a family, and so people began to leave. Today there are 255 families.

621 The village, covering slightly over 70 acres, sprawls over a hill. Two
36 former Turkish mosques have been converted into Greek Orthodox churches; six grocery shops have total assets of less than $1700; three of the six coffeehouses attract the young men because each has a gramophone
[727] and a battery radio; the village school, destroyed along with many of the houses during the guerrilla war in 1948, was rebuilt in 1950. Outside the
[526] village is an athletic field on which 30 young men, members of the sports club, practice faithfully in an effort to uphold their reputation as the best
[373] football (soccer) team in the area. In the evening, the streets are dark, for Dafnon has no electricity and its people must rely upon kerosene lamps.

621 Of the 255 families previously mentioned, 220 own land; 32 own no
463
423

1:Sanders Z-5μ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter
124 in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently
[491] the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

●727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under
669 the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist
727 guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets	3 small pans
6 sheets	1 big frying pan
12 pairs pillow cases	1 medium frying pan
15–16 towels	2 round cake pans
2 big rugs	2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 rag rugs	6 of each piece of cutlery
6 big sauce pans	Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)
3 medium pans	

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 this is to be worked out puzzles Greek politicians as much as it does Ameri-
642 can politicians interested in United States counties, laid out in horse-and-buggy days and ill adapted to today's rapid-transit world. In any combination, one center will gain and the other lose, a fact which has local political repercussions in a democratic system. Some of these become apparent as one views the work of the community council and its president.

The Community Council

207 In Phrangista, a mountain village of Central Greece, I was shaken out of pleasant contemplation as two loudspeakers on the village square suddenly began to inform one and all of the latest news of the day.

This was in the spring of 1953, and we were on a coffeeshop verandah
275 newly made of concrete. Across the dusty thoroughfare, some hens had
243 discovered wheat sheaves drying in front of the house of the carpenter;
247 next door, potted geraniums were blooming in the window of a handsome stone house. We were shut in from the outside world by hazy mountains.
262 The proprietor's wife and daughter had just brought us preserved walnut sweets in a spoon with the traditional glass of water. One spooned the sweets, gulped the water, and commented on the good flavor of the walnuts preserved before they had fully ripened. And then came the radio. These
207 loudspeakers, sounding forth noon and evening, featured the broadcasts
177 from Ioannina, Patras, and Athens. The radio, obviously much more powerful than the battery sets frequently encountered in the ordinary coffeehouse, aroused my curiosity. I turned to the president of the community
[422] council, who was sitting nearby. He told me that the radio was community-owned, that it had been placed there by the American Mission, and that it had "brought civilization" to that place. But the more I talked with him, the more I realized that bringing in civilization through this medium created some local administrative problems.

The American Mission, preferring to distribute the radio directly to the local authorities rather than through a regular government ministry, stipulated that the community would have to provide the gasoline for the motor which furnished the energy for the radio. So the first problem was to find the money to buy the gasoline, which cost a great deal by the time it was transported over the mountains from Lamia. A second problem was locating someone (in this case, two teen-aged boys) who could operate the complicated machine and tune in the radio. The president proudly reported that on the previous day a screw had worked loose and the program was temporarily interrupted — but only temporarily — for these competent youngsters quickly found the trouble and replaced the screw.

623 Before I left Phrangista, the president wanted me to see the church which
653 the villagers had recently rebuilt. It had been completely and deliberately
651 destroyed by the Nazis. The archbishop had given some funds for its res-
● 727

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

toration, but most of the job had been done by "personal work" (*prosopike ergassia*). This is an old, old practice whereby the community council assigns the families or adults of the village so many days of "voluntary" labor on a task that needs to be carried out in the community interest. In general, a community may call for ten days of work (or pay in lieu thereof) from each able-bodied villager, although it need not do this if there are no projects requiring this much labor. 623 653 [651] [727]

"Everybody who could," according to the president, "went to the quarries and cut limestone; others cut wood. We paid laborers to construct the lime kiln and then produced our own lime at a saving of twenty million drachmas [over $1300 then]. While the construction crews were building the new road through here, we brought the stones they unearthed to the church site and, with the help of good masons, put up the structure." Here again local government was getting something done. [316] [333]

On another trip in 1955, returning from a visit to Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain on a peninsula in Northern Greece, I saw a notice nailed to a plane tree near the main fountain of the village. It looked official, so we went up to have a look. It announced the auctioning off of the right to collect a certain kind of tax: 651 [203]

Announcement of Bidding for the Lease of Farming of Animal Sale Tax for Fiscal Year 1955–56

The President of the community of Neochori declares that . . . a bidding is announced for Sunday 17 June between 10–12 A.M. in the Community Building for the highest offer to lease the farming of taxes on animal sales during fiscal year 1955–56.

The amount of 3000 drachmas [$100] has been determined as the first offer and the amount of 300 drachmas as a guarantee to be deposited by any participant. The tax has been determined at two percent on any sale of animals. Citizens having debts in the community are not accepted. The amount of lease shall be paid in four equal installments, the last to be paid on 31 March 1956. All expenses will be charged to the lessor.

Here the local authorities were following the ancient practice of "farming" out the taxes to the highest bidder who, in turn, was expected to derive from rigorous collection much more than he paid for the right. Every time a bleating goat or an ox changed masters, the successful bidder would collect his 2 percent of the sale price.

The community council has other duties in addition to managing a community-owned radio, rebuilding churches, and collecting taxes. It conducts local elections as well.[6] By 1951 the political situation had stabilized to the point that local elections could be held throughout the country. Of the registered voters, a greater proportion of women than men voted, thereby showing their appreciation of the right of suffrage. From nine to thirty-one 623 666 [633]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job. 624 [702] [205] [206]

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed. 746 511 [623] [622]

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter. 746 625 735 [727]

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

631 This led into a discussion of some of the kinds of conflict which occur in
634 the community and the part the nomarch has to play in resolving them. The
578 location of a new village church sometimes becomes an issue. Many arguments are not based on any vested interest in a particular spot but on the individuals' assessment of what would in actuality be the best spot. In order to get proof that his idea is better than other ideas, a person will leave his farm work or close up his shop and go to the city where he can get the advice of some authority whom he can quote to support him. Or several villagers in disagreement will decide to go to the nomarch to get his opinion.

631 On another occasion I went with the nomarch of Kozane to visit a village
634 for which he had responsibility. The agriculturist for this nomos, who had
623 come with us, introduced many of the peasants to the nomarch before the
653 meeting began at the schoolhouse. Eventually the meeting got started. The nomarch, flanked on one side by the council president and on the other by the council secretary, got down to business in a most direct way. One man got up and described the condition of his home, in which he said
[727] he was ashamed to live. This village had been destroyed by the guerrillas and the need for help had been great. Because he had a special file for each village in his nomos, the nomarch knew that when he took office 75 percent of all the houses needed rebuilding but that now that figure had dropped to 29 percent. He reminded them that in his nomos there were four thousand families without housing or even an elementary roof over their heads, but said he would see what could be done. He then found out what they expected to do with the self-help program based on voluntary contributions of labor. He reminded them that on two occasions the state had given them about $1700 to help in the construction of a road to the village and that, in view of their present need, he would see if he could get another grant. This time he would pay wages so that they might have some much-needed income.

631 When we emerged from the crowded schoolhouse, I noticed that about
634 twenty men had stood outside trying to overhear what was going on. The
275 nomarch stopped to talk to some of them. When we had climbed into a truck which was to take us across a muddy patch to our cars half-a-mile away, the black-robed priest came running up, an unkempt, unattractive fellow, to make a last-minute complaint to the nomarch. "Sir," he shouted, "did you know that the coffeehouse proprietor is now opening up on Sundays before the church service is over, which is contrary to the law?" The crowd looked amazed and eagerly waited to see how the nomarch would handle this troublesome complaint. He replied: "My good fellow, you go on and give them good enough sermons, and then the men won't want to go to the coffeehouse during church time."

631 Reference to one other nomarch will be enough to show the type of men
634 who were filling that post in 1953. Mr. Aronis was the nomarch of Kala-
369

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable. 871

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities. 346 [177]

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture: [177] 346 727

> The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[5]

[634] [658] [653]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7] 872 [346] [875]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

 875

They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [554] 875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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361

4. The village of Valtetsi, near Tripolis, Peloponnesos, is abandoned for half the year as the shepherds follow pasturage. The walls remain broken, testimony of wartime guerrilla raiders.

[727]

5. A Peloponnesian home, walled from the road, hugs a rock slope near Megalopolis.

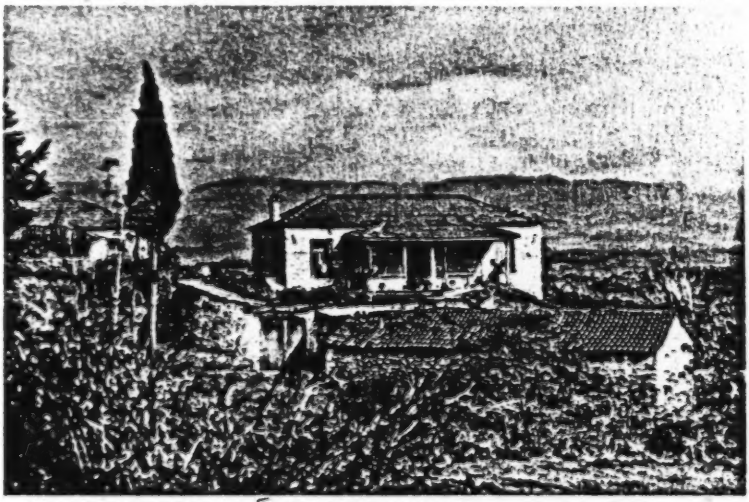

[p. 272-c]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P.291]
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XVI

Social Change in Rural Greece

The Greek social spectrum, the rainbow in the rock, is losing some of its hues today. This occurs as regions of Greece, despite their traditional social differences, adjust to common changes engulfing the whole country. The fact of change is accepted by all, but the evaluation of specific kinds of change (in family life, economic development, political trends) varies with the position of the person passing judgment. For most villagers, changes — at least those they want — are not occurring fast enough. When I had sorted out and studied their comments, which usually dealt with some facet of change, past or present, I found that the experiences they related could be grouped under three general types: the *cataclysmic* change caused by some great social or natural upheaval; the changes resulting from *social drift*, or the slower spread of unplanned change as new ways moved from town to village; and the *planned* change, most frequently sponsored by government agencies in an effort to raise the level of living in the villages.[1] 178

Cataclysmic Change

Almost every generation of Greeks has experienced some social dislocation accompanying a war or, at least, armed encounters. The present adult population has had more than its share. While the country was busy with the tasks of assimilating the northern provinces, wrested from Turkey in 178 648 727

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World
648 War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied
an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack
727 the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed
[728] to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as
[167] a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [2] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

178 In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appre-
167 ciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national
727 life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[3] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encompass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder
[177] the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance
669 for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
166 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town
[657] or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as
[369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes follow-
[302] ing the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

[515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was
[657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

> As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

Social Drift

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to
[628] those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective
178 change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others.
562 They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more edu-
666 cation, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage. Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local
[626 twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women,
593] for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

178 This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance
185 of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration
●727 of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and
[736] seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

177 Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at
178 the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

1:Sanders Z-5,H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Conditions in Greece in 1947 (New York, 1948), p. 111. For a report done ten years later for the same sponsor by one of the earlier authors, see William Hardy McNeill, *Greece: American Aid in Action: 1947–1956* (New York, 1957).

7. See the mimeographed village studies done by the Near East Foundation, *et al.*, "A 'Control' Village of the Mesolongi Area" (Athens, October 1951).

8. John D. Photiadis, "The Coffee House and its Role in the Village of Stavroupolis, Greece," p. 25.

9. United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on Greek Local Government, 1952* (Athens, Civil Government Division, 1952), pp. 16–17 (mimeographed).

10. An excellent statement of the problem is found in United States Mutual Security Agency, *Report on the Decentralization of Greek Government Services* (Athens, Civil Government Division, June 1953), mimeographed.

11. C. A. Munkman, *American Aid to Greece: A Report on the First Ten Years* (New York, 1958), p. 254. Munkman served for four years as chief of a unit in the United States Economic Mission to Greece which had the responsibility for investigating the effectiveness of expenditures in our aid program.

12. Photiadis, "The Coffee House."

13. Three documents which proved particularly helpful were prepared by O. F. Traylor, Local Tax Specialist, United States Mission: Economic Cooperation Administration, *The Financing of Greek Local Government: Special Supplement*, Report 70 (mimeographed, n.d.); *Summary Analysis of New Interim Local Finance Law* (E. L. 1910/1951, Official Gazette 221), memorandum to Director, FP Division (typed), August 10, 1951, 14 pp.; *Significance of Survey of Turkish Local Finance . . . for Financing Greek Local Units of Government*, memorandum to Joel W. C. Harper, Chief, Public Finance Section, FP Division (mimeographed), September 12, 1951, 18 pp.

14. One of the most penetrating analyses of Greek governmental administration and its problems was made by a Greek at the request of the Greek government: *Report on the Greek Economic Problem*, by Kyriakos Varvaressos (English translation, Washington, D.C., February 12, 1952, mimeographed). He cites five characteristics of the administration: excessive number of employees, particularly in the center; indifference to public interest; lowered standards through appointments of unqualified personnel; narrow bureaucratic spirit; total incapacity and willingness to meet responsibilities imposed on it by the granting of foreign aid. In fairness to all concerned, however, it should be pointed out that this was written in 1952, when Greece was trying to recover from the wounds of war.

15. These are excerpts appearing in the *Athens News*, September 17, 1952. For those preferring a happier note, the following *New York Times* item, December 12, 1955, will prove of interest:

> Athens, Dec. 11. Premier Constantin Karamanlis has announced a plan by which free medicines will be made available to 4,000,000 Greek peasants. The plan is expected to become effective at once.
>
> Mr. Karamanlis also announced that his Government had decided to compensate peasants whose beasts of burden had been requisitioned by the State for war purposes since 1942.
>
> The Premier said 120,000,000 drachmas ($4,000,000) had been earmarked in the 1955–56 budget for this ambitious welfare plan. Other Government decisions announced were to increase allocations for land improvement projects; to put aside larger amounts for middle-term loans to the peasantry; and to install a cotton press in Salonika.

16. An account in *Harper's Magazine* in 1872 on "Political Characteristics of Modern Greeks" has a most up-to-date ring. Charles Cheston, in his *Greece in 1887* (London, 1887), points out traits which survive to the present, as does William Miller in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905). Especially appropriate are the comments by Henry Morgenthau, *I Was Sent to Athens* (Garden City, 1929), in the section on "The Greatness of the Greeks."

THE WATERS OF MARAH

494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
● 727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[521] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[403] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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that before nightfall we should be back on the windswept heights above Kalambaka and amongst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. 574

A little before three o'clock Father Apostolos and the village president bade us *kalo taxidi*, after accompanying us as far as the outskirts of the village, and we set out for Aghios Stephanos with a guide. The sun had vanished beneath the jagged rim of Pindos when we at last worked our way gingerly across the icy rocks above the deserted monastery of the Holy Trinity and came suddenly upon Aghios Stephanos, four-square upon its rock like the heavenly Jerusalem, and found the whole of Thessaly lying at our feet. 792 346

Vespers was drawing to a close in the church of St. Charalambos, which stands so close to the brink of the precipice that one could, it seemed, empty the contents of a thurible into Father Christos' chicken-run below in Kalambaka. We spent two nights at this monastery before setting out for the mountain villages of Pindos, and I returned alone for a final visit some ten days later.

Of all the monasteries now inhabited St. Stephen had, it seemed evident, sustained far the greatest calamities as the result of war. Sacked first by the Italians and later by the Communists, it was a mere shell of a building, its unglazed windows affording little protection—as we learned by bitter experience—against wind or snow. Its former guest-rooms were crammed with wrecked furniture and empty ammunition boxes, while the eikons in the smaller of the two churches (the chapel dedicated to St. Stephen) had been wantonly defaced. Almost everything of value had been carried off when the monastery was pillaged: vestments and plate, an ancient gold cross from Mount Athos, five horses and mules, 130 sheep, provisions and fodder, beds and bedding, pots and pans, crockery and cutlery, carpets, even the bee hives, and—needless to add—the excellent wine for which the monastery was renowned in former days. The few surviving monks lacked the barest necessities of life and it was hardly surprising that sickness should have taken a heavy toll of this and the other communities during the winter months. The *Igoumenos* of St. Stephen's was the Deacon Anthimos, who came to the Meteora between the wars from the great Athonite house of Vatopedi—"a good house and garden . . . snakes very big and long in it", notes Dr. Covel. There were also living at St. Stephen three simple monks—lay-brothers, as they would be called in the west—Ephrem, who had been a monk for twenty years, Eusebius, who was formerly a policeman, and Cyril. Whilst we were staying at the 792 727 346 792

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NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

As of Orthodox Christendom in general, so of the Church of Greece in particular, it may be said that the monastic life has been of quite unique importance in shaping her life and piety. This is no less true of the long centuries of the captivity than of the earlier and more formative ages of her history. Even to-day, when the monasteries are subject to widespread criticism, the ancient traditions of monastic spirituality persist and sometimes reveal themselves most unmistakably in precisely those circles where hostility toward the existing institutions—especially in their more idiorrhythmic forms—is most evident and outspoken. It needs to be remembered that the first stirrings of the new missionary spirit, which has had so notable an effect upon the Greek Church within the space of the last 100 years, centre upon the great monastery of Megaspelaion in the Peloponnese, and that Eusebius Matthopoulos, the founder of the Brotherhood of Life, was himself a monk of this convent, steeped in the ascetic traditions of his Church.

"There is no place where the *Greek* Religion is professed", says Rycaut, "so famous for Monasteries as that of Mount *Athos*; and indeed if we consider the number of them, and of the Religious belonging thereunto, it is not to be parallel'd in all the world . . . the grand Conservatory of the Christian Religion in *Greece*, and ancient austerity of living, and therefore not unaptly stiled by them *Ἅγιον ὄρος*, or the *Holy Mountain* . . . the high Pique or Peer whereof . . . is uneven, craggy, and as horrid as Caucasus."

Athos remains, after more than 1,000 years, the heart of Greek monasticism. Isolated and aloof, the life of the holy mountain moves to a slow rhythm which is as little susceptible of change or alteration as the constant surge of the waters about the rocky promontory, in whose narrow clefts and ledges the anchorites roost like wild sea fowl. In Greece one can never wholly escape from the all-pervading influence of Athos. One is always dimly aware of the holy mountain, brooding over the dark waters of the Aegean, its head wrapped in the clouds. At the very heart of fashionable Athens one may encounter a student-deacon from the *sketai* of St. Anne, or a stately *epitropos* in silken gown bound for the offices of the Holy Synod.

Thanks to its isolation, Athos suffered comparatively little from the ravages of war—though many monks endured imprisonment and ill-treatment, and considerable damage was done to monastic properties scattered about the mainland of northern Greece. The Communist revolution in Russia and the subsequent division of Europe into two

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792 648 hostile camps have, however, already gone far towards transforming the holy mountain into a purely Hellenic preserve, and threaten wholly to deprive it of the pan-Orthodox character which it yet retains, despite the fact that for many years now every monk has been required to adopt Greek nationality. Three of the twenty ruling monasteries—St. Panteleimon, Zographou and Chilandari—are non-Hellenic convents, being Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian respectively. In former days these monasteries were amongst the wealthiest on the mountain; St. Panteleimon, in particular, with its numerous dependencies—some of the latter far larger than any other ruling monastery—could boast of more monks than were to be found in all the other convents together. All these alien monasteries, however, were dependent mainly upon the produce of lands which now lie behind the iron curtain, and to-day, cut off as they are from their sources both of supply and of recruitment, they are in a most melancholy condition.

Of all the thousands of Russian monks who once inhabited the holy mountain scarcely 300 remain. The majority of these are aged and infirm: many of them physically incapable of cultivating the vegetables, olives and vineyards which now form the monastery's only means of support. It is now more than thirty-five years since the monks have been cut off from their own land. A certain amount of assistance continued to reach Athos from the Russian community in Jerusalem, but this also has ceased since the property became subject to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate. With the passing of the years the position of the alien monasteries becomes more and more desperate, as the list of invalids grows longer, and fewer and fewer hands are available for the support of those who can no longer work; and greatly as one may regret the fact, the day seems not far distant when Athos will become a purely Hellenic community.

792 ●727 Mount Athos apart, the organised religious life has come very near to complete suppression in northern and central Greece during the last few years. I have already said something of the sufferings of the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. The fortunes of two or three other important monasteries are not without a certain melancholy interest.

[361] Take, for example, the ancient convent of Eikosiphoinisses, which traces its foundation to the second decade of the sixth century: a vast walled enclosure on the wooded slopes of Mount Pangaion, accessible only by mule-tracks winding high above the marshes of Philippi. It is said that there were some fifty monks inhabiting the convent at the

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beginning of this century. Eikosiphoinisses suffered grievously at the hands of the Bulgars in 1913 and again five years later. All its flocks and herds were driven off and the monastery was looted of most of its treasures—precious manuscripts, vestments, holy vessels and reliquaries. There could, therefore, be little room for doubt as to the fate in store for it when the Bulgars again swarmed into Greece in the wake of the German forces in the summer of 1941. 792 727

The history of the convent from this time down till its destruction three years later is obscure. The pillage of its remaining property seems to have commenced about two months after the Bulgars had descended upon Drama and expelled the Greek clergy; a certain Botseph, Bulgarian *protosyngellos* of the metropolis, celebrated the festival of the Dormition of the Mother of God by stealing from the monastery a mitre, an ancient chalice, six silver crosses such as are used for the blessing of the waters at Epiphany, sundry liturgical vestments and ten manuscripts on parchment from the library. Some six weeks later several Bulgarian officers were moved to emulate the pious labours of this worthy ecclesiastic. They returned from their expedition to the heights of Pangaion driving before them a train of asses laden with clothing, furniture and other tangible fruits of their pilgrimage.

Another Bulgar, Sophronios Natseph, the *epitropos*, makes a fleeting and discreditable appearance upon the stage of Greek history on June 20th, 1943, on which day he despoiled Eikosiphoinisses of seventeen carpets, ninety-eight goats and as much bedding as he and his accomplices were able to bear away with them down the rocky paths.

The final chapter in this catalogue of infamy was written a little more than a year after this episode when, on July 13th, 1944—a few months before they fled from the scene of their barbarous crimes—the Bulgars set fire to the monastery and destroyed it utterly. Only the *catholicon* (which stood somewhat apart in the centre of the great courtyard) and a single block of cells survived the conflagration; the rest of the convent, including a three-storied edifice said to contain 300 cells, the bakery and the refectory (dating from the eleventh century), and all the stables and outbuildings were gutted. Before setting fire to the monastery the Bulgars looted it of everything of value and drove off all the live-stock. The library, which contained some 1,500 volumes, was reduced to ashes. [346]

All the monks of this monastery endured great hardship and privation. One was executed by the Bulgars; another died as the result of the treatment which he suffered at their hands. The former was the *monachos*

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792 727 Daniel—a native of Thasos, who had taken refuge in the village of Palaiochori, on the lower slopes of Pangaion, when the district was invaded by the Bulgars. He was tortured before being put to death. The other monk who perished was the *hieromonachos* Sophronios, carried off as a hostage to Bulgaria. The *igoumenos* of the monastery, Gregorios Katsivakes, fled with several other monks to the village of Nikesiani, a few miles to the northward. There he fell into the hands of the Bulgars and was carried off into exile in northern Bulgaria. After six terrible months he was allowed to return, broken in health, to Nikesiani where he remained supported by the alms of the people.

[669] When the occupation was over, Mount Pangaion—together with the heights of Chalkidiki (with which it enjoys easy communications)—became a stronghold of the *katsapliades*. The coastal road between Cavalla and Salonica was closed to traffic after it had been mined repeatedly, and all vehicles had to make a long detour to the north of Pangaion by way of Drama and Serres. The ruins of Eikosiphoinisses remained uninhabited. Only recently have a handful of monks gone back to the monastery which lies desolate like the city of the Philippians amidst the marshes far below.

A few miles to the north-west of Eikosiphoinisses and close to the town of Serres stands another historic convent, that of St. John the Forerunner. This, too, has fallen a prey on more than one occasion to the rapacity of the Bulgars. In 1918 the conventual library was looted and its chief treasures carried off to the Bulgarian monastery of Rila. Thence, in due course, they were returned to the Greek government, and (with a view to their greater security), distributed amongst the libraries of Athens. The cataloguing of the library of this Macedonian convent had, incidentally, been carried out some years before this calamity by one who was subsequently to become a well-known figure throughout western Christendom: the late Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos.

In 1941 the monastery was sacked by the Bulgars. The monks joined the innumerable host of refugees. Several are said to have died of starvation in the streets of occupied Serres. Others escaped to Nigrita, Salonica and Athens. Seven of them came back in 1945 and were [669] joined by two novices. It was not long, however, before the monastery was again attacked and pillaged—this time by the Communists. Every scrap of food and clothing was carried off to sustain the democratic warriors of the mountains. In view of the constant threat of further

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raids, the Metropolitan of Serres arranged for rations to be sent daily to the monastery, and this state of affairs endured down till the summer of 1949, when it was considered safe to lay in stores once again. In the spring of 1950 only three monks were living in the convent: one of them a priest who could celebrate the divine mysteries. The other monks had been sent by the Metropolitan to serve in parishes of the diocese, where (owing to the very high proportion of casualties amongst the village clergy), the shortage of clergy was peculiarly grave.

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All over northern Greece the same tragic history has been re-enacted time and time again. The monastery of Aghios Nikanor, Zavordas, lies at the heart of a barren and desolate region to the southward of Kozani, and within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Grevena. Like so many Greek monasteries its situation is remarkable: the summit of a high rock set amidst the swirling waters of the Aliakmon. The remoteness of its site, far from the lines of communication, brought this convent through the years of occupation unscathed; isolation, however, afforded little protection against the Communists. The monastery was attacked and looted; everything of the slightest value was borne off to the mountains together with the convent's pack-animals and its 300 sheep and goats. The abbot, Father Gabriel Balayiannes, and an older monk named Gerasimos Stathopoulos were murdered, and the survivors fled to the village of Palaiochori (some four hours' journey from the monastery) where they were still living when I visited this region in the spring of 1950.

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Southwards, over the pass which skirts snow-capped Olympus and connects western Macedonia with the broad plains of Thessaly, stands the ancient monastery of Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elassona. This, too, was pillaged, the monks driven out, the abbot severely beaten, imprisoned and sent into exile. In almost every diocese of Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus the few surviving monasteries and their inhabitants have suffered a like fate.

The Abbé de St. Michon observes that in his day the Greek monk was a patriot who fought for the independence of his country, and who was loved for virtues which belong more to the soldier than to the man of prayer. The cannon of Megaspelaion were indeed used to some purpose against the Turk during the war of independence, and Urquhart gives a vivid description of his arrival at the monastery of Lezini, in the guise of a "goul or spirit of the marsh", with twenty muskets and a nine-pounder full of grape trained upon him. Alas! the monkish batteries

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792 have been allowed to rust these many years, and armed resistance,
727 however effective it may have been a century ago against a lightly armed assailant, could have availed the monks but little in the face of an enemy equipped with modern artillery. The monasteries lay at the mercy of the *barbaroi*: an easy prey, holding out a tempting prospect of plunder.

Elsewhere in Greece the destruction and pillage of religious houses has been less universal than in the isolated dioceses of the north. The ascetic life still flourishes in many communities scattered amongst the islands and in the Peloponnese; one may still find convents where the unrelenting battle with the powers of darkness is waged with something of its ancient ardour and where the monk is still manifestly the guardian of the walls; but such houses, it must be confessed, are now few and far between.

792 It must not, however, be supposed that the present decline of Greek
178 monasticism is wholly attributable to the effects of a decade of war.
659 Long before the storm burst upon them in 1940 the Greek monasteries had, with few exceptions, been reduced to a sorry plight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century many convents were very wealthy. Since then the foundations of their economy have been undermined by the loss of their properties situated in Rumania, the Caucasus and elsewhere, and as the result of a series of confiscations by the Hellenic government dating from 1833 onwards. Although a portion of the wealth made available by these confiscations has gone to swell the General Ecclesiastical Fund, and so to benefit the work of the Church, this anti-monastic legislation continues to arouse acrimonious controversy not only among the monks but (for rather different reasons) among churchmen in general.

There are, nevertheless, few laymen who would oppose the diversion of monastic property to the furtherance of social and educational projects and the improvement of the condition of the parochial ministry.
792 The contemplative life has few champions outside the *sketai* of the holy
178 mountain. There are many who value the monasteries for their former contribution to the life of the nation, for their traditions of hospitality, and for their archaeological interest, but few indeed who now regard them as centres of spiritual power. The traditional monasticism has come to be looked upon—at any rate in the towns—as an out-of-date phenomenon, quite irrelevant to the needs of the present time.

This is true not least of many of the leaders of the new movements,

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IX

A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION 000

> It is not enough to understand the extremity of the affliction that has been endured, although if this is not understood, nothing has been understood.
>
> F. A. VOIGT
> *The Greek Sedition*

SINCE a measure of security was restored to Greece, the ecclesiastical authorities have had little respite from urgent practical problems clamouring for solution. To the most cursory reader of a periodical such as *Ekklesia* (the official journal of the Greek Church), it must have been apparent that during the years which followed the collapse of the Communist sedition the bishops were constantly preoccupied with questions of material welfare and relief. Scarcely an issue but contained some reference to the resettlement of refugees, plans for the rebuilding of destroyed churches or the provision of clothing for the clergy; while the *Paidoupolis*, the *Paidikos Stathmos* and the P.I.K.P.A. clinic and food-distribution centre had, it would seem, become permanent features of the diocesan organisation in many parts of Greece. 727 794 [204]

It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to assume that the Church of Greece was forced by her preoccupation with these overwhelming material needs to neglect what must always be her primary task. Quite the contrary is true. That concern for the poor, the prisoners, the homeless and the oppressed which one looks for in a Church which pays peculiar reverence to St. John Chrysostom, went hand in hand with a missionary activity which, all else apart, would have sufficed to make the decade from 1940 to 1950 a memorable one in the annals of the Greek Church. Greece, as a theologian of the Zoë Brotherhood wrote to me in 1949, "issued from the war completely ruined—materially. Nothing was left to her of her national wealth. Her houses, villages, fields, factories, communications, and economy were all utterly destroyed. Spiritually, nevertheless, she emerged from the chaos of war reborn."

It is only against this background of suffering and devastation, of

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727 foreign occupation and armed sedition, that it is possible to grasp the
794 full significance of the spiritual ferment which marked these ten years, or to understand the magnitude of the task which the Church faces at the present time. For this reason I make no apology for dwelling at some length on the extent of the all-engulfing catastrophe which overwhelmed the Greek nation from the time of the Italian invasion of 1940 down to the decisive defeat of the Communists in the campaigns of 1949.

722 Much has already been written concerning the sufferings of the
727 people of Greece during these terrible years: about the horrors of the occupation, the burning and pillage of undefended villages, the famine which carried off more than 300,000 men, women and children, and the multitude of the homeless approaching in number the population of Athens and the Piraeus. Long before the end of the struggle with the Communists was in sight the destruction had become so manifest, so universal, that after a time one no longer marvelled. One came to accept the long lines of shattered rolling-stock stretching westwards from the walls of Salonica across the plain towards the muddy waters of the Vardar; the rusting carriages which lay strewn around the fair shores of Salamis. It was impossible to travel for any distance without encountering a dynamited bridge, a recently filled mine-crater, or the blackened ruins of an abandoned village. Every town of northern Greece was crowded with refugees, and even the suburbs of Salonica were liable to nocturnal bombardment.

722 Little attention, however, has as yet been given to the effect of ten
727 years of all but unbroken warfare upon the life of the Church: to the breakdown of normal parochial organisation over large tracts of country
795 for two or three years at a stretch, in consequence of the flight of the
[793] clergy together with their people from the villages; to the slaughter of the country parsons, and the destruction and looting of countless churches and monasteries which were to create such insuperable problems when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes; to the fate of those dioceses which were occupied by the Bulgars, who attempted to eradicate every trace of 'Hellenism' from those areas of eastern Macedonia and Thrace which fell to their lot; where the Greek bishops and their clergy were supplanted by Bulgars, the Greek service-books burned; where the very saints were de-Hellenised and had their names repainted in Slavonic characters. All who were able to do so fled from this region and took refuge in Salonica or in other towns to the west of the river Strymon, though some 40,000 were massacred. In the

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diocese of Drama no less than forty of the 112 parish churches were burned down, as well as the monastery of Eikosiphoinisses. 722 727

Elsewhere in Greece, and particularly in those areas traversed by important lines of communication, the number of the homeless mounted steadily as guerilla activity drew savage reprisals upon the villages. One had only to spend a few days in the mountains which lie to the westward of the Thessalian township of Kalambaka, for example, to see something of the effect of these reprisal raids. Church after church was gutted: mere empty shells with fragments of ancient paintings clinging to the tottering walls. In this diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone, twenty-four village churches were completely destroyed during the occupation and many others more or less seriously damaged. Nor did the towns escape the flood of destruction: Edessa, for example, which was set on fire by the Germans on September 12th, 1944, and where five churches perished in the ensuing conflagration, or Iannitsa which suffered a like fate two days later; Larissa, which had scarcely recovered from an earthquake when it was bombed by the Italians, and Kerkyra where more than sixty per cent. of the buildings were destroyed or damaged. 795

After the occupying troops had withdrawn from Greece in the autumn of 1944 and the Communist sedition had met with its first reverse, there ensued a period of comparative tranquillity. The refugees returned to their villages and some progress was made in repairing the damage wrought during the years of occupation. But a greater trial was still to come. From the autumn of 1946 onwards the full violence of the armed sedition which had slowly been gathering its energies since its temporary set-back of December, 1944, was let loose upon the country dioceses. It was utterly out of question for the Greek army, even with the assistance of the gendarmerie and the local militia, to garrison hundreds of isolated hamlets lying in mountainous districts where communications were of the most rudimentary kind. The defence of the northern frontiers presented problems enough and to spare. It was not long, therefore, before the country people were forced to flee from their lands and homes and to seek refuge in those centres which possessed a garrison. Large areas of northern and central Greece were soon abandoned to the roving Communist bands. 722 727 669

Some of the refugees found their way to Athens and Salonica, but the majority crowded with their surviving animals and such few possessions as they had been able to carry with them in their flight into 722 362

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722 the small country towns which serve as centres for the ecclesiastical
362 administration. Here many of them remained for three years. Some, and those the most fortunate, were able to build themselves wooden houses or *kalyvai*; others were lodged in huts; multitudes, especially in Macedonia, lived (often twenty or twenty-five families together) in old Turkish houses; those who fared worst of all had to be content with hastily improvised shelters of mud and thatch, or even to pass the bitter months of winter in tents. By the end of 1948 the number of the refugees exceeded 700,000: for the second time within ten years a tenth part of the whole nation was homeless. The country towns were packed with refugees: not a ruined cottage or a stable but sheltered two or three families. Some words from Thomas Alcock's *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece in 1828-29* might well have been written 120 years later: "Nothing in Greece", says this traveller, "can more forcibly give an idea of the war that has been carried on, than finding on inquiry that not a third of the residents in any place are natives of it, but only sojourners there, till security is afforded them in their own birth-places."

727 The parish clergy fled with their people to the comparative security
793 of the towns, but the priest was a marked man and many failed to make good their escape. No less than 239 priests and monks were done to
[792] death by the Communists alone, and seventy-seven by the Germans,
[798] while a further forty-seven died at the hands of Bulgars, Italians or Albanian moslems. Of the total number of 363 the majority (297 to be precise) were parish priests: no single category of the population sustained heavier casualties in the slaughter of these years than the village *papades*.

793 "I triumphed", says De Quincey, "but infer not, reader, a condition
798 of joy or exultation." Not all of those who died were men of the quality of the heroic parish priest of the village of Megarchis, Papa George Skrekas, who was crucified by the Communists on Good Friday, 1947. Nor, needless to add, did every Christian who suffered for the faith during the first three centuries of our era embrace death with the ardour of an Ignatius or the serenity of a Polycarp. The Church of Greece has ever been rich in martyrs, and there are not a few names—unknown though they be to Christendom at large—which have been added during the last ten years to the roll of those who will be remembered in the mountain dioceses whenever the Church gathers for the eucharist:

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A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION

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"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen."

But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands.

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It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation.

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

727 795 By the summer of 1950 it had become possible to gain some notion of the full extent of the material destruction which the Church had sustained since the beginning of the war; although with large tracts of northern Greece uninhabited until a few months before, the compiling of accurate statistics—never a simple matter—presented problems such as only one who had been in Greece during the last few years could hope to appreciate fully. I have already referred to the wholesale destruction of churches and monasteries. This, though serious enough, was perhaps most easily remedied. I remember one bishop who chuckled inordinately when I questioned him on this subject; "All that is necessary", he assured me, "is that I should go in person to the village with a spade and set to work, and then: *Panaghia!* in no time at all the whole village will turn out and a new church will be built before one can say a *kathisma* of psalms!"

More serious, perhaps, and not confined to those villages where the fabric of the church had been demolished, was the acute shortage of liturgical books, chalices, vestments, and other accessories of worship which could not be supplied from local resources. The dearth of [213] service-books, in particular, was occasioning widespread difficulty. Old Venetian editions had been brought in from long-abandoned monasteries and remote hill-top chapels which had escaped pillage—though the antique characters in which many of them were printed, while intelligible enough to the experienced monk, made it difficult for the average *papas* (to say nothing of the village choir) to read the service with any facility.

727 793 346 I remarked in an earlier chapter that the metropolis is as a rule one of the most impressive and substantial buildings of a provincial town. In 1950, however, several bishops were homeless. The Metropolitan of Grevena was living in lodgings, having one room for his personal use and another which served as the diocesan office; the Lord Agathangellos of Nevrokopi was living in the most apostolic simplicity in two barely furnished rooms; nor, amongst the provincial 'saints', were such cases exceptional.

727 794 Faced by a catastrophe so complete and overwhelming, the first concern of the Church was to try to meet the urgent demand for the bare necessities of life: for food, clothing and shelter. Everywhere the response was the same: orphanages, homes for refugee children, centres for the distribution of food and clothing, clinics and hospitals, were

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created as it were out of nothing. Everywhere these institutions were hastily improvised in the face of desperate and clamorous necessity, and, more often than not, maintained with a heroic disregard for the universal lack of material resources, and a courage worthy of a St. Vincent de Paul. 727 794

In almost every diocese the bishop bore a heavy responsibility in this work of relief. Nearly always he exercised a close personal supervision over the various institutions which had come into being in response to the need of a people driven, for the second time within less than ten years, from their homes and lands; over the *estia* where for several years milk was distributed daily to thousands of refugee children; the *paidikos stathmos* where infants were cared for during the day; the distribution of clothing, black stuff for cassocks, soap, cocoa, macaroni, beans, sugar, boots and shoes—all the multiplicity of urgently needed supplies with which a host of relief organisations, societies, British and American towns and villages, and private benefactors sought to succour the people of Greece in their distress. [648]

At Siderokastro, for example, the Metropolitan (who as assistant bishop of Salonica was an ardent supporter of the work of the Near East Foundation during the period between the wars), founded a small hospital where poor families could receive free medical attention, as well as a remarkable school of housekeeping for girls of marriageable age. Like all the Macedonian 'despots', the Bishop was president of the local branch of the national relief organisation known as P.I.K.P.A., and supervised the two centres from which milk and cocoa were issued daily to thousands of refugee children from the villages of his diocese. [657] [793]

At Edessa, in western Macedonia, the Metropolitan founded, shortly after the end of the occupation, an orphanage for twenty-five boys. This was originally situated in a house on the outskirts of the town, but during the heavy fighting at Epiphany, 1949—when Naoussa, a few kilometres to the southward, was sacked by the Communists and more than 600 of its inhabitants carried away captive to the mountains —this building was extensively damaged and rendered almost uninhabitable. The Bishop then established his orphans under the care of a monk in a dilapidated Turkish house next to the metropolis, and this was subsequently transformed into a permanent orphanage. Not content with this, the Bishop proceeded to found two further orphanages attached to nearby monasteries, as soon as the district was sufficiently tranquil [669] [792]

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727 to permit the monks and nuns—who had taken refuge in the town of
794 Edessa—to return to their respective convents. A fourth orphanage
[792] was established a few miles away at Iannitsa.'

So, all over Greece, there was heroic improvisation in the face of overwhelming material need; and, as at Edessa and Siderokastro, so in many another provincial town from the Peloponnese to the remotest fringes of northern Epirus and Thrace, the courage and initiative of the local 'despot' were factors of incalculable importance.

727 And yet, as I emphasised at the beginning of this chapter, pre-
794 occupation with the material needs of her children did not cause the
793 Church to neglect their spiritual welfare. The feeding and clothing of the homeless and the destitute, the distribution of soup and the creation of hospitals and orphanages, went hand in hand with the preaching of the Gospel. The Metropolitan of Siderokastro was not content with his hospital, his P.I.K.P.A. centres and his school of housekeeping. Even while the issue of the long struggle with the Communists was yet in the balance—and the Bulgarian frontier lies barely ten miles to the northward of the town—the Lord Basil was organising his "Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment" and pressing ahead with the construction of a *Christianiki Estia*: a building comprising a large hall, library, class-rooms and offices, which should serve as a centre for the already vigorous Christian youth movements of the diocese and for training catechists and preachers. He needed, as every bishop did, cassocks for his clergy, food and clothing and medical supplies for his stricken people; but he was anxious above all to obtain Greek New Testaments for his catechetical schools, and a duplicator which would enable him to send a weekly sermon to every village *papas* in the diocese.

795 So it was elsewhere. Nothing that I saw in Greece impressed me more deeply than the fact that it was so often in precisely those districts where suffering had been most acute, where destruction and devastation were most evident, that the life of the Church seemed to burn most brightly. Suffering and desolation, which in a people less profoundly Christian than the Greeks might have brought forth nothing more creative than despair, have in Greece borne precious fruit. Deprived of all worldly security and riches, the Church has been forced back upon the Rock whereon she is founded; has learned anew that there can be no resurrection apart from the cross—the instrument of shameful death which is yet the throne of the victor. Through prolonged suffering she has

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

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722 204 A FEW paces from the gates of the University of Salonica, just south of the Via Ignatia where antique tramcars go clanging across the dusty waste that was once the Jewish cemetery, the daily papers, which play so important a part in Greek intellectual and social life, used to be publicly displayed every morning so that all men—poor scholars and unbeneficed clerks as well as prosperous merchants rich in this world's goods—might read of the heroic exploits of the armies which strove to drive the Accursed of God from the snowy heights of Pindos: a public-spirited gesture, worthy of a people who have ever set the pursuit of truth far beyond mere commercial advantage, and one of which I was often glad to avail myself on my way from the university library at midday.

722 793 One sunny forenoon in the spring of 1949 as I scanned the headlines of *Kathimerini* and *Akropolis* a photograph caught my eye. At first sight it seemed in no way remarkable: a group of country clergy gathered about their father in God—the latter an impressive figure wearing the *enkolpion*, or pectoral eikon, which is the mark of the higher clergy. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed that this was no ordinary clerical assembly, for every one of these reverend personages had a rifle slung across his shoulder. I turned in some astonishment to the accompanying paragraph and read that "in the war against the insurgents, the clergy of Grevena hastened to be enrolled under the banner of the movement for the deliverance of the Hellenic race. . . ." The photograph, it concluded, "shows the Metropolitan of Grevena with his armed priests".

727 793 I went to lunch with my curiosity whetted. Grevena, I knew, was a peculiarly isolated diocese and one that had suffered severely, first at the hands of the Germans and again in the present troubles. Further enquiries disclosed that the present Metropolitan, the Lord Theokletos, was a man renowned for his ardent patriotism and his immense stature.

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

During the weeks which followed I had occasion to correspond with this prelate as to the state of his diocese, and received a pressing invitation to come and see for myself the desperate conditions resulting from eight years of all but continuous warfare.

Some months went by before an opportunity presented itself, and then one morning in February, 1950, found me travelling westwards from Kozani in a jeep belonging to the 2nd Army Corps. When I had last come this way, the previous March, we had been constrained to travel in convoy: a seemingly endless line of heavy army trucks laden with provisions, fodder and ammunition for the outlying garrisons of northern Pindos. It had been the eve of the festival of the Annunciation —which is also the day on which Greece commemorates the raising of the standard of revolt by the Archbishop of Patras in 1821—and every vehicle was decked with evergreens and plastered with patriotic slogans:

ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΖΗΤΩ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ
ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.

The wild, mountainous tract of country that lies south and west of Kozani is a desolate region at all times, and never more so than in early February when the outworks of the great fortress of Pindos are veiled in snow, and icy winds scour the exposed valley which leads westward away from the haunts of men. A mile or two from Siatista the road forked and we turned southwards out of the teeth of the wind, the lightly-laden jeep lurching and jolting over the deeply-scored, rock-strewn surface of a truly Hellenic road—"the worst road in all Macedonia", the driver assured me with emphasis.

At Grevena—set drab and cheerless amongst low hills, the gaunt ruin of the orphanage dark against the sky—boulders gave place to mud. It lapped about us as we turned out of the market, where I had a fleeting glimpse of whiskered *papades* in rusty cassocks sprawled round a table amidst the dull gleam of copper pans and cauldrons. A veritable sea of mud, churned by the wheels of heavy vehicles, stretched unbroken from the steps of the regimental headquarters towards the broken line of ramshackle dwellings beyond the river.

Here on the furthermost fringe of Macedonia the road was swallowed up in the muddy deeps; beyond the cottages lay the massive rampart of Pindos, traversed only by mule-tracks winding high among the

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491 snows, westwards towards Metsovo and Epirus. To the southward a few paths—impassable save on foot during the winter months—gave access to Kalambaka and the plains of Thessaly.

793 After paying my respects to the colonel in command of the garrison I plunged afresh into the inland sea and struck out for the metropolis: a simple cottage where the Bishop rented a couple of rooms. The Lord Theokletos—a monumental figure in an ungirt robe of indigo—looked [785] strangely out of place in such a setting. The Friday fast was waived out [574] of regard to the presence of a traveller, and when we had eaten the Metropolitan told me something of the state of his diocese. It was a gloomy picture that he outlined.

722 Owing to the remoteness of the district and its poor communications 793 almost every village had been abandoned by its inhabitants from 1947 till the summer of 1949. Grevena itself, a comopolis with a pre-war 727 population in the region of 3,500, had, for more than two years, sheltered five times that number of refugees. During the past six months it had been possible for the people to return to certain villages situated in the northern part of the diocese, but there were reputed to be more than 2,000 families still living in the great refugee camp on the southern fringes of the town, and sixty-four of the diocese's ninety-six villages were still, after three years, uninhabited. Many of the fugitives had fled southwards to Kalambaka, Trikkala and Larissa; others had sought refuge in Kozani.

The refugees had included seventy-five parish priests, only sixteen of whom had as yet been able to return to their villages. Two priests had been done to death by the Germans; three others, as well as three monks, murdered by the Communists. As recently as October, 1949, the solitary occupant of the monastery of St. Athanasius, close to the village of Trikomon, had returned home after two years' exile, despite the advice of the Bishop and others who counselled him to wait two or three months longer, only to be brutally murdered within the space of a [798] few days. It was when matters were at their worst that the Bishop formed his clerical militia and drilled his venerable warriors in the square where stands the monument to his predecessor in the see of Grevena, the Metropolitan Aimilianos, who had suffered death at the hands of the Turks in 1911 and is revered in this region as a martyr. This redoubtable force had never been called upon to take the field against the Accursed of God, but, said the Lord Theokletos, it had served as an example.

As to the destruction of churches, it seemed that some months must

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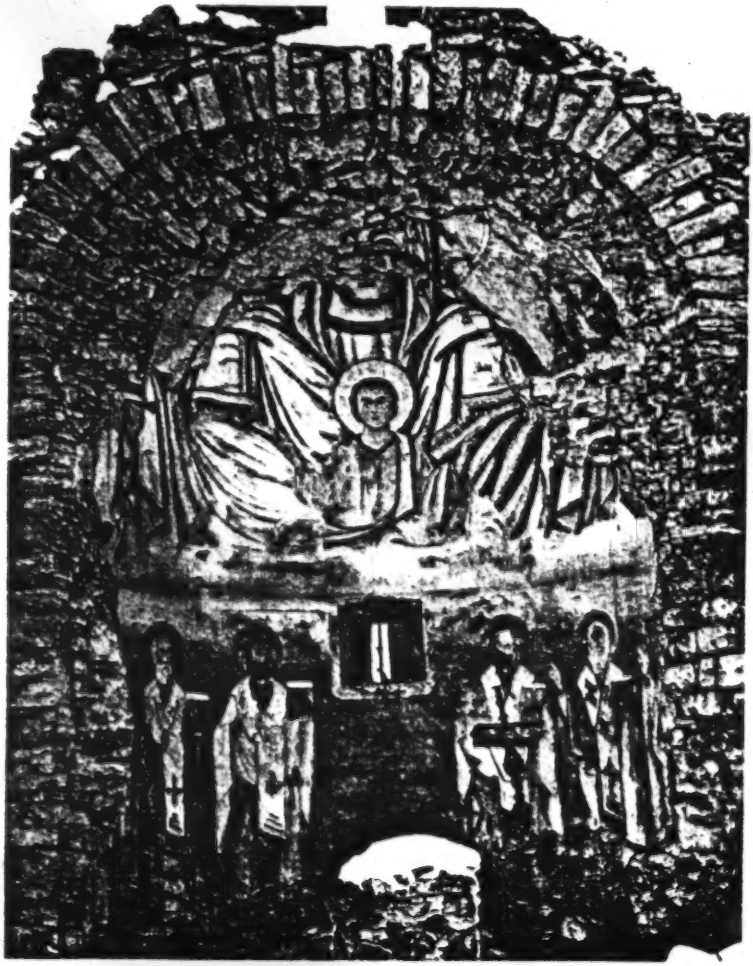

II The church at Ziakas

[facing p.102]

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inevitably elapse before the Bishop could hope to be in a position to make a detailed statement. He instructed his secretary to provide me with a report embodying such information as had reached him. Grevena itself had suffered a heavy bombardment during the retreat of 1941 and the cathedral church of the Annunciation had been seriously damaged (the old cathedral of St. George had been destroyed by fire several years earlier). On the outskirts of the town lay a little church dedicated to St. Archelaos of Larissa. This had become the parish church of the refugees. Here, from 1947 onwards, the refugee clergy had assembled daily to sing mattins and evensong, and on Sundays and festivals to celebrate together the divine mysteries. This church, as I subsequently discovered, also served as a centre for the distribution of rations to the vast multitude of the homeless who dwelt in the nissen huts on the edge of the town. On my way back to the metropolis I ran into a large group of refugee clergy. They had got wind of my projected expedition and begged me to visit their villages and to bring back news of their condition after three years' abandonment.

I returned to the regimental headquarters at dusk, armed with my report, and spent an hour poring over maps with a young captain from Volos. We finally decided upon two itineraries, each of several days' duration. The first would enable me to see something of those parts of the diocese which were still uninhabited, and about which the Bishop had little information; the second, to visit several villages north and west of Grevena to which the refugees had lately returned. Arrangements having been made for a nine o'clock start the following morning, I returned to the metropolis for supper and discussed the Zoë movement and the architectural projects of the Metropolitan of Siatista with the Lord Theokletos until it was time for bed.

Saturday, February 4th, dawned fine and dry. The first stage of my journey was accomplished in a jeep driven by an *Epeirotes* who had concealed two British soldiers in his house at Iannina during the occupation. Less than five miles from Grevena the track which we were following gave up the ghost and further progress was impossible. At this point we were met by a sergeant and two soldiers, mounted on mules and leading a handsome bay mare caparisoned after the European manner. It took us an hour to climb to the village of Mavranaioi, which was strongly garrisoned (it had been partly inhabited since the previous October). After lunching with the officers of the garrison I resumed

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727 my journey with an escort of seven soldiers, and with a corporal of the gendarmerie as guide.

At three o'clock we reached Mavronoros, the 'Black Mountain'; a small village, quite deserted and in ruins. Somewhat surprisingly, [346] the church (which was dedicated to St. Theodore) had survived the bombardment. A single projectile had apparently found its mark and a portion of the vault had collapsed, but the walls were sound enough and the paintings which covered them had not as yet suffered greatly from exposure to the elements. A chapel on the hill above the village was completely gutted and almost every house was in ruins. So complete was the destruction that we were unable to identify the remains of the school.

484 A brief halt and we set out towards Ziakas, where I was to spend the night. We followed a water-course for some distance before intercepting the mule track. The ground had thawed since morning and the going was laborious. On a ridge commanding a wide prospect of this abandoned countryside we met the relief escort from the Ziakas garrison, and I reluctantly relinquished my handsome mount for a mule saddled after the school of Macedonia. We crossed the Venetikos by an ancient bridge and reached the headquarters of the garrison, a kilometre below the ruins of the village, a little before sunset.

727 It was too late to see anything of Ziakas that day, but the isolated community was delighted to have a visitor and the evening passed merrily enough. The night was chilly and I slept fitfully. From the [136] [231] mountains, which rise to close on 5,000 feet above the village, came the howling of wolves and jackals. Two wolves had ventured into Mavranaioi itself a few nights earlier, and, despite the vigilance of the sentries, had attacked and killed one of the mules picketed amongst the cottages. There had been neither sheep nor goats in these mountains for more than three years.

The morning was cold and cheerless without trace of sun. I took leave of my hosts about half-past nine and was accompanied to the village by a young lieutenant from Salonica. Ziakas had not only been burned by the Germans; it had more than once been the scene of heavy [346] [532] fighting within the last three years. The church stood at the entrance to the village. It was completely ruined, but a few paintings still clung to the walls of the apse, and, amidst the waste and desolation wrought by man's sin, the Son of the Virgin, the Alpha and the Omega, raised His hands in blessing. The destruction of the village—one of the

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largest in the region—was complete and spectacular. The shattered walls were daubed with Communist slogans. We threaded our way amongst the ruined houses to a building on the farthest side of the village which had been roughly repaired to afford shelter for an advanced outpost, drank a glass of cognac whilst my escort laced up their boots and buckled on their equipment, and left for Spelaion and Trikomon shortly after eleven. 727

The paths were ice-bound and treacherous, the snow deep in places. Spelaion came into view after half an hour, set amongst towering cliffs. A long and laborious ascent between high rocks, the Venetikos murmuring through its gorge far below, the path clinging to precipitous cliffs rising from the dwarf oaks and myrtle to lose themselves in the grey mists that swirled about their summits, brought us to a point immediately below the village. After a stiff climb through massive fortifications of uncertain date, we suddenly found ourselves looking down upon a tiny Byzantine church with twin domes, sharply outlined against the untrodden snow; a sombre red jewel laid in a setting of purest white. 484

This proved to be the catholicon of a small monastery, dedicated to the Mother of God. The interior of the church was dark and silent as a tomb; within the sanctuary liturgical books, eikons and vestments were strewn in confusion. The book of the Gospels lay closed upon the holy table, between two reliquaries of tarnished silver. We found a few stumps of candle and lighted them before the eikons of the Lord and His Mother; the spluttering flames banished the darkness and disclosed the presence of a host of emaciated figures gazing down upon us from wall and eikonostasis. We said a prayer and withdrew. 727 346

Though the church was undamaged, the other buildings which enclosed three sides of the roughly quadrangular space occupied by the monastery were all in ruins. Below, in the centre of the village, we found a second church, dedicated to St. Athanasius. This too had escaped serious damage, though the windows were unglazed and dead leaves lay piled against the eikonostasis and rustled about the throne of the bishop. Inaccessible on the cliffs above the Venetikos, Spelaion seemed built to withstand a siege, and we were not surprised to find that it had apparently served as a base for the *katsapliades*. A large house in the centre of the village had evidently been the Communist headquarters, and party slogans were scrawled over every wall. When we returned to the monastery, where the animals had been tethered, the candles still 727 [669]

THE WATERS OF MARAH

727 flickered within the church. Leaving the saints to their solitary vigil we plunged deeper into the uninhabited wastes that stretched southward toward Metsovo and the Thebaid of Staghi.

During the course of the next four days we worked our way eastwards to Trikomon and Kipouryio, and then turned north towards Mavranaioi and Grevena, to complete the first part of my itinerary. At three of the villages on our route there were isolated garrisons: otherwise the whole district lay abandoned. We passed through hamlet after hamlet where every house was destroyed, where churches stood open to the skies and no living creature broke the three-year silence. At Kipouryio the chapel of St. Paraskeve—a saint whose apparent connexion with the sixth day of the week (in Greek, *paraskew*, the day of preparation) has given rise to some very singular local cults in the country districts—had been stripped of its furnishings and turned into a hospital by the Communists: empty bottles and boxes which had contained medical supplies lay strewn about the building.

[669] [346] [776]

Upon our return to Grevena we encountered a vast multitude of ragged children straggling back towards the refugee camp, grasping huge slabs of bread and honey: more than 4,000 children were being fed daily at the *estia* outside the high school. We found the Lord Theokletos a little concerned lest I should have fallen into the hands of the *katsapliades*—communications in the mountains out beyond Mavranaioi were notoriously unreliable. I waded through the mud with my captain from Volos to call on the colonel of the local militia, under whose protection I should be travelling for the rest of my itinerary. There was no news to be had anywhere save of the forthcoming elections.

[657] 484

At ten o'clock the following morning we were making slow progress westwards through melting snow: four militiamen, the president of the village of Elatos and myself; a large American mule floundering astern with the baggage. Above the ruins of Doxaras we turned aside to view the pile of stones which was all that remained of the church of St. George. A few families had returned to this hamlet and were living in nissen huts on the hillside below the ruined church. The whole village had been destroyed.

727 346

An hour later we found ourselves among the newly built cottages of Elatos. Above a cluster of wretched *kalyvai* rose the fabric of an unfinished church. The village, the president told us, had been burned down in July, 1942, and reduced to ruins. The work of rebuilding was begun

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in 1945, but two years later the people fled to Grevena and all was left 727
unfinished. Some fifty families had returned in November, 1949, and 346
were now settled in their old houses. The church which was to replace that destroyed by the Germans stood roofless: the windows unglazed, the eikonostasis of rough-hewn timbers. There was a tiny chapel dedicated to the prophet Elias on the brow of the hill, half a mile beyond the village, where the holy mysteries had been celebrated for a time. Now the church which was in Elatos assembled Sunday by Sunday for the breaking of the bread in the half-finished structure which dominated the village.

Whilst we were within the church there was a murmuring amongst 484
the crowd that had gathered in the snow outside: shouts of "Behold! [793]
He comes. Make haste, O Papa Iannis!" The parish priest had just returned from Grevena, having followed a more direct route than ourselves. He came scrambling up through the orchard below the church, a ragged figure clad in *kalymmafchion* and tattered overcoat, his boots heavy with mud, his cassock slung across his shoulder, clawing his way up the slope with the aid of a shepherd's staff. We all retired to the *taverna* for a glass of ouzo, and then, after despatching three of the escort with the baggage-mule, the rest of my party (together with two lads from the local militia and the indefatigable Papa Iannis, who, despite his seventy-three years, had already covered the best part of ten miles that morning), set out for the neighbouring village of Anavryta— 727
a deserted hamlet set on the brink of a deep chasm where the inky thread of the Venetikos lay twisted in the pale sunlight. Far away against the towering ramparts of Pindos the ruins of Ziakas could be distinguished: a dark stain on the white vesture which enfolded the silent countryside.

The more enterprising of the Anavrytans had found lodging in the recently reoccupied village of Kallirachi (where we spent the following night) and were planning to return to their houses in the spring. The parish priest at Kallirachi had improvised a temporary oratory where he said the daily offices. The church lay in ruins, and the liturgy was [346]
celebrated in a tiny chapel dedicated to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, a full kilometre from the village. I left my escort at Kallirachi and set [484]
out early with a couple of local guides for Megaron, the largest village of the district and, like Kallirachi, reoccupied by its inhabitants some two months earlier. Here I made but a brief stay, as I was anxious to reach Kydonies (which lay well outside the inhabited zone) and get

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727 back to a populated village before nightfall. The *kapetanios* of the local
484 militia undertook to have an escort ready by noon, and in the meantime the parish priest carried me off to the refectory of the police station (where we broke our fast) and thence to see the parish church: an ancient structure roofed with corrugated iron, the walls bulging and sagging ominously at several points.

By one o'clock I was riding westwards on a handsome white mule, with an escort of local militia, armed to the teeth, in line ahead and astern, and all the mountains of Macedonia spread out around the horizon. Kydonies, where we arrived a little after three o'clock, was
727 utterly deserted. It had been a large village (some 175 families, according to my escort), and the destruction was more restricted than in many villages of this region. The church, like that at Elatos, had apparently
[346] been left uncompleted when the people fled: a temporary chapel which occupied the position of the outer narthex was in a ruinous condition. Several eikons lay half buried amongst the fallen masonry. The whole building, like the ruined school-house adjoining it, was daubed with democratic slogans.

727 The parish priest of Kydonies, Papa Athanasius Toskas, had been
793 murdered by the Germans who fell upon the village on July 7th, 1944. Papa Athanasius, despite his sixty-seven years, had gathered up his skirts and made for the forest as fast as his legs would carry him, in company with the curate of the neighbouring village of Ekklesia, Papa Nicolas Tsabiri. The latter succeeded in making good his escape, but Papa Athanasius was surrounded and captured. His body was found some days later, barbarously mutilated. His ears and hands had been cut off, his beard set on fire, and his chest and back slashed with knives.
727 All about the village were little chapels: one which we passed, as we
[346] recrossed the stream at the foot of the hill and turned towards Rodia, had been burned down.

I lay that night at the house of George Sabbas: the house where his brother had been killed before his eyes three years earlier and whence he had fled into the darkness to blunder about the wooded hills all night before reaching Aghios Georgios and safety. The people of Rodia had returned home only two months earlier. The youngest of my host's three sons had married the daughter of the parish priest, and this young woman now kept house for her father-in-law. After supper who
793 should appear but Father Athanasius, the *ephemerios*, who proved to be an old friend from the Kozani seminary. He had come home for the

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week-end. Conversation turned to the subject of the parish clergy; 793
Papa Athanasi was a whole-hearted admirer of the new system; he was not one who could learn only from the Lord or rest content with a mere facility in turning the pages of the service-books:

"The divine liturgy, *Kyrie Petre*, can be gabbled through by a man who is all but illiterate: we are called to be shepherds, and a shepherd has need of great knowledge and wisdom."

Next morning Father Athanasius celebrated the holy mysteries in 727
the village church. It was one of the Saturdays of all souls, and the [769]
priest's daughter was early astir, making preparations for the commemoration of departed relatives and friends. Before the service was ended I left for the neighbouring village of Sydendron, where the curate, Papa Constantinos, introduced himself as "the priest who bore the machine-gun in the sacred company of the despot". St. [346]
Nicolas, Sydendron, had been a fine church, apparently dating from the [669]
sixteenth century. It had survived the years of occupation only to be set on fire by the Communists on the night of July 25th, 1947. The ancient frescoes were slowly crumbling away, but sufficient remained to show something of the former splendour of the church.

I lunched at the presbytery and rode on to Amygdalies in the early afternoon. Most of the village's 200 children seemed to be dancing barefoot in the sun outside their newly opened school: a nissen hut [346]
erected on the site of the building destroyed by the Germans in July, 1943. A huge new church was in process of construction, but work was at a standstill through lack of funds, and the liturgy had to be celebrated in a brick chapel hastily constructed in 1946 within the walls of the *unfinished* church. Being anxious to reach Aghios Georgios before 722
nightfall I resisted the efforts of the parish priest to persuade me to stay the night at Amygdalies, and as twilight deepened into darkness came clattering down the steep slopes to the stream where a few children still lingered, on a mule which I would have pitted even against Urquhart's Aristotle, and dismounted outside the house of the president.

Aghios Georgios was one of the only two villages in the diocese of Grevena where the population had remained throughout the troubled years which followed the end of the occupation, and had, moreover, afforded shelter to many refugees from other communities. The [712]
church—a massive structure dating from the middle of the nineteenth [346]
century—stood on rising ground in the centre of the village. The [669]

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following day I rode into Vatolakkos with an escort of six militiamen and fell straight into the hands of the parish priest, who was sunning himself on a bench outside the gendarmerie station. This *papas* was a graduate of the Kozani seminary; his father had been a priest in Smyrna (like Kivotos, this was a refugee village). He spoke with pride of the catechetical school which had been flourishing in the village since the previous autumn.

Vatolakkos, like Aghios Georgios, had never been abandoned by its inhabitants. Owing to its important position—astride the main road from Grevena to Kozani—it had been strongly garrisoned throughout the troubles, and had offered sanctuary to the fugitives from no less than ten neighbouring communities, despite the fact that the greater number of the houses had been destroyed in the German advance of 1941—there were bomb craters all along the road from Kivotos southward. The parish priest had sheltered five refugee families in his house for more than two years. The church, which had never been completed, had, according to the Bishop's report, been pillaged by the Germans. It had moreover been damaged by mortar fire during an attack on the village by the Communists. A new school had just been opened to take the place of the one destroyed by the Germans.

From Vatolakkos I succeeded in telephoning to army headquarters at Grevena, and shortly after three o'clock I was picked up by my friend from Iannina. After attending the evensong of the refugee clergy, in company with the Bishop's deacon, and a long talk with the fugitive *ephemerioi* of Spelaion and Kosmati, I paid a final visit to the metropolis. The Bishop was unwell: he had been ill for some time past, and I took my leave early. Some months later, after a letter enclosing photographs of the ruined churches of the diocese had remained long unanswered, I saw from a notice in *Ekklesia* that the Lord Theokletos had passed to his rest.

Like Father Ioakeim, his deacon, he was a native of the Piraeus and had laboured there for thirty-three years as vicar of the parish of St. Constantine before being called to take charge of the see of Grevena in the third year of the occupation. The state of the diocese even in those days was serious enough, and had the new *despotes* been able to foresee the full extent of the catastrophe which was to overwhelm the widely scattered communities committed to his charge within the space of another five years, he might understandably have shrunk from the heavy burden of responsibility that he was called to bear.

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during the course of 1947) to draw into the new Christian Unions many hundreds of boys and girls from the remote hamlets of Pindos, few of whom had ever heard a sermon preached in their village churches, let alone received any systematic course of instruction in the faith such as was now offered them. Whilst the whole diocese lay desolate and the Communist bands roamed the mountains almost at will, there was slowly growing up amongst the young Christians crowded together in the mud and squalor of Grevena a movement which promised to transform the religious life of this barren region. 793 794

In 1949 Father Augustine left Grevena to take up new work as chaplain to the 2nd Army Corps at Kozani, but the Christian Unions continued to flourish. Their membership at the time of my visit was in the region of 1,600—and this figure did not include the hundreds of children who had recently returned to their villages. In order that these latter should not be lost to the movement, several young catechists were visiting the lately repopulated villages around Grevena every week-end, giving addresses either during the liturgy or else in the village square when the people came out of church, and labouring to build up catechetical schools in every village. The Metropolitan had given immense stimulus to this work by sending as many parish clergy as he could spare to study at Kozani seminary—men like Papa Athanasius from Rodia—who would be qualified to run their own catechetical schools when they returned home.

Outstanding among the catechists trained by Father Augustine was a young gendarme who, now that there was no regular *hierokeryx* attached to the metropolis, was himself acting as the diocesan preacher and assistant to the Metropolitan. It would have been hard to match the burning devotion and zeal of these young catechists; the enthusiasm and eagerness of their still younger pupils. The Bishop himself had no illusions as to the importance of the work that had been begun three years before: in the face of devastation such as I had seen with my own eyes during the course of the ten days I had spent in the diocese—material destruction on a scale equal to that sustained by any Greek diocese—it was his considered opinion that the most desperate need was not for clothing or food or medical supplies, not for animals to replace those slaughtered by the Germans or driven off to the mountains by the Communists, not for domestic or agricultural implements and tools, but for a properly equipped building to serve as a centre for the Christian Unions, for Greek New Testaments and other Christian 793 794 727

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794 literature, and for a magical *polygraphos* which would enable him to [793] distribute every week a homily to be read by every *papas* in the diocese [727] at the Sunday liturgy.

For the truly notable feature of his episcopate had been neither the destruction and pillage of the villages, nor the slaughter of his clergy and the flight of his people from their homes and lands; all this had but provided the setting for a flowering of new and vigorous spiritual life of untold power, which promised to spread, from the little band of catechists whom Father Augustine had gathered about him, to every village and hamlet of the diocese—to Spelaion, high amongst the towering rocks above the Venetikos, where the saints brooded over the dark church, to Samarina and the summer pastures of the Vlach shepherds, southward and westward to desolate Trikomon and the uninhabited wastes towards Metsovo—and to bring a deepened and more conscious sharing in the Christian mystery to a people who had, as it was, retained their hold upon the fundamental virtues of faith, hope and charity with a tenacity which is rare in the world to-day.

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XII

THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

Η ΜΑΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΟΥΣ

MOTTO OF THE APOSTOLIC DIACONATE OF THESSALONICA

IT IS a good general rule in dealing with something that lies outside the experience of one's audience to attempt to describe it in terms of what is known and familiar. Father Michael Manousakes, Hierokeryx of the Sacred Metropolis of Drama, no doubt had some such maxim in mind when he introduced the present writer to an audience made up of members of his catechetical schools as "a *theologos* of the Oxford Movement: a movement which closely resembles our own Zoë Brotherhood". It must nevertheless be admitted that the compact, well-disciplined organisation into which the little brotherhood founded by Eusebius Matthopoulos in 1907 has since developed bears little apparent resemblance to the movement which was stirring in the Oriel S.C.R. during the eighteen-thirties.

The Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë (to give the movement its proper title), now consists of some ninety men—all graduates, the great majority of the theological faculty of the University of Athens—about thirty of whom are in orders, the remainder laymen. The organisation of the brotherhood is monastic in character, though its members do not bind themselves by permanent vows and are at liberty to withdraw at any time. They must be unmarried—though a lay theologian who leaves the movement is free to marry—and property is held in common. The superior holds office for life (at the death of Father Eusebius in 1929 the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas was elected as his successor).

Seven priests and ten laymen were in the spring of 1950 resident in Athens, five other theologians in Salonica. At that time no less than twenty-seven members of the brotherhood (including seven priests) were serving as 'preachers' with the army, and another was acting as

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chaplain to the camp in Leros where boys who had fallen beneath the influence of the Communists were being given the opportunity to rediscover the fundamental loyalties within the setting of a Christian community. The remaining members of the brotherhood were dispersed amongst the dioceses of Greece, preaching, confessing the people, training young catechists and preachers, supervising seminaries for the country clergy, directing catechetical schools and youth movements: in these and many other ways building up the body of Christ in each village, town and diocese; seeking, above all, to follow in the steps of their founder by living in the power of the Holy Spirit that Christ might indeed be formed in them.

Every summer all the members of the brotherhood assemble for a period of retreat at Aghia Paraskevi (on the outskirts of Athens), and each is called upon to give an account of his labours during the previous year.

There can be little question that the most potent factor in the religious revival which has transformed the outward face of the Greek Church within the last 100 years has, under God, been the hidden life and apostolic labours of Eusebius Matthopoulos, and of the brotherhood he founded. The latter is still far the most important of the many missionary and evangelistic movements that have sprung up during the last two generations. The number and complexity of these movements is at first quite bewildering, and the visitor to Greece will need to spend a little time in Zoë circles before he can hope to avoid confounding *X.E.N.* with *X.E.E.N.*, or to be able to distinguish with assurance between the spheres of activity appropriate to *X.M.O.*, *X.O.N.*, *X.Φ.E.*, *X.E.E.* and *X.E.E.Λ.* respectively.

There are, on the one hand, all the movements more or less closely connected with the Zoë Brotherhood: some under the immediate supervision of the central organisation, others enjoying a measure of independence. On the other, there are several entirely separate movements which sprang up within the circle of clergy and laity who gathered about Apostolos Makrakes; and, finally, there are several vigorous organisations which have grown up in provincial centres such as Patras and Salonica and are still flourishing at the present time. A detailed account of all these movements would afford material for a substantial volume, and I propose to attempt no more within the limits of a single chapter than the most cursory description of their scope and general characteristics.

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upon Palaiochori. The people fled to the forest and watched helplessly while the invaders set fire to their homes and slaughtered their animals. When at length they withdrew the whole valley was shrouded in smoke: the incendiaries had done their work only too thoroughly. The church of St. Bessarion—the most prominent building in the village—had been amongst the first to be set on fire. When Papa Costas and a few companions ventured down from the mountainside to make a cautious reconnaissance they found nothing save the blackened walls and a great pile of charred timbers. The school, just below the parish church, was likewise completely gutted, and more than forty of the village's seventy-odd houses were irreparably damaged. The parsonage, a somewhat more substantial edifice than most of its neighbours—a monument to the professional skill of its builder—had resisted the first attempts of the incendiaries, and before the flames had thoroughly obtained a hold Papa Costas and his sons had come scrambling down from amongst the trees, and the building—though badly damaged—was not utterly destroyed. Amongst the smoking ruins of another cottage was found the body of an old woman who had been unable to make good her escape. Every animal in the village had been slaughtered.

After this catastrophe the people of Palaiochori took refuge in Kalambaka—already crammed with refugees from a score of similarly stricken villages—and there, in the shadow of the great rocks, they remained until 1945. In January and February of that year they went back to the village that had become a wilderness. During the first few months after their return home there was tremendous activity at the sawmill and in Papa Costas' workshop. No sooner had a sufficient number of cottages been rendered habitable than the parish priest turned his attention to the church. With the assistance of his elder son and a score of willing if unskilled helpers, the requisite timber was cut and shaped; and soon—though the church was without vestments and Papa Costas had with difficulty been able to procure copies of a few of the most indispensable liturgical books—there was at least a roof to the building and it was no longer necessary for the people to stand for long hours without protection against wind and snow whilst the holy mysteries were celebrated. Then the school was re-roofed, and as summer gave place to autumn the regular pattern of village life began to reassert itself—though Papa Costas no longer had twenty sheep and there were no more than three pack-animals available for the whole community.

But security was short-lived. The following year brought wandering

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159 793 727 669 bands of *andartai* and rumours of terrible deeds wrought in the darkness of long winter nights. In August, 1946, the parish priest of Palaiochori received warning that the Communists planned to murder him as a 'traitor'. Papa Costas fled for the second time within less than three years to Kalambaka. There, at the foot of the limestone cliffs crowned by the hermitages of the ascetics of Staghi, he built a little *kalyva*: a wooden cottage consisting of a single room and a large porch.

Before many months had passed, the whole village was back in the comparative security of Kalambaka, and the mountains were given over to the Accursed of God. Papa Costas and his family (all except Leonidas, who had gone off to the wars) settled down in their new house and the younger boy began to attend the overcrowded school. There were many other refugee clergy in the town: not from the diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone but also from many of the villages lying to the north and west of Kalambaka towards the *comopolis* of Grevena.

The second period of exile lasted until October, 1949. As a refugee [465] priest, Papa Costas was entitled to a monthly stipend of 175,000 dr. (the equivalent of a little more than four pounds sterling) and the usual refugee rations of flour, sugar, etc.; but there was no ground to be tilled, no sheep or goats, no fees from baptisms or weddings to supplement the meagre wages of a 'fourth-class priest'. There was, however, some slight measure of security in Kalambaka, with its garrison and its communications, and Papa Costas' wife and daughter wove gaily coloured rugs, and adorned the little house with lace and tins of basil until any craftsman might have rejoiced in his handiwork.

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The defeat of the Communists at Florina early in 1949 marked the turning point in the seemingly interminable struggle against an enemy who, when defeated, could always withdraw beyond the northern frontiers of Greece to lick his wounds and build up his strength for another assault. During the summer months the wild region that lies to the westwards of Kalambaka was laboriously combed by units of the Greek army, and in October Papa Costas led the first party of returning refugees back to Palaiochori. His daughter and his younger son remained behind, however, in order that the boy might complete his studies at the high school, and it was in Kalambaka in January, 1950, that we first encountered our country parson.

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little church was a melancholy sight: the stone eikonostasis had survived the fire but every trace of woodwork had perished. Our priest-carpenter had just completed two new lecterns for the singers and an episcopal throne: there was plenty of work to be done as soon as Leonidas—who had been discharged from the army with wounds in both hands—was home again and fit to return to his trade.

We went on to the school where sixty-four ragged children were huddled round a smoking stove. There had been no teacher in the village between the first and second periods of exile; the schoolmaster, we were told, had disappeared in 1946 and nothing had been heard of him since. Had he gone to the mountains, we asked? Nobody knew—he had disappeared. Kleoniki Zambra, the girl we had met the previous evening, had just been sent to reopen the village school. The windows of the building—roughly re-roofed by the priest and his sons—were blocked with stones and cardboard from packing cases which had contained powdered milk; light was an altogether secondary consideration when warmth was in question.

"Last Friday", the *didaskalissa* assured us, "it was so cold that the children cried aloud and we were obliged to give up." There seemed to be no books or slates or paper—there was indeed no equipment of any description save for the stove and a few wooden benches—but the school was again performing its liturgy, and the whole village was conscious that an important step had been taken along the road that led back from the anarchy and insecurity of a decade of war towards the halcyon days which none of the children who crowded the schoolhouse that January morning was capable of recalling.

Time and time again as I travelled about the ruined villages of Pindos during that terrible winter of 1949–50 it was brought home to me how essential an element the school constitutes in the pattern of Greek village life. Almost invariably the first thought of the returning refugees, once they had succeeded in improvising some temporary shelter from wind and snow, was for the church and the school. They would rest content with the most wretched living quarters, provided only that the house of God were decently furnished and their children were receiving regular instruction; but a village without a priest and a schoolmaster was a village only in name.

Urquhart arrived in Metsovo astride the sagacious Aristotle, in the summer of the year 1830, to find that mountain township in a state of the utmost panic and alarm: the houses barricaded, the sheep, cattle

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727 and horses dispersed and hidden among the rocks; the town occupied
872 by the troops of "a Turkish Binbashi". And yet, amidst all this martial activity and excitement the good people of Metsovo were occupied with repairing one of their schools. "It is incredible", comments this traveller, "how ardent and universal among the Greeks is the desire of instruction . . . even in the wildest spots that man has chosen for a habitation or a refuge." The universal destruction of the village schools during the recent troubled years has done nothing to abate this passionate desire for instruction, which may still be reckoned one of the most striking and attractive features of the Greek character.

123 We did not linger long in Palaiochori. Mitsos was returning to
484 Kalambaka for supplies with a train of pack-animals, and before the sun was fairly round to the south side of the parsonage (where the *psaltes* lay late abed, reflecting upon his astonishing deliverance from the perils to which travellers are subject) the horses were saddled and we were ready to depart.

Some four miles down the valley, where the waters of the Aspropo-
[888] tamos divided, lay the cottage of Nicolas Kokoravas—the *geros*, as he was known in the villages round about. An ancient personage with a great reputation for wisdom, it was whispered that he spoke no less than seven languages. We had made the acquaintance of this venerable polyglot the previous evening, and had paused for a few moments outside his dwelling while one of his numerous grandchildren, a fair girl clad in Vlach costume with two children clinging to her voluminous skirts, had brought us apples as we sat astride our beasts, and Papa Costas had scribbled a hasty note addressed to the president of the village of Chrysomelia (an hour's journey to the eastward) to warn him of our impending visit and asking that an escort might be sent to meet us the following day at the cottage of the *geros*.

"Mitsos will leave you at the house of Papa Nicolas, where the waters divide", explained our priest-carpenter; "there you will await the animals from Chrysomelia."

"At what hour will they come?"

"At twelve, without doubt."

The schoolmistress borrowed Boris' camera and took our *eikon* as we perched upon our high wooden saddles. The children peered out at the door and through the chinks in the United Nations' packing cases. Mitsos led the way down the path between the high drifts of snow towards the bleached plane trees and the polished boulders of the

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torrent bed, and we followed while Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood beneath the great tree in the village square and waved farewell: 123 484

"*Kalo taxidi; o Theos mazi sas!*"

A good journey; may God go with you.

At dusk we rode into Chrysomelia—a large village lying at 900 metres—after a journey which will long linger in my memory. For the best part of an hour Antony the Zealot (our guide) had questioned me relentlessly as to the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the jurisdiction of the *metropolites* of Canterbury, whilst the mules floundered in deep snow as we climbed laboriously towards the village, the buildings of an abandoned monastery far below among the pines. We had been delayed at the cottage of Papa Nicolas, the *geros*, till it was close on three o'clock. There had been a misunderstanding as to the rendezvous, arising, apparently, from the fact that the curate of the neighbouring hamlet of Aidona was also a Papa Costas.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Antony, and the Zealot was preparing to celebrate his name-day. In a tiny chapel on the outskirts of the shattered village vespers was drawing to a close. The village church, dating from 1580 and dedicated to St. George, was a total ruin. We stayed for the liturgy next morning and all the men and boys of the village accompanied us to church. After a distribution of the blessed bread Papa Athanasius Tsergoulas, the pastor of this mountain flock, took us to see his dwelling—a tiny cell of mud bricks set amidst the ruins of the house which he had built some thirty years earlier—and there we sat around a table in the pale sunlight outside the newly-opened tavern and sipped ouzo with the village elders, while crowds of wild, ragged children played amongst the ruins of the church—there were nearly 300 of them and it was eight years since the school had ceased to perform its liturgy. 727 796 346 [342]

Chrysomelia had been one of the most important villages of this region, with a population of 1,050. It had suffered at the hands of the Germans at the same time as Palaiochori. The people had begun to return in October. Scarcely a house in the whole village had escaped destruction. 727 722

The devastation was no less widespread at the hamlet of Kato Perlangion, where we slept the following night, wrapped in rugs on the 727 346 123

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727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I
had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community
gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great,
[796] in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a
799 time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos.*

346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

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About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. [872] The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had 875 just been released from the army. He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the 123 unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. The [793] priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena.

The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one [484] of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the

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the service of the morning was concluded, he joined with enthusiasm in all their gaiety and rejoicings; he had his seat at their festive board and his place in the evening dance, nor did his hilarity and mirth render him less dear, or less venerated in the eyes of those who had yet to learn that cheerfulness was sin, and that ascetic melancholy alone was suited to the dignified sobriety of Christianity!

Several years have passed since Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood in the village square and waved farewell; the isolated hamlets of northern Pindos have suffered prolonged and untold hardship, for the process of reconstruction and recovery is inevitably a slow one. Occasional letters reveal the continuing scarcity of the bare necessities of life and the unremitting struggle to restore a disrupted economy. At Palaiochori the ground is again under cultivation, Leonidas is back at his bench, and the church of St. Bessarion bears eloquent witness to the skill of the village carpenter and his elder son.

The passage of time has done little to efface the memory of that journey to the silent depths of Pindos: the chapel at Kato Perlangion, the whole community gathered for the evening office, the candles hissing and spluttering as the rain dripped from the roughly patched roof; Papa Athanasius, the parish priest of Chrysomelia with its golden fruit and shattered dwellings, beside the desecrated altar where for a quarter of a century he had pleaded the one perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, a silent multitude of men and boys bare-headed in the snow; Nicolas Kokoravas the many-tongued, like one of the patriarchs of the old dispensation, amongst his children and his children's children in their dilapidated dwelling in the midst of the rushing torrents and the frozen pools; the whitewashed cottage beneath the towering cliffs of Staghi, with its tins of sweet basil and its gay Vlach rugs, a lamp burning in a corner before the eikons of the Lord Christ and His saints; and Papa Costas—village carpenter and minister of the holy and ineffable mysteries—at the head of a winding column of pack animals, threading his way amidst the polished boulders.

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793 the stripes of red and white which adorn an episcopal *mandyas* and are
292 called *pomata and potama*, may with great profit refer to the delightful
[113] engravings which illuminate that learned writer's discussion of these matters in his work on *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*.

I will but refer briefly to the vestment known as the *phelonion*, which is of primary importance so far as the ordinary parish church is concerned. It is always worn by the celebrant at the liturgy and in its general appearance somewhat resembles the western cope, being of far more ample cut than the chasuble to which it in fact corresponds.

Dr. Covel (who has some diverting observations on this topic) connects it with the 'cloke' (*phailones*) which the Apostle asks Timothy to bring him from Troas (II Timothy, iv. 13), and with the ancient *penula* which was made in such fashion that "when the Head is put through the Top, all the rest hangs down round on all Sides, sloping like the Top of a round Tower or the Roof of a house . . . *Penula* was worn both by Men and Women in Winter upon their Journeys . . . purely to fence off Rain or cold Winter-like Weather. . . . *Tully* takes notice that it was a *peaceable* Garment (and so much more becoming *St. Paul* and a *Greek* Priest), for he was excuseth *Milo* from being guilty of Murder from having it on: *cum Penula irretitus, when he was wrapt up in his winter Peticoat, what could be less prepared or fit for fighting?* For a man cannot handle a Sword or any Weapon under it, either to assault another or to defend himself." The *phelonion*, he continues, is "something like a Woman's Petticoat, with only a hole at the top to put their Heads through, and the rest of it hangs down round about their thighs to their ankles. It is richly wrought with Gold and Silver; and the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one, though of a meaner making".

So much for the *phelonion*. Of the other vestures worn by the clergy at their various offices I will only observe that in former days every church would normally possess a complete set, while a large urban parish where several clergy might concelebrate on a Sunday or a festival would as a rule be suitably furnished with the appropriate vestments.
[822] The Greek Church has no scheme of liturgical colours: if a church possesses more than one vestment, the best will be brought out on high days without any regard to colour. The *kalymmafchion* is worn in church, as well as forming part of the outdoor attire of the clergy.

[727] To-day, alas, it can no longer be affirmed with any confidence of the *phelonion* that "the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one"—of however

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mean a making—or that the other "Garments and Accoutrements" of the clergy are "very Glorious and different". The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings. 793 292 727

The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred. [648]

During the winter of 1949–50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves. [669]

The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

> In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askue even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various 793 292 186

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669 sure that aid would come, or if it came that it would arrive soon
648 enough and in large enough quantity to turn the tide. Yet for-
433 eign aid was clearly needed if the Communist guerrillas were to be stopped. Without it, the government could scarcely hope to maintain its army for long. More than that, the fabric of the civil economy could not stand by itself, especially when guerrilla raids and road mines made transport and communication unsafe.

727 Apart from the military and diplomatic aspects, there was
648 another and more fundamental sense in which the morale of the government and of the conservative classes was damaged. The general ideas and presuppositions of the non-Communist politicians and their supporters were badly shaken by the course of events in the immediate postwar period. Their general assumption had been that once the Germans had withdrawn and a transition period of special emergency had been passed through, then the society and economy of Greece would return of themselves to something like stability and the prewar pattern. Yet now the Germans had departed, UNRRA had come and gone (save for a small rear guard), and still there was no stability and no security. Far less was there any prospect of prosperity.

The upheaval of the war years had in fact been too drastic to permit any automatic return to normal. But the political lead-
[661] ers of the country, all of whom had grown up in a world where government economic policy and administration were conceived in terms of doing favors for one's friends and withholding them from one's opponents, had no idea how to cope with the disturbed and unhappy society entrusted to their guidance. No idea, that is, except to ask for help from Britain or the United States.

[665] The politicians could scarcely be accused of not having done their part to bring things back to normal. During the brief res-

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pite between the time when British troops had suppressed the wartime guerrilla army in December 1944, and the resumption of the guerrilla war in the summer of 1946, the politicians resumed the prewar game of politics with an exemplary faithfulness to old customs and methods. Two of the principal figures of Greek politics, Sophocles Venizelos and Constantine Tsaldaris, carried family names that had been illustrious in the twenties and thirties, and owed their leadership more to their names than to any personal attributes. Quarrels between royalists and republicans, which dated back to the first world war, remained the principal line of demarcation between rival groups of politicians; and demands for territorial expansion at the expense of the defeated powers – primarily Bulgaria – remained a major stock-in-trade of political oratory, and the best antidote the political leaders could find for the discontent and unrest of the nation. This, after all, had been the dominant theme in the career of the great Eleftherios Venizelos, who had almost doubled Greek territory between 1912 and 1919, and even for a dizzy moment seemed to have the old Byzantine capital of Constantinople within his grasp. And how could any politician hope to improve on Venizelist models?

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Fame and fortune had always been the stuff and substance of a political career; special favors to friends and supporters had always been the means by which power was sustained; parties had always been fragile coalitions of ambitious public men who combined for a longer or shorter time under the leadership of one of their number, only to scatter and re-form in some new constellation when the restless striving for place and position dictated a change.

727 661 433

To be sure, even before the war, extensive social legislation had been enacted, and the idea that the government was somehow responsible for maintaining the welfare of the population at large was not unknown. But such measures were conceived

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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727 primarily as electoral maneuvers, aimed to win votes, rather
661 than as aspects of any general social policy. A managed econ-
433 omy, or even a semi-managed economy, in which government decisions influenced the flow and volume of investment, regulated the supply of money, and adjusted the share of the national income to be enjoyed by different groups in the population was scarcely within the purview of the old-style politicians. Once again, this was not because the government had not intervened repeatedly and with telling effect in the economic life of the country. It had, but usually in the spirit of helping political or personal friends and thwarting foes.

Yet in spite of the faithful and unimaginative efforts of the political cosmos (the name Greeks give to the small number of men who play leading roles in political life) to return to a comfortable prewar pattern of behavior, the country ungratefully failed to follow suit. The times remained desperately out of joint, but knowing no way to set them right, the conservative politicians and their supporters were in a quandary. Their morale was destroyed by the lack of any clearly defined and firmly felt purpose and program, quite as much as by the diplomatic and material difficulties they confronted. Among the men of the right, apathy and hopelessness alternated with sporadic anti-Communist and extra-legal violence; but neither the one nor the other seemed to do anything but make the situation worse.

665 The Greek Communist party was not without its own internal
727 difficulties, but by comparison with the old-style politicians the Communists had tremendous advantages. First and foremost, they commanded a disciplined, enthusiastic and energetic body of committed followers, men who could be counted upon to follow instructions and who were willing to undergo personal hardship in the service of their dream for the future. Beyond this, the Communists enjoyed the sympathy or admiration of a

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considerable proportion of the population, especially among 665
the workmen of the towns and the peasants of the hill villages. 727
No one can say how large this group was, but to estimate it at about 20 per cent of the nation's total population is a reasonable guess.

Another important asset of the Communists was their wartime record as leaders of resistance against the Germans and [726]
Italians. They could plausibly paint themselves as true champions of Greek national freedom and of democracy, while accusing their opponents of betraying the interests of the nation first to the Axis and then to the British. To be both a patriot and a Communist sympathizer did not therefore seem incompatible.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the Communists did have a more or less definite program of action and knew what they wanted. They were able to explain the continued distress of the country as a natural result of the creeping crisis of capitalism. They had a ready cure at hand in the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, as a preliminary to planned industrial expansion, on the Russian model. To many Communist followers, no doubt, the program meant little more than an angry intention to take from the rich and give to the poor, i.e., to themselves, all the good things which had selfishly and unjustly been withheld from them. Others, more sophisticated, realized that there would inevitably be a long period of time when suffering and poverty still would prevail, but believed that in the long run the dream of abundance for all could be realized, if the government planned economic activity and compelled sufficient investment. And no matter what the degree of economic understanding among their followers, the Communists had the advantage of offering the distressed and confused a cause to which to dedicate themselves, an enemy against

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665 whom to fight, and a hope for the future. None of the old-line
●727 political parties or leaders could do any of these things nearly so effectively.

665 Only the inner circle of the Greek Communist party was di-
669 rectly affected by the very real fissure between what may be called "home grown" and "Russian" Communists. The rank and file of party members and sympathizers were perhaps scarcely aware of any such tensions, and accepted without any special notice the transfer of authority over the Greek Communist party from the hands of George Siantos, who had led it during the war years, to those of Nicholas Zachariades, who had spent the war in a German concentration camp. Yet this shift, accomplished in May 1945, represented the assertion of control by leaders trained and directed by Moscow, as against the more independent "home grown" leadership which Siantos had embodied.

In any case, this fissure was only of potential importance. If Russian policy should diverge seriously from lines acceptable to "home grown" Communists, then the factions in the Greek Communist party might be expected to come into the open. So long as no such divergence appeared – and in 1946 and 1947 it did not – the only consequence was to elevate some persons to positions of authority in the party and to blight the careers of others who had thrown in their lot with the defeated side.

665 Hence, in 1946 and 1947 the advantages enjoyed by the Greek
669 Communist party in competition with its rivals were actual, its
648 weaknesses only potential. This was true not only within the
727 country, but internationally as well. The Communist countries to the north began actively assisting the Greek Communist bands, sending arms and ammunition, allowing hard-pressed units to find refuge across the border, and providing hospital and other services to them as far as geographical difficulties permitted. On the other hand, British military and economic

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support for the Greek government was about to be withdrawn, 665
and it was not yet clear that American support would be forth- 669
coming to replace the British. Under the circumstances it is not 648
strange that the Communists went from strength to strength, 727
while their opponents were filled with foreboding for the future.

To be sure, the Communists faced one great obstacle. Their 669
opponents were still in full control of the administrative machine 647
of government. The pattern so successfully followed in eastern European countries which fell within the Russian sphere of influence, whereby Communists first acquired a toehold in the administration and then used their position to push all rivals out, could scarcely be employed in Greece. The police, army and civil bureaucracy were all firmly in anti-Communist hands. British armed intervention in 1944 had been necessary to secure [648]
this state of affairs, but it was confirmed by elections held in [666]
1946; and the new aggressiveness of international Communist policies did not permit patient waiting until some future election might lead to a coalition including Communist ministers.

Yet the effectiveness of these instruments of power was sadly blunted in Greece. In the countryside the police were too few to resist concerted attack by guerrilla bands. The army was numerous enough, but the morale of the soldiers made offensive actions against the guerrillas difficult and largely ineffective. The civil bureaucracy was distinguished by its clumsiness and 647
occasional corruption. Efforts to prevent corruption led to ex- 661
cessive centralization, so that even simple decisions had constantly to be referred to Athens, and not infrequently to a cabinet member, before action could be taken. The nomarchs, [634]
the principal local officials in the provinces, characteristically spent more time in Athens, haunting the central offices of the government in hope of getting needed decisions, money or supplies, than they did in the districts assigned to them. Incidentally, of course, they could thereby consolidate personal rela-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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647 tions with higher authority, promote their own careers, and
661 enjoy the amenities of Athenian existence. But in the meantime much that should have been done remained undone.

Senior officials and ministers were harrassed by incredible numbers of papers requiring their signature or countersignature; they were harrassed even more by the crowds of petitioners who stood outside every door and not infrequently pushed their way inside to watch for a chance to seize the great man's attention. Subordinates, on the other hand, seldom would or could take any initiative themselves, but referred everything to higher authority, where the papers added to the jam at the top.

185 Perhaps the greatest weakness of the whole system was that
727 officialdom shared the intellectual and technical deficiencies of
647 the politicians. In the general confusion and pressure of daily
433 business, no one had time or opportunity to try to think in long terms, measure the economic and other needs of the country, and attempt to establish some sort of priority among them, so that a beginning, however modest, could be made toward repairing some of the disbalances and defects of Greek society. Perhaps the magnitude of the problems and the sheer inadequacy of Greek resources to cope with most of them made such calculations impracticable. But it was also true that the officials of the Greek government were not accustomed to thinking in such terms, and tended to assume that problems of this nature should be left to solve themselves by the spontaneous action of private citizens, within the framework of traditional patterns of living. In proportion as the physical and psychological basis of such a traditional framework had been destroyed by the war, this assumption was no longer valid; but few, indeed, in the turmoil of the civil administration realized this fact, and fewer were ready, intellectually or morally, to try to move into the gaps thus created in the social structure, and attempt to put the scattered fragments back into some sort of working order.

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Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

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government. Unassisted, they would certainly not have been able to do anything effective to overcome the Communist menace. 185 727 433 669

To sum up: The nature of Greek society and the shortcomings of the Greek government, together with the constellation of international relations in 1946 and 1947, made Communist revolution possible, indeed probable. But the injection of a massive new force, United States aid, changed the direction of events and prevented that consummation. The activity of the American aid missions will therefore be the subject of the next chapter. [648]

[PP. 33-84 not Processed]

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Kotta
[Hill Villages]

rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and 669
twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and 728
only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of 621
them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and 161
Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead.

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left [842] childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age?

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has 621
been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside 161
world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto 167
and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. 457
The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage.

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in 727
the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been 621
through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly re- 571
laxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. [457]
The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, for example.

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

727 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of
621 young men dressed in homespun.

[571] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat
[657] from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today
[491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small valley.

[241] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn al-
[233] most the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly growing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The
[492] village also has a few cattle – another government gift – which not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta
241 is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres
233 of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one
[242] of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy – the lack of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

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621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a [197] [619] degree of kinship.

Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has [631] lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old- [727] fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 161 x 178 The real question for the future is whether or not the village will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving popu- [728] lation is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children between the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy- [885] seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

the village joined the resistance during the occupation period; 726
but my guess is that practically every able-bodied man took 669
part at some time or other in guerrilla actions, even though
some of the villagers remained ostensibly civilian. A conse- [727]
quence was that in 1943 a German expedition burnt all the
houses of the upper village and made it uninhabitable. The people of Cherasia, fortunately, saw them coming and had time to escape over the mountain.

The "liberation" of Greece in 1944 brought no liberation to 669
Cherasia. Quite the contrary, it interfered with the process by [579]
which armed men from the village had been able during the occupation to get grain and other goods from the plains. Consequently, when three men appeared on Mount Pelion in 1946 and summoned the young men of the village to take arms again, the response was immediate. When I visited the village in 1947, a guerrilla band, some thirty strong, was encamped in the ruins of the upper village. A detachment descended each evening to gather supplies from the inhabitants of the lower village and from other villages out in the plain. Most of the members of the band were sons of families living in lower Cherasia, although the leaders of the band came from elsewhere.

During the day, the Greek army, from a strong point in a neighboring plains village, took possession of Cherasia. Each morning a patrol of soldiers came to the village and demanded to know who had been collaborating with the guerrillas; each evening the guerrillas came down from the mountain and demanded to know who had been helping the soldiers. Under the circumstances, life was difficult, to say the least. The army sometimes beat those suspected of sympathizing with the guerrillas. In addition, irregular rightist bands visited the commu- [727]
nity several times and indulged in greater violence, killing several people and burning down seven houses. The guerrillas,

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[Hill Villages]

669 722 [727] too, burned some houses, including those belonging to the three "rich" families of the community. These had fled to Volos, together with some other families from the village. The people who remained were inclined to support the guerrillas.

About two weeks after my visit in 1947, the army evacuated all the remaining inhabitants of Cherasia to Volos. There they remained in refugee quarters for two and a half years. The last guerrilla band disappeared from Mount Pelion only in 1950, some six months after the main guerrilla army in the north had retreated across the Albanian frontier. It was therefore late in 1950 before the inhabitants of Cherasia were allowed – or compelled – to return to their village.

727 653 [657] [232] Government authorities were, however, well aware of the difficulties that confronted the community. The returned refugees were given every help to re-establish themselves. They received, gratis, 238 sheep to serve as a nucleus for their flock, as well as materials for the reconstruction of their houses, most of which had suffered damage. Officials issued seed and implements as well. A comprehensive work relief program was set up; for about two years after their return, the men of Cherasia received wages for working on projects that directly benefited their community. In this fashion the new road over the mountain was built – shortening the way to Volos by nearly half. [346] [312] Similarly, new and very handsome school and church buildings were constructed; and pipes from the spring in the upper village brought fresh water into lower Cherasia for the first time. This was vital if the population was to remain in the lower village the year around, since water had previously been unavailable there in summer. Another side of the government policy was to give no help toward reconstruction of the village of upper Cherasia – perched, as it was, high on the mountain beyond the reach of roads. No doubt the authorities in this fashion hoped to tie the villagers to the accessible lower village, and

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thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

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badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

178x 829 669 433 313 656 [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

669 722 657 178x

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

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217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names registered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people offi-
[745] cially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers reckon that their own local production supplies food for only
[432] two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of
[844] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed
727 dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in
1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village
president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
433 expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very
[669] poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–
49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the
[653] poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way
quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in. [165]
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/70 cont./
Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

PREFACE

At the present stage of the reconstruction of our country the building of houses is of colossal importance. 362

At no other time, since the reconstruction of liberated Greece began, after the 1821 Revolution, was there such a great opportunity for building activity in the Greek mainland as at present. 36.9 727

The 430.000 destroyed houses in our country, most of which are to be found in the countryside, form 24% of our total number of houses, and the great majority of these have been either totally destroyed or damaged beyond repair.

At the present moment, the attention of all our authorities is focussed on the best solution of the housing in the Greek countryside.

The question is of paramount importance and is much more difficult than that of reconstructing the urban centres where a different way of life allows the application of solutions usually common to all towns, and even to all countries.

But the problem is quite different in the countryside where the «land» factor and the «human» factor, free from the intense influence of civilization, have a direct bearing on the way of life, the methods of living and consequently the types of dwelling. It is for this reason that a great importance should be attached to all the forms of dwellings originating in Greek tradition. In this way we will be able to understand how similar problems have been faced previously by the same people and in the same surroundings.

The present survey by Prof. G. A. Megas, who is already known from his previous works on Thracian, Lemnian and Thessalian Houses, is the first attempt at a synthetic presentation of the whole problem of the Greek Popular House. 114 342*

The problem is not an easy one.

The Greek house has developed through the centuries, under the influence of many civilizations on those physical factors which usually determine its form. The author achieves a global presentation of the problem in conjunction with the similar problems in the countries

[P. 8 is blank]

in order to help him in his activities; thus he creates deviations from the traditional type, variations from the original form. The scholar may see the solutions which the man of the people finds for the various problems connected with house construction, with storage of cattle foodstuffs, shelter of cattle and arrangement of space. He may see his very spiritual and productive forces in action and in full application. For, the methods and means which the popular builder uses in solving these problems, reflect the thought, the practical mind, the creative force, the sence of beauty of the man of the people. This is why it is difficult for me to understand how it is possible that a study of art and material life of the people can be separated from the whole folklore research, as if it was a separate subject; because the things as such are of great interest for folklore study as constituting elements of popular civilization studied by it, and on the other hand, because the man of the people, whose spiritual and creative forces are investigated by Folklore, is acting behind these things. 121 342*

Researches on the popular house are naturally of great importance both for ethnology and for the general history of civilization, but the same holds true for all the subjects of folklore research, especially for those transmitted from people to people.

It is evident that each effort to proceed to a general synthesis of the forms of the Greek house and of its relation to the houses of the other peoples of the Balkans and of Asia Minor assumes the collection of various and abundant comparative material, pertaining to the arrangement of the plan as well as to the methods of construction. I think however that such an attempt, at least as far as the Greek side is concerned, is not premature to-day.

The war and the occupation, and later the communist rebellion, supported from abroad, apart from the other calamities, had as a result the destruction of a great number of houses. The private houses, public buildings, schools, churches and communal buildings destroyed amount to 430.000. The destruction is so big that in future we shall know the architectural forms of some areas only by surveys made in those areas. 121 362 727 653

The urgent need to reconstruct the ruins and to rehabilitate the agricultural economy of the country, made necessary, even during the occupation, the reorganization of the Survey Office of the Town Planning Service, and the creation, immediately after the liberation, of the Ministry of Reconstruction, whose program of works includes the knowledge of the locally prevailing types and forms of popular

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
● 727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
* 342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[597] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bungalow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards improve, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphically on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. (1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein.—I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. 178 177 [727]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. 184 177 369 [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed. 184 186 [487]

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not 184 369 805

each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger. 156 195 577

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*. 156 577 [521]

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not. [619]

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*. 156 577 578 [762]

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of 156 577 722 727

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
511 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
721 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

178 To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of
156 living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as
511 a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of
511 God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until
727 the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and
746 to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated
[173] to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the First Balkan War (1913), and of recuperating from the First World
648 War, the Greek forces, with the permission of the Great Powers, occupied
727 an area around Smyrna, Turkey. Then they pushed inland in 1921 to attack the Turkish forces under Kemal Pasha in the hope of occupying the part of Turkey peopled by many Greeks. The highly nationalistic Turks, following the defeat of the Greeks, rose against the Greek-speaking residents of Asia Minor as well as the retreating Greek army.

In the Treaty of Lausanne (January 1923) Greece and Turkey agreed
[728] to exchange their populations then living under the control of the other, as
[167] a result of which over a million Greeks migrated from Asia Minor to Greece proper and over 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey. In addition, exchanges of 46,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and 53,000 Bulgarians from Greece [7] followed the Treaty of Neuilly, which dealt with Bulgaria for her participation with the Central Powers in World War I.

178 In my various visits to Northern Greece, I had difficulty in fully appre-
167 ciating the immensity of the impact of these refugees upon Greek national
727 life. I could try to imagine what it must mean for any country, especially one as deficient in natural resources as Greece was in the 1920s, to have 22 percent of its total population made up of recently displaced persons, many of whom were widows and children whose husbands and fathers had perished in the ordeals of Asia Minor. It was as though the United States, which consisted of about 110 million at that time, were to receive over 24 million immigrants in a three- to four-year period, as compared with the figure of just over a million, representing the largest number to arrive in any previous year.

As I listened with interest to the involved story of a single family's flight and their subsequent difficulties, I could comprehend, at least in part, what this experience had meant to them.[8] Or I could follow the complaints of the leaders of a community, such as those in Thomai, Thessaly (Chapter 4), who, as late as 1953, were talking of how much better off they had been when living in caves in Turkey with all the land they wanted to cultivate. Yet, when I tried to multiply these experiences of a few to those of a thousand displaced people, with all of their pent-up emotions and problems, I had to stretch my imagination to the fullest and admit the futility of trying to multiply this thousand by another thousand if I were to seek to encompass the totality of the refugee problem in Greece in the 1920s. No wonder
[177] the League of Nations stepped in to render assistance, as did philanthropic groups in the United States and elsewhere.

What happens to a nation when it receives newcomers up to one fifth of its total number? What complications arise when these refugees come from different geographic and cultural areas, bound together only by the sense that their families were Greek in origin? By 1952-53, most of these settlers had adjusted to their new conditions and were making significant contribu-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

000 722 511 who stayed home. When the Greek army interrupted communication with the outside world this vital supply of cash was cut off. In 1947, therefore, the villagers were trying to spread out [669] [457] four months' food over the twelve months of the year.

Their diet was cornbread and little else. Nearly all of their [262] [164] sheep, whose milk had once helped to correct the deficiencies of a maize diet, had been slaughtered during the occupation; and the prevalence of skin diseases and a certain lassitude in their movements clearly indicated that malnutrition was added to [263] undernourishment. They missed salt more acutely than anything else. There had been none in the village for several weeks when I was there.

669 722 621 161 Kotta remained in guerrilla hands until August 1949. It was luckier than some of its neighboring communities inasmuch as there was no fighting in the immediate environs, so that the houses of the village escaped without more than casual damage. But the villagers could not escape from famine, nor from disease that naturally followed in the wake of prolonged and dras- [162] tic undernourishment. When I returned in 1956, the population of the village had shrunk to 188, less than one third of what it had been in 1947. The average number of persons per family had declined to 2.4, whereas in 1947 families with fewer than three children were a rarity and five or six children per family was closer to the average.

About one hundred of the former inhabitants of the village were simply missing. They had gone off, in desperation, looking for food or safety and had not come back. Most, presumably, had died or been killed. In addition, the village priest said that about fifty of the village men were known to have been killed while serving with the guerrillas; and five families had moved west across the Albanian frontier in 1949 when the guerrilla retreat took place. But the largest single factor in the decline of 669 population was the removal of the village children by the guer- ●728 621 161

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta

[Hill Villages]

rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and 669
twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and 728
only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of 621
them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and 161
Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead.

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left [842] childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age?

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has 621
been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside 161
world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto 167
and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. 457
The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage.

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in 727
the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been 621
through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly re- 571
laxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. [457]
The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, for example.

[Hill Villages]

621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a [197] degree of kinship.

[619] Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there [631] from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old-[727] fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 161 x 178 The real question for the future is whether or not the village will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving population is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children be-[728] tween the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy-seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five [885] couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

554 875 793 622 [729] [561]

not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

554 167 177

I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
509 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
722 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

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East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful 177
in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable 571
changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political 666
bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal 571
loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of 571
humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only 577
recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a 73
plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience 577 867

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101 13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty [433] and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw. 821 [539]

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . . [245] [243] [132]

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune. 731

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless. 731 133 [361]

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!) 731 821 [123]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Kokinya is a village of about one hundred houses not far from Kozane in Western Macedonia. The prefect of Kozane heard that a serious storm had hit the village and went out with his agriculturist to see what damage had been done, taking me along. As the agriculturist got estimates of crop destruction (50 percent of the wheat, 80 percent of the corn), we began to find out the peasants' explanations for this storm. One old man put it simply when he said, "it was God's will." [9] Even though the storm had occurred two days before, the people were still dazed at the thought of so much labor going to waste, to say nothing of the loss of the expected income from the crops. They did not seem bitter, nor altogether resigned. The visit of the nomarch (prefect) and his hour's discussion with the men brought a ray of hope. After many matters had been looked into, the nomarch asked just before he left: "I'm going to write up this report and make request for aid from the proper ministry. What are you people of Kokinya going to do?" They answered: "We are going to go to our fields, work with our vineyards. The rain has made new ravines. We must carry soil and fill in. Now we will have to work harder."

This statement reminded me of a conversation one evening on an apartment terrace halfway up Lykabettos Hill, a hill standing all by itself in the center of Athens. The Acropolis was clearly outlined in the moonlight, and the lights on the sea far in the distance told of the movement of boats in and out of the harbor. There we discussed the Greek peasant's idea of fate with a group of educated Greek friends — one of them the novelist Elias Venezis. As the backdrop for the present point of view we went back to the ancient idea of the three Fates and the classic themes of Greek tragedy.[10]

The Greeks with whom we were talking were careful to distinguish between the passive fatalism of the lands farther to the east and the active fatalism of the Greeks, pointing out that the Greek peasant made no abject surrender to nature or other forces about him. Even though the individual knows the odds are against him, he must stand up and face his destiny with dignity and correctness, whether the forces which would crush him show any mercy or not. We were reminded of the common saying, "syn Athena kai cheira kinei," which means, "with Athena move your own hand too." Thus it was neither incongruous nor contradictory to hear one Kokinya peasant say, "it is God's will," and to hear his neighbor say "now we will have to work harder."

On such a mental adjustment to the mountains, plains, and the sea, which we shall take up in order, is the survival of the Greek people largely based.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Whereas the effect of the coming of the Asia Minor refugees was to increase the population and heighten the economic activity of the country, the effect of the stay of these northern villagers in town was to loosen somewhat the social cement that holds the kinship group and the village community together. It set in motion more perceptibly in Northern Greece what has long been characteristic of Central Greece and the Peloponnesos: the urbanization of the countryside, in the sense of the spreading influence of urban ways. 178 369 727 669 [621]

War is not the only source of cataclysmic change. Devastating earthquakes sometimes destroy densely populated areas. In 1953, shortly after we left Greece, earthquakes created havoc on the islands of Cephalonia and Zante. My former interpreter, Bessie Adossides, described this in a revealing letter: 178 731 [133]

> As soon as these earthquakes started, Mother and I presented ourselves to the Greek Red Cross and volunteered to go either to Cephalonia or Zante. Thus on August 13th we left via Patras for Zante. Mother was heading a group of eighteen volunteer nurses and, when we arrived at our destination, the whole town was still in flames and the place smelled of burned flesh. The disaster in the town of Zante was complete; only one church, a school, and a bank were standing. The panic, suffering, and agony of the population were indescribable. We found on our arrival that nurses from Patras had set up a provisionary tent hospital, but as there was not sufficient place for all the wounded and sick, these were being shipped to Patras. For two nights we stayed awake as the fire came very near the hospital and we had to be ready to carry everybody on board a ship in the harbor. Luckily this did not happen.

Although this letter describes the efforts of a few individuals, the whole Greek nation was asked to contribute to the reconstruction of these destroyed island communities. International agencies also helped. Such a catastrophic experience, with its rupturing of some social bonds and the forging of new ones, has brought about social changes in the areas affected. The economic drain resulted in readjustment of the government's plans for economic development, since substantial material resources had to be routed to this area of dire need. A few years before, the city of Volos in Thessaly had been badly affected; earlier it had been Corinth. 178 731 659

No matter what type of cataclysm occurs, when governmental authorities have to step in and assist in reconstruction, there is always the tendency — as expressed by one nomarch — for people to take "distribution of clothing, food, and medical care for granted, hoping it will go on forever." The fact that they have suffered entitles them, so they think, to continued support even after reconstruction days are past.

Social Drift

Even in a country as subjected to catastrophe as Greece, individuals decide whether or not to try new ways which they have seen or about which 178

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

623 responsibility. The collection of its monies is undertaken by the central government's financial officers directed from Amphiklia, and the expenditure of its monies is supervised and controlled by the officers of the *nomarchia* centered in Levadhia. Moreover, the council has neither responsibility nor power over other village-wide activities. Law enforcement and the operation of the village school and of the village churches are administered separately both from the council and each from the others. Before turning to these activities, some mention of the council's role in Vasilika apart from the formal expectations is appropriate.

[829] [622] It is indicative of the village attitude toward the council, in contrast with that toward the president, that at no time during our stay in the village was any man pointed out to us as having the status of council member or as having had it in the past. When, accompanied by several villagers, we visited the former schoolteacher of Vasilika, he asked us who was currently the president but did not ask about the council members. The president has an important role to play 622 in the minds of the villagers. He is expected to act as liaison between them and 829 other governmental units and to further the interests of Vasilika in whatever situations may develop. For example, there was some criticism of the president for not arranging more rapidly for the bus to come through the village. In ● 731 early April 1956, an unexpected and heavy rain flooded the fields and threatened 312 to destroy the wheat if the waters did not drain off quickly. Most of the vil- 208 lagers (not all, however) were agitated, and in the early morning groups of men 521 climbed the hill and looked out over the fields shaking their heads and lamenting, "*Katastrofes*!" "Catastrophy!" Then came the discussion of why the fields were not draining properly. All day, in the coffeehouse, the men inveighed against the English company which had owned the former Lake Copais land for setting up a drainage system that did not go beyond those lands; against the Greeks who took over the company for continuing a system that, the men insisted, not only did not drain the lands of Vasilika, but even made it subject to flooding; against the government for not having built a proposed dam that would have protected the region; and against the village president for not immediately calling on the nomarch's engineers to suggest remedies for the present situation. For days after, there were rumors that the nomarch's technical staff would meet with the president and councils of Parori and Vasilika to arrange a public works program of low dams to protect the area from possible future disasters from the same cause. The meeting never took place. Some villagers 731 blamed the situation on the unwillingness of the farmers to work together to 312 build their own small dams. One man had earlier tried to protect his own 208 fields by building low earthen dikes around them, but his work was wasted because the surrounding fields were not so protected. The morning after the storm some of the men had quickly built up a two-foot dam at an obviously vulnerable spot near the cemetery. But a villager pointed out that if the water had risen just a little further, the placement of the dam would have made the situation worse rather than better. There was no more rain; the waters gradually receded; each man watched for his own fields to dry out. Those who were left with one or two small plots that were so badly flooded as to be useless for

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

When the second world war came, followed by Italian and German occupation and drastic derangement of the national economy, the situation of the hill villages became truly desperate. Starvation visited many of them. 433 731

Famine in time of war was age-old; and the response of the hillsmen of Greece also had very ancient precedent behind it, for they took gun in hand, and attempted to seize forcibly what they could no longer gain peaceably from the plains. They formed the backbone of the wartime ~~resistance forces~~, and justified their violence by patriotism, quite in the spirit their forefathers had shown in attacking the Turks. Yet the resistance movement was not merely a reassertion of old patterns. Its leadership was mainly provided by Communists, who in earlier years had been a small and not very significant group, largely confined to the towns.[1] [579] 726 669 433 [668]

In the wartime resistance movement the inhabitants of the hill villages found a sort of economic relief, inasmuch as the guerrilla bands lived by raiding the plains, taking by force a part of the agricultural surplus of those regions in order to feed themselves. A young man, without any real occupation in his native village, and without any hope of a career at home which could satisfy even the traditionally low level of expectation among the hillsmen, could, by joining a guerrilla band, hope to feed himself and relieve his family of the burden of his presence. In addition, he could become a hero, fighting for freedom and liberty, social justice and a better life for all.

For most peasant boys, the ulterior aims of their Communist leaders meant little or nothing. Indeed, the Communists were at very considerable pains to play down any plans they had for social revolution, and welcomed persons of widely differing social views into the ranks of the resistance. This was, of course, 669

1. There were a number of non-Communist resistance bands also, but most of them did not last long, and the successful ones were confined to Epirus, in the northwest.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

Hill Villages

KOTTA

621 Kotta is situated in the far northwestern corner of Greece, [361] about five miles from the Albanian border, and not more than fifteen miles from the point where Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece adjoin. Flowing past the village is a small stream which [133] in due course descends to join the Aliakmon River. The valley [311] slopes are steep, and the villagers possess only 500 stremmata (125 acres) of arable soil. Much of this is thin patches on the hillsides; of good bottom land the community has less than ten acres.

722 When I visited the village in 1947, the inhabitants were starv- 669 ing. Seemingly innumerable children peeped out from every [731] house, many of them showing bloated bellies beneath motley rags that served as clothing but scarcely covered their nakedness. The village was then in the hands of the guerrillas, who had stationed a detachment of fifteen boys (the eldest was not more than eighteen) in the community. The ordinary speech [191] was Slavic, and at least some of the villagers felt that it would [619] be better for them if their village belonged to Yugoslav Macedonia. Macedonian national feeling may have played some part in this attitude, but probably the major determinant was the knowledge that conditions across the border were not quite so hard as those they faced in Greece.

The people of Kotta were, indeed, living under war condi- [491] tions. The Greek army had blocked the main road between Florina and Kastoria, which runs not far from the village site, and no vehicles could pass without special permits; men could still get through on foot by taking off across open country, but there was little incentive to do so. Work could not be found [464] down in the plains, and a man from Kotta, with the trace of a Slavic accent in his Greek, was courting arrest or a beating if he

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
727 forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
[669] expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus popu-
[464] lation of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

[731] 4. An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly
[653] in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source
[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the child that he would have the agent inject him just as if he were a chicken. The child started to cry, and after two or three minutes, his father righted the child and comforted him. 855 [654] [232]

Sometimes adults use similar methods to discipline a child. On one occasion, a group of women were discussing the coming Easter festivities, and the two-year-old niece of one of them kept climbing on and off her aunt's lap. The child was told several times to sit still but ignored the request. Finally, her aunt laid the child on its back across her knees and laughingly told her they would kill her like the Easter lamb. The woman ran the edge of her hand over the child's throat to demonstrate the slitting of the lamb's throat. The others laughed and added vivid details. The child's eyes showed panic; she struggled up out of her aunt's lap and sat quietly on a stool for about fifteen minutes until they both left. We heard the aunt speaking gently and endearingly to the child as they departed. 865 861

As the foregoing examples indicate, when adults deliberately frighten children or even stimulate milder forms of distress, they do not abandon the child to his misery but try to relieve the anxiety by physical affection and soothing words. In spite of this, however, a three-year-old child will often try to hit a parent or elder brother or sister who is causing distress. He is laughed at for his futile efforts by those watching the scene. Four- and five-year-old children respond to the teasing by walking away or by maintaining stolid expressions. Once they do this, the severity and frequency of the teasing by elders decreases, and the pattern continues mostly among the children themselves in their relations with each other. Practical jokes continue on into adolescence. From the adults' point of view, the teasing is no longer amusing or valuable for discipline because the child has gained enough knowledge, enough intelligence to know that the process is a kind of game and has acquired the skill with which to handle his side of it. Mentally retarded individuals never learn, and they are baited and teased for the amusement of the watchers all their lives. From the child's point of view, the constant reassurance he receives after the pain may teach him that there is no real or permanent danger in the adult actions except that of ridicule, and that is what he learns to try to avoid. [855] [732]

Just as the teasing leads to a recognition that other people's actions and words should not be taken at face value, so does another common pattern of dealing with children—the pattern of deliberately lying to them. Usually, parents or older brothers and sisters lie to a child to get him to do what he does not want to do. For example, a three-year-old child may be asked to go into another room to fetch something. The child does not respond to several requests; his mother then tells him his father is in the other room and will give him candy if he goes. The child thinks he remembers that his father left for the fields early in the morning, and therefore is not likely to be in the next room; he makes a comment to this effect; his mother seriously reassures him that his father is really in the next room; he becomes uncertain and, finally, cautiously goes to the door, opens it slowly and looks inside. At this point his mother and anyone else around laugh at his look of chagrin. 855 [867]

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of
241 summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illus-
[241] trate modern Greek land reform.[13] The size of the farm holding in Thessaly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still
[671] exists for those poor villagers who need it.

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

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[VI]

The Changing Life of the Shepherd

A year in Greece puts one on intimate terms with sheep and goats. They are everywhere. They dart across the highway before a speeding car and raise their tails in a contemptuous gesture as they leap to safety across the ditch into a field; they form a fitting part of almost every landscape one wants to photograph; and they provide the country's chief meat supply as well as the white *feta*, or soft cheese. Their wool and hides are also important sources of income to the shepherds. 233 [262] [234]

There is nothing particularly glamorous about the Balkan sheep of which those in Greece are typical. They have a narrow, long tail and wool mixed with hair. C. S. Stephanides in his article, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," writes: "The Greek sheep has a small skeleton; narrow body; short but strong legs, well-fitted for long journeys; the ability to feed on poor roughage, to withstand hardship; and early maturity." There are eleven leading breeds, seven of these being island sheep, which give much more milk, meat, and wool than the mainland sheep.[1] This is explained by the isolation of the islands, the comparative small acreage of some, and the poverty of the farmers there which forces them to keep but a few sheep and to select out the very best. The superiority of their livestock has come about through centuries of such selection. As a matter of fact, those mainlanders undertaking scientific improvement of their flocks import the island sheep for breeding purposes. 233 232 [735]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job.

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed.

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter.

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

746 representative of the International Red Cross, who arranged with the or-
625 ganizational officials in Athens for an immediate distribution of rice, sugar,
735 and molasses (for children). Momentarily, the representative also secured money for bread, telephoning from Athens to the commandant to buy the bread locally. The Red Cross representative had expected the commandant to buy about eight hundred one-oka loaves of bread, but he had different ideas: "Why not give the people flour and cut down the expense of the salt, water, and manipulation that goes into the baked bread?" So he bought nine hundred and eighty okas of flour and persuaded the flour mills at Volos to contribute another two tons. He also handled the problem of transportation with originality. Since these eight villages are remote, the trucking costs to them are high. The commandant, suggesting that the dis-
[476] tribution be at four points, appealed to the local transportation coopera-
[494] tives to supply the trucks after the Union of Trucks had voted to help. Then the drivers agreed to donate a day's free labor, with the "day" totaling sixteen hours for many of them before the distribution was completed and the trucks were safely back in Volos.

746 But the role of the village notables should not be minimized. Although
625 the commandant had made a trip through the district to look personally
735 into the condition of many families, he depended upon the president, the priest, the teacher, and the gendarme to prepare the list of the needy in
622 each village. The role of the president came to the fore at the distribution points, to which he brought some men and pack animals. The commandant explained in great detail to each president the basis on which the distribution was being made, who had made the contributions, and what families were to receive how much. The supplies for each village, when weighed out from the trucks, were turned over to the community president. He then
[492] supervised the loading of the pack animals and headed the animal train back toward his village. Once arrived, he was to see that the distribution was carried out according to instructions.

Such an experience leaves many impressions: the deep personal interest which the commandant of gendarmerie showed in the welfare of the people in his area; the dignity of the village presidents who asked very intelligent questions to be sure that they properly understood the instructions about distribution; the tattered clothing worn by these quiet, almost impassive villagers. And here, as always in Greece, one sensed deeply the beauty of
000 the natural surroundings: the mountains where patches of snow still lingered, the dark glades through which the road sometimes wound, the
[494] occasional olive groves and chestnut forests, with lively pedestrian traffic ready to greet one every few hundred yards. Down on the plain, on a sunny afternoon, the meadows were full of a profusion of wild flowers so delicate in color and stamina that they die soon after they are plucked or after the hot sun of late April and May beats down on the unprotected plain. On

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our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built. He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

> Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

since farmers in neighboring villages whose cotton fields lie adjacent to those of Vasilika's pump owners often want to hire the pumps. Here again, the rent income helps to defray the cost of the machinery.

Work is begun in the cotton fields shortly after the winter rains abate in February or March. Like the wheat fields, the cotton fields are sometimes plowed with horses. But, apart from the two farmers who own tractors, a number of farmers believe that the increased yield from the deeper plowing a tractor furnishes is more than worth the cost of renting the machines. Planting is ordinarily done by hand, but in 1956, a few farmers owned machine planters, and several farmers were borrowing them to try them out for the first time. The utilitarian and essentially nontraditional attitude to farming characteristic of Vasilika's inhabitants is illustrated by what one of the farmers had to say about using a machine planter."I've planted half of my forty *stremata* of cotton by hand and the other half by machine to see which will turn out better. It's an experiment, you see." The machine planter must have been better, because in 1961 the same farmer had planted all his cotton by machine.

A few rows of maize are planted in the midst of the cotton fields to provide feed for chickens. Boys and young men like to roast and eat a few ears of corn out in the fields in late August, but corn is not considered proper food for human beings, and eating corn bread is believed to be a sign of dire poverty.

Once the cotton starts to grow, in late May and June, the hoeing begins. This is arduous labor which includes weeding, chopping up the weeds, and arranging the chopped weeds around the cotton plants as a mulch. Hoeing is done by the girls and women of the household, although men sometimes help. If a farmer has as many as twenty *stremata* planted to cotton, it is at this point that he may begin to use hired labor. Generally, the women of the village who are not busy in their own cotton fields are called upon first. These are the wives and daughters of the shepherds and the wives and daughters of the few farmers who have small enough land holdings so that their women have time left over after hoeing their own fields. When these supplies of excess labor are exhausted, farmers turn to relatives and non-kin in the neighboring villages.

The hired women who came from other settlements used to live in the house of the farmer who employed them, and used to be fed by him as well. In 1961, however, the farmers were reporting a system they much preferred—the use of tractors and trucks to bring women from the neighboring villages in the early morning and to take them home again in the evening. This obviated the necessity of housing and feeding four or five girls at a time during several different periods in the course of the cotton growing season (cotton is weeded and hand cultivated at least twice and sometimes three or four times during the season). The women of Vasilika's households were especially pleased at the change, because although they enjoyed having the company of the hired women, who danced and sang in the evenings, they very much disliked the additional work involved in housing them. After a long day in the fields, the farmers' wives and daughters had to prepare a hot evening meal for the work crew and, before dawn each morning they had to pack the bread, cheese, and olives which would provide a morning collation and a midday meal in the fields. The de-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized 517
form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation,
which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to [526]
play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional
customs handed down from generation to generation provide both
group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family
recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger [846]
family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the [851]
whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the cere-
monial feast. When a member of the family gets married the [585]
whole village participated with their musical instruments. The
marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from
children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating
and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name [527]
days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male [562]
person is observed more than the female name day.

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent 796
seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village 628
that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those 574
that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days
takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the
United States. After the church service the people gather around [535]
the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big
circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes
as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the
length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter 796
period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole 574
village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from
the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place.
This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give [735]
to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village [252]
with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry.
The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 476
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built 621
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [345]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [533]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [735]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation project which was started by this group has led to the development [314]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village [185]
planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable [526]
gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

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[VII]

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works

793 794 [346] The contrast between an ordinary priest's home and the bishop's palace in Kalamata is quite marked, for the latter was once the ornate building housing the local branch of the Bank of Greece. But the bishop's interest in the people of his diocese, both the city dwellers in Kalamata and the farmers in the surrounding villages, equaled that of any priest for his parishioners. The bishop, when visited in 1953, proved a friendly, jovial person, with an iron-gray beard, a dignified though rotund figure, and a very forward-looking social philosophy. It was this latter quality in particular that had made me seek him out after hearing from friends in Athens of his unusual achievements in the welfare field.

He began to talk about what he had done and hoped to do for his people: "I became interested when I saw their great needs, for, as a church leader, I am responsible for the welfare of whatever people are under me." But before he started on any specific projects after his arrival in this diocese, he had thought it best, as he phrased it, "to put myself at the disposal of the people." He gradually gained the confidence of the members of his diocese by making available to them for local use all of the church's funds derived from festivals. The people began to realize that this bishop was interested in them. Later on, when he began asking them to support the various projects which he started, they gladly cooperated.

793 747 His first project was a day nursery, which takes care of one hundred and twenty children whose mothers are at work, started in 1947. Visiting this nursery in the afternoon when all of the children had gone home, we noted the cleanliness and the simple but adequate facilities. The success of this nursery prompted the bishop to start another one in Mycenae for one hundred children in 1948.

● 736 793 848 [597] [847] One perplexing problem was that of illegitimate children. In many cases the mother would kill such a child or leave it with people who exploited it unmercifully. So he started a home for these children in 1947. Since then, two hundred and fifty children have gone through the home, sixty of them have been adopted and fifty were there then. The equipment was simple and bare, but everything was spotless. When we entered, the children came up to the bishop with great pleasure, for he is a favorite with the young children. One of the nurses told us: "When we have a child that is lonesome, who won't eat, we ask the bishop to come feed the child. When he comes, the child always eats."

793 736 [597] [657] The bishop noticed, however, that many of the boy foundlings, but relatively few of the girl foundlings, would be adopted. The boys who were not taken by foster parents by their fifth or sixth year would go into the National Boys' Orphanage of Kalamata, largely supported by the state, which had one hundred and fifty boys in 1953. Something had to be done for the girls.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 736 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing."[13] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[14] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at 783 748 [873]

Pierce College.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 what they see that other communities have. Nothing is more irksome to
[628] those in one village than to be refused electricity from a power line passing close by when the current is made available to other villages in the region.

Most of the time, unplanned social change takes place as a response by villagers to forces from outside the village which impinge on their way of life. The response may be one of solid resistence to certain types of innovation, even though some individuals are for the change but unwilling to take the necessary social risk of advocating it. At other times, a selective
178 change occurs when villagers choose some new items while rejecting others. They may welcome a new opportunity to send their sons away for more edu-
562 cation, but demur at letting their daughters pursue a similar advantage.
666 Now and then, the villagers may accept a new practice and give it a local
[626] twist not contemplated when the practice originated elsewhere. Women,
[593] for instance, have been given the right to vote, but how they exercise this prerogative depends much on local village opinion and the authority of the male family heads. Women who vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, a phenomenon common in many countries other than Greece, are not following the independence of thought and the privacy of ballot which supposedly accompanies the free citizen. But they do vote, which testifies to the fact that an innovation of radical proportions has been accepted.

178 This interaction between outside forces and the willingness or reluctance
185 of local people to change are best brought into focus in the consideration of planned programs of change, which are confronting the villager on every
727 hand.

Planned Change

Immediately after the end of the guerrilla war, programs of welfare and reconstruction were energetically initiated in rural areas which had suffered most. These were designed to help the villagers rebuild their houses and schools, replace draft animals or depleted flocks, obtain implements and
[736] seed. Food staples were also provided where needed. The orphans or otherwise dependent children were brought into special child villages, set up by the Queen's Fund for care and education, until old enough to go out on their own. But these measures, planned chiefly for rehabilitation, also carried with them implications for change. In doing so, they were following a trail previously blazed.

177 Americans past middle age, who contributed to the Near East Relief at
178 the end of World War I, may or may not know that the funds donated so generously at that time were being put to good use long after the immediate relief needs had been met. Its successor, the Near East Foundation, chose Greece as one of its main arenas of operation. The attempts at rural reconstruction, or village improvement, by this organization in cooperation with the Greek government in the 1930s have been fully described by the educa-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata,* are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings,and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a babytender were needed.

When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neighbors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

THE WATERS OF MARAH

795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
[162] whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
722 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees
166 taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward.
When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all
who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond
the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in
the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and
their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and
the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate
destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away,
which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in
by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five
o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[633] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between
the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[408] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto,
as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary
riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers,
above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast
dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a
heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of
the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as
far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

/11 cont./ 000
conditions under which they had to move. At the present time 464
there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other 166
villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home
again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay
where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to any- [425]
one else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With [427]
the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from
the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems
of the young men.

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and 602
less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which [596]
has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the 178
government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. 621
Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is pro- 582
hibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different
from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans [736]
or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under [737]
sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the mem-
bers of their family.

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the 175
first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in 621
1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the
Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the [712]
headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches
that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its im-
portance as a military post. People have come and gone.
Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find [136]
the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of
the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the
language they would tell the people of the futility of the differ-
entiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built,

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave
788 them an emotional uplift.

But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he
793 had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in
[737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a poly-
[874] technic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about
[177] $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more activity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

[743]

The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole
793 complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country,
94 especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of in-
793 mates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of
794 the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their
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[769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the
[748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

/11 cont./ 000

conditions under which they had to move. At the present time there is some kind of temporary mobility such as working in other villages or sections for wages but they return back /12/ home again. The type of land distribution obliges every farmer to stay where he is. No one is allowed to sell his land nor hire it to anyone else. As soon as he does this he loses his ownership. With the increasing population and with ever-decreasing returns from the soil the future may present us with great mobility problems of the young men. 464 166 [425] [427]

Kinship Groups.

Kinship group solidarity is very strong among Caucasians and less among Thracians. Due to the compound family system which has already broken down since the distribution of the land by the government, one finds neighborhoods with strong kinship ties. Next to the family is the kinship group. Intermarriage is prohibitive among these groups. The kinship group is very different from the usual type that we know. If there is a widow or orphans or aged men or women, members of the kinship group feel under sacred obligation to care for them as they would do for the members of their family. 602 [596] 178 621 582 [736] [737]

Historical Background.

We do not have any historical data to show us the date of the first settlers of this village but the new /13/ resettlers came in 1922. It had had three different conquerors; the Turks in 1448, the Bulgarians in 1912, and the Greeks in 1913. It also served as the headquarters of Allied armies of the First World War. The trenches that surround it and the heavy concrete fortifications show its importance as a military post. People have come and gone. Nationals changed hands of the village, but the storks still find the same trees and roofs for their nests convenient, regardless of the nationality of the inhabitants. If the storks could speak the language they would tell the people of the futility of the differentiating nationalism. Houses were torn down and new ones built, 175 621 [712] [136]

/57 cont./

of the outstanding institutions in the village which guides the people in keeping accounts and in taking active part in appointing officers every year. 241 474 [621]

The yearly meeting of the cooperative lasts 2 days and all the men who served in the army take active part. After the committee presents its accounts and accomplishments and its future program, a discussion starts from different members either praising or criticising the work of the existing committee. Different proposals for improvement are made and finally it ends with a vote for a new committee of six. During these two days of discussion people learn from each other how to judge and evaluate certain deeds of the cooperative.

The government, understanding the importance of the cooperative has organized the Ministry of Cooperatives /58/ under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The effect of the cooperative on the people is great not only on the economic life but also on their social life as well. It draws the people close together and they think not in terms of their immediate needs but of their future welfare. [647]

Every year the cooperative sends two students to the high school, gives prizes to the farmers that raise good seed and better animals, gives financial aid to the poor, and helps the unfortunate sick to go to hospitals. These are signs of the role the cooperative can play in the near future. [741]

Besides unifying the whole village into an economic unit, it also is becoming a center of spreading higher ideals among the people. Its powers at the present are restricted due to the lack of experienced men with foresight. There are possibilities for one to do more in devising community programs by working with the cooperative. [621]

Farm Techniques. The biblical type of farming is still the kind that yields the greater returns with the least cost. The animal power is composed of oxen with a yoke and an iron plow. The wooden plow still has its /59/ blessings for certain soils. In soils 241 [492] [407]

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

233 children, pots and pans, donkeys, and a few articles of clothing left them
221 after destruction of their village by the Communist guerrillas several years
[476] earlier.

A later April day found us again in Tripolis. On the road we had once more been encountering flocks from Valtetsi, but this time they were headed
123 up toward home. Fortunately, Stephanos Agriopoulos, our favorite waiter
124 in the Reed Restaurant, had relatives in Valtetsi and was eager to take us there. We left the main highway at the new tuberculosis hospital, turning
[743] toward the mountains on our right. The road was barely passable, evidently
[491] the mere widening of a sheep track winding in and out but always up, along the edges of dry, bone dry, ravines. Now and then one of us had to get out to shove a rock from the road. En route Stephanos told us much about the people and the hard economic struggle they were facing. The road became less rocky as we neared the village. There were small fields, brilliant green,
[361] with trees along the edges. The trees stood tall around the school and church, the center of the village, where their spring freshness and sturdiness cast a sort of tender protection over the ruined stone houses that were Valtetsi. It was only after we let the people unburden themselves of their more immediate troubles, such as rebuilding their houses, that we could turn to a description of their customary semiannual migration with their flocks.

727 Valtetsi, with its one hundred eighty families, had not suffered under
the German occupation as had so many other Greek villages. Completely
669 off any reasonable facsimile of a road, it was not visited by the invaders;
[361] but for this very reason it was frequented by the Communist guerrillas in the 1940s as they struggled for control of Greece. The Communist leaders repeatedly tried to persuade the people to join their side, but the Valtetsi residents refused. In anger at this refusal and with the words, "if you are not for us, you are against us," the Communists descended upon the village one day and killed about one hundred people, mostly men. They burned most of the houses and took the women and children off with them. Each man to whom we talked had some personal tragedy to relate and could show us the name of some close relative or friend on the marble monument by the church erected in honor of these victims of the Communist guerrillas. As a constant reminder of that terrible day, the houses still
727 stood in ruins — six years later. We went from house to house and found
362 that through lack of lumber the second stories had not been built back, nor had there been tile available for the roofs. Many of the families were holed in, as it were, on the first floor, pretty much exposed to the elements during the six months of their sojourn "at home." Yet the people were friendly, glad to see us. Their mobile faces were alive. They smiled easily, were full of curiosity, and bubbled with wit. The state of dilapidation was
[123] even more noticeable when the village secretary and president, in order to give us a drink of ouzo "for the road," had to ferret out a bottle and a few

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere, there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
754 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path
[778] of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or have a little icon."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

feeling the mystery and fear that surrounds the whole discussion of the cause and cure of an illness attributed to the Evil Eye. As they grow older, they understand why the parent of a child or the owner of an animal will say in reply to any words of admiration: *Phtyse* (Spit) or *Phtys' to* (Spit it), at which you must pretend to spit.

It is into such an atmosphere of half-truth, and even harmful customs, that those interested in scientific medicine must practice their profession. They quickly find that patients are often brought to them after the priest and the wise women have done their best and failed. They also know that merely giving a prescription is no guarantee that it will be followed as directed, but may even be blended with folk medicine that makes it ineffective. In Greece today there is one physician for every thousand people, a proportion usually considered adequate in the United States. The difficulty comes with their maldistribution, for over 50 percent of all doctors are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area. Consequently, many villagers have to travel long distances to obtain medical treatment, but the improved roads are making such trips less time-consuming.[18]

Once in a while some member of the family has to be hospitalized. An American, thinking only in terms of scientific sanitation concepts, is often amazed at what he observes if he chances into a small Greek provincial private hospital, one of which has been well described by Dr. Ernestine Friedl:

> One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient. Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.[19]

Before one condemns too quickly such medical practices, it is well to try to understand some of the cultural factors which explain them. These have

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

743 been pointed out by Dr. Friedl. The bedclothes from home give the patient
758 a chance not only to show a part of her dowry but they, being familiar, lessen the unfamiliarity of the hospital. Human companionship is considered an absolute good. To be left alone by one's family, especially when one is sick, is dreaded.

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.[17]

Then, too, the presence of relatives overcomes any doubt the patient may have about the doctor, for they can keep a check on him and discuss in constant family conferences the kind of treatment he is giving.

These are only some of the cultural influences surrounding hospital care. They have their advantages and their disadvantages, as Dr. Friedl points out, but they do show the pervasiveness of the family system and the fact that woman's role in medical care, even when a relative is in the hospital, is indispensable.

562 Women in rural Greece today are conscious of their hard lot; they long
593 for an easier physical existence, for their contacts with the cities have been frequent enough to show them the advantages of the conveniences there.
[369] At the same time, they are not discontented in their social relations. They observe that a man honors his mother and is solicitous over his sister's welfare; in the beginning, however, he behaves differently toward his young wife who is less experienced in the world than he and whom he must command if he is to retain the respect of his fellow villagers. Later on, his wife — though still observing the proprieties of deference and obedience — becomes almost his equal in many matters most essential to her. He consults her about the children or about any important shift in agricultural activity, although reserving for himself the final decision.

Rural Greeks would probably not see the intended humor in the sign once posted in an Alabama restaurant — "Keep your wife for a pet, and eat with us" — since the Greek peasant wife still maintains an indispensable economic role in addition to that of sexual companion and the bearer of children. Her chief security in a male-oriented society is her very indispensability, and the more dependent her husband is upon her, the greater her sense of satisfaction. To be merely a pet, even though this carried with it a lightening of physical toil, would threaten the very foundations of her

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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793 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of in-
794 mates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their [428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial [769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods re- quired by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the [748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names regis-
[745] tered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people officially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers
[432] reckon that their own local production supplies food for only two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of
[844] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

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[178]
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Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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1. This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

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2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250.

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3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim*; Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 241.

[p. 24(A)]

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the result of curing practices, but the means used depend upon and have some consequences for the economic, religious, and social organization of the society, for its belief systems, and for the psychological characteristics of individuals.[4]

Studies analyzing the social roles involved in illness and of the nature and extent of hospital care in the United States have led to the same conclusions.[5] Therefore, in the interests both of successful therapy and of humanity, it is usually recommended that scientific knowledge about illness and the practices associated with its cure be introduced in such a way as to take account of the latent functions of the indigenous behavior. But how practically to implement this recommendation is always a problem.[6]

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The Boeotian situation, to be sure, did not result from conscious planning along the recommended lines. It is here suggested, however, that this situation provides, in certain respects at least, the virtual equivalent of a case study in the successful operation of the recommended principles. The following description is presented with this in mind, and does not purport to be in any sense a total study of illness in the society described.

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Comparison of Home Care and Hospitalization

Let us first look at the treatment of illness in a Greek village home. Much as in the United States, the first day or so of fever or other sign of illness is treated with bed rest and home remedies. Aspirin is known, and in the Greek village of 1956 penicillin and other antibiotics are sold in the village store, and their use comes under the head of home remedies. But, significantly enough, the antibiotics will be administered only if some relative of the family (not necessarily a physician

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4. For a discussion of manifest and latent functions see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949, pp. 21-81. See also A. H. Leighton and D. C. Leighton, *op. cit.*, and B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 477; also Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.

5. Lawrence K. Frank, "Psycho-cultural Approaches to Medical Care," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 45-55 (1952); Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1951, pp. 428-479; Talcott Parsons and Renee Fox, "Illness, Therapy and the Modern Urban American Family," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 31-44 (1952); Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science in Medicine*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954, pp. 170-193.

6. George M. Foster, "Relationships Between Theoretical and Applied Anthropology," *Human Organization*, 11 (3), 5-16 (1952); B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

[p. 24(B)]

or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback through the countryside should come into the village on a day when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example, would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is *perastikà sas* which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

757 758 [759] 758 574 [576] 758 [513]

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer, several alternatives are possible. Some member of the household may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is accompanied by at least one member of his household and frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

757 758 [494] [844]

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifications of the physicians lead one to expect normal American hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limitations of space and of an untrained staff.

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But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

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along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it. 743 758 [513]

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words. [846] [844]

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women. [422] [583]

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in 758 571 156 743 [574]

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital. [144]

[p 25, B.]

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which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to.

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted.

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956).

[113]
[P.26(A)]

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors over the doctors who travel through the countryside on horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are to be consulted during an illness and their care is then needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come to be associated with low social position and low income, hospital care with high social position. 743 554 369 844 759 [593]

This description of hospital care would be incomplete without some more detailed discussion of the specific disadvantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of land. It has importance also just because the payments are made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient, and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* (the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case, but they are much intensified by hospitalization. 743 152 [511] [583] 743 828 152 156 759

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-producing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its advantages. However, I believe that without the compensating sense of familiarity and continued participation in family relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming. 743

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions. They complained about the inability to keep regular consulting hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly manage to get into town at any regular times. They also complained about the many relatives in attendance on their patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were, 743 759 [369] [758] [181]

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in characteristically Greek fashion, more human-centered than science-centered. They went along with the human necessities of the patients, allowing these necessities to overshadow, for a time at least, what they regarded as the strict requirements of scientific hospital management. 743 759 [181]

Moreover, conversations with the doctors indicated that, although they were far more sophisticated than their village patients, they were nevertheless participants in the same basic culture, and shared many attitudes and expectations with their patients. For example, the lack of regular time scheduling for consultation, rounds of the wards, nursing routines, and the like, is not likely to be as personally irritating to a Greek doctor as it might be to his American counterpart. Greeks actively dislike regularity, and, unlike many Americans, do not derive comfort and security from routines. The Greek doctors are also less likely to be disturbed by the presence of the large numbers of visitors and their, to Americans, relatively boisterous conversations. Long and animated consultations before any decisions are made form a part of Greek life to a greater or lesser degree at all social levels, and conversation for its own sake is a favorite recreation. The fact is that illness and quiet are not inextricably linked concepts in Greek culture. 743 759 805 758 743 759 521 758

What the Greek doctors are apparently unaware of, however, is the extent to which their, to them, makeshift hospital practices conform to the social scientists' recent recommendations for flexibility and for adaptation to traditional methods of handling illness. What careful analysis has pointed out as a desirable method for conscious, planned, and gradual change, 743 758

[5.27 (A)]

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has been evolved willy-nilly by these doctors under the diverse pressures of their complex culture. 743 758

Future Development

This is not to say that Greek provincial hospitals will continue their present practices indefinitely. The fact that urban hospitals conform more closely to previously existing American standards and that these form the ideal for the Greek doctors has already been noted. What is even more interesting is that, as the villagers become familiar with hospital care, in the provinces, they are sensitized to the reports of their urban relatives about hospital conditions in Athens. They are told that these more modern institutions provide bedding, and serve food from hospital kitchens. They, themselves, have learned that bringing food from home, and cooking in the hospital, are severe drains on family energies. The result is that they are beginning to complain about the poorer facilities of the provincial hospitals, and are talking of demanding more services: services which, had they been forced upon them in the early stages, would have made the hospital a strange and repellent place. 743 758 369

One may hope that the development of hospital practice in Greece does not reach the heights of impersonality and isolation of patients characteristic of the majority of our own hospitals. There is a growing literature analyzing and sometimes criticizing these aspects of American hospital care.[10]

10. See e.g., L. W. Simmons and H. G. Wolff, *op. cit.*, and L. K. Frank, *op. cit.*

[p. 27(B)]

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in.
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death [165]
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843
and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched. [743]

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained 844
by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 759
in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369]
many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844
something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged. Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846
regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854
pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856
suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369]
there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 2. CAUSES OF DEATH IN GREECE, 1950, BY NUMBER AND RATE

164
165

Cause of death	Number	Death rate (per 1000 people)
Heart disease	3270	.427
Cancer	2730	.358
Cerebral hemorrhage	2679	.352
Tuberculosis (respiratory)	2214	.293
Senility	1954	.258
Pneumonia	1523	.201
Nephritis	1284	.168
Violent accidents	1259	.165
Causes unknown	1166	.154
Congenital debility	998	.132
Diarrhea, enteritis	973	.128
Other tuberculosis	634	.083
Other diseases of digestive system	629	.082
Other infectious diseases	621	.081
Diseases of the liver	511	.067

Source: Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece* (Athens, 1952), p. 62 (mimeographed).

diseases which give the health authorities most cause for concern are tuberculosis, dysentery, typhoid and paratyphoid, venereal diseases, smallpox, various intestinal parasites, and particularly infectious hepatitis.

Of these causes of death, tuberculosis creates the greatest problem for those interested in preventive medicine, for it is commonly recognized that the reported death rate, 29.3 per 100,000 people, is probably less than half of the true figures. Greek peasants can therefore take small comfort in the fact that tuberculosis death rates in the urban areas are more than twice as high as those for rural districts, since this still means relatively high rates in the villages. Although the government is attacking tuberculosis with considerable vigor, the public response is only half-hearted. One of the first jobs of the UNRRA–World Health Organization mission after the war was to try to persuade the tuberculous to recognize their illness, to take treatment, and to realize that it was no disgrace to be ill. 164 753 [744 177]

However, in most families it is still considered a shame to have the disease, so much so that cases are hidden and doctors are even paid for not reporting cases to the public-health authorities. Although undernourishment is frequently associated with the high incidence of the disease, in Greece malaria has been a contributory cause by undermining resistance to the tuberculosis bacillus.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

164 Where tuberculosis presents a dark picture, the reduction of malaria is a
744 story of great progress. Prior to World War II, the annual rate of malaria among the civilian population was estimated at one million to two million cases, or from 15 to 30 percent of all of the people. The heaviest incidence came in the years of very heavy rainfall, sometimes reaching three million cases. One indication of the magnitude of the problem before 1946 was the annual expenditure by Greece of $1 million just for quinine, found in almost all village stores. From 1946 to 1950, according to an official report, an average of 5,000 villages were residually treated with DDT and an average of 900,000 acres of potential breeding places such as lakes and swamp land were sprayed each year, the latter operation requiring an average of ten airplanes per season. Now the once-dreaded disease of malaria is no longer a major public-health problem in Greece, a result achieved at the equivalent sum of $7.6 million during the 1946–51 period.

Hygienic improvement depends just as much upon attitude change as it
364 does upon the installation of proper facilities. And favorable attitudes are developing. Whenever the matter was brought up in discussion at the coffeehouses or elsewhere, the local village dignitaries would tell of the project they had formulated and submitted to the *nomos* (prefecture) authorities, in which they applied for funds to better their situation. In Arachova, on the way to Delphi, the project dealt with improving the water supply; the same held true for Vouno in the Arcadian part of the Peloponnesos, Karpenesi in Eurytania, Konstantinia near Kavalla, Myrodation in Thrace, and on to a list of communities too lengthy to include. Other communities give priority to the construction of community latrines, school baths, or a general sanitation program.

The Village House

342 As a convenient starting point for typing the village houses, one can
184 associate the stone house with the mountain village, the mud-walled house with the plains village, and the white, squarish house with the islands. Each is well adapted to the resources at hand, and each has its own historical development.[11] Many of the island homes with their thick walls took on a fortress character as a defense against pirates who, for many years,
[712] plagued this part of the world. Furthermore, the thick walls have been necessary in the mountain areas where the only possible defense lay in the hands of the villagers themselves. As already noted, down on the plain, particularly in Turkish times, the farms were for the most part estates of Turkish beys, and the villagers were little more than serfs dependent upon the bey for protection. He was not concerned about their shelter and they had less incentive to go to the trouble of building the more durable stone houses, even if there had been building stone at hand.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for numerous changes had followed their arrival. 178 167

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states since their creation as independent political units. 727 [619] [563]

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agriculture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times contrasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers. [241]

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooperated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inaugurating malaria-control measures. [744]

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, including entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new environment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees. [288] [464] [228]

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
×178 seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by – a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian
[433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family
[571] can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
×178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For
[582] them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is
165 evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimina-
•[744] tion of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from 178x
neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I 621
was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of 873
gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea 178x
Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry 582
system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming 583
in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease 621
in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no 161
more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any [744]
change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The [582]
more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone 178x
much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I 166
was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have 369
gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it. 743 758 [513]

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words. [846] [844]

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women. [422] [583]

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in 758 571 156 743 [574]

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital. [741]

[225(B)]

/40 cont./

Vacation and Travel. There is no accepted idea of vacation. 528
Vacation is only for the school children but during the end of har- [543]
vest season when the farmer /41/ has money he takes his family
to the city or to the international fair of Salonica. The men at
such leisure times spend their weekends with their friends and rela-
tives in remote villages. The cost of travel makes it hard for most, 484
but their beast of burden, the donkey, serves as a means for this
purpose. There is no one in the village who has not traveled in the
two continents of Europe and Asia. Some of them have been to [727]
Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey as prisoners in
the First War. Some others due to deportation from one country
to another, had an unbearable type of travelling. The Government [496]
railroads during holidays and early in the fall reduce the cost of [655]
train tickets by 50% and thus make it easier for many to travel.

One of the average farmers, with a family of four, spent for [511]
the year Drs. 1211 ($7.50) for travel. This sum covers 800 kilo-
meters. The above shows the extensive travelling the men do
mostly for business. It is during this travelling period that the [178]
farmer brings in and takes out from his village new seeds, new im-
proved methods of cultivation and new customs and forms of com-
munity interests.

Protection of Health and Care of the Aged. If there is any- 744
thing which is neglected in Megali Vrisi it is the /42/ health of 743
the people. In spite of the medical center and the Near East
Foundation Children's Nursery Center, where a health project was
started, the extent of malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia and in-
testinal diseases was just as great as before these agents came in.
In fact in one of my surveys with which I tried to find out the death [165]
rate of young children from 3 months to 4 years old, four years
before the Near East Foundation established itself and five years
after its work, the figures of death rate to my surprise were amazing-
ly larger than before, in spite of the Near East Foundation's efforts.
After my eight years of experience with the farmers I was con- 744
vinced of the inadequacy of the existing health program which was

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is
tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while
the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out.
/69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the [515]
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth
healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any
village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a
doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many
farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing
two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever
is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and every-
thing evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned 744
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house
flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children.
Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the
troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat
them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a
time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the
sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their
families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few
windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost.
Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the
same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed 164
gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors 159
in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village 562
image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much 554
freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. 831
There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many
women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance
of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the
reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, 732
blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even
jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is
therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete.
Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability
to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from 581
marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect,
and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people
are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA
one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he
could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted
on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the
Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through 178
lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the 944
energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT 164
campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware 513
of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer
nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds
were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and
has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes,
since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and 951
health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a 515
matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is
a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing
underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face
and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the 514
situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported
that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a com- 264
munion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special 594

abstract calculation, is meaningless to people for whom experience 178
is body-patterned. More than this, such plans represent external 185
limits and directives, and to this extent are hampering and even frightening. Charts and diagrams are now common in Greek books, but the lineal diagram as a blueprint of action is not within the framework of Greek life; the nearest most Greeks come to a diagram is a map, which is diagrammatic of something concrete. Foresight is good, and is extolled in proverbs; preparation is always present. But this is following along a known trail, repeating a known pattern with all its steps. For example, when a girl is 10 or 12, she may start working on her dowry; a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth. But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life, to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave. In the same way, a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation. The planning is internal, arising from the rhythm of life; it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform.

This attitude presents difficulties, such as, for example, in indus- 178
trialization in the area of food processing. Greek farmers will not [25]
deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule; they will use what they need and deliver the surplus. But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without supported expectations.

Again, Greeks are motivated by demonstrated, concrete results, not by diagrams of future benefits, or by statistics. The great success [144]
of the DDT programme was due to its quick, clear, obvious results. Much of the success of new practices initiated under the auspices of the Near East Foundation may also be attributed to their principle of demonstration.

Another attitude concerned with the introduction of change is that of coping with what is there. Americans are ready to change anything that does not measure up to specifications, or even anything that can be exchanged for something more efficient, more convenient, newer. Greeks accustom themselves to inconveniences and cope with them; they do not do away with them. Greeks, after a visit to the United States, see their countrymen putting up with the same difficulties, the same time-wasting operations, the same discomforts, but when they ask: "Why don't you do something about it?" they are immediately branded American. Anything that still works can always be patched up and used; a chipped dish can still hold food, a suit may have a few spots and still be clean, a woman may have a number of ills and still have health, and people can still travel when the steamships are crowded three times their capacity, and cannot provide the beds for which the passengers have paid; why make a change? As there is no superlative, so there are not exclusive oppositives, and one learns to cope with the common ailments, the common inconveniences. So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[356] Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
[249] oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
[251] strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
[236] to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
[251] done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
[235] mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full responsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poultry raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
[233] sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
[343] horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
[461] where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
[241] prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
[231] Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula,
178 the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
[313] cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice, with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
[589] the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or perhaps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
[464] better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
[745] did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government regulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

needed to pay the priests' salaries, with the difference coming from state revenue. Also, the local parishes have to pay an amount equal to 6 percent of their priest's salary to the bishop toward the retirement fund for the local priest.

For salary purposes, the priests are divided into four classes: those who have gone through the theological faculty of the university; those who have attended the seminary, perhaps one or two years beyond gymnasium; those who have no seminary but who have finished gymnasium; and those put in a miscellaneous category. There are apparently sufficient candidates for the priesthood now, and some effort is being made to fashion their curriculum to prepare them to serve village needs more effectively; even the older priests are encouraged to come back for periods of study. One member of the Holy Synod thought that the priests ought to know more about agriculture, economics, and first aid, so that they might play a more vital part in community life. His view of the priest's role was that "he is to help people with their problems of all kinds and settle any disputes among the villagers."

But what part does the village priest really play? As has already been indicated, the Greeks are ambivalent toward the priest.[9] "As an individual, he commands respect, and gives advice to those who seek it. However, he is also a figure of ridicule and of ill omen." [10] A great deal depends upon the personality of the priest himself. One informant told me that when he was a boy their village had had a wonderful priest who was very important. Today, even though the people are probably just as much attached to their religion, the present priest is not popular. In the course of an extended conversation with the people in a village near Volos, we asked what kind of priest they had. "Oh, our priest is from around Karpenesi. He has five children and is a good family man." He was not singled out for praise because of any priestly performance, but because of his conformity to basic village values. But children in that same village must have heard many, many times the local account of what happened to some monks who lived in a monastery not far from the village. This had been built in 1714 as an annex of a Mount Athos establishment, but in due course of time the monks became "naughty" in that they called to and teased the women who were on their way to work in the fields. Finally the villagers could stand this no longer, so the men took the monks to a rock overlooking the sea and told them to jump. The monks jumped and were never heard of again. The present priest, unlike the monks, is "a good family man."

Very persistent and widespread is the belief, already mentioned, that an encounter with the priest brings bad luck. If peasants starting on some new venture meet a priest, they will turn back home and not begin it on that day for fear of failure. Anyone who meets a priest, in addition to "giving" the bad luck to a companion by hitting him on the shoulder, can tie a knot

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names registered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people offi-
[745] cially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers reckon that their own local production supplies food for only
[432] two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of
[844] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

62: L.L.O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 Ml Middle East
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Provision is made for a special pensions fund for members of the medical professions by Act No. 62 of 16 May 1949. Financed from payments by members and Government subsidies, the scheme provides for retirement, invalidity and survivors' pensions as well as assistance allowances for members of the fund and their dependants.

Greece

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The basis was laid for a broad scheme of social insurance in Greece by Act No. 6298 of 24 September 1934 which came into effect in 1937. This law provides for the furnishing of medical care in case of sickness, accident or confinement ; and for cash benefits in respect of sickness, accident, maternity, invalidity, old age and death. There are no separate employment injury benefits, these being furnished either under the sickness or pension branches subject to certain special provisions. Unemployment insurance is dealt with under separate legislation.

The 1934 Act created a central social insurance institution (I.K.A.) which is now the largest single administrative fund, but it also authorised the continuance of pre-existing funds. As a result, social insurance in Greece is administered by some 250 different bodies at the present time, including various principal, auxiliary and special funds. Since these funds often have different coverage, benefit, eligibility and financial provisions, the result is a very complex structure, which can be described here only in very broad lines.

General Scheme

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The general social insurance scheme applies, in principle, to all employees except those in agricultural or domestic employment. The original law provided, however, only for gradual extension of the scheme to "insurance centres" in different areas and this policy has been followed in practice. In 1949, new branch offices were established in nine towns, about 15,000 additional persons being covered.

Medical benefits including suitable medical attendance, necessary medicaments and ordinary therapeutic requisites are supplied to all employees and their families belonging to the main fund after the employee has been insured for six months including 50 days in the preceding 12 months. The qualifying period is waived when illness is due to accident. The treatment in general is free except that recipients must pay one fifth of the cost of medical supplies unless the illness is caused by an accident. To receive maternity care, women workers must also have been employed for 200 days in the preceding two years.

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 Ml Middle East
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Maternity care for insured women and wives of insured men consists of pre-natal consultations, necessary medicaments, and a lump-sum grant fixed at 300,000 drachmae [1] from 1 December 1949 to cover expenses of delivery. Employees are also entitled to hospitalisation, ambulance services and certain additional benefits. Medical attendance during incapacity is normally provided for not more than 180 days and hospitalisation for not more than 36 months. The central institution provided care for 11,800 insured persons in hospitals during the first half of 1949 and furnished 348,000 days of hospitalisation. In addition, a total of 1,361,000 visits at dispensaries were recorded.

Employees covered by the main Greek fund receive cash sickness benefits, subject to the same qualifying conditions as for medical benefits, after a five-day waiting period and for not more than 180 days. Daily benefits were fixed from 1 December 1949 at between 5,500 and 10,000 drachmae, depending upon the worker's wage class, decreasing from 70 per cent. of average earnings for the lowest wage class to 33 per cent. for the highest. A 20 per cent. supplement is paid to tuberculous beneficiaries. Sickness benefits are reduced if recipients are hospitalised. Cash maternity benefits at the same rates as for sickness are payable for six weeks before and six weeks after confinement, and nursing benefits of the same size are payable for an additional 60 days. In case of accident, whether or not connected with employment, there is no qualifying period for cash benefit, the waiting period is reduced to three days, the daily benefit is 20 per cent. higher, and the maximum duration is extended to 750 days. A flat grant of 300,000 drachmae is payable to cover funeral expenses.

At the beginning of 1950 the central fund had 19,000 pensioners and covered 348,000 insured persons ; the other principal funds had 34,000 pensioners and 132,000 insured members. Invalidity pensions are payable by the central fund to employees incapable of earning more than 50 per cent. of usual earnings. Qualifying employment of 750 days with 300 in the preceding four years is required for a full pension, except that a shorter qualifying period or no such period at all is required in the case of incapacity due to a non-occupational or an occupational accident, respectively. The amount of pension varies according to the beneficiary's wage class and the time he has spent in insurance, the minimum being 175,000 drachmae per month since 1 October 1949, when new rates were introduced. A supplement graduated according to the degree of incapacity is payable when incapacity is due to employment injury, and supplements are also provided when invalidity is caused by

[1] 1 Greek drachma equals 0.0002 of a U.S. dollar.

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 MI Middle East
Greece EHI

745 466 tuberculosis or constant attendance is required. Pensions are commuted into a lump sum equal to three years of pension when pensioners reside abroad more than six months without approval of the insurance institution. Greece ratified the Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation) Convention, 1925, in 1936.

745 Old-age pensions at the same rates as invalidity pensions, and subject to the same qualifying conditions, are payable at the age of 65 for men and that of 60 for women. On the death of an employee meeting the qualifying conditions, pensions are payable to a surviving spouse, orphans, and dependent parents or grandchildren, which are computed as a percentage of the deceased's potential invalidity pension : a widow, regardless of age, receives 40 per cent., each half orphan 20 per cent., and each full orphan 40 per cent., subject to a maximum of 100 per cent.

The medical and cash benefits referred to above are financed, for workers covered by the central fund, by means of an employer contribution of 11 per cent. and an employee contribution of 4 per cent. of wages. Total contributions received by the fund in 1949 averaged about 19,000 million drachmae monthly. A number of principal and subsidiary funds other than the main fund receive the proceeds of various special excise taxes earmarked for their use, as well as employer and employee contributions.

Unemployment Insurance and Special Schemes

745 466 An unemployment insurance scheme for industrial and commercial workers in Greece was established by Act No. 118 of 13 February 1945. This scheme is also being applied only gradually to different regions of the country. Employment for 180 days during the preceding 18 months is normally required to qualify for benefit. There is a five-day waiting period for wage earners and one of 10 days for salaried employees. The basic benefit is equal for wage earners to 40 per cent. and for salaried employees to 50 per cent. of the average wage or salary for the wage class concerned. A 10 per cent. supplement is payable for each dependant (including a wife over 44, a husband over 64 and children under 16), provided that the total benefit may not exceed 70 per cent. of wages. Benefits are usually payable for a maximum of 182 working days. The scheme is financed by a 1 per cent. contribution, of which the employer pays three fourths and the employee one fourth.

In addition to the social insurance and unemployment insurance schemes for industrial and commercial workers in general, special schemes exist for seamen (sickness, pension, unemployment and tuberculosis insurance), miners (sickness and pension insurance), public

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 M1 Middle East
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employees (sickness, pensions and family allowances), tobacco workers (sickness, maternity, invalidity, old-age, death and seasonal unemployment insurance) and independent workers in commerce and small-scale industry (pension insurance).[1]

IRAN

Establishment Health and Mutual Aid Funds

In 74J 466

A Labour Code adopted by the Iranian Council of Ministers on 18 May 1946 provisionally required each factory to set up a health fund to assist workers in the event of non-occupational sickness and a mutual aid fund to aid them in respect of marriage, family maintenance, unemployment, incapacity and funeral expenses. A 2 per cent. employer contribution and a 1 per cent. employee contribution were provided for financing the two types of funds.

This 1946 scheme applied in 1950 to about 150,000 workers employed by the larger industrial establishments, including 60,000 employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. and 25,000 railway employees. Employers of over two thirds of these workers had set up their own health services with medical staff, hospitals, dispensaries and pharmacies, and also paid partial or full wages during sickness ; the cost of these services for different firms is thought to be between 2 and 6 per cent. of wages. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. had 70 doctors on its staff, specialists, 45 trained nurses, and other auxiliary personnel ; three hospitals with 620 beds ; laboratories ; and numerous dispensaries. The railways had seven hospitals and 34 dispensaries, while employers in Isfahan maintained a 70-bed hospital. Cash benefits of varying size were also being paid by mutual aid funds functioning in different establishments.

Social Insurance Legislation

On 7 June 1949, the Iranian Parliament approved a new experimental Labour Act which is to continue in force until adoption of another Bill. The latter is to be submitted by the Government within one year and is to take account of experience gained under the temporary law. The new Act establishes a central mutual aid and workers' insurance fund for urban wage earners employed in establishments to be specified by

[1] See INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, Studies and Reports, N.S., No. 12: *Labour Problems in Greece* (Geneva, 1949), Chapter V, for a detailed description and analysis of the Greek social security scheme.

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 M1 Middle East
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The financial system of the sickness insurance scheme would be that of assessment, although provision is made for contingency reserves. Users of medical services could be required to pay certain fees, if abuses threatened to upset the scheme's finances. Pension insurance would have a mixed financial system : contributions would not equal the average actuarial premium but are intended to balance income and payments for a generation. Sizable reserves would be accumulated in the early years, which would be invested largely in loans to sickness insurance for the construction of health facilities.

To permit the necessary construction of health facilities and training of personnel, the Bill contemplates introduction of the scheme by stages. The first stage would see the setting up of pension insurance in one or two regions for employees in establishments employing five or more workers. Thereafter, as more and more hospitals and dispensaries are built, insured persons and employers are registered, and contribution and benefit machinery is developed, sickness insurance would be introduced and the whole scheme would gradually be extended to new regions and to the smaller establishments.

The Bill requires both benefit and contribution amounts to be modified by regulation whenever the average of wages received by industrial employees moves up or down by 20 per cent.

The new insurance benefits, in principle, would replace obligations imposed on individual employers by existing Egyptian legislation concerning workmen's compensation, sick pay, maternity pay and provision of medical care. In furnishing benefits under the new scheme, the administrative agency would be authorised to contract with employers for the use of health facilities already developed by the latter.

The adoption of the 1950 law on non-contributory pensions will very likely result in a postponement of the introduction of compulsory social insurance for industrial and commercial workers. Furthermore, the original plan will probably be reconsidered in order to bring it into line with the non-contributory pension scheme.

Progress of Reform in Greece

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Greece has for 16 years had a comprehensive social security statute which has already been in force for 13 years. Hence, its situation is quite different from that of most Near and Middle East countries which have yet to enact their first general social insurance law. Greece faces instead, on the one hand, the problem of reforming and reconstructing its existing scheme and, on the other hand, a need for further extension of measures already taken.

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 Ml Middle East
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The need for reform is due in part to the serious disorganisation which the Greek scheme suffered during the war and its aftermath, including the very severe inflation which made pre-war benefits completely inadequate. It is also due to the excessively complex structure of Greek social insurance inherited from the pre-war period. This complexity is traceable to historical factors. The existence of many scores of separate social insurance institutions—with diverse but sometimes overlapping scope and dissimilar coverage of risks, qualifying conditions, benefit formulae and financial arrangements—has made at least some measure of rationalisation and unification imperative. In addition, the scheme is not yet applied in all regions of the country, does not apply to agriculture at all, and lacks many of the facilities needed for effective provision of health benefits. Moreover, the incidence of tuberculosis in Greece has placed a special burden on certain parts of the scheme.

The Office sent a mission to Greece in 1947 to study Greek labour laws, including those dealing with social insurance. The report of this mission, submitted to the Greek Government in March 1948, contained a number of recommendations for the modification of the social insurance provisions then in effect.

Subsequently, a new administrator of the Central Social Insurance Institution (I.K.A.) was appointed to improve its operations and effect a reorganisation of Greek social insurance. This administrator introduced many changes in the organisation and benefits of the central fund and has developed plans for substantial enlargement of the medical services of the fund, particularly as regards hospitals and other health centres. He also developed a plan for comprehensive reorganisation of Greek social insurance as a whole which would involve extensive unification of administrative organisation, benefit provisions and financing. This plan has been submitted to the Government for consideration.

A somewhat different plan for the reform of Greek social insurance was prepared during the same period by a committee of officials of the Greek Ministry of Labour and was submitted to the Government in a report completed in August 1949. Yet a third set of proposals was developed and made public by the Greek General Federation of Labour late in 1949.

Each of the plans referred to above recognises the need for modifying and unifying existing measures in a considerable degree. They differ, however, as to the desirable extent and circumstances of the unification to be effected in respect of benefits, finance and administration. The various proposals were under consideration by a Cabinet Committee in mid-1950.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

therefore the guiding hand in local affairs. But in Greece I found no such use of the secretary's role. He generally considered himself a servant of both the state and the local people. In this Attica village the secretary said: "I do all the difficult work. I am kept so busy that I even work at night. Recruiting for the army, for instance, is done through me. I was awakened at five this morning by a man who wanted a certificate. I am also head of post and telegraph here. This is an unusual job for a secretary but the local government couldn't afford such an official and asked me to take on the job. I reckon I must work eighty hours some weeks." But he seemed to be thriving on his job. 624 [702] [205] [206]

When I inquired more carefully into what the council does, I learned that, in addition to collecting the taxes, it has the problem of determining what families are poor enough to qualify for welfare assistance. The president and two other citizens comprise a committee on social welfare and classify families according to need. The two citizens had been selected by the Ministry of Welfare from a list of nine local people nominated by the president, and they serve two years. The poor people are officially listed according to categories A, B, and C, which are based on family income and size of family. The poorest (A category) will get free medical care, free hospitalization, free maternity service, and free drugs at the expense of the Ministry of Welfare. Those in category B are entitled to the same advantages, but have lower priority in the event sufficient facilities are not available to all. Those in C category must pay for their drugs, but at reduced prices, with the price difference being made up by the Ministry of Welfare. Of the 560 families in this village, one half were in one of the above categories. Since everybody in a village knows everyone else's business, there is much discussion of the fairness of the list. A person in need comes personally to ask for help, but he may be removed from the list at the end of three months when the names must be reviewed. 746 511 [623] [622]

Around Volos, in the villages on Mount Pelion, I found emergency welfare needs handled on a much less bureaucratic basis. The commandant of gendarmerie for the Volos area learned in March 1953 that many families in the villages on the eastern part of Pelion lacked food. Unlike those in the Attica village, these people had made no complaints. They ordinarily live on returns from olives, apples, chestnuts, and some potatoes, but storms had destroyed their chestnut and apple crop to the extent that they had received little income the previous autumn. By March, they were without funds to buy bread. Part of their poverty could also be traced to the number of times their villages had been pillaged by the guerrilla bands which had earlier operated in that area. Their clothes were a pattern of patches. They kept little livestock because pastures were lacking and because any lambs produced did not mature early enough to be sold at Easter. 746 625 735 [727]

The commandant, in view of these circumstances, asked help from the

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

746 representative of the International Red Cross, who arranged with the or-
625 ganizational officials in Athens for an immediate distribution of rice, sugar,
735 and molasses (for children). Momentarily, the representative also secured money for bread, telephoning from Athens to the commandant to buy the bread locally. The Red Cross representative had expected the commandant to buy about eight hundred one-oka loaves of bread, but he had different ideas: "Why not give the people flour and cut down the expense of the salt, water, and manipulation that goes into the baked bread?" So he bought nine hundred and eighty okas of flour and persuaded the flour mills at Volos to contribute another two tons. He also handled the problem of transportation with originality. Since these eight villages are remote, the trucking costs to them are high. The commandant, suggesting that the dis-
[476] tribution be at four points, appealed to the local transportation coopera-
[494] tives to supply the trucks after the Union of Trucks had voted to help. Then the drivers agreed to donate a day's free labor, with the "day" totaling sixteen hours for many of them before the distribution was completed and the trucks were safely back in Volos.

746 But the role of the village notables should not be minimized. Although
625 the commandant had made a trip through the district to look personally
735 into the condition of many families, he depended upon the president, the
622 priest, the teacher, and the gendarme to prepare the list of the needy in each village. The role of the president came to the fore at the distribution points, to which he brought some men and pack animals. The commandant explained in great detail to each president the basis on which the distribution was being made, who had made the contributions, and what families were to receive how much. The supplies for each village, when weighed out from the trucks, were turned over to the community president. He then
[492] supervised the loading of the pack animals and headed the animal train back toward his village. Once arrived, he was to see that the distribution was carried out according to instructions.

Such an experience leaves many impressions: the deep personal interest which the commandant of gendarmerie showed in the welfare of the people in his area; the dignity of the village presidents who asked very intelligent questions to be sure that they properly understood the instructions about distribution; the tattered clothing worn by these quiet, almost impassive villagers. And here, as always in Greece, one sensed deeply the beauty of
000 the natural surroundings: the mountains where patches of snow still lingered, the dark glades through which the road sometimes wound, the
[494] occasional olive groves and chestnut forests, with lively pedestrian traffic ready to greet one every few hundred yards. Down on the plain, on a sunny afternoon, the meadows were full of a profusion of wild flowers so delicate in color and stamina that they die soon after they are plucked or after the hot sun of late April and May beats down on the unprotected plain. On

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

our way back to Athens the next day as evening began to fall, we saw 000
Mount Parnassus, snow-topped, off to the west, and knew that beyond it
lay Delphi and its sacred shrine. In an ancient land, peasants of today were 746
still wrestling with the problem of hunger; and generous people — Greek 625
officials, millers, truck owners and truck drivers, and supporters of the 735
International Red Cross — were expressing a common humanity. Village 622
presidents, or local government in action, were the final link between the
outside world and those in need.

Other trips, however, left one in a different mood. In the Peloponnesos, 578
as in many parts of Greece, I found villagers who did not feel very kindly 622
toward their community president, even though they had elected him. In 661
one place a peasant, not without a trace of prejudice, remarked: "My [653]
brother-in-law was president of the council when the village road was built.
He and the council decided how many days men of the family had to contribute and we got the job done. But our president now is a poor type of political leader. He plays favorites. He does not promise anything for the village as a whole; he has no concern for a much-needed bridge at the place where your car almost got stuck crossing the stream."

In another village, an old man who had spent five years as a young man in the United States complained: "In community affairs we have to elect a president who is 'in keeping' with the government in power, or else we get left out. But many of our village presidents take revenge on those villagers who disagree with them. In the States, if you are a Democrat nobody cares." When I asked in what ways the president could take revenge, he said that the president could make unfair work assignments to a community voluntary-labor project, make unequal distribution of welfare goods, and create difficulties for a man trying to get a loan through the cooperative.

But in many ways the community council has some control over the 622
president because it can outvote him on crucial issues. In fact, a council 623
will frequently have real discussions since each member feels well informed [208]
on village matters, which is all they are supposed to discuss, and can reflect
the ideas of his friends, followers, or his coffeehouse clique. As one Greek official said, "The community council is a lively element in village life. The only point to remember is that council members are not educated enough to measure up to their tasks."

Some brief insight into how this process works is found in the case of Stavroupolis, a village whose coffeehouses were treated at some length in the preceding chapter. According to John Photiadis:

> Stavroupolis and the three other villages which form the Stavroupolis community are incorporated, with their government located in Stavroupolis. This government consists of an unpaid nine-member council elected by vote every four years, and a salaried mayor. For specific projects and activities, special committees are appointed from the council members and sometimes non-coun-

156 freedom to defy Hitler, in the sure knowledge that their country
577 would be overrun and occupied if they did so. During the occupation,
722 they remained free; little children risked their lives to do absolutely
727 unnecessary things such as defacing Nazi posters, giving expression to their essential freedom. The morale of the people was upheld by their knowledge that they had not forfeited their freedom, and that they had been defeated only technically, not man-to-man, but by monstrous machines. External coercion without internal submission has no bearing on the maintenance of the *philotimo*.

178 To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of
156 living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as
511 a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of
577 God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. Until
727 the government centralized aid in the Department of Welfare, and
746 to some extent thereafter, Greek families and communities took care of their own indigents or dependents. The Greeks who emigrated
[173] to the United States before the change and formed conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned; they were adapting the village pattern; besides, their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy. However, Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship; they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought, or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil; and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler's plans. They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God. Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances; but now, because of destruction, occupation, soil erosion, loss of the right to emigrate, they need technical assistance to achieve a standard of living which is their right as Greeks and as persons. They can accept help also because the need is common to all the Greeks. During the war they said, not "See what I have come to," but "See what the nation has come to!" and then their situation was bearable. The office which is in charge of the ECA activities now reminds the people of the different villages that the destruction has been nationwide, that the need applies to all the Greeks, and so makes it bearable, and saves their *philotimo*. More than this, the government now appeals for self-participation in rebuilding the homes and the villages in the name of their *philotimo* as Greeks; to exert themselves as their sons exerted themselves in war, "to show the world what the Greeks can do in peace as well as in war".

much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works

793 The contrast between an ordinary priest's home and the bishop's palace
794 in Kalamata is quite marked, for the latter was once the ornate building
[346] housing the local branch of the Bank of Greece. But the bishop's interest in the people of his diocese, both the city dwellers in Kalamata and the farmers in the surrounding villages, equaled that of any priest for his parishioners. The bishop, when visited in 1953, proved a friendly, jovial person, with an iron-gray beard, a dignified though rotund figure, and a very forward-looking social philosophy. It was this latter quality in particular that had made me seek him out after hearing from friends in Athens of his unusual achievements in the welfare field.

He began to talk about what he had done and hoped to do for his people: "I became interested when I saw their great needs, for, as a church leader, I am responsible for the welfare of whatever people are under me." But before he started on any specific projects after his arrival in this diocese, he had thought it best, as he phrased it, "to put myself at the disposal of the people." He gradually gained the confidence of the members of his diocese by making available to them for local use all of the church's funds derived from festivals. The people began to realize that this bishop was interested in them. Later on, when he began asking them to support the various projects which he started, they gladly cooperated.

793 His first project was a day nursery, which takes care of one hundred and twenty children whose mothers are at work, started in 1947. Visiting this
● 747 nursery in the afternoon when all of the children had gone home, we noted the cleanliness and the simple but adequate facilities. The success of this nursery prompted the bishop to start another one in Mycenae for one hundred children in 1948.

736 One perplexing problem was that of illegitimate children. In many cases
793 the mother would kill such a child or leave it with people who exploited it
848 unmercifully. So he started a home for these children in 1947. Since then, two hundred and fifty children have gone through the home, sixty of them
[597] have been adopted and fifty were there then. The equipment was simple
[847] and bare, but everything was spotless. When we entered, the children came up to the bishop with great pleasure, for he is a favorite with the young children. One of the nurses told us: "When we have a child that is lonesome, who won't eat, we ask the bishop to come feed the child. When he comes, the child always eats."

793 The bishop noticed, however, that many of the boy foundlings, but relatively few of the girl foundlings, would be adopted. The boys who were not
736 taken by foster parents by their fifth or sixth year would go into the National
[597] Boys' Orphanage of Kalamata, largely supported by the state, which had
[657] one hundred and fifty boys in 1953. Something had to be done for the girls.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 788 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave them an emotional uplift.

793 But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in [737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a poly- [874] technic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous [177] November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more [743] activity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

793 794 457 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country, especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 794 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of inmates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their [428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial [769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the [748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 736 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing."[15] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[16] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at Pierce College. 783 748 [873]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 Pierce College. It is hard for most Greeks, no matter how highly trained,
748 to bring into the social worker–client relationship an objectivity modeled on the doctor–patient relationship. The Greek social worker finds it difficult to think of the client as a case and almost immediately empathizes or scolds in a way that would be considered quite unprofessional by American standards. Psychiko, hardly the twentieth-century rationale for social welfare, continues strong in Greece today, and the Bishop of Messenia is doing much to keep it alive in his diocese, which seems much the better for it.

The Peasant Confronts Death

761 The peasant assumes that there is an afterlife and talks about doing kind
773 deeds "for the good of the soul." But these practical villagers do not talk much about death, although they do have some fixed beliefs and prescribed
775 customs which stand them in good stead when confronting it. For example, there is the matter of Charon who, according to the beliefs of ancient Rome, was the boatman transporting the dead across the River Styx. I shall never forget the sensation of riding along in the northern Peloponnesos between Kleitoria and Kalavryta, enjoying the bright May afternoon, when my interpreter pointed out a small and pleasant stream said to be the waters of the Styx.[17] Greek peasants do not assign the same role to Charon as did the Romans, for they think of Charon as death itself, or as the angel of death whom God sends down to bring back the soul of someone whose time on earth has run its course. There are many songs and stories about Charon, who is personified as one who wrestles with individuals for their lives or who uses craft to draw the soul out of the body. From time to time he is supposed to have displayed something akin to human sympathy:

> *God and Death:* Once upon a time God sent death to reap a soul but when death heard the lamentation of the relations and saw the beauty of the girl whose soul he was supposed to reap, he felt sorry and returned to heaven without accomplishing his mission. When God asked him why he didn't bring the soul, death replied that he couldn't stand the crying and despair that he had heard and seen. God got very angry and hit death so that he became deaf, blind, and lame. He made him deaf so that he couldn't hear the crying, blind so that he couldn't see whether the soul to be taken away belonged to an old person or a child, and lame so that he could not run away from the place where he was sent.[18]

761 Although church art, depicting the medieval Christian conception of
775 heaven and hell, has had some effect upon the view peasants take of "the next world," the people very often reveal a more basic belief in Hades as
[772] "a common meeting-place of all whose lives are ended, without distinction of merit. Death is a deprivation of the joys of life, which, with all its troubles and cares, is sweet. The old uneasy feeling that after death it is

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Vasilika

Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts. 571 867

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone. 521 [868] [196]

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity. 521 571 156 828 [748]

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kuvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other. 521 156 828 571

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha*," "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

To cure terrific abdominal pains, or "twisting the navel": 755

The constant pains and vomiting are said to be due to the untwisting of the navel. If the patient is to recover, his navel must be retwisted. Only a few people know how to do this. The one effecting the cure presses the navel with the index finger of his right hand, holds it firmly and starts walking around the patient. As he turns around he halts — at the head, at the feet, and at each side. He goes around like this seven or eight times and the patient recovers. (Aetolia and Arcadia) [753] [826]

Only special women can do this. The one who helps puts a rag around her finger, twists the navel several times until she feels it catch. Then she withdraws her finger and puts a compress on the navel. This compress is composed of blue paper into which some incense melted in *mastica* has been placed. (Spetsai)

Even though some of these practices are restricted to particular regions of Greece, and are carried out by only a few people in a given village, they do constitute a folk approach to healing. But there is one important belief, general throughout Greece, which is associated with illness: the Evil Eye. In one family, in a village near the town of Thebes, some of the members wore amulets which the priest had blessed and into which communion bread had been sewed. Elsewhere in Greece I saw amulets containing splinters of holy wood or earth from Jerusalem, worn around the neck. The women in explaining the Evil Eye said that one cannot always tell who casts the Evil Eye, but that there are some people in the village suspected of doing this and that they are to be avoided or else watched carefully. 751 754 [753]

If a child is believed to be under the spell (that is, shivers and does not feel well), the person suspected can be brought before the child and asked to spit three times to get rid of the curse, or the child can be taken to the priest who reads a blessing. Perhaps the cure thought most efficacious is a secret formula which an older woman passes on to a younger one with the instructions that it is never to be improperly revealed. Not all village women know the formula but only those who have been particularly selected by the wise women, or an older relative, for this purpose. In this village home, the women after much whispered discussion, decided details of the formula would do no harm since we were outsiders and would be leaving soon. Here are the basic elements: 755 [753] [793] [124]

Christ and the Virgin Mary
Passed through a crossroad;
They spread their golden apron
And ate. Crumbs fell on the apron.
They took those crumbs
And tossed them into the sea.
The sea waters were stirred up
And man was cured.

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to
755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry- [751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and [827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

feeling the mystery and fear that surrounds the whole discussion of the cause and cure of an illness attributed to the Evil Eye. As they grow older, they understand why the parent of a child or the owner of an animal will say in reply to any words of admiration: *Phtyse* (Spit) or *Phtys' to* (Spit it), at which you must pretend to spit.

It is into such an atmosphere of half-truth, and even harmful customs, that those interested in scientific medicine must practice their profession. They quickly find that patients are often brought to them after the priest and the wise women have done their best and failed. They also know that merely giving a prescription is no guarantee that it will be followed as directed, but may even be blended with folk medicine that makes it ineffective. In Greece today there is one physician for every thousand people, a proportion usually considered adequate in the United States. The difficulty comes with their maldistribution, for over 50 percent of all doctors are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area. Consequently, many villagers have to travel long distances to obtain medical treatment, but the improved roads are making such trips less time-consuming.[15]

Once in a while some member of the family has to be hospitalized. An American, thinking only in terms of scientific sanitation concepts, is often amazed at what he observes if he chances into a small Greek provincial private hospital, one of which has been well described by Dr. Ernestine Friedl:

> One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient. Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.[16]

Before one condemns too quickly such medical practices, it is well to try to understand some of the cultural factors which explain them. These have

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

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474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
[664] the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch
[124] with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
[241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
[621] in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

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Kalivi, Attica

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were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles 178
and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women 243
also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. [293]
The president of the community told me: [751]

Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals. [464]

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a 474
loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this 258
part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each [652]
family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that
it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount
taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the
machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the
customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the man- [778]
ager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning
of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, [788]
but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed
to agree.

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized 474
what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative ac-
cumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or
special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For exam- [758]
ple, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for
looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong,
there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit coopera- [652]
tive explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend
upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money
for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local
peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed.
The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no member-
ship dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president
and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the
five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five [233]
thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

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Vasilika

impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth. 356 353 [296]

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping. 356 515 [574] [751] [264]

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters. 356 512 [264]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities. 156 828 867 858

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back. 156 828 867 854 [856]

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too. [751]

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence. 156 828 867 852 771 [846] [754]

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad- 156 828 771 867

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

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wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

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These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
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Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
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not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

/70 cont./
Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

/66 cont./ 782
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whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is
tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while
the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out.
/69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the [515]
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth
healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any
village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a
doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many
farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing
two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever
is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and every-
thing evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned 744
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house
flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children.
Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the
troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat
them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a
time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the
sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their
families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few
windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost.
Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the
same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

TABLE 2. CAUSES OF DEATH IN GREECE, 1950, BY NUMBER AND RATE

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Cause of death	Number	Death rate (per 1000 people)
Heart disease	3270	.427
Cancer	2730	.358
Cerebral hemorrhage	2679	.352
Tuberculosis (respiratory)	2214	.293
Senility	1954	.258
Pneumonia	1523	.201
Nephritis	1284	.168
Violent accidents	1259	.165
Causes unknown	1166	.154
Congenital debility	998	.132
Diarrhea, enteritis	973	.128
Other tuberculosis	634	.083
Other diseases of digestive system	629	.082
Other infectious diseases	621	.081
Diseases of the liver	511	.067

Source: Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece* (Athens, 1952), p. 62 (mimeographed).

diseases which give the health authorities most cause for concern are tuberculosis, dysentery, typhoid and paratyphoid, venereal diseases, smallpox, various intestinal parasites, and particularly infectious hepatitis.

Of these causes of death, tuberculosis creates the greatest problem for those interested in preventive medicine, for it is commonly recognized that the reported death rate, 29.3 per 100,000 people, is probably less than half of the true figures. Greek peasants can therefore take small comfort in the fact that tuberculosis death rates in the urban areas are more than twice as high as those for rural districts, since this still means relatively high rates in the villages. Although the government is attacking tuberculosis with considerable vigor, the public response is only half-hearted. One of the first jobs of the UNRRA–World Health Organization mission after the war was to try to persuade the tuberculous to recognize their illness, to take treatment, and to realize that it was no disgrace to be ill.

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[744]
[177]

However, in most families it is still considered a shame to have the disease, so much so that cases are hidden and doctors are even paid for not reporting cases to the public-health authorities. Although undernourishment is frequently associated with the high incidence of the disease, in Greece malaria has been a contributory cause by undermining resistance to the tuberculosis bacillus.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

462 241 178

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

758 [462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

753 ●

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

753 776 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, — from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 759 [793] For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest, who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particular charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 [868] 755 757 [184] A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters, although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia, a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 793 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane person out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

To cure terrific abdominal pains, or "twisting the navel": 755

The constant pains and vomiting are said to be due to the untwisting of the navel. If the patient is to recover, his navel must be retwisted. Only a few people know how to do this. The one effecting the cure presses the navel with the index finger of his right hand, holds it firmly and starts walking around the patient. As he turns around he halts — at the head, at the feet, and at each side. He goes around like this seven or eight times and the patient recovers. (Aetolia and Arcadia) [753] [826]

Only special women can do this. The one who helps puts a rag around her finger, twists the navel several times until she feels it catch. Then she withdraws her finger and puts a compress on the navel. This compress is composed of blue paper into which some incense melted in *mastica* has been placed. (Spetsai)

Even though some of these practices are restricted to particular regions of Greece, and are carried out by only a few people in a given village, they do constitute a folk approach to healing. But there is one important belief, general throughout Greece, which is associated with illness: the Evil Eye. In one family, in a village near the town of Thebes, some of the members wore amulets which the priest had blessed and into which communion bread had been sewed. Elsewhere in Greece I saw amulets containing splinters of holy wood or earth from Jerusalem, worn around the neck. The women in explaining the Evil Eye said that one cannot always tell who casts the Evil Eye, but that there are some people in the village suspected of doing this and that they are to be avoided or else watched carefully. 751 754 [753]

If a child is believed to be under the spell (that is, shivers and does not feel well), the person suspected can be brought before the child and asked to spit three times to get rid of the curse, or the child can be taken to the priest who reads a blessing. Perhaps the cure thought most efficacious is a secret formula which an older woman passes on to a younger one with the instructions that it is never to be improperly revealed. Not all village women know the formula but only those who have been particularly selected by the wise women, or an older relative, for this purpose. In this village home, the women after much whispered discussion, decided details of the formula would do no harm since we were outsiders and would be leaving soon. Here are the basic elements: 755 [753] [793] [124]

Christ and the Virgin Mary
Passed through a crossroad;
They spread their golden apron
And ate. Crumbs fell on the apron.
They took those crumbs
And tossed them into the sea.
The sea waters were stirred up
And man was cured.

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to 755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry- [751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and [827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
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152

/68 cont./ 164
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is [752]
good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is
tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while
the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out.
/69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after [264]
a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the [515]
ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth
healthy and strong.

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent 514
necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any
village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a
doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many
farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing
two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever
is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and every-
thing evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive 514
intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned 744
privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house
flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children.
Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the
troubles considerably.

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by [753]
micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat
them.

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the 362
previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a
time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the
sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their
families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few
windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost.
Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very [513]
unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the
same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed.

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings.
The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of
firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude,
and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving
the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment.
Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at
five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come
until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk
rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and
walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding.
Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation
of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from
irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with
her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided
attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place
of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions;
and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the
swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies,
the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of
the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells
of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands.
She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making
appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs
have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a
special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She
calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love";
she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 787 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at [777] least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

824 [787] Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 777 539 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk story:

> Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 [844] If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panagias to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the [789] midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears [754] that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sta matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[9] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old 82 people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

825 787 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere, there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
856 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want
754 to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or
[778] have a little icon."[8]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

To cure terrific abdominal pains, or "twisting the navel": 755

The constant pains and vomiting are said to be due to the untwisting of the navel. If the patient is to recover, his navel must be retwisted. Only a few people know how to do this. The one effecting the cure presses the navel with the index finger of his right hand, holds it firmly and starts walking around the patient. As he turns around he halts — at the head, at the feet, and at each side. He goes around like this seven or eight times and the patient recovers. (Aetolia and Arcadia) [753] [826]

Only special women can do this. The one who helps puts a rag around her finger, twists the navel several times until she feels it catch. Then she withdraws her finger and puts a compress on the navel: This compress is composed of blue paper into which some incense melted in *mastica* has been placed. (Spetsai)

Even though some of these practices are restricted to particular regions of Greece, and are carried out by only a few people in a given village, they do constitute a folk approach to healing. But there is one important belief, general throughout Greece, which is associated with illness: the Evil Eye. In one family, in a village near the town of Thebes, some of the members wore amulets which the priest had blessed and into which communion bread had been sewed. Elsewhere in Greece I saw amulets containing splinters of holy wood or earth from Jerusalem, worn around the neck. The women in explaining the Evil Eye said that one cannot always tell who casts the Evil Eye, but that there are some people in the village suspected of doing this and that they are to be avoided or else watched carefully. 751 754 [753]

If a child is believed to be under the spell (that is, shivers and does not feel well), the person suspected can be brought before the child and asked to spit three times to get rid of the curse, or the child can be taken to the priest who reads a blessing. Perhaps the cure thought most efficacious is a secret formula which an older woman passes on to a younger one with the instructions that it is never to be improperly revealed. Not all village women know the formula but only those who have been particularly selected by the wise women, or an older relative, for this purpose. In this village home, the women after much whispered discussion, decided details of the formula would do no harm since we were outsiders and would be leaving soon. Here are the basic elements: 755 [753] [793] [124]

Christ and the Virgin Mary
Passed through a crossroad;
They spread their golden apron
And ate. Crumbs fell on the apron.
They took those crumbs
And tossed them into the sea.
The sea waters were stirred up
And man was cured.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

● 754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to 755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry- [751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and [827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
751
152

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will
[777] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest." [11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires
[754] was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, con-
794 sisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-
[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other
788 Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending cannot help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross,
[346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome repre-
[778] senting heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*), which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congre-
[562] gate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

1844–54, tells the tale and says the entire bratstvo was extinct. The fishermen on the lake had to pay the vladika yearly a barrel of fish for fishing rights. No barrel arrived. They were asked why, and wickedly replied that they had not been able to catch any fish. The vladika was patient. Still no fish arrived. The fishermen then explained: "There are now no fish in the lake." "No," said the vladika firmly, "*there are none and there will be none.*" M 754 681 M [726 577]

To everyone's horror the lake was fishless. The fishermen hurried to the vladika and prayed him to withdraw his curse. He kindly did so—and the fish reappeared.

This mighty prelate was canonized by the Montenegrin Church shortly after his death, and is the revered St. Petar Cetinski.

His curses, however, pale before that laid on the Greek statesman Venizelos in 1916. I give it to show what the Orthodox Church is capable of when roused, and the present belief in the curse in the Near East. Venizelos was denounced for having "betrayed the nation to the Anglo-French." "Therefore against the traitor Venizelos we have invoked the following injuries: the ulcers of Job, the whale of Jonah, the leprosy of Naaman, the bite of Death, the shuddering of the dying, the thunderbolt of Hell, and the malediction of God and man. We shall call for the same injuries upon those who, at the forthcoming elections, shall vote for the traitor Venizelos, and further pray for their hands to wither and for them to become deaf and blind. Amen." G 754 664

Curse-pits were dug, and crowds, filing by, put their curses upon stones and hurled them into the pits.

True, the ecclesiastics who laid the curse got into trouble. But they had, in fact, but expressed—flamboyantly—the feelings of the people. Venizelos, having once fallen, has never returned to power. The peasant has little faith in elections—he has every reason to doubt their efficacy; but of the efficacy of a real good curse he has ample evidence.

In Albania a curse may lie for generations on a family and end it. I visited the house of a family group at Plani in Pulati. The curse was that the family should not multiply, and I was assured it was dying out. No one knew who had laid the curse and all attempts to remove it had failed. Eighteen persons were living crowded in its one room. In cases of this kind it is obvious that unwholesome surroundings, bad water, or inherited disease is the origin of the "curse." To those so "cursed," however, the thing is a mystery, and mysterious means are the only ones used to combat it. A 754

All medicine begins as magic. The invention of the microscope has at last revealed many of the real "demons." But even in England there are still people who prefer quack remedies to scientific "demon"-slaying ones. A 121

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 186 823 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives, only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 823 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (January 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering himself fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

[755] [778] [789]

823 776 539 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most persistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

[195] [542]

1:Sanders Z-5,f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere, there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a
[755] glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
856 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want
754 to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or
[778] have a little icon."[8]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

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The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

Keeping the Family Well

758 462 574 511 369

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

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Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

755 757 776

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

753 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, —
776 from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

● 755 For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest,
759 who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particu-
[793] lar charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters,
[868] although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary
755 folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia,
757 a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was
[184] expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane per-
793 son out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

To cure terrific abdominal pains, or "twisting the navel": 755

The constant pains and vomiting are said to be due to the untwisting of the navel. If the patient is to recover, his navel must be retwisted. Only a few people know how to do this. The one effecting the cure presses the navel with the index finger of his right hand, holds it firmly and starts walking around the patient. As he turns around he halts — at the head, at the feet, and at each side. He goes around like this seven or eight times and the patient recovers. (Aetolia and Arcadia) [753] [826]

Only special women can do this. The one who helps puts a rag around her finger, twists the navel several times until she feels it catch. Then she withdraws her finger and puts a compress on the navel: This compress is composed of blue paper into which some incense melted in *mastica* has been placed. (Spetsai)

Even though some of these practices are restricted to particular regions of Greece, and are carried out by only a few people in a given village, they do constitute a folk approach to healing. But there is one important belief, general throughout Greece, which is associated with illness: the Evil Eye. In one family, in a village near the town of Thebes, some of the members wore amulets which the priest had blessed and into which communion bread had been sewed. Elsewhere in Greece I saw amulets containing splinters of holy wood or earth from Jerusalem, worn around the neck. The women in explaining the Evil Eye said that one cannot always tell who casts the Evil Eye, but that there are some people in the village suspected of doing this and that they are to be avoided or else watched carefully. 751 754 [753]

If a child is believed to be under the spell (that is, shivers and does not feel well), the person suspected can be brought before the child and asked to spit three times to get rid of the curse, or the child can be taken to the priest who reads a blessing. Perhaps the cure thought most efficacious is a secret formula which an older woman passes on to a younger one with the instructions that it is never to be improperly revealed. Not all village women know the formula but only those who have been particularly selected by the wise women, or an older relative, for this purpose. In this village home, the women after much whispered discussion, decided details of the formula would do no harm since we were outsiders and would be leaving soon. Here are the basic elements: 755 [753] [793] [124]

Christ and the Virgin Mary
Passed through a crossroad;
They spread their golden apron
And ate. Crumbs fell on the apron.
They took those crumbs
And tossed them into the sea.
The sea waters were stirred up
And man was cured.

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to 755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry- [751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and [827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

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On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

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Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata,* or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti,* since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

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Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

785 262 372 783

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

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are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(yoghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor. 241 178

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time. [464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world. 758 [462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it: 753

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are [755] [757] [776]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

753 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, —
776 from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest,
759 who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particu-
[793] lar charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters,
[868] although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary
755 folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia,
757 a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was
[184] expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane per-
793 son out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

feeling the mystery and fear that surrounds the whole discussion of the cause and cure of an illness attributed to the Evil Eye. As they grow older, they understand why the parent of a child or the owner of an animal will say in reply to any words of admiration: *Phtyse* (Spit) or *Phtys' to* (Spit it), at which you must pretend to spit.

It is into such an atmosphere of half-truth, and even harmful customs, that those interested in scientific medicine must practice their profession. They quickly find that patients are often brought to them after the priest and the wise women have done their best and failed. They also know that merely giving a prescription is no guarantee that it will be followed as directed, but may even be blended with folk medicine that makes it ineffective. In Greece today there is one physician for every thousand people, a proportion usually considered adequate in the United States. The difficulty comes with their maldistribution, for over 50 percent of all doctors are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area. Consequently, many villagers have to travel long distances to obtain medical treatment, but the improved roads are making such trips less time-consuming.[16]

Once in a while some member of the family has to be hospitalized. An American, thinking only in terms of scientific sanitation concepts, is often amazed at what he observes if he chances into a small Greek provincial private hospital, one of which has been well described by Dr. Ernestine Friedl:

> One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient. Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.[16]

Before one condemns too quickly such medical practices, it is well to try to understand some of the cultural factors which explain them. These have

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

students from places as far distant as Drama and Katerini. A candidate for the two-year course which the seminary provided must have reached the fourth class of his elementary school: an event which in the case of certain of the more venerable amongst these bewhiskered scholars must have been more than a generation remote from their reappearance *in statu pupillari*. 793 874

The programme of studies, as at all these lower seminaries, was eminently practical and was related at every point to the peculiar circumstances within which the Greek country parson exercises his priestly ministry. It was grounded, as is fitting, "in the Book of books, the store-house and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures," and, in particular, in the study of the text of the Gospels. The director was assisted by another lay theologian, the preacher of the diocese. Their lectures on the Bible, doctrine, catechising, the holy canons and liturgical matters, were supplemented by instruction in the ecclesiastical chant (given by the chief singer of the metropolis), and by talks on the rudiments of first-aid from a local doctor: for the country parson does not merely "condescend to the knowledge of tillage and pasturage"; he desires to be all to his parish, and "not only a pastor but also a physician". A little medical knowledge does indeed constitute an invaluable addition to the skills of a country priest in a region where the only known medicaments are aspirins and ouzo, and doctors are as rare as dissenters. [759] [757] [273]

The seminary at Kozani was housed in a rambling, somewhat dilapidated building adjoining the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Its furnishing and equipment were simple in the extreme. Twice a day the lecture-room was transformed into a refectory. The students slept seven or eight to a room on straw mattresses laid on the bare boards, and St. Benedict's maxim: *stramenta . . . sufficiant matta, sagum et lena et capitale*, was observed by all alike. 874 346

The liturgical life of the seminary was centred in the church which lies on the other side of the courtyard. The whole community assembled twice daily to sing the divine office, and on Sundays and holy days the liturgy was celebrated. Those amongst the students who lived within easy distance of Kozani used to go home every Saturday and return on Monday morning after celebrating the holy mysteries in their own parish churches. They used also to go to their villages for the great festivals. In other cases some temporary provision would be made for the parishes concerned: the late Metropolitan of Grevena, for example, would allow 793 796 874 793 874

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

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the result of curing practices, but the means used depend upon and have some consequences for the economic, religious, and social organization of the society, for its belief systems, and for the psychological characteristics of individuals.[4]

Studies analyzing the social roles involved in illness and of the nature and extent of hospital care in the United States have led to the same conclusions.[5] Therefore, in the interests both of successful therapy and of humanity, it is usually recommended that scientific knowledge about illness and the practices associated with its cure be introduced in such a way as to take account of the latent functions of the indigenous behavior. But how practically to implement this recommendation is always a problem.[6]

[121]

The Boeotian situation, to be sure, did not result from conscious planning along the recommended lines. It is here suggested, however, that this situation provides, in certain respects at least, the virtual equivalent of a case study in the successful operation of the recommended principles. The following description is presented with this in mind, and does not purport to be in any sense a total study of illness in the society described.

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Comparison of Home Care and Hospitalization

Let us first look at the treatment of illness in a Greek village home. Much as in the United States, the first day or so of fever or other sign of illness is treated with bed rest and home remedies. Aspirin is known, and in the Greek village of 1956 penicillin and other antibiotics are sold in the village store, and their use comes under the head of home remedies. But, significantly enough, the antibiotics will be administered only if some relative of the family (not necessarily a physician

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4. For a discussion of manifest and latent functions see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949, pp. 21-81. See also A. H. Leighton and D. C. Leighton, *op. cit.*, and B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 477; also Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.

5. Lawrence K. Frank, "Psycho-cultural Approaches to Medical Care," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 45-55 (1952); Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1951, pp. 428-479; Talcott Parsons and Renee Fox, "Illness, Therapy and the Modern Urban American Family," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 31-44 (1952); Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science in Medicine*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954, pp. 170-193.

6. George M. Foster, "Relationships Between Theoretical and Applied Anthropology," *Human Organization*, 11 (3), 5-16 (1952); B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

[p. 24(B)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be 757
called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback 758
through the countryside should come into the village on a day
when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the [759]
patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example,
would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no
need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members 758
of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will
visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual 574
activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is
often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves
or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is [576]
perástiká sas which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire
household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the 758
household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the
same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this [513]
custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute 757
or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer,
several alternatives are possible. Some member of the house- 758
hold may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a
hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may
involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where [494]
there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is
accompanied by at least one member of his household and
frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor [844]
went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing 743
into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The
hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with 759
ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated
by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can
give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates [874]
of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many
have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifi- 743
cations of the physicians lead one to expect normal American
hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limita- 758
tions of space and of an untrained staff.

But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

[p. 25(A)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

[p. 26(A)]

/63 cont./

Unfortunately the women lack even the simplest /64/ knowledge in nutrition and always prepare an unbalanced diet, although available food stuffs are enough to prepare a balanced diet. Thus the diet is poor. The local doctor always mentioned the fact that medicines will not cure the disease unless the people have a diet suitable to their work and conditions. 146

The question is not how to teach them a balanced diet and nutrition but how to use advantageously the existing food materials and to study the economic conditions so as to ascertain a feasible program for balancing their diet. It was one of the mistakes of the home demonstration center which started teaching them science and nutrition, instead of trying to find out what they had and how they were using it so as to improve their methods of utilizing it better. [654]

PART V. HEALTH.

Home Remedies. The people of Megali Vrisi can never forget what they learned from their parents regardless of education and new environment. Both the doctor and the local nurse would advise the women how to take care of the sick, but still one would find them trying their own methods before attempting the doctors or the nurses. Through experience the farmers found certain plants that have definite results for every disease and /65/ sickness. For a cold they drink boiled camomile. For stomach troubles they boil the roots of a plant and drink the juice. For boils they put on boiled onion, boiled linseed and fresh cow manure. 757 178

Regardless of whether they have the nurse and the doctor in their village, in case of sickness they will consult first the experienced neighbor and as a last resort they will consult the nurse or the doctor. [759]

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what
457 would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we
443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get
[577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different
178 historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The
[494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the
[804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly.
[438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer
[735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

donkey. Now we[1] can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers. 491 178 [204] [212]

Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day." [758]

A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road: 491 178 438

The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products. [432] [435]

In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense. 491 178 [492]

Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach. [666]

The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffeehouse where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

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Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

[462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

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> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

feeling the mystery and fear that surrounds the whole discussion of the cause and cure of an illness attributed to the Evil Eye. As they grow older, they understand why the parent of a child or the owner of an animal will say in reply to any words of admiration: *Phtyse* (Spit) or *Phtys' to* (Spit it), at which you must pretend to spit.

It is into such an atmosphere of half-truth, and even harmful customs, that those interested in scientific medicine must practice their profession. They quickly find that patients are often brought to them after the priest and the wise women have done their best and failed. They also know that merely giving a prescription is no guarantee that it will be followed as directed, but may even be blended with folk medicine that makes it ineffective. In Greece today there is one physician for every thousand people, a proportion usually considered adequate in the United States. The difficulty comes with their maldistribution, for over 50 percent of all doctors are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area. Consequently, many villagers have to travel long distances to obtain medical treatment, but the improved roads are making such trips less time-consuming.[15]

Once in a while some member of the family has to be hospitalized. An American, thinking only in terms of scientific sanitation concepts, is often amazed at what he observes if he chances into a small Greek provincial private hospital, one of which has been well described by Dr. Ernestine Friedl:

> One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient. Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.[16]

Before one condemns too quickly such medical practices, it is well to try to understand some of the cultural factors which explain them. These have

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

743 been pointed out by Dr. Friedl. The bedclothes from home give the patient
758 a chance not only to show a part of her dowry but they, being familiar, lessen the unfamiliarity of the hospital. Human companionship is considered an absolute good. To be left alone by one's family, especially when one is sick, is dreaded.

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened.[17]

Then, too, the presence of relatives overcomes any doubt the patient may have about the doctor, for they can keep a check on him and discuss in constant family conferences the kind of treatment he is giving.

These are only some of the cultural influences surrounding hospital care. They have their advantages and their disadvantages, as Dr. Friedl points out, but they do show the pervasiveness of the family system and the fact that woman's role in medical care, even when a relative is in the hospital, is indispensable.

562 Women in rural Greece today are conscious of their hard lot; they long
593 for an easier physical existence, for their contacts with the cities have been frequent enough to show them the advantages of the conveniences there.
[369] At the same time, they are not discontented in their social relations. They observe that a man honors his mother and is solicitous over his sister's welfare; in the beginning, however, he behaves differently toward his young wife who is less experienced in the world than he and whom he must command if he is to retain the respect of his fellow villagers. Later on, his wife — though still observing the proprieties of deference and obedience — becomes almost his equal in many matters most essential to her. He consults her about the children or about any important shift in agricultural activity, although reserving for himself the final decision.

Rural Greeks would probably not see the intended humor in the sign once posted in an Alabama restaurant — "Keep your wife for a pet, and eat with us" — since the Greek peasant wife still maintains an indispensable economic role in addition to that of sexual companion and the bearer of children. Her chief security in a male-oriented society is her very indispensability, and the more dependent her husband is upon her, the greater her sense of satisfaction. To be merely a pet, even though this carried with it a lightening of physical toil, would threaten the very foundations of her

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

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were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me:

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

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We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

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The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

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In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

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Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
758 rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[465] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points. I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in
[701] every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*.

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha* (home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture. Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

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Vasilika

relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in 369
different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels 602
in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion 554
or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the [186]
one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of [578]
competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on [621]
which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. 369
So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes 511
which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. [291]
A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after
having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to [296]
release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build [514]
new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building [343]
in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the [758]
imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives 369
given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the 574
village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for 602
the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, 554
and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

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Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

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Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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1. This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955-56. It was supported by grants made to me under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Dr. Friedl's husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the research throughout.

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2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250.

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3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim*; Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 241.

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Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

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the result of curing practices, but the means used depend upon and have some consequences for the economic, religious, and social organization of the society, for its belief systems, and for the psychological characteristics of individuals.[4]

Studies analyzing the social roles involved in illness and of the nature and extent of hospital care in the United States have led to the same conclusions.[5] Therefore, in the interests both of successful therapy and of humanity, it is usually recommended that scientific knowledge about illness and the practices associated with its cure be introduced in such a way as to take account of the latent functions of the indigenous behavior. But how practically to implement this recommendation is always a problem.[6]

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The Boeotian situation, to be sure, did not result from conscious planning along the recommended lines. It is here suggested, however, that this situation provides, in certain respects at least, the virtual equivalent of a case study in the successful operation of the recommended principles. The following description is presented with this in mind, and does not purport to be in any sense a total study of illness in the society described.

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Comparison of Home Care and Hospitalization

Let us first look at the treatment of illness in a Greek village home. Much as in the United States, the first day or so of fever or other sign of illness is treated with bed rest and home remedies. Aspirin is known, and in the Greek village of 1956 penicillin and other antibiotics are sold in the village store, and their use comes under the head of home remedies. But, significantly enough, the antibiotics will be administered only if some relative of the family (not necessarily a physician

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4. For a discussion of manifest and latent functions see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949, pp. 21-81. See also A. H. Leighton and D. C. Leighton, *op. cit.*, and B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 477; also Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.

5. Lawrence K. Frank, "Psycho-cultural Approaches to Medical Care," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 45-55 (1952); Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1951, pp. 428-479; Talcott Parsons and Renee Fox, "Illness, Therapy and the Modern Urban American Family," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 31-44 (1952); Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science in Medicine*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954, pp. 170-193.

6. George M. Foster, "Relationships Between Theoretical and Applied Anthropology," *Human Organization*, 11 (3), 5-16 (1952); B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

[p. 24(B)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback through the countryside should come into the village on a day when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example, would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is *perástiká sas* which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer, several alternatives are possible. Some member of the household may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is accompanied by at least one member of his household and frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifications of the physicians lead one to expect normal American hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limitations of space and of an untrained staff.

But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

[p. 25(A)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it. 743 758 [513]

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words. [846] [844]

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women. [422] [583]

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in 758 571 156 743 [574]

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital. [744]

[p.25(B)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

[p. 26(A)]

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors over the doctors who travel through the countryside on horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are to be consulted during an illness and their care is then needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come to be associated with low social position and low income, hospital care with high social position. 743 554 369 844 759 [593]

This description of hospital care would be incomplete without some more detailed discussion of the specific disadvantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of land. It has importance also just because the payments are made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient, and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* (the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case, but they are much intensified by hospitalization. 743 152 [511] [583] 743 828 152 156 759

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-producing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its advantages. However, I believe that without the compensating sense of familiarity and continued participation in family relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming. 743

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions. They complained about the inability to keep regular consulting hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly manage to get into town at any regular times. They also complained about the many relatives in attendance on their patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were, 743 759 [369] [758] [181]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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in characteristically Greek fashion, more human-centered than science-centered. They went along with the human necessities of the patients, allowing these necessities to overshadow, for a time at least, what they regarded as the strict requirements of scientific hospital management. 743 759 [181]

Moreover, conversations with the doctors indicated that, although they were far more sophisticated than their village patients, they were nevertheless participants in the same basic culture, and shared many attitudes and expectations with their patients. For example, the lack of regular time scheduling for consultation, rounds of the wards, nursing routines, and the like, is not likely to be as personally irritating to a Greek doctor as it might be to his American counterpart. Greeks actively dislike regularity, and, unlike many Americans, do not derive comfort and security from routines. The Greek doctors are also less likely to be disturbed by the presence of the large numbers of visitors and their, to Americans, relatively boisterous conversations. Long and animated consultations before any decisions are made form a part of Greek life to a greater or lesser degree at all social levels, and conversation for its own sake is a favorite recreation. The fact is that illness and quiet are not inextricably linked concepts in Greek culture. 743 759 805 758 743 759 521 758

What the Greek doctors are apparently unaware of, however, is the extent to which their, to them, makeshift hospital practices conform to the social scientists' recent recommendations for flexibility and for adaptation to traditional methods of handling illness. What careful analysis has pointed out as a desirable method for conscious, planned, and gradual change, 743 758

[5.27 (A)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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has been evolved willy-nilly by these doctors under the diverse pressures of their complex culture. 743 758

Future Development

This is not to say that Greek provincial hospitals will continue their present practices indefinitely. The fact that urban hospitals conform more closely to previously existing American standards and that these form the ideal for the Greek doctors has already been noted. What is even more interesting is that, as the villagers become familiar with hospital care, in the provinces, they are sensitized to the reports of their urban relatives about hospital conditions in Athens. They are told that these more modern institutions provide bedding, and serve food from hospital kitchens. They, themselves, have learned that bringing food from home, and cooking in the hospital, are severe drains on family energies. The result is that they are beginning to complain about the poorer facilities of the provincial hospitals, and are talking of demanding more services: services which, had they been forced upon them in the early stages, would have made the hospital a strange and repellent place. 743 758 369

One may hope that the development of hospital practice in Greece does not reach the heights of impersonality and isolation of patients characteristic of the majority of our own hospitals. There is a growing literature analyzing and sometimes criticizing these aspects of American hospital care.[10]

10. See e.g., L. W. Simmons and H. G. Wolff, *op. cit.*, and L. K. Frank, *op. cit.*

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

753 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, —
776 from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest,
759 who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particu-
[793] lar charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters,
[868] although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary
755 folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia,
757 a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a
[184] wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane per-
793 son out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the
[625] growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
758 rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
465 clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes
[124] for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points. I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in
[701] every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Village Notables

554 Contrary to popular belief, one does not always find the village notables sitting around the coffeehouse. Most of them are usually busy people, working in their fields, around their houses, or in a shop. They do make at least brief appearances around the square some time during the day, most probably after supper. Loafers do not become notables in a Greek village. To learn who these notables were, I asked throughout mainland Greece: "Who are the most important people in your village? Why are they important?"

[622] I was struck by the fact that in 1955 and 1959 more people seemed to stress the high prestige of the community president than they had done in 1953. This impression, if fully verified, would indicate a growing importance of and a re-emphasis upon local government in the Greek scheme of things. One priest in the Peloponnesos attributed this shift to the fact that "interest in religion is not as great as twenty years ago and church attendance has declined." A few typical replies, many contradicting each other in some details, will convey the villager's view of the notables in his community. From Central Greece:

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The greatest honor in our village is to be president of the community. Those who are most respected are those with the most money. Anyone who has money receives a hearty "good morning"; without money he doesn't. This is because our people are not educated. In fact, the priest gets more respect than the teacher, which is not as it should be. The local doctor, too, is respected.

From another village in Central Greece we hear:

The most important people are the most educated, either the doctor or the teacher who, thanks to his education, can solve a problem in which the people are interested. We have some clever people who try to overshadow the teacher in order to influence other villagers, but if they are to do this they must be respected. If an extremely clever person is immoral, he has no great prestige. Two things influence other people: to be just in his judgment and honorable. We respect a man more if he is honorable than if he is rich. Even an uneducated man who is a good farmer and has good judgment and is honorable can have influence.

[665] Party leaders in former times would have been included among the notables, according to a businessman from Thebes:

In my childhood days the party leader would have ranked as most important, particularly if he belonged to the strongest party and would be able to help local people solve their problems. Nowadays in the village the president of the community would play a great part. The doctor, if there is one, has high position, provided that he is respected by the others. In the old days the priest and teacher were more respected than today. In my childhood when the teacher

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In my childhood when the teacher or priest would pass through the village square people would stand up. The local merchants in the village have changed their status little, for their role in life is still to do commerce. 554 875 793

The extent to which the priest or the president of the local cooperative, where it exists, is considered important depends today very much upon the personalities of the individuals involved. One person said: 622 [474]

The role of the priest should be mentioned along with the teacher and doctor. He should lead because he represents the church and is more educated than the peasants. But there are some priests who play little part in community life. I know of one who drinks too much, shoots off his revolver, and is not respected.

The relative prestige of the village notables has been influenced by the practice of the central government in providing the teacher and the priest. Only the community president comes into office as the result of local initiative, but even his status, though gaining ground, is not what it used to be thirty or forty years ago:

The president of the village is usually a better man than the president of the cooperative because there is more tradition behind his office. But it does not always hold that the best man is picked as president. In Thessaly forty years ago when the president came into the coffeehouse all the men rose in deference to "their president." [474]

A man from a mountain village in Central Greece who is active in the cooperative movement contrasted the various statuses in his community:

I find that the teacher enjoyed more prestige formerly than now. Earlier there was a higher percentage of illiterates, but today many village sons have gone away for a higher education and so people are not so dependent upon the teacher. Since officials do not wish to undermine the position of the teacher, the agronom and other representatives of the nomarchia always consult the teacher when arriving in the village.

This man thought the secretary of the village more important than the president.

When I put the question of relative prestige of the notables to a group of students at the American Farm School in Salonica, I found the anticipated difference of opinion. The majority of the boys, all from villages, said that the president of the community was most important, but others said that the priest would be "if he is from the village itself and has a good reputation." They pointed out that the president of the community becomes involved in politics and is therefore apt to antagonize those who may differ with him politically. Of the twenty villages represented, fourteen had doctors. Only six of these were considered community leaders. These village boys also thought, for the most part, that the wealthy peasants were [759]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 571 796 the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

369 461 A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

163 842 511 178 Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

students from places as far distant as Drama and Katerini. A candidate for the two-year course which the seminary provided must have reached the fourth class of his elementary school: an event which in the case of certain of the more venerable amongst these bewhiskered scholars must have been more than a generation remote from their reappearance *in statu pupillari*. 793 874

The programme of studies, as at all these lower seminaries, was eminently practical and was related at every point to the peculiar circumstances within which the Greek country parson exercises his priestly ministry. It was grounded, as is fitting, "in the Book of books, the store-house and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures," and, in particular, in the study of the text of the Gospels. The director was assisted by another lay theologian, the preacher of the diocese. Their lectures on the Bible, doctrine, catechising, the holy canons and liturgical matters, were supplemented by instruction in the ecclesiastical chant (given by the chief singer of the metropolis), and by talks on the rudiments of first-aid from a local doctor: for the country parson does not merely "condescend to the knowledge of tillage and pasturage"; he desires to be all to his parish, and "not only a pastor but also a physician". A little medical knowledge does indeed constitute an invaluable addition to the skills of a country priest in a region where the only known medicaments are aspirins and ouzo, and doctors are as rare as dissenters. [759] [757] [273]

The seminary at Kozani was housed in a rambling, somewhat dilapidated building adjoining the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Its furnishing and equipment were simple in the extreme. Twice a day the lecture-room was transformed into a refectory. The students slept seven or eight to a room on straw mattresses laid on the bare boards, and St. Benedict's maxim: *stramenta . . . sufficiant matta, sagum et lena et capitale*, was observed by all alike. 874 346

The liturgical life of the seminary was centred in the church which lies on the other side of the courtyard. The whole community assembled twice daily to sing the divine office, and on Sundays and holy days the liturgy was celebrated. Those amongst the students who lived within easy distance of Kozani used to go home every Saturday and return on Monday morning after celebrating the holy mysteries in their own parish churches. They used also to go to their villages for the great festivals. In other cases some temporary provision would be made for the parishes concerned: the late Metropolitan of Grevena, for example, would allow 793 796 874 793 874

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback through the countryside should come into the village on a day when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example, would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is *perástiká sas* which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer, several alternatives are possible. Some member of the household may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is accompanied by at least one member of his household and frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifications of the physicians lead one to expect normal American hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limitations of space and of an untrained staff.

But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

[p. 25(A)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
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which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

[p. 26(A)]

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urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come [593]
to be associated with low social position and low income,
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major [511]
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of [583]
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of 828
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. 152
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* 156
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, 759
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

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in characteristically Greek fashion, more human-centered than science-centered. They went along with the human necessities of the patients, allowing these necessities to overshadow, for a time at least, what they regarded as the strict requirements of scientific hospital management. 743 759 [181]

Moreover, conversations with the doctors indicated that, although they were far more sophisticated than their village patients, they were nevertheless participants in the same basic culture, and shared many attitudes and expectations with their patients. For example, the lack of regular time scheduling for consultation, rounds of the wards, nursing routines, and the like, is not likely to be as personally irritating to a Greek doctor as it might be to his American counterpart. Greeks actively dislike regularity, and, unlike many Americans, do not derive comfort and security from routines. The Greek doctors are also less likely to be disturbed by the presence of the large numbers of visitors and their, to Americans, relatively boisterous conversations. Long and animated consultations before any decisions are made form a part of Greek life to a greater or lesser degree at all social levels, and conversation for its own sake is a favorite recreation. The fact is that illness and quiet are not inextricably linked concepts in Greek culture. 743 759 805 758 743 759 521 758

What the Greek doctors are apparently unaware of, however, is the extent to which their, to them, makeshift hospital practices conform to the social scientists' recent recommendations for flexibility and for adaptation to traditional methods of handling illness. What careful analysis has pointed out as a desirable method for conscious, planned, and gradual change, 743 758

[5.27(A)]

/63 cont./

Unfortunately the women lack even the simplest /64/ knowledge in nutrition and always prepare an unbalanced diet, although available food stuffs are enough to prepare a balanced diet. Thus the diet is poor. The local doctor always mentioned the fact that medicines will not cure the disease unless the people have a diet suitable to their work and conditions. 146

The question is not how to teach them a balanced diet and nutrition but how to use advantageously the existing food materials and to study the economic conditions so as to ascertain a feasible program for balancing their diet. It was one of the mistakes of the home demonstration center which started teaching them science and nutrition, instead of trying to find out what they had and how they were using it so as to improve their methods of utilizing it better. [654]

PART V. HEALTH.

Home Remedies. The people of Megali Vrisi can never forget what they learned from their parents regardless of education and new environment. Both the doctor and the local nurse would advise the women how to take care of the sick, but still one would find them trying their own methods before attempting the doctors or the nurses. Through experience the farmers found certain plants that have definite results for every disease and /65/ sickness. For a cold they drink boiled camomile. For stomach troubles they boil the roots of a plant and drink the juice. For boils they put on boiled onion, boiled linseed and fresh cow manure. 757 178

Regardless of whether they have the nurse and the doctor in their village, in case of sickness they will consult first the experienced neighbor and as a last resort they will consult the nurse or the doctor. [759]

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843
and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained [743]
by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 844
in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. 759
In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369]
many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844
something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged.
Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846
regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854
pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856
suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is
at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369]
there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 Pierce College. It is hard for most Greeks, no matter how highly trained,
748 to bring into the social worker–client relationship an objectivity modeled on the doctor–patient relationship. The Greek social worker finds it difficult to think of the client as a case and almost immediately empathizes or scolds in a way that would be considered quite unprofessional by American standards. Psychiko, hardly the twentieth-century rationale for social welfare, continues strong in Greece today, and the Bishop of Messenia is doing much to keep it alive in his diocese, which seems much the better for it.

The Peasant Confronts Death

761 The peasant assumes that there is an afterlife and talks about doing kind
773 deeds "for the good of the soul." But these practical villagers do not talk
775 much about death, although they do have some fixed beliefs and prescribed customs which stand them in good stead when confronting it. For example, there is the matter of Charon who, according to the beliefs of ancient Rome, was the boatman transporting the dead across the River Styx. I shall never forget the sensation of riding along in the northern Peloponnesos between Kleitoria and Kalavryta, enjoying the bright May afternoon, when my interpreter pointed out a small and pleasant stream said to be the waters of the Styx.[17] Greek peasants do not assign the same role to Charon as did the Romans, for they think of Charon as death itself, or as the angel of death whom God sends down to bring back the soul of someone whose time on earth has run its course. There are many songs and stories about Charon, who is personified as one who wrestles with individuals for their lives or who uses craft to draw the soul out of the body. From time to time he is supposed to have displayed something akin to human sympathy:

> *God and Death:* Once upon a time God sent death to reap a soul but when death heard the lamentation of the relations and saw the beauty of the girl whose soul he was supposed to reap, he felt sorry and returned to heaven without accomplishing his mission. When God asked him why he didn't bring the soul, death replied that he couldn't stand the crying and despair that he had heard and seen. God got very angry and hit death so that he became deaf, blind, and lame. He made him deaf so that he couldn't hear the crying, blind so that he couldn't see whether the soul to be taken away belonged to an old person or a child, and lame so that he could not run away from the place where he was sent.[18]

761 Although church art, depicting the medieval Christian conception of
775 heaven and hell, has had some effect upon the view peasants take of "the next world," the people very often reveal a more basic belief in Hades as
[772] "a common meeting-place of all whose lives are ended, without distinction of merit. Death is a deprivation of the joys of life, which, with all its troubles and cares, is sweet. The old uneasy feeling that after death it is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

not well is ever present; and the dying man laments that he must see the sun no more, nor the light of the moon, the mountains, the shade of plane-trees, and the cool fountain because in Hades there breaks no dawn, and sings no bird, and no fountains of water flow." [19] 761 775

This same theme is brought out in the tradition which the villagers call the "water of forgetfulness."

Each person upon dying goes to the underworld. There he starts crying and is in despair because he died and had to leave the world which still seems so sweet to him. The other dead laugh at him. This happens for just one day because the other dead feel sorry for the newcomer, take him to a spring and tell him to drink some water. After he has had some he in his turn forgets the upper world and laughs at the newcomers who come later on. This happens to all who die.[20]

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each fact wrapped in some subjective, protective covering. The fact is true and dependable, but it should not be naked. A memorandum of fact by a Greek is full of such phrases as: "Then the nobleness of the Greek soul was revealed," or "The Greek peasant modestly died . . . to protect his beloved country, but his death was one of the noblest sacrifices to the idea of liberty." Or, if Greeks have to criticize, they do it with oratory also, reviling passionately, as when a mother scolds a loved one with fury but not with cold and calculating anger.

The covering of the naked fact is essential to the integrity—the absence of all molestation—of the *philotimo*. The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope*, a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.

The Greek *philotimo* should not be confused either with the notion of face or with that of pride. Pride for the Greeks carries with it the connotation of arrogance: "the proud bird is caught by the nose". A Greek mother is not proud of her son: she is honoured by him; the *philotimo* is enhanced through honour, not pride. There is something of the notion of face, in that it is insupportable to have one's failures and needs known. But there is more than this; what is really bad is that you yourself should expose your failure or yourself. And you have no *philotimo* if you avoid going to fight for your country, whether anyone knows this or not.

The essence of *philotimo* is inviolability and freedom. The first means that a Greek is very "touchy". In a very popular work of the thirties, which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences, a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo*. The reaction is immediate, either in scathing invective, such as name-calling, or as physical attack. Offence against one's *philotimo* brings retaliation, not self-reproach. There are suicides in Athens for financial reasons, or for love, but none are reported as a result of a molested *philotimo*.

Freedom is the positive aspect of this. Greeks say: "To be a Greek means to be free," and "Nothing is beautiful unless you are free, not even the flowers in the spring."[1] It gave the Greeks a great sense of

[1] Joanne Lee Schriver, 1947.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

not well is ever present; and the dying man laments that he must see the sun no more, nor the light of the moon, the mountains, the shade of plane-trees, and the cool fountain because in Hades there breaks no dawn, and sings no bird, and no fountains of water flow." [18] 761 775

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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri,* its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village, we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees." The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of children at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
[474] quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative society, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts. They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

I:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Even when death is there, there is help. Who can bury the dead by himself? The village all cry together, they all suffer together, and the whole village buries him. He too is not far away from them. His soul roams around them and, as they say themselves, he watches them.[2] 476 [764 775]

The Agricultural Cooperative Movement in Greece

One could logically argue that a people with as many kinds of mutual aid as the Greek villagers should take readily to the cooperative organization designed to assist cooperators, through organized efforts, to achieve goals which they could not hope to satisfy individually. But the transition from informal mutual aid to an organized cooperative proves much more difficult than one would at first imagine. In the first place, since the village mutual-aid patterns are a "here and now" undertaking, those participating can see the immediate results of their labor and can hold the person helped accountable to return assistance to them when needed. The formal cooperative organizations, on the other hand, have to set goals which are removed both in time and place from the average peasant. Not only are the centers of financial control and the markets distant, but the member has to wait for benefits to accrue in the case of a marketing cooperative. In a credit cooperative, the loan received is more tangible, but its attainment has probably seemed to the peasant a long, laborious procedure. 474 476 178

The transition from village mutual aid to the formal cooperative organization is difficult, in the second place, because the *formal* organization itself is an urban rather than a village development. To participate in and guide an organization takes as much "know-how" as repairing a tractor or managing a flock. But it is a different kind of skill from any which the peasant has been trained to use, and he is therefore either ill at ease or grossly inefficient when he tries to work with such a new social mechanism. Parliamentary procedure, the keeping of books and membership lists, and the preparation of reports go on around him all of the time, but he is seldom called upon to participate in such activity. This means that, as a member, he is apt to be passive and apathetic; he is also apt not to understand much of what is done in the cooperative organization and is therefore chronically critical of management, the government, and perhaps the whole idea of formal cooperatives in general. Once he has learned to deal with the social mechanism of the organization, he is much more self-assured and agreeable, but getting to this point takes a great deal of time for most villagers. [369]

But perhaps a third difficulty in the transition from local mutual aid to membership in the cooperative society is most crucial. Basically the mutual-aid groups consist of family members and neighbors; only occasionally do they even call upon others in the village. The cooperative association makes an immediate leap beyond family and neighborhood to encompass men from the whole village — men who know each other but who have not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

not well is ever present; and the dying man laments that he must see the sun no more, nor the light of the moon, the mountains, the shade of plane-trees, and the cool fountain because in Hades there breaks no dawn, and sings no bird, and no fountains of water flow." [19] 761 775

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlach EH15.

G 764 533 [562] [369] traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myriologia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing, but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

G V 764 The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

G V [292] [562]

G V 764 152 As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

G 764 775 In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person.[22]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." [26] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

346 Generally, in the old villages the church is in the outskirts. To the back of
361 the church is the cemetery, which is walled to keep out both wild predatory
764 animals and farm animals. For Greeks it is a sin to step on a grave. The church
may have a belltower, or the bell may be hung from the branch of an old tree.
[783] There is always a well in the churchyard and the cemetery of the old village.
It is used as drinking water and for the purification after a burial. The main
[312] church of the old village must be the tallest, the largest, and the best-constructed building of the village. This signifies respect for God; the past is not forgotten. This is very much after the pattern of the ancient Greeks who built their shrines as the best buildings while they themselves lived in huts. . . .

Both the church and the cemetery of the old village must be located in a landscape of natural beauty and scenery. Thus faith, worship, and death are in close relation with the natural scenery.[25]

[178] But Valassis adds a discordant note. The new churches are now being
[769] constructed in the center of the village, while the cemeteries remain on the outskirts. No longer, therefore, do the peasants, after a Mass or ceremony, go to the graveyard to pay respect to their ancestors.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

+9 onto the Atalanti road at the BP station will stop here if there are any passengers.
+84 The asphalt and dirt roads are not the only routes by which the village can be approached. The local railroad station of Helikon is just a mile up the highway going toward Kifisokhori. Trains from Athens stop at Helikon at least once a day. The train can also be used to reach Kifisokhori. Thus, a resident of Vasilika can reach any of the main towns of eastern Greece with relative ease and at no great expense, even from the standpoint of his own standard of living.

438 The same transportation routes which enable the villagers to leave their homes also enable people and products to enter the village. Itinerant vendors of
443 fresh fish, oranges, tomatoes, ice cream, cloth, crockery, sacred pictures, and the like reach Vasilika over these roads. Tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and cobblers use
484 them to come to set up shop for a day or two near one of the coffee houses. The same roads bring gypsies who occasionally pass through the village to beg and to entertain. On the many occasions when family gatherings are in order, the town relatives of the villagers can reach Vasilika with ease.

487 This description has so far primarily concerned itself with Vasilika's accessibility to town or city centers of commerce, government, and recreation.
484 But there are also paths through the fields and into and over the surrounding hills that lead to the neighboring villages. One can still walk or ride a horse or
49 a donkey to reach these settlements. For the women of Vasilika, these are the important routes. By following them, they can reach the homes of their parents and their daughters, attend the engagements, weddings, and saint's day celebrations in their home villages, and perhaps help out when a daughter has a child. These same paths bring the relatives of Vasilika's women into the village on similar occasions. From the standpoint of the rural economy, this network of
[205] paths permits the movement of farm laborers among the villages. Indeed, it is in this way that the postman walks from village to village carrying the mail.

621 The stress on the many avenues of contact with other people and com-
484 munities available to Vasilika's population should not lead one to imagine a bustling, busy center with a constant ebb and flow of traffic. The exact nature of movement in and around the village can be better understood if the spatial arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is known. Social relations among the villagers are also affected by these arrangements.

Inside Vasilika

361 The ridge, on the lowest slopes of which most of the structures are built,
[49] lies, as I have said, a half mile from the main highway and somewhat parallel to it. The highway runs from northwest to southeast, Vasilika's ridge from northwest to east. To reach the first village structure, one walks north about three-tenths of a mile on a dirt road leading from the highway. Vineyards and fields
[346] are on the right; to the left stands the new one-room schoolhouse built in 1959,
[245] with its play yard and surrounding wire fence. A stand of young pines and another of young cypresses, newly planted by the school children, adjoined the
[764] schoolhouse in 1961. On the road, past the schoolhouse, a little further to the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

[Good Friday]

796 morning, small boys went from house to house crying, *"Mavros in o uranos,"*
[778] "The sky is black," and they were given money or eggs. Meanwhile, the girls
[788] of the village worked inside the church covering with wild flowers the sedan-chairlike wooden frame in which an oil painting of Jesus on his bier was to be carried around the village that night. The frame and the icon together are called
796 the *epitafios*. The girls seemed thoroughly to enjoy the morning's work, and they laughed, giggled, jostled each other, and called out orders. Occasionally they
562 sang as they worked. It appeared also as if they were taking particular joy in being inside the church with no men to restrain them. They took turns sprawling over the stalls in which, as females, they rarely sat during a service. They also went up to the chanters' stand and recited some of the cantilations which were to be sung that night—the girls can follow the liturgy only silently during the
[778] course of the actual service. Some of the younger girls even dared each other to go behind the panel to the altar, a place forbidden to females, but none actually did. They seemed uneasy and were even frightened at the suggestion.

796 The church bell rang at 2:20 that afternoon. The priest, with one of the chanters and his son, performed the service in the course of which he brought
788 the icon from behind the altar, covered it with a white cloth and placed it in its bower. In accordance with the symbolic re-enactment of the event, only the women and girls (and a few schoolboys) were in the church at the time. Once the icon was in place and strewn with flowers, the priest and then the children
[764] went up to kiss it. The priest explained that it should be done slowly and deliberately, exactly as it was done for the dead in the village funeral rituals.

Good Friday services began that night at 9:00. At 11:00 the *epitafios* was carried out of the church by four boys. These marched in procession with the *epitafios* behind boys carrying the *lavara* (standards). Behind the *epitafios* walked the priest and the chanters. The rest of the villagers followed holding candles to light the way as the *epitafios* was carried around the entire village. As the bells of the three village churches pealed, and the children chanted *"Enas ine o theos"* and *"Panayia dhespina,"* "God is one" and "Our Lady, the All Holy One," the villagers picked their way carefully over the stones and ruts as they climbed the hillside, circled the whole settlement, and climbed down again on the other side. When the procession reached the church door once more, the boys held the bier high so that the returning congregation passed into the church under it. The service was over shortly after midnight.

796 On Holy Saturday, sweet Easter breads with red eggs inside were dis-
[262] played, other eggs were dyed red, last minute finishing touches were given to Easter clothes and last house-cleaning chores were completed. Some people slaughtered the Easter lamb on Saturday, others waited until Sunday. In the
[461] meantime, field chores went on as usual. Everyone rested for a few hours, from about 9:00 Saturday night until the Easter Sunday services began shortly after
[788] midnight. These lasted until 4:00 in the morning, with two periods of climax. The first occurred when all the lights in the church were put out and the priest
[787] kindled the new light. The boys rushed up to see who could be the first to light his own candle from that of the priest's. They said the winner would be the first of the boys to be married. The rest of the congregation then lit its

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

Priestcraft

the little shrine which shelters the sarcophagus of Spiridione, 771
to kneel there and pray. The evident genuineness of their faith was impressive, and I began to feel rather ashamed of the vulgar curiosity which was the chief reason for my presence.

The great moment arrived, and we in our turn went 764
into the shrine. The sarcophagus[1] rich with embossed silverwork and jewels, shone in the light of the candles which surrounded it. It stood on a raised dais or step, and seemed to fill the whole space, so big was it and so small the shrine. We four stood in a row, with our backs to the entrance. There was room for us and for one other worshipper, and no more. The latter, a woman, knelt devoutly in the gloom beside us. One by one my companions crossed themselves and reverently kissed the sarcophagus. Then we waited in silence.

The priest and his acolyte came in by a side door. The 769
priest, a tall and exceedingly good-looking man of grave mien and dignified aspect, took up his position at one end of the sarcophagus. The acolyte stood at the other. With slow and reverent movements, the priest unlocked the lid, raised it, and let down the side which faced us. He then opened a square panel in the upper surface of the coffin, and placed near it a saucer containing something that resembled dried leaves, possibly a disinfectant. Each gesture, each deliberate movement, conveyed the idea of intense devotion and intense reverence—and yet this man, this officiating priest, was actually the owner of the relics before him, and

1 [of Spiridione, see cat. 46, pp. 149-151 --Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

291 [765] older women wearing dark brown and the girls white. Black scarfs are for mourning only.

In the Peloponnesos the men buy their trousers and coats but wear home-[292] made underwear and shirts. They have a good suit for Sunday which, when [294] it becomes threadbare, they wear every day. The socks are woolen and are made at home. Sandals are often worn in the fields while regular shoes are reserved for occasions when the men dress up in their best. The cap is such [609] a favorite headgear in the Peloponnesos that if a villager sees a man with a hat he will assume that he is an outsider. The children dress like the adults, although the boys wear short trousers.

283 Behind the garments lie many long patient hours of painstaking work. The women make their own woolen thread but buy the cotton thread. They [461] spin when otherwise unoccupied, for they feel that they must be busy with [527] some handiwork except on Sunday, a day on which they do not even touch [286] a needle or spindle. In many villages one still finds that practically every house has its own loom, stored during the summer but busy in the winter as each woman tries to supply her family's needs and as the unmarried girls work on their dowries. These looms eat up so much thread that spinning never seems to be completed.

438 Younger women, seeking some release from this onerous task of making 286 so much cloth at home, use their meager funds for the purchase of store-[437] bought goods. They even exchange with the town merchants some of the priceless costumes, which have been handed down through many years, for factory-made cloth that gives them a more fashionable feel.

286 In the Pelion district around Volos the only examples of popular art being 517 produced today are the blankets and household linen which the women continue to make on their crude looms. According to Kitsos A. Makres, who has written extensively on this subject,[8] they continue this weaving because of a romantic, unconscious desire to give the same decorative color to the house that they have known all of their lives. He points out that buying the industrial materials is more economical but that the aesthetic urge keeps the women's handicrafts alive.

286 The most detailed study of national costumes and the art of weaving and 184 embroidering in Greece has been made by Angelike Chatzemichale.[9] She [438] and others associated with her have tried to stimulate the increase in such handicrafts, for which there is a ready sale in Greece and abroad. She finds that the main variations in materials used are between the mainland and the islands. On the mainland the goods are handwoven from wool to stand hard wear, an exception being in Epirus where cotton and linen materials are made for household use. In the cities, such as Salonica and Volos, silk has long been popular. On the islands, however, few woolen materials are used since the preference is for cotton, silk, and felt.[10] The villages of the mainland, particularly in the mountains, have had to be much more self-sufficient

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

286

[765]

12. A widow at the loom, Salamis. For two years there must be no levity in her presence.

[p. 272-H]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765 ●

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." [24] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Clothing

178 Apart from the house, its outbuildings, and furnishings, the most im-
291 portant item which signifies a family's degree of modernity in Vasilika is cloth-
[511] ing. The old traditional rural costume of the region has not been worn in
[292] Vasilika, on the estimate of the oldest residents of the village, since their child-
[427] hood in the 1890's and early 1900's. Couples were married in the old costumes somewhat later than that, but brides and grooms have been wearing hired white wedding gowns and ordinary lounge suits, respectively, at their weddings for at least a generation. The traditional regional clothing, the short white ballet-like skirts for men and the long dresses with embroidered vests for women, are now worn only by the school children in the playlets they present on patriotic occasions.

291 Men's outer clothing today follows the standard European style of dark
[177] lounge suit, shirt, socks, and low oxfords. The middle-aged and older farmers
[369] avoid wearing neckties even on special occasions, since these stand for urban
[626] professional occupations. Some of the younger farmers did wear neckties for Easter in 1956 and were strongly criticized for doing so. The young men of
[292] the village dress much as their elders do, except that they make an effort to keep up with changing urban styles in coat-sweaters and shirts. Only one man in the village wears a fedora hat, a sign of leisure in Vasilika. The rest of the men, when they wear any head covering at all, wear cloth peaked caps. Winter over-
[177] coats are also of standard European style. The same type of clothing is used by men for work in the fields. They merely save old clothes for the purpose and wear a sweater instead of a suit jacket. Older men wear long woolen underwear all through the year. The young men and boys do not—they work in shirt sleeves more frequently than the older men do. Except for overcoats and sweaters, men wear the same kind of clothing thoughout the year.

291 There is a slightly greater variation in women's clothing patterns, based
[184] on age as well as on income. Women in their forties or older wear dark blue
[511] homespun skirts with long-sleeved blouses and woolen cloth shawls for warmth. They always wear long lisle stockings and cloth slippers. A brown kerchief, wound around so that it forms a kind of close-fitting cap or helmet, is rarely removed by these women—one even wore it in bed throughout a hospital stay.
[302] Under the brown kerchief their hair is left long and dressed in braids around the head. Over the brown kerchief, for work around the house or in the fields, these women put on an additional kerchief, usually white in color, which is loosely tied under the chin for most kinds of work. They pull the ends around
[765] to cover their mouths when they do heavy work in the fields. In Vasilika, the colors of the outer kerchief indicate only whether or not a woman is in mourning. Black kerchiefs (and black clothes in general) are a sign that a woman is in mourning for a close relative; dark-colored kerchiefs indicate that she is in
[554] mourning for a more distant relative. The village women also associate the outer kerchief with their status as rural women who work in the fields.

/37 cont./

help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times 857
of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the [526]
neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek.
When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom [834]
play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard
time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the [872]
children to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active
days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is 533
there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance [535]
singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no
books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players
never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the [461]
fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups
returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses,
at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles
and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through [796]
the church services from beginning to the end and when the women [585]
dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any
song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to
generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them
or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part
of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of
nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition
and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of
their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture.
There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that
move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest
songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their
ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced
their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among [765]
the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed
during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the
war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

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1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

8. Alderfer, "Greece and the West Today," p. 8.

9. For observations on the village clergy, see Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1908), and H. D. F. Kitto, *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), p. 16.

10. See Dorothy D. Lee, "Greek Tales of Priest and Priestwife," *Journal of American Folklore*, April–June 1947, p. 163. This article contains nine stories about the priest and his wife, some of them Chaucerian in tone. He is either interested in an attractive parishioner whose husband eventually deals drastically with him, or his wife is involved with a lover whom the priest may or may not outwit.

11. Angelike Chatzemichale made this observation.

12. The material for this whole paragraph is adapted from Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), pp. 37–41.

13. D. Lee, "Greece," *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, p. 84.

14. One of the most vivid accounts in English of the prominent role of the priest is found in Nikos Kazantzakis, *The Greek Passion* (New York, 1954), a fictionalized account of what happened in an Asia Minor Greek community when some of its characters in a passion play began to play their roles seriously in real life.

15. D. A. Petropoulos, "Ethima synergasias kai allelovoedeias tou hellenikou laou" (Customs of Collaboration and Mutual Aid of the Greek people), *Epeteris Laographikou Archeiou* (Yearbook of the Folklore Archives), 1943–1944, p. 71.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

17. See W. M. Leake's account of his explorations for the River Styx in chap. 26 (vol. 3) of his *Travels in the Morea*, 3 vols. (London, 1930).

18. From D. Kontogannis, *Sylloge demotikon paradosson* (Collection of Popular Traditions) (Athens, 1920), p. 60.

19. Rennell Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892), p. 120.

20. Kontogannis, *Sylloge*, p. 60.

21. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmeikta laographika en Aitolias," *Laographia*, XII (1938), 20–21.

22. Rennell Rodd, *Customs and Lore*, p. 129. See also Baron P. D'Estournelles, "The Superstitions of Modern Greece," *The Nineteenth Century*, no. 62 (1882), p. 590, who points out quite correctly that these dirge singers are frequently professionals employed to render this service. Lady Verney in an article on "Songs and Legends of Modern Greece," *The Contemporary Review* (1875), describes funeral customs which survive today: "The myriologia, or funeral songs, are always sung and composed by women . . . and are uttered first immediately after the death takes place. Next, when the body is laid on a bier, dressed in its best clothes, the face uncovered, turned to the east, the arms closed over the breast, the nearest relation begins her lamentation, and is followed by the more distant in blood; then the friends and the neighbors. Often messages are sent to those who have died previously; flowers and small presents for them are thrown on the body, which is entreated to carry them to the next world. . . . Hired mourners are often brought in to sing to the honour of the dead, as in the funeral of Hector, when Achilles has given up the body to his father."

23. Loukopoulos, "Symmeikta," p. 20.

24. G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903), p. 208. He has an excellent chapter on funeral rites.

25. V. T. Valassis, "The Living Past and Technical Change" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1956), pp. 13–14.

Chapter XV. The Village Community

1. The best study of these Greek-American returnees is found in Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956). H. D. F. Kitto,

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Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

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On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

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Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata,* or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti,* since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

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Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

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1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

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783 788 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave them an emotional uplift.

793 But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in [737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a poly- [874] technic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous [177] November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more [743] activity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

793 794 657 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country, especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 794 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of inmates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their [428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial [769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the [748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

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the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 736 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing." [15] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[16] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at Pierce College. 783 748 [873]

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not well is ever present; and the dying man laments that he must see the sun no more, nor the light of the moon, the mountains, the shade of plane-trees, and the cool fountain because in Hades there breaks no dawn, and sings no bird, and no fountains of water flow." [19] 761 775

This same theme is brought out in the tradition which the villagers call the "water of forgetfulness."

Each person upon dying goes to the underworld. There he starts crying and is in despair because he died and had to leave the world which still seems so sweet to him. The other dead laugh at him. This happens for just one day because the other dead feel sorry for the newcomer, take him to a spring and tell him to drink some water. After he has had some he in his turn forgets the upper world and laughs at the newcomers who come later on. This happens to all who die.[20]

When a person is believed to be dying, a candle is lit, probably so the soul will be sure to have some light as it moves into the other world. If any of this candle remains after a person dies, according to some village people, for three successive days you must put water in a little coffee cup and light the candle for ten minutes after sunset. You then take the water and throw it outside where nobody will be apt to walk on it. You also cut a narrow piece from the shroud and tie three knots in it, placing it in front of the icon. For three days you untie one of the knots and then sew the piece of cloth in the shirt of one of the male members of the family, who wears this piece until the shirt wears out. In the Naupaktos area, after a person dies all windows and doors are closed so death cannot get out. One person of the household shouts, "Death, leave the old man [or whoever is dead]." This is repeated many times in the hope that death can hear. It is done, the people say, to keep death from coming again to take someone else from that home.[21] Such shouting is not the custom in all parts of Greece, however. 763 764

What one does find quite generally in the rural areas, however, is the *myriologion*, or funeral dirge, which the women of the household and those from the neighborhood begin to sing as soon as death has come. Some of these have been conventionalized to the point that several women may all know the same dirge for a husband, child, or mother, and sing parts of it in turn rocking back and forth; in some parts of Greece the women improvise dirges in keeping with the prescribed musical form. These songs, sung in the house before burial, at the grave at stated intervals after death, or even as a woman is passing by the cemetery, may consist of questions put to the dead: "Why did you leave us?" "Why did you go so soon?" "How do you think the house can get on without you?" [22] Those myriologia that have traditional content passed on from generation to generation are the source of many of the popular beliefs about the afterlife, and they illustrate as well as any aspect of Greek rural life the persistence of pre-Christian 764 533 [763] [769]

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Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." [24]

765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next.

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Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion,* or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery.

766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

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346 361 764 [783] [312] Generally, in the old villages the church is in the outskirts. To the back of the church is the cemetery, which is walled to keep out both wild predatory animals and farm animals. For Greeks it is a sin to step on a grave. The church may have a belltower, or the bell may be hung from the branch of an old tree. There is always a well in the churchyard and the cemetery of the old village. It is used as drinking water and for the purification after a burial. The main church of the old village must be the tallest, the largest, and the best-constructed building of the village. This signifies respect for God; the past is not forgotten. This is very much after the pattern of the ancient Greeks who built their shrines as the best buildings while they themselves lived in huts. . . .

Both the church and the cemetery of the old village must be located in a landscape of natural beauty and scenery. Thus faith, worship, and death are in close relation with the natural scenery.[25]

[178] [769] But Valassis adds a discordant note. The new churches are now being constructed in the center of the village, while the cemeteries remain on the outskirts. No longer, therefore, do the peasants, after a Mass or ceremony, go to the graveyard to pay respect to their ancestors.

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood 796
of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells [793]
jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on [778]
the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I
was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon
of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re- [782]
decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the [531]
interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the
contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the
squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who [361]
had followed us up the stony path from the *mesochori*, or village-square, [782]
crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of [769]
our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ
conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of
relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated
at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers 796
and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office 788
(the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the [782]
chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon [852]
the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured
carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the
church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the
children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced
on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by 796
the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who 794
had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion,
overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which 533
were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in
which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who
now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

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788 west—been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Is not the Greek
796 Christian for all practical purposes a mere passive onlooker at a gorgeous spectacle performed by the resplendent ministers: even though the sacred participants in the divine drama sometimes descend from their apron stage and mingle with the audience?

It must be admitted that the average Greek layman communicates very rarely, often only once or twice a year; outside the immediate sphere of influence of the movements, hardly ever more than four times. This reluctance of the laity to communicate frequently is a phenomenon which has been common to east and west from a very early period—though in the west (among Orthodox of the diaspora as well as amongst western Christians) there has been a widespread return to something more nearly approaching primitive practice. Its causes are complex and, to a great extent, a matter for speculation. One factor which is peculiar to the east is the place which the *antidoron* has come to occupy. It would be an over-simplification to say that the blessed bread which the Greek Christian is accustomed to receive at the end of every liturgy is consciously looked upon as a substitute for the holy communion; nevertheless, the *antidoron* has a deep significance for the Greek layman —more, perhaps, than in other parts of the Orthodox world.

The reluctance to communicate frequently does not, as we can see from the history of certain movements within western Christendom, necessarily spring from carelessness and sloth; often it is due to a sense of unworthiness which is none the less real though it be considered misguided. Even in reforming circles in Greece to-day one discovers great wariness on the part of the clergy in recommending frequent, let alone daily, communion to their people. This is not, it is held, a matter
[783] to be undertaken lightly, or without the advice and approval of an experienced confessor; and few priests will permit their penitents to communicate as often as once a month unless they are satisfied that the desire goes hand in hand with a real determination to follow Christ in their daily life. To communicate every Sunday is regarded as an inestimable privilege, but one which is hardly for all men.

[782] Then we must not ignore the part played by the ordinary Christian
[769] in the offertory. In the country districts of Greece the housewife who bakes her bread on Saturday will set aside one loaf upon which she has
[369] stamped with a wooden seal a traditional design wherein the words "Jesus Christ conquers"—abbreviated to I(HCOY)C . X(PICTO)C . NI . KA—constitute the most prominent feature. Early on Sunday

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morning she will set out for the parish church with her loaf, and arriving whilst the singers are still chanting the morning psalms, and taking it to the door of the chapel where the elements are prepared, she will hand it to the priest together with a vessel of wine, the family diptychs —or lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated by name at the holy eucharist—and perhaps a flask of oil for the lamps and a few grains of incense. Even in an urban parish church the faithful may purchase a sealed loaf at the counter in the narthex where candles are sold, and send it to the celebrant with their diptychs.

It is frequently asserted that the offering of the people disappeared from the eastern liturgies at an early date. One can only marvel at the number of eminent scholars who have been led astray in this matter through failure to distinguish clearly between the offertory procession of the Roman rite and the offering itself. The procession never found a place in the Byzantine rite, which retained the older practice of presenting the bread and wine informally before the commencement of the eucharistic liturgy. So widely-used a liturgical handbook as the late Dr. Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy* asserts that "the offerings of the people, which consisted partly of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the eucharist were taken, and partly of alms . . . continued in the west longer than in the east".[1] In actual fact the offering of the people has never disappeared from the Byzantine liturgy and may still be witnessed in any Greek village church on the Lord's day.

But even though it be admitted that the offering of the bread and wine makes the ordinary people something more than mere passive spectators at a gorgeous pageant, it may yet be said that from very early times the rightful liturgy of the laity has in practice been transferred to the choir: the common people hardly open their mouths from one end of the eucharistic liturgy to the other. Now it is true that congregational singing as practised in the west is so rare among the Greeks as to be almost unknown. Only on one of the great festivals of the Church's year will the whole congregation take up the melody of some ancient hymn: the paschal anthem *Christ is risen from the dead*, for example, or the dismissal hymn at the Epiphany. Normally those parts of the liturgy which properly belong to the laity are in fact sung by the *psaltai* or trained singers —and this applies even to the responses to the petitions of the litanies.

[1] 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1949, p. 127. Dom Gregory Dix and Professor Burkitt have already been taken to task on this issue by the Archimandrite Alexis van der Mensbrugghe.

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week-end. Conversation turned to the subject of the parish clergy; 793
Papa Athanasi was a whole-hearted admirer of the new system; he was not one who could learn only from the Lord or rest content with a mere facility in turning the pages of the service-books:

"The divine liturgy, *Kyrie Petre*, can be gabbled through by a man who is all but illiterate: we are called to be shepherds, and a shepherd has need of great knowledge and wisdom."

Next morning Father Athanasius celebrated the holy mysteries in 727
the village church. It was one of the Saturdays of all souls, and the [769]
priest's daughter was early astir, making preparations for the commemoration of departed relatives and friends. Before the service was ended I left for the neighbouring village of Sydendron, where the curate, Papa Constantinos, introduced himself as "the priest who bore the machine-gun in the sacred company of the despot". St. [346]
Nicolas, Sydendron, had been a fine church, apparently dating from the [669]
sixteenth century. It had survived the years of occupation only to be set on fire by the Communists on the night of July 25th, 1947. The ancient frescoes were slowly crumbling away, but sufficient remained to show something of the former splendour of the church.

I lunched at the presbytery and rode on to Amygdalies in the early afternoon. Most of the village's 200 children seemed to be dancing barefoot in the sun outside their newly opened school: a nissen hut erected on the site of the building destroyed by the Germans in July, [346]
1943. A huge new church was in process of construction, but work was at a standstill through lack of funds, and the liturgy had to be celebrated in a brick chapel hastily constructed in 1946 within the walls of the unfinished church. Being anxious to reach Aghios Georgios before 722
nightfall I resisted the efforts of the parish priest to persuade me to stay the night at Amygdalies, and as twilight deepened into darkness came clattering down the steep slopes to the stream where a few children still lingered, on a mule which I would have pitted even against Urquhart's Aristotle, and dismounted outside the house of the president.

Aghios Georgios was one of the only two villages in the diocese of Grevena where the population had remained throughout the troubled years which followed the end of the occupation, and had, moreover, afforded shelter to many refugees from other communities. The [712]
church—a massive structure dating from the middle of the nineteenth [346]
century—stood on rising ground in the centre of the village. The [669]

/80 cont./ 346
their humble houses and subsistence level of living the people like 778
to build beautiful churches with high steeples and decorate them
/81/ with as many ikons and church bells they can. The people [316]
of Megali Vrisi not being satisfied with the structure of the present
church have already quarried stone from the nearby hills for their
future church structure. When the farmers were notified to offer [794]
personal work for the church they did it without complaint.

The people look up to the church as an institution which gives 771
them hope and courage in times of disappointment and discourage-
ment. Once a year a confession is made in the church in front [783]
of the ikons and the priest. People tell of their bad acts and
forgive those that caused them trouble. All wedding ceremonies, [796]
baptisms and name day celebrations take place in the church.

Attendance. Women and children attend the church regular- 794
ly. The men are rather irregular in their attendance. This is not 796
due to their negligence nor to their failure to respect the church,
but is due to the long church services that last for three hours.
The people get tired of going to the church. Most attend the last
part of the services. In spite of the variety of music and cere-
monial activities, the church is losing /82/ attendance. Men
like to know what they hear in the church, and since it is all
abstract to them they prefer to stay out and send their wives and
children.

With the increase of modern scientific beliefs by the farmers,
the church will be forced to change its course and adopt itself
to the new social changes.

The membership is obligatory. Every one born in the village 794
becomes a member. It is not necessary to keep in books the
names of the members since the whole population of the village
naturally belongs to the church.

Contributions. Every family has to contribute for the support
of the priest and for the upkeep of the church. This contribution
is paid in kind. Besides this the church has voluntary donations [769].
by people whose prayers are answered, and by others for the

/82 cont./
peaceful rest of their dead. They donate to the church either money or wheat. On St. Nicolas day, the people from remote villages bring either a chicken, a pig, a cow, a calf, a sheep, or a goat to the church as a present. Numerous animals are lined in the yard of the church which are sold in auction the same day. /83/ Every Sunday morning at the church service a tray is passed to the people for contributions. The selling of candles brings an appreciable amount of money. The church has its fields which are either worked or hired to others to swell the income of the church.

794
[769]
[437]
[427]

Part VIII Living Together.

Mutual aid. Both groups, the Thracians and the Caucasians, before settling in this village had a civilization of their own. The isolation of the Caucasians in the interior part of mountainous Caucasus has developed a unique type of civilization mostly built around their community life. Here they had the compound type of family organized under the direct rule of the oldest in the family. In spite of the large number in the family the work was divided every day among all. Every one did his best with no complaint. The men gave blind obedience to the head of the family and the women to the mother. The obedience was so strict that misunderstanding would seldom occur. Every one was specialized in his or her own work. All buying and selling was done by the head of the family. No one could smoke, speak, nor could sit by the head of the family unless told to do so. A strictly military type of rules were observed. The father decided the marriage age of his son and this usually would coincide with the need of more labor in the family. Sometimes /84/ the need for labor was so great that the age of 15 was thought practical to give the solution for extra labor. The grandma was responsible for the education of the children either in household work or school work. The children call their mother by her first name and instead, call the grandma, mother.

621
596

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

The Patron Saint

mummified remains were brought from the Church of the Archangel Michael as soon as the ships had sailed, and carried in a thanksgiving procession round the town.

Spiridione was a shepherd of Cyprus who became first a monk and then a bishop. He was born as long ago as the third century after Christ, and was one of the members of the celebrated Council of Nicæa in the year 325. According to legend he attended the meetings of the council carrying a brick—(did the holy man intend to use the brick as an argument ?)—and from this brick issued a magical stream of water and fire. From this time forward many miracles were attributed to him, so that after his death in the year 350 his relics were very highly prized. His body was exhumed, and after many vicissitudes reached Constantinople, whence it was brought to Corfu by a priest named Kalaichairetis and placed in the church of the Archangel Michael, where it still lies. This was in 1456. With Spiridione came the embalmed body of St. Theodora—also, apparently, the property of Kalaichairetis—which was placed in the cathedral. When Kalaichairetis died, he bequeathed Spiridione to his two eldest sons and Theodora to his youngest son. The latter, being a public-spirited individual, presented Theodora to the community

Spiridione, however, was handed down from generation to generation, and is at the present day the property of a well-known Corfiote family, who derive from the relics, so it is said, an income varying from £1,000 to £2,000 a year, made up of offerings from devout believers. The head of

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EM1

To the Land of the Eagle

769 792 the family is always a priest and has charge of the church in which the relics rest, and, as I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of a Greek lady who knew the family well, I was able to arrange through her to visit the church on a certain morning and to have the sarcophagus opened for my benefit. She accompanied me herself, and brought with her two friends, a young man and a young woman, who had begged to be allowed to join the party on what was evidently a very unusual occasion.

PRIEST OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

346 The interior of the church[1] was cool and pleasant after the yellow glare of the Corfu streets. From the painted roof hung magnificent lamps of hammered silverwork, and on the shining parquet floor stood two massive candelabra—offerings, like the lamps, from those who had benefited, or believed they had benefited, by the intercession of the saint. As is customary in the Greek Church, there were no pews or chairs other than seats round the wall, and the building gained greatly in dignity by their absence. Pictures, deep-toned and mellow with age, decorated the walls.

771 While we were waiting for the sacristan to announce our arrival to the priest, a constant stream of worshippers entered the church—men, women, and children. With every appearance of devotion, they made a pilgrimage from one sacred object to the other, kissing each in turn, and finally entering

1 [containing relics of Spiridi-150 one, see cat 116, pp. 149-150 ... Analysis]

Priestcraft

the little shrine which shelters the sarcophagus of Spiridione, 771
to kneel there and pray. The evident genuineness of their faith was impressive, and I began to feel rather ashamed of the vulgar curiosity which was the chief reason for my presence.

The great moment arrived, and we in our turn went 764
into the shrine. The sarcophagus[1] rich with embossed silverwork and jewels, shone in the light of the candles which surrounded it. It stood on a raised dais or step, and seemed to fill the whole space, so big was it and so small the shrine. We four stood in a row, with our backs to the entrance. There was room for us and for one other worshipper, and no more. The latter, a woman, knelt devoutly in the gloom beside us. One by one my companions crossed themselves and reverently kissed the sarcophagus. Then we waited in silence.

The priest and his acolyte came in by a side door. The 769
priest, a tall and exceedingly good-looking man of grave mien and dignified aspect, took up his position at one end of the sarcophagus. The acolyte stood at the other. With slow and reverent movements, the priest unlocked the lid, raised it, and let down the side which faced us. He then opened a square panel in the upper surface of the coffin, and placed near it a saucer containing something that resembled dried leaves, possibly a disinfectant. Each gesture, each deliberate movement, conveyed the idea of intense devotion and intense reverence—and yet this man, this officiating priest, was actually the owner of the relics before him, and

1 [of Spiridione, see cat. 116, pp. 149-151 --Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

To the Land of the Eagle

769 derived from them a very good income. I found it difficult to reconcile the two facts.

In a very beautiful voice he began to intone a service. Every phrase told, every inflection had meaning. There was no conventional and unctuous mouthing of words. The bent head, the flowing lines of the robe, the gentle movements in making the sign of the Cross, the beautiful voice rising and falling, all were in their way perfect—the art of the priest at its highest.

The voice stopped. The Greek lady whispered a question. " What is your name ? "

" Edmonds ", I whispered back.

" No, no. Your first name."

I gave it. The priest, informed in his turn, continued the service, and I realised for the first time that my curiosity concerning the relics had been interpreted as a desire to make some supplication to Spiridione, and that the service was being specially held on my account.

It ended. My companions stepped up one by one on to the platform, crossed themselves, stooped and kissed that part of the saint—the foot, I think—which was exposed by the open panel, touched the saucer containing the leaves, crossed themselves again, and with bent heads and every appearance of extreme piety resumed their places. I whispered to the Greek lady, " Must I do it too ? " " It is just as you like ", was the reply. An effort seemed called for, and I made it. Stepping on to the platform, I stooped and put my head into the opening, saw a shapeless lump of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Attitudes and Beliefs about Nature

82

The Greek people, as one would expect of individuals everywhere, vary considerably in their attitude toward the physical environment.[3] Some, completely oblivious to the beauty about them, nevertheless try to read the weather signs in order to know when they should plow or sow. Some, at the other extreme, show a deep sensitivity to the changing moods of nature, as, for example, the illiterate shepherd in the Boeotian village of Schematari who would take pencil and paper and lovingly draw a tree-filled landscape or the rising sun. Most of the Greek villagers, however, seem to fall between these two extremes; from time to time they, in the words of one peasant, "gain an optimism in life when they see the beauty of a nice slope of the mountain or a lovely dawn." On the whole, the world seems a friendly place and there are few things to fear at the hands of nature.

More than this, the world is in God's hands. The frequent reference to God in popular speech may be a cultural trait handed down from generation to generation, but some of the oft-repeated, time-honored phrases are said with such animation and with such a light in the eye that they must express the individual feeling of those using them. There is no counterpart in English to the common phrase *Chara Theou* (Joy of God), which combines not only rapture and active enjoyment but the sense of the sparkling light God sheds on the earth. During the spectacular Greek spring, this phrase is a most appropriate way of describing one's feeling.

82 771 776 [195]

Even those who are not very conscious of their natural surroundings from day to day miss them deeply when distant from them. Over and over again, returned emigrants in Greek villages gave as the reason for their departure from America their need to see the mountains or plains or the sea on which their eyes had rested while they grew up.

82 [167]

Much of this feeling toward nature is based on the sense of intimacy with her.[4] Indeed, one of the first requirements in trying to understand the life of any people is to learn their reaction and adjustment to the natural world. The Greek farmer studies nature for important signs which tell him whether to bring the flock in from the high hillside, whether to start or delay a journey, whether to put out his tobacco plants. Those signs directly relating weather to agriculture are obvious and easily understood by the Westerner, if not always accepted as scientifically valid. But the signs which natural objects and events provide of the supernatural — illness and death, the appearance of ghosts, or even the way the universe was made and is run — all of these stretch the imagination of the scientifically trained specialist, who may be inclined to dismiss them as superstition and therefore unimportant. Nevertheless, they continue to be important to many Greek villagers, young and old alike.

82 787

In listening to folk interpretations of nature, one also learns much about

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the
[785] latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ. 796 262

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from alcoholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so. 778 275 785 788

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city. 262 541 778 785 262 574

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are considered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church. 527 771

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

878 The official purpose of the various courses included in the high-school curriculum shows intent if not actual accomplishment:

[771] *Religion.* To convey a clear understanding of the moral works of Christ and of the Orthodox Church; to instill a proper respect for these works and thus elevate the students' religious and moral spirit so that it will become the major factor in their individual and social life. (Twelve hours total over six years.)

TABLE 6. CURRICULUM FOR BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						Total (per subject)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Ancient Greek	8	8	8	9	9	9	51
Modern Greek	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Latin			3	3	3	3	12
French	4	3	3	3	2	2	17
History	3	3	3	3	2	4	18
Mathematics	3	4	3	3	4	5	22
Science	3	3	3	3	3	4	19
Geography	2	2	2	1	1		8
Hygiene					1		1
Handicrafts	2	2	1	1	1		7
Singing	2	2	1	1			6
Philosophy					2	2	4
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Total class hours (per week)	35	35	35	35	36	37	213

Ancient Greek. To familiarize the students with the writings of the ancient Greeks; teach them a reading knowledge and understanding of ancient Greek, as well as the ability to write in the Attic dialect. Give them an appreciation of ancient life and its thoughts in order to better understand modern Greek. Better to appreciate good writing by reading selected texts of ancient Greek authors. Study of ancient civilizations so as to better understand our own age. (Fifty-one hours.)

[619] *Modern Greek* (*katharevousa*). Spoken and written use of Greek language; improvement of the students' literary education; leads to a greater understanding of modern Greek civilization and enhances students' national awareness. (Eighteen hours.)

Latin. To learn the Latin language in order to understand the work and thought of ancient Latin writers; to understand and appreciate the Roman civilization. (Twelve hours.)

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 258]

XIV

Religion and the Greek Peasant

771 The Greek villager's religion, a special blend of classical Greek paganism and Christianity, illustrates the capacity of Greek culture to absorb a new religious force, early Christianity, in such a way as to preserve unbroken continuity. The discussion of "Orthodoxy and Greekness" which follows bears upon this point. Yet, despite its antiquity and the accretions of past ages, Greek religion, while imposing a certain discipline through fasts and obligatory ceremonies, always managed to avoid becoming simply a burdensome set of obligations. It did so by the typically Greek device of finding a light touch in the midst of solemnity. The village priest, whose role is described in some detail, has for many centuries furnished unwittingly the necessary comic relief, although often capable in times of extremity of providing inspiring leadership.

At the same time, Greek religion is also humane, responding to need and affliction through individual action rather than through organized charitable institutions. The section on "The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works" shows what one imaginative individual can do. Greek religion also reveals its practical side in its confrontation of death and calamity. The somber shades of war, pestilence, and oppression are not strangers to sunny Greece, and the Greek religion teaches people how to face such misfortunes stoically and with dignity.

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see. 771 ●

Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church. 771 795 619 162

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2] 795 184 776 [346]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names 795 184

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

THE WATERS OF MARAH

178 795 576 Embrace one another, and join mutually the side of the Mouth or Cheek to the other . . . and since the Resurrection of Christ is the Miracle of Miracles, and the main Pillar of our Christian Faith and Hope, I am much perswaded that this might be the very manner and way of giving the Holy Kiss amongst the Primitive Christians."

178 795 788 [771] Nor is all this a matter of mere outward forms. Through all the vicissitudes of her history the Greek Church has been enabled to preserve something of the very spirit of the first age of Christianity. Her liturgy still enshrines that element of sheer joy in the resurrection of the Lord that we find in so many of the early Christian writings. The spirit of the ancient fathers of the Church lives on in the liturgy and in the piety of the ordinary Greek Christian. To enter into the spirit of the eastern liturgies is to comprehend as is possible in no other way the characteristic notes of Orthodox spirituality.

This is true above all of the liturgy of Holy Week and Eastertide; here one is perhaps most acutely conscious of the revolution that has been wrought in post-mediaeval western piety. It is a far cry from the Byzantine liturgy of the holy passion to that preoccupation with the sufferings of Christ with which we are familiar. Even in the darkness of the holy and great Friday the note of joy is sounded; the narrative of the passion is interspersed with the divine praises: it is the record of the triumph of the King, and Christ the Victor reigns in royal purple from His throne on Calvary.

[539]

To-day is hanged upon the Tree
He who hanged the earth free in the midst of the waters.
A crown of thorns crowns Him who is King of the angels.
He who wraps the heavens in clouds
is wrapt about with the purple of mockery;
He who freed Adam in Jordan
is smote with hands;
He who is the Bridegroom of the Church
is transfixed with nails;
He who is the Son of the Virgin
is pierced with a spear.
We worship Thy Passion, O Christ;
Show us also Thy glorious Resurrection!

[771] It is because her life is rooted so completely in the liturgy that the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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Orthodox Church has been able to preserve in all its integrity the faith once delivered to the saints. Ecclesiastical organisation has never in eastern Christendom been looked upon as having an importance such as, at any rate from the eleventh century onwards, it assumed in the west. Provided only that he is free to participate fully in the liturgical life of his local church, the Greek or Russian Christian is prepared to sit curiously lightly to matters of jurisdiction and the machinery of ecclesiastical government and administration. Even when, as in the U.S.S.R. to-day, the Church is subject to every imaginable restriction save this bare permission to celebrate the divine mysteries, she can yet contrive to hold fast to her traditions with a tenacity which must often strike the western Christian as little short of miraculous: "the stable perseverance in these our days of the *Greek* Church", wrote Rycaut in the seventeenth century, "notwithstanding the Oppression and Contempt put upon it by the *Turk* . . . is a Confirmation no less convincing than the Miracles and Power which attended its first beginnings." 178 795 788 771

So, throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Greek Church held fast the traditions which enshrined the saving truths of the divine economy. The Gospel was preached less by means of homilies and sermons than through the regular cycle of feast and fast; though Christian schools were maintained, often with great heroism in the face of overwhelming difficulties, the children of Hellas relied even more upon the visible catechism of the Church's liturgy. So it was that the faith was preserved as a royal treasure: the life of the mystical body burned on in secret, though the royal priesthood might be "expelled their Churches and those converted into Moschs; the Mysteries of the Altar conceal'd in secret and dark places . . ."

It is in remote townships like Kastoria that one can best enter into the spirit of the Greek Church under the Turkish yoke. To the traveller who approaches the ancient city of Diocletian from the southward there is little to suggest the presence of some seventy-two churches. Kastoria reveals its secrets only to those who are prepared to spend several days scrambling up and down the stony paths below the nineteenth-century metropolis, where tiny churches are set obscurely amidst the high, fortress-like domestic architecture of a later age. A great number of these churches date from Byzantine days, for from about the seventh century onwards this mountain township served as a place of exile for many whose presence at Constantinople was, for one reason or another, considered undesirable. Many more were built during the 178 795 346

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178 795 346 centuries of Turkish dominion. Outwardly they are scarcely distinguishable from the cottages which surround them: only the shallow apse at the east end proclaims the church.

[532] Within, however, one finds oneself in another world. Walls unpierced by windows are covered with paintings which set forth the whole story of creation and redemption. Patriarchs and prophets mingle with the saints of the new dispensation; Elias is caught up to heaven in a chariot of fire and Jonah goes down to the bottoms of the mountains with the weeds wrapped about his head; those whose names are honoured throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, Athanasius, Basil and Gregory the Divine, rub shoulders with local saints like St. George of Iannina and the Neo-Martyrs; the Lord Christ is baptised in Jordan, He changes the water into wine and reigns in triumph from the tree of Calvary; the Holy Spirit descends in tongues of fire upon the apostles. Here in these little chapels—"rather like Vaults or Sepulchres than Churches, having their Roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgency of structure should be accused for triumph of Religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the *Mahometan* Moschs"—the mysterious life of the local church was nourished throughout the dark days of oppression; the saints which were in Kastoria, like their brethren at Thessalonica, obeyed the apostolic injunction to hold fast the traditions which they had been taught.

178 795 788 771 Not infrequently, it must be confessed, zeal for the preservation of the faith in the midst of an alien environment gave rise to a certain lack of discrimination. The pure gold of the apostolic tradition has not been handed down from generation to generation without gathering to itself certain accretions of doubtful worth, and the simple Christian is not always able to distinguish the one from the other or prepared even to admit the possibility of such intermingling.

> This Reverence to the Church [observes one of the old writers] produces a firm belief and strict adherence to the Articles of it, and to all the Ceremonies and matters the most minute and indifferent, not suffering the least change or alteration in them. For although they are sensible (as many of their Priests have confessed to me) of the inconvenient length of their Liturgies . . . and of many superstitious Customs and Ceremonies derived to them from the times of *Gentilism*, which are now ingrafted into, and as it were grown up

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with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaioemerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places?

The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness (already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

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the effect of the Turkish dominion was to foster—perhaps to excess—an attitude which was already discernible in Byzantine days and which always made for a certain liveliness in ecclesiastical affairs.

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During the last few years it has been becoming increasingly clear that the episode which may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to as '1054 and all that' has gained a far more important place in our text-books of European history than it justly merits. No longer is it possible to regard the schism of Cerularius as marking the decisive breach between eastern Christendom and the west. A date which seemed to hold out to the struggling schoolboy a refuge no less secure than that of the Conqueror's triumph at Hastings has been swept away, to leave him floundering in the troubled waters of speculation and surmise. But whatever the immediate causes of the disastrous breach which was to divide Christendom into warring factions, and which underlies all our western divisions, there can be little question that far the greatest factor in the hardening of the schism was the invasion of the Levant by the crusading Franks, the sack of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. These unhappy events made an impression upon the Greek mind that the passing of eight centuries has not effaced.

The legend of Frankish aggression—unhistorical and confused though it be—lives on in our own day especially amongst the monks. Pope Innocent III, Michael Palaeologus, the Patriarch Bekkos, the Catalans who established themselves in the Kassandra peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Pope Eugenius IV, who flourished more than a century later, are all confounded in a wild farrago of monkish imagination and prejudice. The Pope, attended by Frankish soldiers and executioners, presides over the martyrdom of the twenty-six monks of Zographou, and terrible stories are still to be heard on the holy mountain of the gruesome fate that befell the renegade monks who took part in the Latin mass at the Lavra. In a painting at the Serbian convent of Chilandari the Pope appears in the company of Mahomet and the arch-heretic Arius, and the earth opens and swallows them up together.

The traveller in monastic Greece must not, therefore, be surprised to find that an unwary allusion to the Pope can still conjure up in the imagination of a Greek monk a nightmare figure far surpassing the inventions of the most rabid Protestant. I recall one such reference to

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VI

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

> Let the Christian consider well when he enters the church that he is entering into another heaven. That same majesty of God which is in heaven is also in His church, and on this account the Christian must needs enter with reverence and fear.
>
> From a *Synopsis* printed at Venice in 1857

788

DR. COVEL, it must be confessed, looked with a somewhat jaundiced eye upon the liturgical performances of the Greeks of Constantinople—the "jolly Easterlings," as he styles them. Not for him the wondering awe of the emissaries of the Prince of Kiev who, seven centuries before his advent as chaplain to King Charles' ambassador at the Sublime Porte, had been present at a celebration of the divine liturgy of our father among the saints, John Chrysostom, in the great church of the Emperor Justinian, and had not known whether they were yet on earth or in heaven by reason of its surpassing splendour.

"A miserable Jumble, or patcht Piece of Service", says Covel, "so confused and so tedious, as it takes away all Devotion"; not to be compared with the chaste dignity of that incomparable liturgy whose compilers "with wonderful Prudence and sound Judgment did distinguish, or rather . . . garble the Offices of Greeks and Latins: and retaining and adding only such things as might promote true Piety and primitive Devotion, did cast away all the rest."

The good Doctor was plainly subject to the prejudices which are characteristic of most Frankish divines and travellers of his generation; and yet, making due allowance for a certain lack of sympathy in the face of an unfamiliar liturgical tradition, we must admit the substantial truth of his assertion that "the greatest part of the Easterlings' Oeconomy and discipline, especially of the Greeks, consist first in their Pomp and amusing Ceremonies at their Liturgies and other Offices . . . and in celebrating their Fasts and Feasts."

Nobody who has lived and worshipped amongst Greek Christians 788
for any length of time but has sensed in some measure the extraordinary 796
hold which the recurring cycle of the Church's liturgy has upon the [771]
piety of the common people. Nobody who has kept the great lent with

/31 cont./ 275
where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political 517
leaders meet their followers.

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government [208]
employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house [203]
where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission.

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people 794
directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, 869
and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole 872
family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child
follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through [796]
its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings
up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/
learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or
that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its
religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend
church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such [796]
holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance
of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their 782
Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other 776
sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as 795
his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to
special designated saints whom they think are able to help them.
For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage
and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For
travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to
St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line.
It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as [771]
Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They
take their religion seriously and believe in it completely.

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop 793
is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the 782
priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the repre- [776]
sentative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God.
Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters 869
as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places.

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [553]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely 175
dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches 795
became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same perse- [619]
cuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion.

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy 771
and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons [776]
often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint [782]
Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest [755]
offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles.

The church. The church occupies the central part of the 346
village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and 778
temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning [361]
and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm [202]
as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and [789]
in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of

/80 cont./ 346
their humble houses and subsistence level of living the people like 778
to build beautiful churches with high steeples and decorate them
/81/ with as many ikons and church bells they can. The people [316]
of Megali Vrisi not being satisfied with the structure of the present
church have already quarried stone from the nearby hills for their
future church structure. When the farmers were notified to offer [794]
personal work for the church they did it without complaint.

The people look up to the church as an institution which gives 771●
them hope and courage in times of disappointment and discourage-
ment. Once a year a confession is made in the church in front [783]
of the ikons and the priest. People tell of their bad acts and
forgive those that caused them trouble. All wedding ceremonies, [796]
baptisms and name day celebrations take place in the church.

Attendance. Women and children attend the church regular- 794
ly. The men are rather irregular in their attendance. This is not 796
due to their negligence nor to their failure to respect the church,
but is due to the long church services that last for three hours.
The people get tired of going to the church. Most attend the last
part of the services. In spite of the variety of music and cere-
monial activities, the church is losing /82/ attendance. Men
like to know what they hear in the church, and since it is all
abstract to them they prefer to stay out and send their wives and
children.

With the increase of modern scientific beliefs by the farmers,
the church will be forced to change its course and adopt itself
to the new social changes.

The membership is obligatory. Every one born in the village 794
becomes a member. It is not necessary to keep in books the
names of the members since the whole population of the village
naturally belongs to the church.

Contributions. Every family has to contribute for the support
of the priest and for the upkeep of the church. This contribution
is paid in kind. Besides this the church has voluntary donations [769]
by people whose prayers are answered, and by others for the

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[212] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[217] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most
of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[779] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece
the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until
recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics,
well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or
city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where
two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the
Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as
the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two
armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers.
A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on
the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian
monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the
difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[814] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
904 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
scholarly standard.

RELIGION

771 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity
among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
really Greek since they do not conform to the tradition of
Greekness.

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness.

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

To the Land of the Eagle

769 792 the family is always a priest and has charge of the church in which the relics rest, and, as I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of a Greek lady who knew the family well, I was able to arrange through her to visit the church on a certain morning and to have the sarcophagus opened for my benefit. She accompanied me herself, and brought with her two friends, a young man and a young woman, who had begged to be allowed to join the party on what was evidently a very unusual occasion.

PRIEST OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

346 The interior of the church[1] was cool and pleasant after the yellow glare of the Corfu streets. From the painted roof hung magnificent lamps of hammered silverwork, and on the shining parquet floor stood two massive candelabra—offerings, like the lamps, from those who had benefited, or believed they had benefited, by the intercession of the saint. As is customary in the Greek Church, there were no pews or chairs other than seats round the wall, and the building gained greatly in dignity by their absence. Pictures, deep-toned and mellow with age, decorated the walls.

● 771 While we were waiting for the sacristan to announce our arrival to the priest, a constant stream of worshippers entered the church—men, women, and children. With every appearance of devotion, they made a pilgrimage from one sacred object to the other, kissing each in turn, and finally entering

1 [containing relics of Spiridi-150 one, see cat. 116, pp. 149-150--- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

Priestcraft

the little shrine which shelters the sarcophagus of Spiridione, 771
to kneel there and pray. The evident genuineness of their faith was impressive, and I began to feel rather ashamed of the vulgar curiosity which was the chief reason for my presence.

The great moment arrived, and we in our turn went 764
into the shrine. The sarcophagus[1] rich with embossed silverwork and jewels, shone in the light of the candles which surrounded it. It stood on a raised dais or step, and seemed to fill the whole space, so big was it and so small the shrine. We four stood in a row, with our backs to the entrance. There was room for us and for one other worshipper, and no more. The latter, a woman, knelt devoutly in the gloom beside us. One by one my companions crossed themselves and reverently kissed the sarcophagus. Then we waited in silence.

The priest and his acolyte came in by a side door. The 769
priest, a tall and exceedingly good-looking man of grave mien and dignified aspect, took up his position at one end of the sarcophagus. The acolyte stood at the other. With slow and reverent movements, the priest unlocked the lid, raised it, and let down the side which faced us. He then opened a square panel in the upper surface of the coffin, and placed near it a saucer containing something that resembled dried leaves, possibly a disinfectant. Each gesture, each deliberate movement, conveyed the idea of intense devotion and intense reverence—and yet this man, this officiating priest, was actually the owner of the relics before him, and

1 [of Spiridione, see cat. 116, pp. 149-151 --Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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748 to bring into the social worker–client relationship an objectivity modeled on the doctor–patient relationship. The Greek social worker finds it difficult to think of the client as a case and almost immediately empathizes or scolds in a way that would be considered quite unprofessional by American standards. Psychiko, hardly the twentieth-century rationale for social welfare, continues strong in Greece today, and the Bishop of Messenia is doing much to keep it alive in his diocese, which seems much the better for it.

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> *God and Death:* Once upon a time God sent death to reap a soul but when death heard the lamentation of the relations and saw the beauty of the girl whose soul he was supposed to reap, he felt sorry and returned to heaven without accomplishing his mission. When God asked him why he didn't bring the soul, death replied that he couldn't stand the crying and despair that he had heard and seen. God got very angry and hit death so that he became deaf, blind, and lame. He made him deaf so that he couldn't hear the crying, blind so that he couldn't see whether the soul to be taken away belonged to an old person or a child, and lame so that he could not run away from the place where he was sent.[18]

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775 heaven and hell, has had some effect upon the view peasants take of "the next world," the people very often reveal a more basic belief in Hades as
[772] "a common meeting-place of all whose lives are ended, without distinction of merit. Death is a deprivation of the joys of life, which, with all its troubles and cares, is sweet. The old uneasy feeling that after death it is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. 3]
[p. 2 is blank]

I

The People of Greece

The Legend

When God was building the earth, he lavished all goods such as water, pasture, forests, and rich soil on the countries of the world. Then suddenly he remembered that he had forgotten Greece. What could he give to this country since he had given all the riches to the others? He started stroking his beard thoughtfully. All at once an idea struck him when he saw the rainbow hanging over his head. Reaching up, he chopped a piece off, stooped and picked up a little soil and many stones, and kneaded the whole thing together in the palm of his hand. Then, opening his palm, he blew the mixture into the sea, and Greece came into being.[1] 539 773

In its symbolic meaning, the rainbow of the legend is the Greek people who are as colorful as the sun-drenched rocks on which their nation grew to greatness.

The fact that the Athenian civilization with its poets, philosophers, dramatists, and sculptors had its origin in a city of less than two hundred thousand people on the rocky Attic plain has been a source of wonder to all who know anything of ancient Greece. But today there is also a miracle of Greece at which to wonder. In our twentieth century we see a land of 51,182 square miles supporting eight million people; that is, an area the 175 [13 1] [16 1]

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

243 466 "You ought to come harvesting and stay with us for a week and you would have plenty of material for your book," said one of the men good-naturedly. "When working in the wheat we sleep in the fields with only a blanket for a bed. It has been raining and we have been wet through and through. We can't wash ourselves, we can't even wash our plates — we are so busy."

243 "Where do you get your food?"

465 "The person for whom we work feeds us. He gives us garlic, olives, bread, salted fish, and sometimes a bean soup or potatoes. We all lose weight during this period and wish we didn't have to work this way."

[262] "Are you well paid for your work?"

One of the men, unshaven and tired, but gay throughout the conversation, said that the average pay was about 10 okas of grain for 1 stremma of land (28 pounds for one fourth of an acre). A man might get 14 okas and a woman as low as 7 okas, but the average ran about 10. There was no [562] explanation for this different treatment of the sexes except that the bargaining position of the woman was lower. (I compared this figure of 10 okas with the 20 okas that the farmers of Thessaly paid a combine owner for each stremma of land harvested, while they had to pay 30 okas per stremma when the harvesting was done by hand, losing about 10 okas through this less efficient way. Out of the total yield of 150 to 200 okas per stremma in Thessaly, the cost amounted to 7 to 10 percent of the crop in the case of the machine and 15 to 20 percent in the case of hand harvesting.)

511 "Do you get enough wheat during the harvesting period to see you through the year?"

"It all depends. Some years we do and some years we don't. Bread is our only food. It is our milk, cheese, butter, honey, sugar, all in one. What the grass is to the animal, bread is to us. Otherwise we live on air and water."

511 Then, as though carried away with some of their troubles, one of the men asked, "Do you know what we say about our village of Parthenon? ●773 We say that when Christ walked by our village he left us a curse, for we have only stones there." Another added a variation, "Yes, when Christ passed he blessed what was on his right, but on his left he threw stones." Even this rationalization had no trace of bitterness, but a matter-of-factness that was supposed to help the foreigner understand why they were having difficulties with food. Other villages down on the plains had an easier time of it, but Parthenon, high on its rocks, had to make a living the hard way.

243 465 Coming back to the question of harvesting, we asked them when they would get their wheat, for they were carrying nothing but a woven handbag or a spare jacket. In about a month they would return, for then the grain would be threshed and ready to distribute. Each person had carried his

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[8] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

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5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

IV

THE ORGANIC BODY

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Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.

THERE is an old story, still to be heard in the mountain villages, which tells how God fashioned the dry land; how He put all the earth through the mesh of His sieve: here a pile of fine rich soil, the granary of Africa, and there another which was Sicily. When all was done there remained within the sieve a heap of stones and dross: God threw them over His shoulder, and there was Greece. *Tout ce païs*, remarks an old traveller, *est plein de hautes montagnes.* 773

It is important to bear in mind the physical characteristics of the setting within which the Greek Church carries out her work of reconciliation and renewal. Greece is a land of high mountains and narrow coastal plains; of few towns and wretched communications. The majority of her people live, as they have lived from time immemorial, in small rural communities widely dispersed among the mountains, winning a laborious subsistence from the parched and stony soil which scarcely covers her rocky skeleton. More than half of the whole area of Greece is utterly barren; much of what remains consists of forest and poor pasture; less than one-fifth is under cultivation. Greece and poverty, the saying runs, have ever been sisters. 133 361 [311]

At the time of the last census approximately one-seventh of the total population of Greece dwelt in the Athens-Piraeus region, the phenomenal growth of which during the last 100 years has set it strangely apart from the rest of the country—even though "the equipages of Athens", as the Abbé de St. Michon observed, "have not quite the freshness nor the elegance of those seen in the Champs Elysées". Salonica had a population which was approaching 300,000; the next largest town, however, was Patras with less than 80,000 inhabitants. Most of the remaining towns, a large proportion of which are situated in the fertile plains of Macedonia and Thrace, are market towns and centres of rural industries but little more. 162 369

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Even when death is there, there is help. Who can bury the dead by himself? The village all cry together, they all suffer together, and the whole village buries him. He too is not far away from them. His soul roams around them and, as they say themselves, he watches them.[2]

The Agricultural Cooperative Movement in Greece

One could logically argue that a people with as many kinds of mutual aid as the Greek villagers should take readily to the cooperative organization designed to assist cooperators, through organized efforts, to achieve goals which they could not hope to satisfy individually. But the transition from informal mutual aid to an organized cooperative proves much more difficult than one would at first imagine. In the first place, since the village mutual-aid patterns are a "here and now" undertaking, those participating can see the immediate results of their labor and can hold the person helped accountable to return assistance to them when needed. The formal cooperative organizations, on the other hand, have to set goals which are removed both in time and place from the average peasant. Not only are the centers of financial control and the markets distant, but the member has to wait for benefits to accrue in the case of a marketing cooperative. In a credit cooperative, the loan received is more tangible, but its attainment has probably seemed to the peasant a long, laborious procedure.

The transition from village mutual aid to the formal cooperative organization is difficult, in the second place, because the *formal* organization itself is an urban rather than a village development. To participate in and guide an organization takes as much "know-how" as repairing a tractor or managing a flock. But it is a different kind of skill from any which the peasant has been trained to use, and he is therefore either ill at ease or grossly inefficient when he tries to work with such a new social mechanism. Parliamentary procedure, the keeping of books and membership lists, and the preparation of reports go on around him all of the time, but he is seldom called upon to participate in such activity. This means that, as a member, he is apt to be passive and apathetic; he is also apt not to understand much of what is done in the cooperative organization and is therefore chronically critical of management, the government, and perhaps the whole idea of formal cooperatives in general. Once he has learned to deal with the social mechanism of the organization, he is much more self-assured and agreeable, but getting to this point takes a great deal of time for most villagers.

But perhaps a third difficulty in the transition from local mutual aid to membership in the cooperative society is most crucial. Basically the mutual-aid groups consist of family members and neighbors; only occasionally do they even call upon others in the village. The cooperative association makes an immediate leap beyond family and neighborhood to encompass men from the whole village — men who know each other but who have not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 Pierce College. It is hard for most Greeks, no matter how highly trained,
748 to bring into the social worker–client relationship an objectivity modeled on the doctor–patient relationship. The Greek social worker finds it difficult to think of the client as a case and almost immediately empathizes or scolds in a way that would be considered quite unprofessional by American standards. Psychiko, hardly the twentieth-century rationale for social welfare, continues strong in Greece today, and the Bishop of Messenia is doing much to keep it alive in his diocese, which seems much the better for it.

The Peasant Confronts Death

761 The peasant assumes that there is an afterlife and talks about doing kind
773 deeds "for the good of the soul." But these practical villagers do not talk much about death, although they do have some fixed beliefs and prescribed
●775 customs which stand them in good stead when confronting it. For example, there is the matter of Charon who, according to the beliefs of ancient Rome, was the boatman transporting the dead across the River Styx. I shall never forget the sensation of riding along in the northern Peloponnesos between Kleitoria and Kalavryta, enjoying the bright May afternoon, when my interpreter pointed out a small and pleasant stream said to be the waters of the Styx.[17] Greek peasants do not assign the same role to Charon as did the Romans, for they think of Charon as death itself, or as the angel of death whom God sends down to bring back the soul of someone whose time on earth has run its course. There are many songs and stories about Charon, who is personified as one who wrestles with individuals for their lives or who uses craft to draw the soul out of the body. From time to time he is supposed to have displayed something akin to human sympathy:

> *God and Death:* Once upon a time God sent death to reap a soul but when death heard the lamentation of the relations and saw the beauty of the girl whose soul he was supposed to reap, he felt sorry and returned to heaven without accomplishing his mission. When God asked him why he didn't bring the soul, death replied that he couldn't stand the crying and despair that he had heard and seen. God got very angry and hit death so that he became deaf, blind, and lame. He made him deaf so that he couldn't hear the crying, blind so that he couldn't see whether the soul to be taken away belonged to an old person or a child, and lame so that he could not run away from the place where he was sent.[18]

761 Although church art, depicting the medieval Christian conception of
775 heaven and hell, has had some effect upon the view peasants take of "the next world," the people very often reveal a more basic belief in Hades as
[772] "a common meeting-place of all whose lives are ended, without distinction of merit. Death is a deprivation of the joys of life, which, with all its troubles and cares, is sweet. The old uneasy feeling that after death it is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

not well is ever present; and the dying man laments that he must see the sun no more, nor the light of the moon, the mountains, the shade of plane-trees, and the cool fountain because in Hades there breaks no dawn, and sings no bird, and no fountains of water flow." [19] 761 775

This same theme is brought out in the tradition which the villagers call the "water of forgetfulness."

Each person upon dying goes to the underworld. There he starts crying and is in despair because he died and had to leave the world which still seems so sweet to him. The other dead laugh at him. This happens for just one day because the other dead feel sorry for the newcomer, take him to a spring and tell him to drink some water. After he has had some he in his turn forgets the upper world and laughs at the newcomers who come later on. This happens to all who die.[20]

When a person is believed to be dying, a candle is lit, probably so the soul will be sure to have some light as it moves into the other world. If any of this candle remains after a person dies, according to some village people, for three successive days you must put water in a little coffee cup and light the candle for ten minutes after sunset. You then take the water and throw it outside where nobody will be apt to walk on it. You also cut a narrow piece from the shroud and tie three knots in it, placing it in front of the icon. For three days you untie one of the knots and then sew the piece of cloth in the shirt of one of the male members of the family, who wears this piece until the shirt wears out. In the Naupaktos area, after a person dies all windows and doors are closed so death cannot get out. One person of the household shouts, "Death, leave the old man [or whoever is dead]." This is repeated many times in the hope that death can hear. It is done, the people say, to keep death from coming again to take someone else from that home.[21] Such shouting is not the custom in all parts of Greece, however. 763 764

What one does find quite generally in the rural areas, however, is the *myriologion*, or funeral dirge, which the women of the household and those from the neighborhood begin to sing as soon as death has come. Some of these have been conventionalized to the point that several women may all know the same dirge for a husband, child, or mother, and sing parts of it in turn rocking back and forth; in some parts of Greece the women improvise dirges in keeping with the prescribed musical form. These songs, sung in the house before burial, at the grave at stated intervals after death, or even as a woman is passing by the cemetery, may consist of questions put to the dead: "Why did you leave us?" "Why did you go so soon?" "How do you think the house can get on without you?" [22] Those myriologia that have traditional content passed on from generation to generation are the source of many of the popular beliefs about the afterlife, and they illustrate as well as any aspect of Greek rural life the persistence of pre-Christian 764 533 [763] [769]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlach EH15

G 764 533 [562] [369] traits. From time to time, the men of the village may scoff at these myriologia as "women's business," and they certainly do not join in the singing, but many of them would feel uncomfortable if these dirges were not sung in their homes when occasion demanded. In the cities such customs as these are dying out, but not among the rural people.

G V 764 The body is washed in wine and prepared for burial, with the interment usually taking place within twenty-four hours. A most vividly recalled procession was that of a seventeen-year-old boy in Metsovo (Epirus) who had been killed the day before by a land mine left over from the guerrilla war. This was a Wallachian (Koutso-Vlach) town, mentioned in my description of the life of the shepherd. We watched the procession form just outside the church. First came a boy carrying the lid of the coffin, since it is still customary to leave the coffin open as the procession moves through the streets of the town; then the altar boys carrying the banners, followed by three priests in their liturgical robes, then the coffin — all in white — carried by six young men in black homespun. Next followed the boy's father, supported by his relatives, a weeping fourteen-year-old brother, then a score of other men. The children from the school playground went up to watch the procession pass. Shortly afterwards, the mother, loudly wailing, came out of the church, also supported by her relatives and about forty or fifty women dressed in their traditional holiday costumes, brilliant despite the absence of much of their finery and the heavy accent of black trimmings. They formed a second procession which headed up a hill to the family home because in Metsovo, unlike the villages which are ethnically Greek, the women do not go to the cemetery. The grandmother, easily identified, was striking herself on the head in a display of grief.

G V 764 152 As the two processions went their separate ways, the square remained quiet and even the children seemed hushed in their play. At such moments it is apparent that in a village the family is not alone in its grief, but feels strongly the bonds that bind it to the rest of the community. Although death does mean separation, the villagers deal with it in a way that reinforces the social ties among the living. And grief has its rituals, too, which come down from prehistoric times. Women are supposed to express themselves loudly and in public, giving outlet to their pent-up emotions and freeing themselves from the repressions that might otherwise build up. Men, too, can cry in public, although they prefer to do it in the presence of other men rather than before women.

G 764 775 In watching the progress of a funeral procession in another village, I noticed that, with its approach, the doors and windows of shops and houses all shut down tightly, but only until the procession passed. Some said this was done "so the evil could not get through" to the living, but people in the village of Terpitsa claimed that they shut the doors so that only the door of the other world would remain open to the dead person.[22]

1:Sanders Z-5,√ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ."[24] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

8. Alderfer, "Greece and the West Today," p. 8.

9. For observations on the village clergy, see Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1908), and H. D. F. Kitto, *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), p. 16. 000

10. See Dorothy D. Lee, "Greek Tales of Priest and Priestwife," *Journal of American Folklore*, April–June 1947, p. 163. This article contains nine stories about the priest and his wife, some of them Chaucerian in tone. He is either interested in an attractive parishioner whose husband eventually deals drastically with him, or his wife is involved with a lover whom the priest may or may not outwit.

11. Angelike Chatzemichale made this observation.

12. The material for this whole paragraph is adapted from Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), pp. 37–41.

13. D. Lee, "Greece," *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, p. 84.

14. One of the most vivid accounts in English of the prominent role of the priest is found in Nikos Kazantzakis, *The Greek Passion* (New York, 1954), a fictionalized account of what happened in an Asia Minor Greek community when some of its characters in a passion play began to play their roles seriously in real life.

15. D. A. Petropoulos, "Ethima synergasias kai allelovoedeias tou hellenikou laou" (Customs of Collaboration and Mutual Aid of the Greek people), *Epeteris Laographikou Archeiou* (Yearbook of the Folklore Archives), 1943–1944, p. 71.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

17. See W. M. Leake's account of his explorations for the River Styx in chap. 26 (vol. 3) of his *Travels in the Morea*, 3 vols. (London, 1930).

18. From D. Kontogannis, *Sylloge demotikon paradoseon* (Collection of Popular Traditions) (Athens, 1920), p. 60.

19. Rennell Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892), p. 120.

20. Kontogannis, *Sylloge*, p. 60.

21. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmeikta laographika en Aitolias," *Laographia*, XII (1938), 20–21.

22. Rennell Rodd, *Customs and Lore*, p. 129. See also Baron P. D'Estournelles, "The Superstitions of Modern Greece," *The Nineteenth Century*, no. 62 (1882), p. 590, who points out quite correctly that these dirge singers are frequently professionals employed to render this service. Lady Verney in an article on "Songs and Legends of Modern Greece," *The Contemporary Review* (1875), describes funeral customs which survive today: "The myriologia, or funeral songs, are always sung and composed by women . . . and are uttered first immediately after the death takes place. Next, when the body is laid on a bier, dressed in its best clothes, the face uncovered, turned to the east, the arms closed over the breast, the nearest relation begins her lamentation, and is followed by the more distant in blood; then the friends and the neighbors. Often messages are sent to those who have died previously; flowers and small presents for them are thrown on the body, which is entreated to carry them to the next world. . . . Hired mourners are often brought in to sing to the honour of the dead, as in the funeral of Hector, when Achilles has given up the body to his father." [767] [775] [767]

23. Loukopoulos, "Symmeikta," p. 20.

24. G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903), p. 208. He has an excellent chapter on funeral rites.

25. V. T. Valassis, "The Living Past and Technical Change" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1956), pp. 13–14.

Chapter XV. The Village Community

1. The best study of these Greek-American returnees is found in Theodore Saloutos, *They Remember America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956). H. D. F. Kitto,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Attitudes and Beliefs about Nature

82

The Greek people, as one would expect of individuals everywhere, vary considerably in their attitude toward the physical environment.[3] Some, completely oblivious to the beauty about them, nevertheless try to read the weather signs in order to know when they should plow or sow. Some, at the other extreme, show a deep sensitivity to the changing moods of nature, as, for example, the illiterate shepherd in the Boeotian village of Schematari who would take pencil and paper and lovingly draw a tree-filled landscape or the rising sun. Most of the Greek villagers, however, seem to fall between these two extremes; from time to time they, in the words of one peasant, "gain an optimism in life when they see the beauty of a nice slope of the mountain or a lovely dawn." On the whole, the world seems a friendly place and there are few things to fear at the hands of nature.

More than this, the world is in God's hands. The frequent reference to God in popular speech may be a cultural trait handed down from generation to generation, but some of the oft-repeated, time-honored phrases are said with such animation and with such a light in the eye that they must express the individual feeling of those using them. There is no counterpart in English to the common phrase *Chara Theou* (Joy of God), which combines not only rapture and active enjoyment but the sense of the sparkling light God sheds on the earth. During the spectacular Greek spring, this phrase is a most appropriate way of describing one's feeling. 82 771 776 [195]

Even those who are not very conscious of their natural surroundings from day to day miss them deeply when distant from them. Over and over again, returned emigrants in Greek villages gave as the reason for their departure from America their need to see the mountains or plains or the sea on which their eyes had rested while they grew up. 82 [167]

Much of this feeling toward nature is based on the sense of intimacy with her.[4] Indeed, one of the first requirements in trying to understand the life of any people is to learn their reaction and adjustment to the natural world. The Greek farmer studies nature for important signs which tell him whether to bring the flock in from the high hillside, whether to start or delay a journey, whether to put out his tobacco plants. Those signs directly relating weather to agriculture are obvious and easily understood by the Westerner, if not always accepted as scientifically valid. But the signs which natural objects and events provide of the supernatural — illness and death, the appearance of ghosts, or even the way the universe was made and is run — all of these stretch the imagination of the scientifically trained specialist, who may be inclined to dismiss them as superstition and therefore unimportant. Nevertheless, they continue to be important to many Greek villagers, young and old alike. 82 787

In listening to folk interpretations of nature, one also learns much about

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from 825
the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he 787
will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that
house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to [777]
left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect
bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows
he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or
left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the
following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon [777]
two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will
die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central [776]
Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in
herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make
a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches [422]
cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these
mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts
the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a 825
child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam 773
and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them
first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then
holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep
her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God
the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so [788]
that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human
beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since
the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if 771
these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely
held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say [521]
that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level.
People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them,
while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is
the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a
ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants 82
and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature,
which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the
course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere,
moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the 821
heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the 127
latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 186 823 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives, only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 823 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (January 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering himself fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism [755] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — [778] supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of [789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 776 539 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most persistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> [195] "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> [502] When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns." 823 195 539

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea. 823 776 346 782 502 778

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her. 823

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today. 184 181

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere, there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Cen-
[755] tral Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
754 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path
[778] of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or have a little icon."[3]

1:Sanders Z-5,H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor. 241 178

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time. [464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world. 758 [462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it: 753

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are [755] [757] [776]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

753 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, —
776 from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest,
759 who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particu-
[793] lar charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters,
[868] although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary
755 folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia,
757 a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was
[184] expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane per-
793 son out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

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The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's
[785] fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Through-
[262] out much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although
[369] in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

796 Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about
533 the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day."
[534] In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little
[369] paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities re-
[765] ceive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day
[769] many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

796 On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor,
[262] then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all
[273] night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the
[574] day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call
[431] on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be
[152] celebrated.

[754] Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants re-
[784] veal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits
[776] will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be
[782] little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and
[784] details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

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[776] [784] [296] [241] [426] [787] [262] considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[9]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

[533] [824] [777] [431] On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around carolling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

[431] [524] If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

[788] [574] The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again. [524]

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Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see. 771

Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church. 771 795 619 162

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2] 795 184 776 [346]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names 795 184

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000 "Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412–413; and Angelike Chatzemichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826–827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

Chapter IV. Land as a Birthright

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece*, Oct.–Nov. 1947 (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166–167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

[186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

[245] [185] [583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugee from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

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Vasilika

hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

619 to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient
829 Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the
refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom
181 in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—
"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the
[776] family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities
[173] and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classi-
[185] cal Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and
although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete,
[173] the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proödhos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 flickered within the church. Leaving the saints to their solitary vigil we plunged deeper into the uninhabited wastes that stretched southward toward Metsovo and the Thebaid of Staghi.

During the course of the next four days we worked our way eastwards to Trikomon and Kipouryio, and then turned north towards Mavranaioi and Grevena, to complete the first part of my itinerary. At three of the villages on our route there were isolated garrisons: otherwise the whole district lay abandoned. We passed through hamlet after hamlet where every house was destroyed, where churches stood open to the skies and no living creature broke the three-year silence. At Kipouryio the chapel [669] of St. Paraskeve—a saint whose apparent connexion with the sixth day [346] of the week (in Greek, *paraskeve*, the day of preparation) has given rise to some very singular local cults in the country districts—had been [776] stripped of its furnishings and turned into a hospital by the Communists: empty bottles and boxes which had contained medical supplies lay strewn about the building.

[657] Upon our return to Grevena we encountered a vast multitude of ragged children straggling back towards the refugee camp, grasping huge slabs of bread and honey: more than 4,000 children were being fed daily at the *estia* outside the high school. We found the Lord Theokletos a little concerned lest I should have fallen into the hands of the *katsapliades*—communications in the mountains out beyond Mavranaioi were notoriously unreliable. I waded through the mud 484 with my captain from Volos to call on the colonel of the local militia, under whose protection I should be travelling for the rest of my itinerary. There was no news to be had anywhere save of the forthcoming elections.

At ten o'clock the following morning we were making slow progress westwards through melting snow: four militiamen, the president of the village of Elatos and myself; a large American mule floundering astern 727 with the baggage. Above the ruins of Doxaras we turned aside to view the pile of stones which was all that remained of the church of St. 346 George. A few families had returned to this hamlet and were living in nissen huts on the hillside below the ruined church. The whole village had been destroyed.

An hour later we found ourselves among the newly built cottages of Elatos. Above a cluster of wretched *kalyvai* rose the fabric of an unfinished church. The village, the president told us, had been burned down in July, 1942, and reduced to ruins. The work of rebuilding was begun

/31 cont./ 275
where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political 517
leaders meet their followers.

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government [208]
employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house [203]
where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission.

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people 794
directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, 869
and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole 872
family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child
follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through [796]
its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings
up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/
learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or
that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its
religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend
church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such [796]
holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance
of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their 782
Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other 776
sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as 795
his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to
special designated saints whom they think are able to help them.
For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage
and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For
travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to
St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line.
It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as [771]
Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They
take their religion seriously and believe in it completely.

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop 793
is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the 782
priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the repre- [776]
sentative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God.
Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters 869
as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places.

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the animals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear [553]
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard, prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship. They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations, and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this religion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after 400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

/79 cont./
of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

Montenegrins EF5
Great Russians RF2
Greece EH1
Serbs EF6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The district was known to swarm with witches and, though none of them said so, similar customs in other lands make it probable that the nickname was intended to shield its owner's identity. How better than by taking a Moslem name? A 551 553 [754]

A good example was my old friend, plucky old Mehmed Shpend of Shala, a well-known headman. It was incredible—nor did anyone pretend—that he had been baptized Mehmed the Raven. But when asked what his Christian name was he only grinned and twinkled, and said that "Mehmed Shpend" was "fort i bukur" ("very pretty"). G

A curious example of the belief that the Name is the Person occurred at Mount Athos at the beginning of this century. A Russian officer entered one of the monasteries as a monk. He was pious and much respected. Pondering over the sacred mysteries, it seemed fit to him that separate worship should be given to the Name of God. The idea found favour among some of the monks, and the cult of the name was instituted by them. The authorities at Athos forbade it, but the cult became more popular. It ended abruptly by the arrival of a Russian warship. The misguided monk was carried off and the heresy ended. The Russian Government, whether Tsarist or Bolshevist, stands no nonsense. GR 776

The Importance of a Name.—In Montenegro it was believed that the naming of a child may have an influence on its fate. It is customary for the same man to be christening "kum" (godfather) to all the children of one family. But if one child after another dies it is clear that the kum is unsuitable; and, in order to make sure this time that the kum is pleasing to God, the next infant is left in its cradle by the wayside. The mother hides close by. The first wayfarer who rashly stoops and looks at the infant is at once claimed as kum and must not refuse. M 753 777 852

On the way up to Durmitor I saw a cradle all alone, and was about to investigate it when Krsto snatched hold of me, crying: "No! no! you will have to be kum!" He then halted and shouted out for the mother, saying that neither of us was going to be trapped into being kum. The mother came up laughing, with a sickle in her hand. She said she was merely cutting some grass and had brought the baby with her. It was already baptized; so we passed on safely. Being kum cost a deal of money and trouble. But we might have refused? "No," said Krsto decidedly; "if you are caught that is quite impossible." M [551 462]

Under such circumstances, and especially if the child is weakly, it is common to baptize it Zhivko (lively), or Vuk (wolf), or one of the many derivatives of Vuk—Vuksan, Vujadin, Vule, etc., or Dabizhiv (mayest thou live), in order to give strength. S [852]

The custom exists, too, in Serbia and Bosnia. In old days, in Montenegro, when the christening of children was part of the ceremony M 852 628

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is
787 lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at
[777] least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

824 Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of
[787] the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed
777 clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk
539 story:

Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony
[844] known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panagias to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the
[789] midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward
[754] off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sta matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[8] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old
82 people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

825 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild
787 animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

123 731 777

Kokinya is a village of about one hundred houses not far from Kozane in Western Macedonia. The prefect of Kozane heard that a serious storm had hit the village and went out with his agriculturist to see what damage had been done, taking me along. As the agriculturist got estimates of crop destruction (50 percent of the wheat, 80 percent of the corn), we began to find out the peasants' explanations for this storm. One old man put it simply when he said, "it was God's will." * Even though the storm had occurred two days before, the people were still dazed at the thought of so much labor going to waste, to say nothing of the loss of the expected income from the crops. They did not seem bitter, nor altogether resigned. The visit of the nomarch (prefect) and his hour's discussion with the men brought a ray of hope. After many matters had been looked into, the nomarch asked just before he left: "I'm going to write up this report and make request for aid from the proper ministry. What are you people of Kokinya going to do?" They answered: "We are going to go to our fields, work with our vineyards. The rain has made new ravines. We must carry soil and fill in. Now we will have to work harder."

This statement reminded me of a conversation one evening on an apartment terrace halfway up Lykabettos Hill, a hill standing all by itself in the center of Athens. The Acropolis was clearly outlined in the moonlight, and the lights on the sea far in the distance told of the movement of boats in and out of the harbor. There we discussed the Greek peasant's idea of fate with a group of educated Greek friends — one of them the novelist Elias Venezis. As the backdrop for the present point of view we went back to the ancient idea of the three Fates and the classic themes of Greek tragedy.[10]

The Greeks with whom we were talking were careful to distinguish between the passive fatalism of the lands farther to the east and the active fatalism of the Greeks, pointing out that the Greek peasant made no abject surrender to nature or other forces about him. Even though the individual knows the odds are against him, he must stand up and face his destiny with dignity and correctness, whether the forces which would crush him show any mercy or not. We were reminded of the common saying, "syn Athena kai cheira kinei," which means, "with Athena move your own hand too." Thus it was neither incongruous nor contradictory to hear one Kokinya peasant say, "it is God's will," and to hear his neighbor say "now we will have to work harder."

On such a mental adjustment to the mountains, plains, and the sea, which we shall take up in order, is the survival of the Greek people largely based.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who [463] lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, [465] depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She [825] pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives [788] came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we [778] discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner [574] of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, [793] when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person [788] to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good [777] luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The [352] dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, [583] will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

[352] Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung [353] a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the [513] vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere, there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want
754 to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or
[778] have a little icon."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

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585 cross three times on her forehead. The procession then goes to the groom's house, and the young couple are the only ones who ride. The musicians have already arrived at the groom's house and start the music as the procession approaches. There is more shooting and the flag is now put on the groom's house. The bride, before she gets off the horse, throws an old piece of iron on the roof as a symbol of strength in her new home. The mother-in-law gives a ring biscuit cut crosswise. The bride holds it over her head and squeezes it into four pieces: one she eats, two she puts on her breast, and one she hands to her mother-in-law who offers her a glass of wine. She makes the sign of the cross with wine and returns the glass. After this a boy, both of whose parents are alive, is given her to hold. She kisses the child and gives him sweets and hangs a ring biscuit around his neck. Now the bride can dismount from her horse.

Her brother-in-law, or some other close relative of her husband, will take the bride into his arms, turn around three times, and then let her down. The dowry is unloaded and displayed. The tables are set. The wives of the relations have already brought baskets of food which are set on the table, and each small [609] family gathers around its basket. Any stranger present is allowed to sit at one of the tables. There is drinking, dancing, eating, singing. Later on, the other villagers who were not related to the groom or bride, and were therefore not invited to the wedding feast, will join the party in the courtyard or at a nearby threshing floor for a continuation of the festivities.

[606] At night, after the supper, the mother-in-law guides the couple to their room. On Monday morning she inspects the bride's nightgown to make sure that she was a virgin. Before lunchtime the bride takes a boy and goes to the fountain where she throws a coin into the water, fills a jug, and then returns. The boy retrieves the coin which belongs to him.

On Wednesday the couple gets up early and goes to the field. On the return the bride will carry on her back a bundle of wood or branches and follow her husband who leads the way back home. The first Sunday after the wedding the [574] bride will receive the female relations; the following Sunday the couple will go to church and after the service the bride returns the visits of these female kinfolk. At each home the housewife will call "cotton" to the bride, which means that she will give her a piece of cotton and will wish her "may you live and get old enough to see grandchildren." Then the marriage period is finished.

[184] Anyone even casually familiar with Greek life will realize that this authentic account differs in many respects from the wedding customs found in other parts of the country. For instance, in many villages the groom and [777] the bride go separately to the church, for it is considered bad luck for the groom to see the bride on the wedding day before meeting her at the altar. [608] Then, too, it is quite common to have both a male and female sponsor, one representing the bride's family and the other the groom's family. There are other details which are fairly common throughout the country. Supposing [515] that the wedding is to be at six o'clock in the evening, the bride will start her bath about three o'clock in the afternoon. After this, she is perfumed. Her friends and a "wise woman" do the dressing, although in some parts

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

of Macedonia the bride's brother is supposed to help with the dressing. 585
Proximity to the city changes many of the traditional patterns. The bride, for instance, may have her bridal dress made by a dressmaker and the dressmaker may be present at the time the bride dresses to be sure that the veil [294] is in proper place. Also, the bride may have gone to a beauty parlor to get [305] a permanent wave. The frizzier her hair, the more beautiful she is thought [302] to be. If she cannot get to a beauty parlor, her friends will put her hair into curlers or will wet her hair and make waves. The bride's hair is combed before she puts on her dress, and it is quite a trick to get the dress on without mussing the hair. The wise woman or dressmaker will help her with [302] her makeup: rouge, lipstick, much powder. The veil is pinned with two little bunches of orange blossoms and, of course, the richer the bride, the fuller [292] the gown and the longer the veil. White gloves are becoming more common, as is a small bouquet. The bride's best friend must give her something old (perhaps a garter) to wear and the wise woman busies herself doing knots [777] of various kinds to control the fates in behalf of the bride.

The duties of the koumbaros vary from place to place. If there are two [608] sponsors (normally, a married couple), the koumbara, or woman sponsor, may be expected to buy two big white candles, quite expensive, and enough silk material for the dress of the bride and for tying the candles with a bouquet of orange blossoms. One of the diversions in the ceremony in the church is to watch the two small children holding these heavy candles and to notice how frequently their inattention seems on the point of starting a general conflagration.

There is also a ritual connected with the dance held at the bride's house 585
after the ceremony at the church. One of the fathers of the young couple 533
will throw some money into the musician's box so that he can lead the dance 535
in honor of the bride and can choose any dance that he likes. This dance may last from six to ten minutes. Then the bride's nearest male relative will pay the musicians and lead a dance in honor of the groom first and then the bride. Then it is the turn of the koumbaros. This continues until each one who wants to honor the couple will do the same; after this, the dance turns into an ordinary one, and anybody who wants to lead can do so by paying the musicians, thereby gaining the right to name the dance and therefore the music that is to be played.

There are wide variations, also, in the greeting given by the mother-in- 585
law to the bride when she first arrives. Sometimes, the mother-in-law puts a dish in front of the daughter-in-law who breaks it; sometimes she gives [184] an ax which the bride is to use in showing all present how well she can chop wood. Then, too, instead of taking up the small boy, as the bride does in [777] Artotina, the boy may come and sit on her knee and receive a round piece of bread for supposedly bringing her good luck. In Kilkis, Macedonia, the brother of the bride has a big round pie which he breaks on her head upon

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the 851
baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of god- 608
parents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free [662]
to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, still- [842]
birth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume [845]
that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty- [782]
four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the [833]
morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People stand- [777]
ing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church [574]
for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to [123]
be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the [846]
child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does [783]
not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[776] [784] [296] [241] [426] [787] [262] [533] [824] [777] [431] [431] [524] [788] [574] [524]

796 777 796

considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[8]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

527 533 788 755 777

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

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Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata*, or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti*, since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

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Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

785 262 372 783

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religious belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interest and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[6]

Greeks view contemporary events in terms of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[7] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because these touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priest, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married and unmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmarried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks, can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

needed to pay the priests' salaries, with the difference coming from state revenue. Also, the local parishes have to pay an amount equal to 6 percent of their priest's salary to the bishop toward the retirement fund for the local priest.

For salary purposes, the priests are divided into four classes: those who have gone through the theological faculty of the university; those who have attended the seminary, perhaps one or two years beyond gymnasium; those who have no seminary but who have finished gymnasium; and those put in a miscellaneous category. There are apparently sufficient candidates for the priesthood now, and some effort is being made to fashion their curriculum to prepare them to serve village needs more effectively; even the older priests are encouraged to come back for periods of study. One member of the Holy Synod thought that the priests ought to know more about agriculture, economics, and first aid, so that they might play a more vital part in community life. His view of the priest's role was that "he is to help people with their problems of all kinds and settle any disputes among the villagers."

But what part does the village priest really play? As has already been indicated, the Greeks are ambivalent toward the priest.[9] "As an individual, he commands respect, and gives advice to those who seek it. However, he is also a figure of ridicule and of ill omen." [10] A great deal depends upon the personality of the priest himself. One informant told me that when he was a boy their village had had a wonderful priest who was very important. Today, even though the people are probably just as much attached to their religion, the present priest is not popular. In the course of an extended conversation with the people in a village near Volos, we asked what kind of priest they had. "Oh, our priest is from around Karpenesi. He has five children and is a good family man." He was not singled out for praise because of any priestly performance, but because of his conformity to basic village values. But children in that same village must have heard many, many times the local account of what happened to some monks who lived in a monastery not far from the village. This had been built in 1714 as an annex of a Mount Athos establishment, but in due course of time the monks became "naughty" in that they called to and teased the women who were on their way to work in the fields. Finally the villagers could stand this no longer, so the men took the monks to a rock overlooking the sea and told them to jump. The monks jumped and were never heard of again. The present priest, unlike the monks, is "a good family man."

Very persistent and widespread is the belief, already mentioned, that an encounter with the priest brings bad luck. If peasants starting on some new venture meet a priest, they will turn back home and not begin it on that day for fear of failure. Anyone who meets a priest, in addition to "giving" the bad luck to a companion by hitting him on the shoulder, can tie a knot

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest."[11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, consisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruction, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending cannot help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross, with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome representing heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*), which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congregate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw.

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision.

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

5

Human Relations[1]

Attitudes Toward Man and Nature

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IF IT WERE NECESSARY to describe the nature of the villagers' feelings with respect to each other and the world in one word, that word would be "tension." Indeed, in the first chapter, the metaphor of Vasilika as a setting for a series of family dramas was used. The metaphor has a special aptness because it hints at the essential quality of drama—tension created by some kind of struggle. John Peristiany speaks of the agonistic quality of relationships among the Cypriot villagers he knows—agonistic in the sense of the ancient Greek word *agon* (match or struggle). This word is equally useful for Vasilika, although the contests do not appear to have quite the intensity of those described for Cyprus. Nevertheless, in Vasilika, when one walks through the fields and asks how the work is going, the common response is *"Palevume,"* "We are wrestling." Such an answer is not a cliché in which the literal meaning is lost. The villagers can amplify with further comments on their perpetual contest with soil, weather, and machinery. Man does not always win, in their view, but he is obligated to do his best and to use skill in the struggle. In contemporary Vasilika, the skill involves knowledge of naturally efficient means, and anyone who does not do his best in this sense is unintelligent and deserves to lose the battle. Those who try may still fail, and then the villagers turn to fate or to God's will as an explanation. But an appeal to fate or to God is never an excuse for neglecting actions which are humanly possible, and sometimes this is overtly expressed. For example, one farmer, at a time of unseasonable drought, remarked as he looked at his tobacco fields, "I won't make the sign of the cross, I'll bring my pump over here and irrigate the field." His intent was not blasphemous; he was not an irreligious man from the standpoint of village beliefs and practices. Rather, the farmer was expressing an explicit attitude in

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[1] Lee (1953) is especially relevant to this chapter, and is strongly recommended for further discussion.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksehazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

152 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother
156 went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show
828 the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother
867 pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

[875 When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell
861] the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their
828 lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component
867 of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his
577 masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his ful-
[562 fillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability
574] to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute
828 failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If any-
577 thing goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equip-
777 ment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connota-
828 tion of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting.
574 It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises
571 the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

342 stables and storage rooms, and in the upper story the living quarters with a verandah, a balcony, and a sink; over them is a flat roof of tiles. The Albanian form of the square fortified tower is to be seen
177 on larger warehouses (Figure 3). The interior displays the customary
[352] simple furnishing of the Balkan dwelling; the semicircular chair in Figure 14 is reminiscent of the Albanian styles, while its horn-shaped
[415] supports remind one of Turkish influence. The weaving loom and the hatter's bow (Figure 11) that is used for the cleaning of wool and of cotton, have probably come to this country from the Orient, even though the hatter's bow is ancient European (compare the Plate, Estonians II). The baking bell shown in Figure 7, the bagpipes shown in Figure 6, the incense vessel shown in Figure 17, the wooden plow,
[492] shown in Figure 15, which is drawn by the team of oxen that are driven on by a goad (not a whip) and which are harnessed with a neck yoke--all these are universally characteristic of the Balkans. The riding donkey shown in Figure 12, on the other hand, points to the Orient.
[777] Figures 8 to 9 are illustrations of protective charms--the horse's skull is reminiscent of Kirghiz customs, compare volume 1 of this atlas, Plate, Kirghiz I, Figure 13, that are based upon the knowledge of spiritual forces which are everywhere alive, which are effective in everything that is and has being, and can be utilized for magical purposes, both in a good as well as in a bad sense.

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/105: Illustrations/

/106/ The Macedonians

II.

000 1. Men and women from western Macedonia. 2. Woman from
[See 2: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 73a --Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5,* (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101/13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[433] [243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 186 823 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives, only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 823 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (January 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering himself fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism [755] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — [778] supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of [789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 776 539 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most persistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> [195] "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> [542] When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns."

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea.

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her.

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who [463] lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, [465] depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She [825] pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives [788] came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we [778] discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner [574] of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, [793] when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person [788] to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good [777] luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The [352] dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, [583] will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung [352] a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the [353] mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the [513] vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe. 233 533

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community. 221 621

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis. [623] [622]

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots. [666]

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school. [871] [794] [474] [652] [233]

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous 621 [186] [175] [776] [669] [778]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the
669 people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized
[778] icons of the Virgin and saints.

Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result
233 of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems
427 of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to
locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot
241 get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble
[511] the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some,
234 with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were
511 anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying
their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and
[221] children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed
474 *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere, there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
754 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path
[778] of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or have a little icon."

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[835] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings.
[789] The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The god-
608 parent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[262] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
[553] fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ. 796 [262]

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from alcoholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so. [778] [275] [785] [788]

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city. [262] [541] [778] [785] [262] [574]

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are considered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church. [527] [771]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Kalivi, Attica

were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked. The president of the community told me:

> Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals.

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the manager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit cooperative explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

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793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will
[777] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest."[11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires
[754] was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the
794 priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, consisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-
[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other
788 Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending cannot help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross,
[346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome representing heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one
[778] finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*), which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congre-
[562] gate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

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795 the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. 788 To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the [778] left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that [198] much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, some familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tug- [852] ging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but [562] show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes 771 it this way: 788

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or 793 rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inaugura- [369] tion. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the founda- [342] tion stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new under- [823] takings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties [782] arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when [789] the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[15]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as 793 comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the [794] unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them [627] meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[16]

2: Friedl

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Vasilika

● 778

[For information on the sacred corner of a house, see category 353.]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also serve as a storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furnishings as in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

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Vasilika

353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanotbikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

[Good Friday]

796 morning, small boys went from house to house crying, *"Mavros in o uranos,"* [778] "The sky is black," and they were given money or eggs. Meanwhile, the girls [788] of the village worked inside the church covering with wild flowers the sedan-chairlike wooden frame in which an oil painting of Jesus on his bier was to be carried around the village that night. The frame and the icon together are called the *epitafios*. The girls seemed thoroughly to enjoy the morning's work, and they 796 laughed, giggled, jostled each other, and called out orders. Occasionally they 562 sang as they worked. It appeared also as if they were taking particular joy in being inside the church with no men to restrain them. They took turns sprawling over the stalls in which, as females, they rarely sat during a service. They also went up to the chanters' stand and recited some of the cantilations which were to be sung that night—the girls can follow the liturgy only silently during the [778] course of the actual service. Some of the younger girls even dared each other to go behind the panel to the altar, a place forbidden to females, but none actually did. They seemed uneasy and were even frightened at the suggestion.

796 The church bell rang at 2:20 that afternoon. The priest, with one of the 788 chanters and his son, performed the service in the course of which he brought the icon from behind the altar, covered it with a white cloth and placed it in its bower. In accordance with the symbolic re-enactment of the event, only the women and girls (and a few schoolboys) were in the church at the time. Once the icon was in place and strewn with flowers, the priest and then the children [764] went up to kiss it. The priest explained that it should be done slowly and deliberately, exactly as it was done for the dead in the village funeral rituals.

Good Friday services began that night at 9:00. At 11:00 the *epitafios* was carried out of the church by four boys. These marched in procession with the *epitafios* behind boys carrying the *lavara* (standards). Behind the *epitafios* walked the priest and the chanters. The rest of the villagers followed holding candles to light the way as the *epitafios* was carried around the entire village. As the bells of the three village churches pealed, and the children chanted *"Enas ine o theos"* and *"Panayia dhespina,"* "God is one" and "Our Lady, the All Holy One," the villagers picked their way carefully over the stones and ruts as they climbed the hillside, circled the whole settlement, and climbed down again on the other side. When the procession reached the church door once more, the boys held the bier high so that the returning congregation passed into the church under it. The service was over shortly after midnight.

796 On Holy Saturday, sweet Easter breads with red eggs inside were displayed, other eggs were dyed red, last minute finishing touches were given to [262] Easter clothes and last house-cleaning chores were completed. Some people slaughtered the Easter lamb on Saturday, others waited until Sunday. In the [461] meantime, field chores went on as usual. Everyone rested for a few hours, from about 9:00 Saturday night until the Easter Sunday services began shortly after midnight. These lasted until 4:00 in the morning, with two periods of climax. [788] The first occurred when all the lights in the church were put out and the priest [787] kindled the new light. The boys rushed up to see who could be the first to light his own candle from that of the priest's. They said the winner would be the first of the boys to be married. The rest of the congregation then lit its

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood 796
of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells [793]
jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on
the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I [778]
was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon
of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re- [782]
decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the
interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the [531]
contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the
squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who [361]
had followed us up the stony path from the *mesokhori*, or village-square,
crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of [782]
our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ
conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of [769]
relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated
at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers 796
and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office 788
(the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Matins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the ~~steps into the~~ path outside. The scouts arrived; the
chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon [782]
the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured
carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the [852]
church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by 796
the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who 794
had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion,
overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which 533
were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

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796 priest resumed his place before the doors and took up anew the litanies
788 which properly pertain to the deacon's liturgy:

> For the precious gifts which have been offered,
> For this holy temple, and for those who enter it in
> faith, reverence and the fear of God . . .

while the reiterated *Kyrie eleison* of the singers rose and fell and we commended "ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God".

At the cry: "The doors, the doors!" all became suddenly alert, and a young girl—one of those celebrating their name-day—pushed through the crowd of women and children who filled the space between the lectern of the singers and the eikonostasis on the north side of the church and, standing before the eikon of the Mother of God, read the Nicene Creed. The Bishop commenced the great eucharistic prayer and the climax of the liturgy drew near. After the loaves that remained over from
796 the consecrated bread had been blessed, the Bishop sent me, by the hand
778 of his assistant, a portion bearing the seal IC . XC . NI . KA: how many a
262 holy custom have we forfeited in exchanging the *artos* of scripture and
783 primitive tradition for the *azymes* which bear no evident relation to the common bread which one bakes and breaks at home, or to the daily toil of ordinary men and women. In Greece the bread and the wine
[793] that are brought to the altar are the very same as those which are eaten and drunk at home, and such loaves as remain over after the distribution of the blessed bread—the *antidoron* (literally, 'instead of the gift')—go to the parish priest; so, we may recall, the English Prayer Book requires that: "the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten. . . . And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated the Curate shall have it to his own use."

Came the solemn pronouncement of the Lord's words: "This is my body. . . . This is my blood", and the great cry "Thine of thine own we offer to thee . . ." and then the Bishop knelt before the holy table and called upon God to "send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit", while the singers softly intoned their hymn of adoring praise, and the holy people of God stood with bowed heads in the pools of sunlight, veiled by the slowly spiralling haze of incense.

796 In some parts of Greece where movements such as the Brotherhood
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778

VI Eikon from Edessa in Macedonia

[facing p. 119]

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [178]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger [164]
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(yoghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward

/75 cont./ 873
to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given [544]
to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter [242]
months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. [793]
A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village
on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies.

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous 789
activities of an educational character that have been established
there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside [178]
old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain
people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does [832]
not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and
their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of [484]
the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are
asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman [843]
desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians
to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role [791]
of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same [759]
women may act as mid-wives, too.

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are 777
believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a
bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think
the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean
somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the [763]
eyelid moves fast some good news is coming.

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom 353
he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 778
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/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [559]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

/80 cont./ 346
their humble houses and subsistence level of living the people like 778
to build beautiful churches with high steeples and decorate them
/81/ with as many ikons and church bells they can. The people [316]
of Megali Vrisi not being satisfied with the structure of the present
church have already quarried stone from the nearby hills for their
future church structure. When the farmers were notified to offer [794]
personal work for the church they did it without complaint.

The people look up to the church as an institution which gives 771
them hope and courage in times of disappointment and discourage-
ment. Once a year a confession is made in the church in front [783]
of the ikons and the priest. People tell of their bad acts and
forgive those that caused them trouble. All wedding ceremonies, [796]
baptisms and name day celebrations take place in the church.

Attendance. Women and children attend the church regular- 794
ly. The men are rather irregular in their attendance. This is not 796
due to their negligence nor to their failure to respect the church,
but is due to the long church services that last for three hours.
The people get tired of going to the church. Most attend the last
part of the services. In spite of the variety of music and cere-
monial activities, the church is losing /82/ attendance. Men
like to know what they hear in the church, and since it is all
abstract to them they prefer to stay out and send their wives and
children.

With the increase of modern scientific beliefs by the farmers,
the church will be forced to change its course and adopt itself
to the new social changes.

The membership is obligatory. Every one born in the village 794
becomes a member. It is not necessary to keep in books the
names of the members since the whole population of the village
naturally belongs to the church.

Contributions. Every family has to contribute for the support
of the priest and for the upkeep of the church. This contribution
is paid in kind. Besides this the church has voluntary donations [769]
by people whose prayers are answered, and by others for the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter.

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies:

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown.
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life.
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10]

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

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consider the family prayers and personal devotions of the Greek laity. These are made up wholly of prayers, psalms and hymns drawn from the liturgy: scarcely ever (save in certain circles influenced by the new movements) do they include vernacular prayers. The *Hiera Synopsis*—the laity's manual of prayers—consists entirely of extracts from the Church's liturgy. The form of evening prayer commonly used in a Greek household is simply a shortened version of the Little Compline which closes the day in every monastery.

The 'liturgical' approach to the Bible has, it must be confessed, certain limitations. If the laity were present at *all* the services of the Church they would indeed acquire a working knowledge of the greater part of the holy scriptures. In practice, however, they will normally hear only those portions of the Old and New Testaments which are read on Sundays and holy days at the eucharistic liturgy and (depending on the regularity of their attendance) at mattins and evensong. Since 'Bible-reading' is little practised outside the new movements (where, indeed, it is universal) this inevitably means that the majority of the Greek laity, being wholly dependent upon the lections which occur in the course of the regular liturgical cycle, are unfamiliar with considerable portions of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament.

It is, moreover, almost certainly true that the common people understand very imperfectly some of the elaborate 'canons' which recur only once every year (and then generally at mattins when few of the laity are present in church). But, as W. J. Birkbeck remarks not inappositely of the Russian muzhiks of his day: "I myself have heard a great many more quotations (and intelligent quotations too) made from the canons . . . of St. Cosmas and St. John Damascene than I have ever heard from the Norfolk peasantry, amongst whom I have lived all my life, from the Hebrew prophets, which are read, or ought to be read, in all our churches throughout the months of September and October!"

While many a Greek Christian's familiarity with the Bible will extend only to those passages which are read during the course of the liturgy, his *theological* understanding of the scriptures is commonly far deeper than that of the, often better-informed, English churchman. Unlike so many an earnest student of the Bible, he realises—however obscurely—that the divine history is related at every point to what goes on week by week in his parish church: that it is only to those who are baptised into Christ's saving death, who are living in the mystery revealed in the Church, that the full meaning of the scriptures is laid bare.

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[779]

labour of the angels. A great part of the day and night he will henceforth devote to the *opus Dei*: the chanting of the divine office. For the rest, he will practise the prayer of Jesus and will be nourished upon the Gospels and the Psalter, the *Philokalia* (a collection of the writings of many of the great ascetics and fathers of the Church), and certain classic works of monastic spirituality—notably the *Ladder of Perfection* of St. John the Scholastic, Abbot of Sinai, which is read in every Orthodox monastery during the great lent.

Within this traditional framework there exist considerable variations suited to differences of personal vocation. Though the *coenobium*, or monastery of the common life (that form of eastern monachism which owes the greatest debt to the legislation of St. Basil and St. Theodore of Studium), has commanded the greatest influence, the coenobitic life is only one among several traditional patterns of asceticism which lie open to the Orthodox monk. Side by side with the regular discipline of the community there exist other forms of the monastic life which trace their origin not to Cappadocia but to the primitive hermits of the desert; and despite St. Basil's admiration for the coenobitic life it can scarcely be questioned that, amongst the generality of Orthodox Christians, it has commonly been the solitary who has been accorded the greatest veneration and respect.

To this day, a large coenobium (such as one finds on Mount Athos, for example) will as a rule possess several small, dependent *sketai*, where two or three monks pursue a manner of life that has seen but little change during the course of 1,500 years, and may have in addition one or two anchorites nesting in inaccessible caves amongst the rocks and following an observance of incredible austerity; these are the *μεγαλόσχημοι*—monks of the great or angelic habit—of whom Covel observes that they "never eat at most above three times in a week; whence they are emaciated to meer Skin and Bones before they quite leave this world; this extravagant Fasting being counted the very heighth of an Aschetick Life."

Such extremes of asceticism, needless to say, are not for all men. Towards the end of the fourteenth century there made its appearance on the holy mountain a somewhat relaxed form of the monastic life known as the idiorrhythmic. The idiorrhythmic monk is literally one who follows his own rhythm. He owns personal property and takes his meals (prepared, if he be well-to-do, in his own kitchen by a monkish servant), not in the refectory but in the privacy of his own rooms. The

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793 874 177 schools is characterised for the most part by a somewhat arid academicism. During the nineteenth century a theologian who went abroad for post-graduate studies went almost as a matter of course to Germany; and, although this is no longer so, the shadow of Harnack still lies across the threshold of the theological school at Athens. "Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Halle, etc.", wrote Dr. Adrian Fortescue in 1907, "are full of Greek students, who with the versatility of their race, very soon learn to talk German perfectly, and to think and argue about theological questions like German higher critics!"

779 177 874 Greek academic theology, though distinguished by great technical competence and erudition, and considerable familiarity with the critical work which one associates with the German schools of the latter part of last century, is largely deficient in those qualities which have made the work of certain Russian theologians of the diaspora of such absorbing interest for the western Christian. The Greek theologian, while he has benefited incalculably by his scientific training in the schools of Germany, has scarcely as yet been forced back upon his own proper tradition by the pressure of an alien environment. With few exceptions, moreover, he is curiously out of touch with recent tendencies in western theological thinking: often he seems to be a generation behind the times, unaware that critical theories no longer hold the field in the schools of Paris and Oxford—not to mention Geneva.

How long this state of affairs will last it is difficult to say. The present isolation is not hard to understand if one takes into account the effect of the war years and the lack of contact—even on the intellectual level—between the Greek professors and those Roman Catholic scholars whose work has been so important for the west during the past decade, and whose exchanges with certain Russian theologians have proved so mutually rewarding. It may well be that the links now being forged between Athens and Paris—and in particular with the Russian Academy of St. Sergius—are of crucial importance for the future. At present, it must be confessed, the transition from the theological climate of Orthodox Paris to that of the Athenian schools is apt to be somewhat disappointing to the Frankish *theologos* to whom a first glimpse of the wholeness of Orthodoxy has come as the revelation of a long-forgotten realm. The theology of the schools seems to be earthbound and wholly academic: a theology of the manuals which bears little relation to holy living.

779 794 The theoretical character of much contemporary Greek theology has

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had regrettable consequences for the development of the new movements, with which the theological schools have, in general, little vital connexion—although more than one professor of the theological faculty at Athens has played an important rôle in their work and organisation. In many quarters—and especially, perhaps, within Zoë circles—a sense of the apparent irrelevance of this theoretical science to practical piety has given rise to an impatience with all theological questions. We must, it is said, be *practical*—and this theology of the schools is not practical; it is a theoretical science wholly unrelated to the urgent problems which are the daily concern of the preacher and the confessor. Such an attitude cannot but strike one as curiously out of place in an Orthodox *milieu* and is not without its dangers. 779 794 874

A few of the clergy go abroad to continue their studies after graduating from the Greek theological schools. Many a young layman is sent to western Europe or America for post-graduate study in the hope that upon his return to Greece he will offer himself for ordination; but a first acquaintance with ecclesiastical conditions very different from those to which he has been accustomed (particularly in the matter of the status of the married clergy and their field of activity) can easily have an unsettling effect upon the potential *despotes*, and it is not unknown for a young graduate, not conscious of a very definite call to the celibate life, to waver in his first resolve of becoming a priest, after two or three years in England or America. 793 177

Apart from the minority who go abroad after leaving the university, the celibate clergy normally pass immediately to an episcopal household without further study. Until quite recently there was nothing in Greece comparable to the English theological college. Since the war, however, there has been opened in Athens an establishment which approximates in some measure to the English institution. This is the 'School for Preachers' which is housed in the hostel of the Apostoliki Diakonia: a fine modern building occupying two sides of the quadrangle at Moni Petraki and overlooking the garden of the British School of Archaeology. Though completed some years ago, it was long requisitioned as a military hospital, and it was not until the early part of 1950 that the whole building was made available to the Church. 793 874 [346] [722]

The School for Preachers provides a two-year course of study (primarily of a pastoral character) for men who have already graduated from the theological school of the university. In 1950 a considerable [794]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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XVI

EPILOGUE

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

> Thou only art more excellent than all the forests of cedars; whereon hung the Life of the world, whereon Christ triumphed and through death overcame death for evermore.

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AMONGST the miscellaneous papers of Dr. Covel which now repose in the British Museum, there is a letter addressed to the Doctor from "The Coach Office" on December 21st, 1714, by one Humfrey Wanley. Covel—still industriously accumulating "Brick, Stone and Timber" for his book on the state of the Greek Church—had apparently asked this correspondent whether he had ever sounded Arsenius, Metropolitan of Thebais, with whom he had had some association since the latter's arrival in England, about his belief in the matter of transubstantiation.

Mr. Wanley replies, somewhat irritably, to the effect that on the previous Monday he had succeeded in extracting a highly unsatisfactory profession of faith, "craftily worded", from the Metropolitan and his archimandrite. "I told them", he goes on, "I believed it was taken from some book I had heretofore read: They replied it is taken from the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysostome. I told 'em roundly, the Question was not about what Chrysostome or Basil believed, but about what they themselves believed; They answered, They believe as those saints did."

Poor Arsenius! He must have had a trying time of it in this country, what with his constant financial difficulties (rendered all the greater by the necessity of providing for an oddly assorted following that included "Gennadius, a Cypriot and Archimandrite, and Kathegumenos of Alexandria, with four Deacons, an Anagnostes, a Cook and an Interpreter,"—who, says Wanley, "consume all") and his inability to enter into the subtle disputations of the English divines. Nobody seems to have known what to do with these jolly Easterlings; the universities would not be pestered with them and the Bishop of London tried to

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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persuade them that they must quickly be gone. "The poor Archbishop", it is related, "cried out like a child when my Lord of London told him he must Depart." Clearly, the Metropolitan of Thebais was no theologian and felt himself quite out of his depth in controversies about the 'grand Dogma'. Nor was it otherwise with the majority of his contemporaries: "From a Native Greek or Easterling", writes Covel, "who never was out of his country, (though he was there a Man of some Dignity) I never could meet with any tolerable reasoning or answer towards the clearing of this point. Many of my acquaintance would avoid any set discourse about these matters, desiring rather to be quiet and not to embarrass themselves about these, φρικτὰ μυστήρια (as they called them) dreadfull or hidden mysteries."

For all his want of book-learning, however, the bishop's instincts were sound. In transcribing Chrysostom and Basil ("a copie . . . badly spelt and badly accented", says Humfrey Wanley) rather than hazarding a personal opinion, he and Gennadius were appealing not to the private views of two theologians, but to the common faith of all Orthodox Christians; Chrysostom and Basil did but bear witness to this common tradition.

From the day when darkness fell upon the empire of Constantine down to our own time, the Greek Christian has held fast with remarkable tenacity to the faith committed to his charge. He has, for the most part, been little capable of expounding this faith—certainly not in a manner likely to carry conviction with the western theologian. Nevertheless, throughout the dark night of Turkish dominion he has continued to cling at any rate to the outward forms of sound doctrine, and to live to the best of his power in the liturgical tradition inherited from an earlier and more creative epoch. This was no time for unprofitable speculation and the subtleties of the vanished schools, but for striving to preserve the royal treasure entrusted to his keeping.

Now, in our own day, the faithfulness with which through long centuries of oppression a host of unremembered parish priests and simple Christians held fast the traditions of the fathers is beginning to bear fruit. The Greek theologian, furnished once more with a scientific equipment not inferior to that of his western colleague, is rediscovering the marvellous riches of the incomparable treasure locked away these many centuries, and entering into his proper heritage. Unlike the Russian theologian of the diaspora—upon whom enforced contact with western ways of thought has already acted as a powerful stimulus—the

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wishers. People are formed into groups and visit every house where the table is set in the center of the main room with different drinks, colored eggs and good food. The groups crack /p. 85 skipped in original numbering/ /36/ an egg and wish the hostess saying, "Christ is risen", and the house owner answers, "Truly he is risen". 796 574

Children run through the streets dressed in their new clothes and carry colored eggs and candies. These are the days when the houses are open to every one. The recreation that these three days offer to these people is far greater than all the rest of the holidays of the year. For the Orthodox church the birth of Christ does not have so much importance as the resurrection of Christ which shows the Athanasia of the spirit. [779]

At this time of the year everything takes life in nature, too. The almond trees, the cherry trees, the pear trees are in blossom. The fields are green and nature takes the appearance of living again. All these combined leave an unresistable influence upon every person. Through such recreation which is a part of their religion, the people forgive each other and old hatreds give way to renewed friendship and forgiveness. It is surprising to note how much influence these holidays have in the lives of the people that live together. The spirit of hospitality, the spirit of giving to those that do not have, the spirit of taking active part in village movements and the blind obedience to the orders of the higher rank, are a result of these traditionally influenced holidays that are represented by different Saints. Recreation is thus closely associated with the /37/religious holidays. 796 571 182 517

Play of Children. Whether at school or outside of school the children do not have organized recreation. At the school the weekly exercises which are more or less military are given by the teacher. The children have two recess periods of ten minutes each from 8-12. At these periods they devise their own play. At home the child has no time for play. He or she will graze the oxen or weed the garden and fields, sweep the yard and help in housework. While very young the children are taught to work and 857 [872]

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[212] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[219] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most
of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[799] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece
the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until
829 recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics,
well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or
city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where
two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the
Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as
the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two
armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers.
A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on
the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian
monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the
difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[814] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
scholarly standard.

RELIGION

791 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity
among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
[illegible] since they do not conform to the tradition of
Greek [illegible]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns."

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea.

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her.

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of godparents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, stillbirth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty-four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People standing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

[785] [262] [369]

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

796 533 [534] [369] [765] [769]

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

796 [262] [273] [574] [431]

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

[152] [754] [784] [776] [782] [784]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

1:Sanders Z-5.1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." [24] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [282] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenis: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

353 The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

342 The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

514 Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

356 Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood 796
of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells [793]
jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on
the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I [778]
was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon
of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re- [782]
decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the
interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the [531]
contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the
squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who
had followed us up the stony path from the *mesochori*, or village-square, [361]
crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of [782]
our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ
conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of [769]
relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated
at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers 796
and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office 788
(the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the
chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon [782]
the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured
carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the [852]
church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by 796
the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who
had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion, 794
overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which 533
were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

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as to lead me to suspect the offering of a discreet compliment to western Christendom; the fruits of the word, love, joy and peace, made manifest in the life and death of the blessed Polycarp. 796

"And you boys", said the Bishop, with 'a diligent and busy cast of his eye' toward certain of the more youthful of his auditors; "you who steal eggs and fruit and take other people's food out of the communal oven: there is no reason why you—if you keep the word of God faithfully—should not be as great as St. Peter or St. Paul, or why at the end of your lives you should not be able to echo those ever-memorable words of Polycarp: 'These eighty and six years have I been His servant' . . ."

Looking round that crowded church, my mind went to the Whitsuntide hymn: "Blessed art thou, O Christ our God, who hast made the fishermen wise by the sending down upon them of the Holy Spirit, and through them hast drawn the world into thy net."

The sermon ended, the singers took up the solemn chant of the Hymn of the Cherubim, and a hush fell upon the congregation as the ministers with their attendants emerged from the prothesis chapel and made their slow circuit of the church, the veiled oblations borne aloft, to the accompaniment of that all-embracing appeal: [533]

> May the Lord God be mindful of us all
> in His kingdom, always, now and for ever,
> and unto the ages of ages.

The holy gifts were carried up within the sanctuary and laid upon the altar. The singers resumed their interrupted hymn; the atmosphere was heavy with incense—which, say the commentators, is here an emblem of the mixture of myrrh and aloes which Nicodemus brought for the entombment of the Lord: [782]

> Lo, Christ is crucified, the Life is buried,
> the tomb is made fast, the stone is sealed.

Two shallow alms-baskets piled high with tattered notes were passed slowly round the church, while the sacristan sprinkled perfume from a pewter vessel into the outstretched hands of the more accessible among the male members of the congregation. [794]

The long drawn-out alleluias died away into silence as the parish [788]

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of Life have been most active, there have, as we shall see in a later chapter, been certain changes in liturgical practice during recent years: very often now the celebrant reads in an audible voice the whole of the *anaphora*, or great eucharistic prayer, which the rubric directs him to say *mystikos*—mystically, or secretly—and the whole congregation kneels at the invocation of the Holy Spirit. None of these influences had as yet reached this remote corner of New Greece, however, and the liturgy was still celebrated at Dasoto after the fashion which caused Robert de Dreux, in the seventeenth century, to observe that "it is not easy to see all that they do when they say mass, because the celebrant is hidden by a screen which shuts off the altar, and only shows himself three or four times". This, however, is a topic to which we shall have occasion to return. 796 788 178

The Lord's Prayer (like the Creed) was recited by a girl, and there were some thirty communicants including several children borne in the arms of their mothers—a familiar sight this in every Greek parish church. When the liturgy was ended, and the Bishop had distributed the blessed bread to the whole congregation, I observed some twenty of those who had communicated kneel before the royal doors while their father in God read a brief prayer of absolution. I have referred elsewhere to contemporary Greek practice in regard to the use of the mystery of confession. In the country districts at least, where confessors are rare, this is by no means as uniform as some are apt to suppose, or as might be inferred from the customs which obtain among the Russians of the diaspora, in Paris and elsewhere, with whom the sacrament has tended in recent times to become an obligatory part of the preparation for holy communion. 796 782 852 788 783 796

When one has fasted as a Christian one feasts as a Christian—in Greece at least. 796

Then for their Festivals [says Dr. Covel] . . . there is not one that appears there but will contribute something, as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at our old Whitsun-Ales, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival; and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the Virgin Mary, or any other [785]

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788 west—been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Is not the Greek
796 Christian for all practical purposes a mere passive onlooker at a gorgeous spectacle performed by the resplendent ministers: even though the sacred participants in the divine drama sometimes descend from their apron stage and mingle with the audience?

It must be admitted that the average Greek layman communicates very rarely, often only once or twice a year; outside the immediate sphere of influence of the movements, hardly ever more than four times. This reluctance of the laity to communicate frequently is a phenomenon which has been common to east and west from a very early period—though in the west (among Orthodox of the diaspora as well as amongst western Christians) there has been a widespread return to something more nearly approaching primitive practice. Its causes are complex and, to a great extent, a matter for speculation. One factor which is peculiar to the east is the place which the *antidoron* has come to occupy. It would be an over-simplification to say that the blessed bread which the Greek Christian is accustomed to receive at the end of every liturgy is consciously looked upon as a substitute for the holy communion; nevertheless, the *antidoron* has a deep significance for the Greek layman —more, perhaps, than in other parts of the Orthodox world.

The reluctance to communicate frequently does not, as we can see from the history of certain movements within western Christendom, necessarily spring from carelessness and sloth; often it is due to a sense of unworthiness which is none the less real though it be considered misguided. Even in reforming circles in Greece to-day one discovers great wariness on the part of the clergy in recommending frequent, let alone daily, communion to their people. This is not, it is held, a matter
[783] to be undertaken lightly, or without the advice and approval of an experienced confessor; and few priests will permit their penitents to communicate as often as once a month unless they are satisfied that the desire goes hand in hand with a real determination to follow Christ in their daily life. To communicate every Sunday is regarded as an inestimable privilege, but one which is hardly for all men.

[782] Then we must not ignore the part played by the ordinary Christian
[769] in the offertory. In the country districts of Greece the housewife who bakes her bread on Saturday will set aside one loaf upon which she has
[369] stamped with a wooden seal a traditional design wherein the words "Jesus Christ conquers"—abbreviated to I(HCOY)C . X(PICTO)C . NI . KA—constitute the most prominent feature. Early on Sunday

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morning she will set out for the parish church with her loaf, and arriving whilst the singers are still chanting the morning psalms, and taking it to the door of the chapel where the elements are prepared, she will hand it to the priest together with a vessel of wine, the family diptychs —or lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated by name at the holy eucharist—and perhaps a flask of oil for the lamps and a few grains of incense. Even in an urban parish church the faithful may purchase a sealed loaf at the counter in the narthex where candles are sold, and send it to the celebrant with their diptychs.

It is frequently asserted that the offering of the people disappeared from the eastern liturgies at an early date. One can only marvel at the number of eminent scholars who have been led astray in this matter through failure to distinguish clearly between the offertory procession of the Roman rite and the offering itself. The procession never found a place in the Byzantine rite, which retained the older practice of presenting the bread and wine informally before the commencement of the eucharistic liturgy. So widely-used a liturgical handbook as the late Dr. Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy* asserts that "the offerings of the people, which consisted partly of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the eucharist were taken, and partly of alms . . . continued in the west longer than in the east".[1] In actual fact the offering of the people has never disappeared from the Byzantine liturgy and may still be witnessed in any Greek village church on the Lord's day.

But even though it be admitted that the offering of the bread and wine makes the ordinary people something more than mere passive spectators at a gorgeous pageant, it may yet be said that from very early times the rightful liturgy of the laity has in practice been transferred to the choir: the common people hardly open their mouths from one end of the eucharistic liturgy to the other. Now it is true that congregational singing as practised in the west is so rare among the Greeks as to be almost unknown. Only on one of the great festivals of the Church's year will the whole congregation take up the melody of some ancient hymn: the paschal anthem *Christ is risen from the dead*, for example, or the dismissal hymn at the Epiphany. Normally those parts of the liturgy which properly belong to the laity are in fact sung by the *psaltai* or trained singers —and this applies even to the responses to the petitions of the litanies.

[1] 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1949, p. 127. Dom Gregory Dix and Professor Burkitt have already been taken to task on this issue by the Archimandrite Alexis van der Mensbrugghe.

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

788 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat,
796 almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy
533 as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary
[782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the
[292] whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an
[369] *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the
788 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way
796 for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the
[175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

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more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

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consider the family prayers and personal devotions of the Greek laity. 788
These are made up wholly of prayers, psalms and hymns drawn from 796
the liturgy: scarcely ever (save in certain circles influenced by the new 198
movements) do they include vernacular prayers. The *Hiera Synopsis*— 782
the laity's manual of prayers—consists entirely of extracts from the
Church's liturgy. The form of evening prayer commonly used in a [779]
Greek household is simply a shortened version of the Little Compline which closes the day in every monastery.

The 'liturgical' approach to the Bible has, it must be confessed, 788
certain limitations. If the laity were present at *all* the services of the 796
Church they would indeed acquire a working knowledge of the greater
part of the holy scriptures. In practice, however, they will normally 779
hear only those portions of the Old and New Testaments which are read on Sundays and holy days at the eucharistic liturgy and (depending on the regularity of their attendance) at mattins and evensong. Since 'Bible-reading' is little practised outside the new movements (where, indeed, it is universal) this inevitably means that the majority of the Greek laity, being wholly dependent upon the lections which occur in the course of the regular liturgical cycle, are unfamiliar with considerable portions of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament.

It is, moreover, almost certainly true that the common people understand very imperfectly some of the elaborate 'canons' which recur only once every year (and then generally at mattins when few of the laity are present in church). But, as W. J. Birkbeck remarks not inappositely of the Russian muzhiks of his day: "I myself have heard a great many more quotations (and intelligent quotations too) made from the canons . . . of St. Cosmas and St. John Damascene than I have ever heard from the Norfolk peasantry, amongst whom I have lived all my life, from the Hebrew prophets, which are read, or ought to be read, in all our churches throughout the months of September and October!"

While many a Greek Christian's familiarity with the Bible will extend only to those passages which are read during the course of the liturgy, his *theological* understanding of the scriptures is commonly far deeper than that of the, often better-informed, English churchman. Unlike so many an earnest student of the Bible, he realises—however obscurely—that the divine history is related at every point to what goes on week by week in his parish church: that it is only to those who are baptised into Christ's saving death, who are living in the mystery revealed in the Church, that the full meaning of the scriptures is laid bare.

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degrees, from the Primates and Metropolites down to the lowest Order of Deacons . . . and if we English Churchmen are lookt upon by the Easterlings in this Point, but as Mongrels or half primitive Clergy-men at the best, how odious and abominable must the Calvinists appear to them, when they shall be told . . . that there is no such outward Pomp, or any reverend or decent Garments used in their divine Offices amongst them; their Ministers are not Episcopally ordain'd, and they wear only a common black Cloak and a Coat or Jump.

The Greek Church has never known a vestiarian controversy. The *phelonion*, richly wrought with gold and silver though it be, has never, like the western vestment and the comely surplice, served to kindle polemical ardour. It is evident to all men that the earthly ministers of Christ should be clothed in such apparel as becomes their high calling: to celebrate the divine mysteries in a common black cloak or Calvinistic "jump" would be indecent, a breach of good manners—like going to a formal banquet in one's workaday clothes.

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It is not a little startling to turn from the controversies about vestments and lights and incense which continue to agitate many western Christians, to a church where these things are used quite simply and naturally and without occasioning the slightest comment. The Greek attitude towards the liturgical use of incense does indeed afford a peculiarly striking instance of the dangers awaiting the Frankish controversialist who seeks to bolster up his tottering defences with unwary borrowings from beyond the Adriatic shores. Amongst the Greeks incense is used at every service, from the most elaborate of pontifical liturgies to a simple ceremony such as the blessing of a house. To do otherwise would be thought irreverent: if any custom can claim to be evangelical it is surely this. Did not the Lord God Himself command Moses his servant:

> Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy. And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

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GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

To worship without incense is commonly regarded as one of the innovations of the Catholics. There is a story of an English churchman who was catechised by some Orthodox monks (I fancy that they were Serbs) as to the practice of the *Ecclesia Anglicana.* 782 798 788

"Do you, in your divine worship", they demanded, "invariably offer incense?"

The Englishman confessed that this evangelical custom was not observed at every service within the territories of the Metropolitan of Canterbury.

"Ah!" said the monks, shaking their heads at this irrefutable testimony to the spread of popery: "We knew that you were tainted with Catholicism!"

Let not the western Protestant be dismayed if his refusal to burn incense in his churches is interpreted by the Orthodox not as a sign of his adherence to evangelical tradition but, on the contrary, as a badge of popery. I have always suspected that my Greek friends must find it extraordinarily difficult to enter into the history of the 'ritualistic' controversies of the latter part of the nineteenth century, since the issues at stake are so remote from their own experience. What *can* one make of muddle-headed *barbaroi* who are so perverse as to regard the observance of evangelical customs as evidence of the continuing influence of the Arch-Protestant?

/31 cont./ 275
where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political 517
leaders meet their followers.

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government [208]
employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house [203]
where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission.

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people 794
directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, 869
and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole 872
family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child
follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through [796]
its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings
up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/
learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or
that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its
religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend
church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such [796]
holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance
of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their 782
Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other 776
sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as 795
his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to
special designated saints whom they think are able to help them.
For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage
and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For
travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to
St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line.
It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as [771]
Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They
take their religion seriously and believe in it completely.

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop 793
is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the 782
priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the repre- [776]
sentative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God.
Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters 869
as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places.

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/66 cont./ 782

are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward.

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [553]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water 788
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

796 527

796 794 [356 526 535 437 787 782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness.

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of godparents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, stillbirth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty-four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People standing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure. 796 527 [465]

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity. [184] [241]

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil. 527 [789]

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell 796 372 [369] [783] 796 787

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

[527] [533] [788] [755] [777]

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

[789]

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata,* or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti,* since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

[585] [369] [785] [769] [777]

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

[785] [262] [372] [783]

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

788 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave them an emotional uplift.

793 But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in [737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a polytechnic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about [874] $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an in- [177] stitution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more ac- [743] tivity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

793 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country, 794 especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never 257 confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of in- 794 mates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their [428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial [769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the [748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 736 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing." [15] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[16] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at 783 748 [873]

Pierce College.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 748 Pierce College. It is hard for most Greeks, no matter how highly trained, to bring into the social worker–client relationship an objectivity modeled on the doctor–patient relationship. The Greek social worker finds it difficult to think of the client as a case and almost immediately empathizes or scolds in a way that would be considered quite unprofessional by American standards. Psychiko, hardly the twentieth-century rationale for social welfare, continues strong in Greece today, and the Bishop of Messenia is doing much to keep it alive in his diocese, which seems much the better for it.

The Peasant Confronts Death

761 773 775 The peasant assumes that there is an afterlife and talks about doing kind deeds "for the good of the soul." But these practical villagers do not talk much about death, although they do have some fixed beliefs and prescribed customs which stand them in good stead when confronting it. For example, there is the matter of Charon who, according to the beliefs of ancient Rome, was the boatman transporting the dead across the River Styx. I shall never forget the sensation of riding along in the northern Peloponnesos between Kleitoria and Kalavryta, enjoying the bright May afternoon, when my interpreter pointed out a small and pleasant stream said to be the waters of the Styx.[17] Greek peasants do not assign the same role to Charon as did the Romans, for they think of Charon as death itself, or as the angel of death whom God sends down to bring back the soul of someone whose time on earth has run its course. There are many songs and stories about Charon, who is personified as one who wrestles with individuals for their lives or who uses craft to draw the soul out of the body. From time to time he is supposed to have displayed something akin to human sympathy:

> *God and Death:* Once upon a time God sent death to reap a soul but when death heard the lamentation of the relations and saw the beauty of the girl whose soul he was supposed to reap, he felt sorry and returned to heaven without accomplishing his mission. When God asked him why he didn't bring the soul, death replied that he couldn't stand the crying and despair that he had heard and seen. God got very angry and hit death so that he became deaf, blind, and lame. He made him deaf so that he couldn't hear the crying, blind so that he couldn't see whether the soul to be taken away belonged to an old person or a child, and lame so that he could not run away from the place where he was sent.[18]

761 775 [772] Although church art, depicting the medieval Christian conception of heaven and hell, has had some effect upon the view peasants take of "the next world," the people very often reveal a more basic belief in Hades as "a common meeting-place of all whose lives are ended, without distinction of merit. Death is a deprivation of the joys of life, which, with all its troubles and cares, is sweet. The old uneasy feeling that after death it is

1:Sanders Z-5,√ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." [34] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

346 361 764 [783] [312] Generally, in the old villages the church is in the outskirts. To the back of the church is the cemetery, which is walled to keep out both wild predatory animals and farm animals. For Greeks it is a sin to step on a grave. The church may have a belltower, or the bell may be hung from the branch of an old tree. There is always a well in the churchyard and the cemetery of the old village. It is used as drinking water and for the purification after a burial. The main church of the old village must be the tallest, the largest, and the best-constructed building of the village. This signifies respect for God; the past is not forgotten. This is very much after the pattern of the ancient Greeks who built their shrines as the best buildings while they themselves lived in huts. . . .

Both the church and the cemetery of the old village must be located in a landscape of natural beauty and scenery. Thus faith, worship, and death are in close relation with the natural scenery.[25]

[178] [769] But Valassis adds a discordant note. The new churches are now being constructed in the center of the village, while the cemeteries remain on the outskirts. No longer, therefore, do the peasants, after a Mass or ceremony, go to the graveyard to pay respect to their ancestors.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 direct personal responsibility, and delegates comparatively little to his
[795] curates. The ministry of the word, for example, is always the work of the bishop: the most that the parish priest is permitted to do is to read a homily sent him by his diocesan. In some dioceses the metropolitan alone preaches, and the country people hear sermons only when he is
793 able to visit their villages. As a rule, however, the bishop will be assisted by a *hierokryx* or 'sacred herald'—'preacher' seems a miserably inadequate
794 translation of such a splendid word—who is normally a priest-monk (though he may sometimes be a lay theologian), and lives in the metropolis. Often, too, the bishop and his *hierokryx* will be assisted by several lay preachers who go out into the villages Sunday by Sunday to preach at the liturgy.

Thus, at Siderokastro (the 'Iron Castle'), close to the Bulgarian frontier, the Metropolitan, the Lord Basil, finding himself, when the refugees began to return to their villages in the summer of 1949, with only one priest qualified to assist him in the ministry of the word, formed a little society of lay preachers known as the Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment, which included the headmaster of the local high school and one of his assistant masters, as well as the doctor and the dentist of the town and two or three other educated laymen, several of whom now go out to preach in the surrounding villages every Sunday.

A friend who visited the diocese of Chalkis during the 'thirties has told me of the ancient Fiat which used to leave the metropolis at daybreak every Sunday and scatter monkish theologians among the hamlets of Euboea. At Kozani, in western Macedonia, no sooner were the roads reasonably clear of mines in the summer of 1949 than the Metropolitan started to send out every Saturday afternoon an army truck laden with young catechists who would spend the week-end preaching and teaching in remote villages of the diocese and return to their work or their school on Monday morning.

793 What is true of preaching applies also to the sacrament of penance;
783 it is to the bishop, not to his parish priest, that the villager who is oppressed with the consciousness of grave sin will turn for the benefits of absolution and ghostly counsel. The Greek priest is not allowed to act as a confessor without the express authorisation of his bishop. "As for Confession", says Covel, "it is not to be made to every ordinary Priest, but only to such Confessors . . . who are chosen out of monasteries, and are solemnly appointed and authorised to this Office . . . so that a regular or secular Priest not thus qualified, durst not attempt to

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take it." In the *Great Euchologion*, or Prayer Book, of the Greek Church 783
the order for confession is in fact immediately preceded by a short office for the making of a *pneumatikos*, or spiritual father, in which the bishop, after he has read the Gospel containing our Lord's words: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained", addresses the would-be *pneumatikos* (who must, needless to say, be in priests' orders) as follows:

"Our mediocrity, through the grace of the all-holy and divine Spirit, promotes thee, the most pious N. *Pneumatikos*, to the ministry of spiritual fatherhood, etc."

Covel quotes ancient canons to the effect that "if any one without [688]
the Mandate of the Bishop of the place shall dare to receive . . . spiritual accounts and Confessions, such a one shall be Canonically punished as a Transgressor of the Divine Canons; because he hath not only destroy'd himself, but all they also who have been Confessed by him are still unconfessed, and whatever things he hath Bound or Loosed, are yet uncorrected". And again: "Let all the Priest-Monks, who take Confessions, or Bind and Loose know that our Holy Fathers will not suffer any Priests to reconcile Penitents without the Archbishop's Order". According to an old canonist "a Bishop may . . . according to his Judgment, give this Right or Power of receiving Confessions to a secular Priest, but this is to be done discreetly, to some choice or well approved Persons only, and upon some extraordinary occasions".

Professor Bratsiotes, in the introduction which he contributed to the English translation of the life of the Archimandrite Eusebius Matthopoulos, observed that "unhappily there are very few confessors, because it is much more difficult to develop confessors than to train preachers; and it requires much individual genius and great maturity in virtue and experience to be a proper confessor". At the time when these words [794]
were written only eight members of the Zoë Confraternity—all trained theologians as they are—were licensed as confessors. In the country dioceses to-day the only clergy who are permitted to assist the bishop as *pneumatikoi* are the priest-monks attached to the metropolis; married priests who are authorised to hear confessions are rare indeed.

What then of the parish clergy? There is no parallel in Greece to the 793
country parson who has "read the Fathers also and the Schoolmen and the later writers", and who has been one of the fairest ornaments of the English Church these many centuries. The Greek country parson is a [463]

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of Life have been most active, there have, as we shall see in a later chapter, been certain changes in liturgical practice during recent years: very often now the celebrant reads in an audible voice the whole of the *anaphora*, or great eucharistic prayer, which the rubric directs him to say *mystikos*—mystically, or secretly—and the whole congregation kneels at the invocation of the Holy Spirit. None of these influences had as yet reached this remote corner of New Greece, however, and the liturgy was still celebrated at Dasoto after the fashion which caused Robert de Dreux, in the seventeenth century, to observe that "it is not easy to see all that they do when they say mass, because the celebrant is hidden by a screen which shuts off the altar, and only shows himself three or four times". This, however, is a topic to which we shall have occasion to return. 796 788 178

The Lord's Prayer (like the Creed) was recited by a girl, and there were some thirty communicants including several children borne in the arms of their mothers—a familiar sight this in every Greek parish church. When the liturgy was ended, and the Bishop had distributed the blessed bread to the whole congregation, I observed some twenty of those who had communicated kneel before the royal doors while their father in God read a brief prayer of absolution. I have referred elsewhere to contemporary Greek practice in regard to the use of the mystery of confession. In the country districts at least, where confessors are rare, this is by no means as uniform as some are apt to suppose, or as might be inferred from the customs which obtain among the Russians of the diaspora, in Paris and elsewhere, with whom the sacrament has tended in recent times to become an obligatory part of the preparation for holy communion. 796 782 852 788 783 796

When one has fasted as a Christian one feasts as a Christian—in Greece at least. 796 [785]

> Then for their Festivals [says Dr. Covel] . . . there is not one that appears there but will contribute something, as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at our old Whitsun-Ales, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival; and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the Virgin Mary, or any other

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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788 west—been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Is not the Greek
796 Christian for all practical purposes a mere passive onlooker at a gorgeous spectacle performed by the resplendent ministers: even though the sacred participants in the divine drama sometimes descend from their apron stage and mingle with the audience?

It must be admitted that the average Greek layman communicates very rarely, often only once or twice a year; outside the immediate sphere of influence of the movements, hardly ever more than four times. This reluctance of the laity to communicate frequently is a phenomenon which has been common to east and west from a very early period—though in the west (among Orthodox of the diaspora as well as amongst western Christians) there has been a widespread return to something more nearly approaching primitive practice. Its causes are complex and, to a great extent, a matter for speculation. One factor which is peculiar to the east is the place which the *antidoron* has come to occupy. It would be an over-simplification to say that the blessed bread which the Greek Christian is accustomed to receive at the end of every liturgy is consciously looked upon as a substitute for the holy communion; nevertheless, the *antidoron* has a deep significance for the Greek layman —more, perhaps, than in other parts of the Orthodox world.

The reluctance to communicate frequently does not, as we can see from the history of certain movements within western Christendom, necessarily spring from carelessness and sloth; often it is due to a sense of unworthiness which is none the less real though it be considered misguided. Even in reforming circles in Greece to-day one discovers great wariness on the part of the clergy in recommending frequent, let alone daily, communion to their people. This is not, it is held, a matter
[783] to be undertaken lightly, or without the advice and approval of an experienced confessor; and few priests will permit their penitents to communicate as often as once a month unless they are satisfied that the desire goes hand in hand with a real determination to follow Christ in their daily life. To communicate every Sunday is regarded as an inestimable privilege, but one which is hardly for all men.

[782] Then we must not ignore the part played by the ordinary Christian
[769] in the offertory. In the country districts of Greece the housewife who bakes her bread on Saturday will set aside one loaf upon which she has
[369] stamped with a wooden seal a traditional design wherein the words "Jesus Christ conquers"—abbreviated to I(HCOY)C . X(PICTO)C . NI . KA—constitute the most prominent feature. Early on Sunday

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these circumstances it is understandable that contemporary preaching should (to accept the distinction now current in reforming circles) be practical rather than theoretical: should deal less with doctrine than with conduct. 793 796 537

Father Eusebius was wont to insist on the importance of ending every sermon with a clear and distinct conclusion, to bring home the particular moral and spiritual truth with which the preacher had been dealing to the conscience of his hearers, as well as on the need for preaching in a style suited to their condition. His example has been salutary, and in reforming circles to-day one never hears the type of homily still cultivated by a few eccentric saints who bewilder their silly sheep with florid discourses framed in the ornate periods of Psellos or Anna Comnena. I well recall a certain *hierokeryx*, a lovable if idiorrhythmic character, who modelled his festal homilies on the funeral orations of Bossuet (a much-thumbed volume that accompanied him everywhere). These triumphs of rhetoric, which must have left the Epirote peasantry groping in vain for any clear and distinct practical conclusion, would be composed months before the date of their delivery and constantly reworked and polished until they reached the requisite height of literary perfection. Such artistry would be frowned upon in the religious societies.

The work of the preacher is supplemented by that of the confessor. Although the mystery of confession has in practice fallen into sad neglect, owing to the shortage of qualified *pneumatikoi*, there has been no more effective instrument for the reawakening of the Greek Church; none that is more highly prized in reforming circles to-day. While east and west are at one as to the fundamental nature of this 'mystery', there is a certain difference of emphasis. Amongst the Greeks the element of 'ghostly counsel and advice' is far more prominent than is commonly the case amongst western Christians. So marked is this difference of emphasis that Dr. Covel—who is as immoderate in his assaults upon the Romish doctrine of auricular confession as upon any other of the 'seven pretended sacraments'—is yet moved to applaud the Greek practice as a pious and laudable institution: such a confession, he remarks, or rather (lest there should be any misunderstanding) "serious Conference or Discourse as this with a Ghostly Father, or discreet Minister, is justly observed and commended by our own Church". 783 793

In these circumstances it is natural that considerably more importance should be attached to the personal character and qualifications of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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783 confessor amongst the Greeks than in the west. The power to bind and
793 to loose is given by the laying on of hands: the grace of the wise director of souls is conferred only upon a few, and is normally the fruit of great personal holiness and wide experience. Throughout Orthodox Christendom there has been a tendency to demand a high degree of perfection before authorising a priest to exercise the ministry of the confessor: one must oneself become a *spirituel* before aspiring to the office of a *père spirituel*.

The number of confessors at work in Greece to-day is still very small. In the country districts, in particular, this sacrament is still largely neglected. The ministry of the *pneumatikos* is nevertheless a factor of the very greatest importance in the present revival, and one which is held in the highest estimation, within the voluntary movements and the official Apostoliki Diakonia alike.

794 While preaching and the mystery of confession have thus been restored to something approaching their rightful place within the life of the Greek Church after long years of neglect, the leaders of the new movements have forged other weapons to meet the peculiar needs of the time. Chief amongst them must be mentioned the catechetical schools and Christian unions which are now so prominent a feature of Greek church life.

The creation of catechetical schools was essayed as early as the eighteen-seventies, but unsuccessfully, and it was the married priests George Makres and Mark Tsaktanes who were the real pioneers in this field. By the late 'twenties there were many catechetical schools flourishing in Athens and the Piraeus, especially under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes, who had taken over the movement founded by Father Mark at the latter's death in 1924. The Zoë Brotherhood (which had by this time emerged triumphant from two further attacks by suspicious hierarchs, and had also survived the premature death of one of the first and most ardent disciples of its founder, the Archimandrite Dionysios Pharazoules), first turned its attention to the organisation of catechetical schools in 1926. From this time onward these schools begin to establish themselves until at the present day Zoë alone has well over 600 under its supervision, and the movement of Father Angelos some 350, not to mention hundreds of others now flourishing in every part of Greece.

These schools (which are directed almost entirely by lay men and

788 THE WATERS OF MARAH Of liturgical
796 reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary
object is to enable the laity to participate more fully and intelligently
794 in the eucharistic action, through more frequent communion (Father
[783] Eusebius was himself in the habit of celebrating daily), and through
a greater 'openness' in the manner of celebrating the holy mysteries.
[214] In Athens and Salonica many people now follow the services in the little
manual of the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas—the popularity
of which may be judged by the fact that it had reached its fifth edition
by 1950. In general, where the new movements have exercised an
effective influence, a high standard of liturgical propriety prevails,
though it must be confessed that certain musical innovations of recent
years have been unfortunate, to say the least.

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793 All the movements of which I have been speaking have remained
797 quite unofficial in character, though they have always carried out their
work with the blessing of the ecclesiastical authorities and under the
[794] general supervision of the local bishop. There has of late, however,
been a development of a rather different nature, so important as to
demand brief consideration. This is what amounts to the refounding
of a body known as the 'Apostolic Diaconate of the Church of Greece',
which came into being as long ago as 1930. I do not propose to dwell
upon its fortunes prior to its virtual reconstitution: suffice it to say that
although great potentialities were latent in this organisation from the
outset, its actual activity during the first fifteen years of its life was on a
very small scale. It is directed by a council of members of the Holy
Synod and professors of the theological faculty of the University of
Athens under the presidency of the Archbishop, with Professor Basil
Vellas as general director.

The aim of this official organisation is to systematise and co-ordinate
the many-sided missionary activity now being undertaken throughout
the length and breadth of Greece. In addition to its headquarters at
Moni Petraki in Athens it has a local office in every diocese, and is
assured of a basis of material resources by a system of annual diocesan
contributions.

The possibilities inherent in such a venture are without question
very great, and already much has been accomplished. A theological
[874] hostel and a school for preachers and confessors have been established
at Moni Petraki: the latter promises to be of the greatest service in the

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793 874 794 number of the students were experienced preachers and confessors from the provinces, but in the years to come they will normally consist in the main of young graduates of the theological school. The primary aim of this school is to equip priests (and lay theologians) for work in the dioceses, and it promises to be of the greatest service to the Church of Greece.

The same building serves as a hostel for theological students who live at some distance from Athens and who would otherwise be dispersed in lodgings (though some find a home in one of the hostels of the Zoë Brotherhood). All the inhabitants—theological students as well as those 793 874 [177] belonging to the School for Preachers—share a common life, with morning and evening prayers, and meals taken together in the refectory on the coenobitic pattern. Now that the theological faculty of the university is attracting students from Ethiopia and America, as well as from the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, and the Apostoliki Diakonia is offering generous hospitality to occasional Frankish visitors and a student or two from the Russian Academy in Paris, this community is fast acquiring an oecumenical character such as belonged to Halki in the day of its fame.

The theological faculty at Salonica, as I mentioned earlier, is of recent foundation. Despite the difficulties of the times, however, it is now in full vigour and holds out very great promise to the sorely-tried and understaffed dioceses of northern Greece. It is greatly to be hoped that it will prove possible before long to set up at Salonica an institution similar to that now flourishing in Athens, and combining the functions of a post-graduate theological college and a hostel for theological students from the outlying provinces. Many of these students at present have some difficulty in maintaining themselves for the period of their studies, and comparatively few can be accommodated in the new hostel of the Zoë Brotherhood or in the little hostel maintained for several years in the face of tremendous material difficulties by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica.

793 369 [783] At present there is an acute shortage of educated clergy in these the more remote provinces of Greece. Few dioceses have more than one priest-theologian and in some *eparchiai* the metropolitan is single-handed. In such circumstances preaching and the mystery of penance are inevitably much neglected. Not a few amongst the bishops of these northern dioceses are advocates of some kind of 'direction' of the educated clergy which would counteract the prevailing current which

/80 cont./ 346
their humble houses and subsistence level of living the people like 778
to build beautiful churches with high steeples and decorate them
/81/ with as many ikons and church bells they can. The people [316]
of Megali Vrisi not being satisfied with the structure of the present
church have already quarried stone from the nearby hills for their
future church structure. When the farmers were notified to offer [794]
personal work for the church they did it without complaint.

The people look up to the church as an institution which gives 771
them hope and courage in times of disappointment and discourage-
ment. Once a year a confession is made in the church in front [783]
of the ikons and the priest. People tell of their bad acts and
forgive those that caused them trouble. All wedding ceremonies, [796]
baptisms and name day celebrations take place in the church.

Attendance. Women and children attend the church regular- 794
ly. The men are rather irregular in their attendance. This is not 796
due to their negligence nor to their failure to respect the church,
but is due to the long church services that last for three hours.
The people get tired of going to the church. Most attend the last
part of the services. In spite of the variety of music and cere-
monial activities, the church is losing /82/ attendance. Men
like to know what they hear in the church, and since it is all
abstract to them they prefer to stay out and send their wives and
children.

With the increase of modern scientific beliefs by the farmers,
the church will be forced to change its course and adopt itself
to the new social changes.

The membership is obligatory. Every one born in the village 794
becomes a member. It is not necessary to keep in books the
names of the members since the whole population of the village
naturally belongs to the church.

Contributions. Every family has to contribute for the support
of the priest and for the upkeep of the church. This contribution
is paid in kind. Besides this the church has voluntary donations [769]
by people whose prayers are answered, and by others for the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

[785] [262] [369]

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

796 533 [534] [369] [765] [769]

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

796 [262] [273] [574] [431]

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

[152] [754] [784] [776] [782] [784]

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796 [776] [784] [296] [241] [426] [787] [262] [533] [824] [777] [431] 796 777 [431] [524] 796 [788] [574] [524]

considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[9]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings. The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude, and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions; and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 861 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise [184] them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older relatives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The dis- [865] obedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 553 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with [608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 543 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his name-
[574] day, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

527 533 788 755 777

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

789

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata,* or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti,* since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

585 369 785 769 777

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

785 262 372 783

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

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796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed
[252] with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

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the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ.

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from alcoholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so.

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city.

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are considered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church.

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[Potato-digging near Thebes]

244 directing his four helpers in sorting and sacking them. We were much less
476 interested in what happened to the potatoes than in the means whereby
forty people were gathered together at one time to help with the task at
[462] hand. We asked Yannes a number of questions:

"What do you call this kind of group?"

"We speak of it as *daneike ergassia* [borrowed work]. I received word that the commission merchant from Thebes would buy my potatoes if I had them ready by tonight. I have about an acre which I had not yet harvested, but this was too much to handle with just my immediate family. So I had to get others to help me. Last night my wife went around to the women and said, 'Tomorrow I'm going to pull potatoes. Will you come and help me?' I asked some of my relatives who live near me and a few close friends."

"What do you have to pay these people?"

"Usually we repay the others by working for them when they need help. One of us — my wife, daughter, or myself — will go help them with their potatoes when they have to harvest them. We keep a pretty good record of
[465] what we owe to others and what they owe to us. Five or six of the men working here do not have any potato fields so I agreed to pay them wages. They are particularly good at helping the commission merchant sort and sack the potatoes."

244 Such a crowd gathered around us while we asked these questions that
466 we saw we were interrupting proceedings. So we strolled around to see how
476 the men did the digging and learned that they worked under the close supervision of the owner. This fact reminded me of the Greek proverb, "The
[123] owner's eye is manure to the field." In fact, as the men dug, they moved in
[539] a long row across the field with the result that any laggard would soon be noticeably behind the rest. The villagers joked a great deal as we took pic-
[126] tures and asked about the length of the work day. The workers had come to the field about eight in the morning and would remain until the job was done, with the "estimated time of departure" set by the owner at about four or five o'clock.

[262] The highlight of a day spent in such a work group is the food that is
[785] served to the workers about ten o'clock. Since the people were supposedly observing the Lenten fast, Yannes served a bean stew, candylike halvas, olives, fish, and wine. If they had not been fasting, they might have had cheese and eggs. Yannes insisted that they would only on rare occasions serve meat since they do not even eat that at home more than twice a month. But the workers, when asked about the food, said that it had been good and plentiful. "In fact," one man volunteered, "when Yannes invites us, we all say that we'll eat well today." Further inquiry showed that nobody ever turned down an invitation to a work group simply because he expected the food to be poor, but he would do so on other grounds, such as

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

Mary". To the simple Greek, however, it is *the* feast of the *Panaghia*, which not the Marys only but also the men and boys named Panaghiotis keep as their name-day: a very much more important occasion in Greece than the mere commemoration of one's birth after the flesh. The importance of the festival is emphasised by a fast of two weeks' duration immediately preceding it.[1] The other liturgical commemorations of the *Theotokos* centre on particular events. March 25th, for example, apart from the national associations which have made it one of the greatest days of the year among Greeks, is essentially the memorial of the Annunciation: "To-day," runs the dismissal hymn, "is the chapter-head of our salvation and the revelation of the eternal mystery. The Son of God becomes the Son of the Virgin, and Gabriel brings the good news of grace". So with the other evangelical commemorations. The liturgy of August 15th, on the other hand, seems to sum up the whole work in the pattern of man's redemption of her who contained Him whom the heavens cannot contain, and who, through the mysterious operation of the life-giving Spirit, herself became the dwelling of the infinite Creator. 796 [527] [785]

All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured;
Both the assembly of the angels and the race of men.
O hallowed temple and logical paradise, the boast of virgins,
From whom God took flesh and became a little child,
Who is from all eternity our God.
For He made thy womb His throne
And fashioned thy body broader than the heavens.
All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured:
Glory to thee!

*

On August 13th, 1949, furnished with a document wherein the officer commanding the Drama gendarmerie called upon all whom I should encounter in my travels to give me all conceivable manner of assistance, I embarked in the antique vehicle which then connected the village of Kato Nevrokopi with the rest of Christendom (it was blown up by a Communist mine a few months later). During the early stages of our somewhat wayward progress through the narrow streets of Drama it became evident, from the sounds which came from overhead that, in addition to the forty-four Greek passengers who occupied the 494 [123] [669]

1 [ie before Aug. 15th41 - ANALYST]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

793

When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver-788 headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that [346] surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all [346] who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's 262 cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of 785 the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. [485] I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis.

The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a 796 quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of 793 Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After 795 the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its 648 villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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of Life have been most active, there have, as we shall see in a later chapter, been certain changes in liturgical practice during recent years: very often now the celebrant reads in an audible voice the whole of the *anaphora*, or great eucharistic prayer, which the rubric directs him to say *mystikos*—mystically, or secretly—and the whole congregation kneels at the invocation of the Holy Spirit. None of these influences had as yet reached this remote corner of New Greece, however, and the liturgy was still celebrated at Dasoto after the fashion which caused Robert de Dreux, in the seventeenth century, to observe that "it is not easy to see all that they do when they say mass, because the celebrant is hidden by a screen which shuts off the altar, and only shows himself three or four times". This, however, is a topic to which we shall have occasion to return. 796 788 178

The Lord's Prayer (like the Creed) was recited by a girl, and there were some thirty communicants including several children borne in the arms of their mothers—a familiar sight this in every Greek parish church. When the liturgy was ended, and the Bishop had distributed the blessed bread to the whole congregation, I observed some twenty of those who had communicated kneel before the royal doors while their father in God read a brief prayer of absolution. I have referred elsewhere to contemporary Greek practice in regard to the use of the mystery of confession. In the country districts at least, where confessors are rare, this is by no means as uniform as some are apt to suppose, or as might be inferred from the customs which obtain among the Russians of the diaspora, in Paris and elsewhere, with whom the sacrament has tended in recent times to become an obligatory part of the preparation for holy communion. 796 782 852 788 783 796

When one has fasted as a Christian one feasts as a Christian—in Greece at least. 796 [785]

> Then for their Festivals [says Dr. Covel] . . . there is not one that appears there but will contribute something, as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at our old Whitsun-Ales, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival; and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the Virgin Mary, or any other

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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491 snows, westwards towards Metsovo and Epirus. To the southward a few paths—impassable save on foot during the winter months—gave access to Kalambaka and the plains of Thessaly.

793 After paying my respects to the colonel in command of the garrison I plunged afresh into the inland sea and struck out for the metropolis: a simple cottage where the Bishop rented a couple of rooms. The Lord Theokletos—a monumental figure in an ungirt robe of indigo—looked strangely out of place in such a setting. The Friday fast was waived out [785] of regard to the presence of a traveller, and when we had eaten the [574] Metropolitan told me something of the state of his diocese. It was a gloomy picture that he outlined.

722 Owing to the remoteness of the district and its poor communications 793 almost every village had been abandoned by its inhabitants from 1947 till the summer of 1949. Grevena itself, a comopolis with a pre-war 727 population in the region of 3,500, had, for more than two years, sheltered five times that number of refugees. During the past six months it had been possible for the people to return to certain villages situated in the northern part of the diocese, but there were reputed to be more than 2,000 families still living in the great refugee camp on the southern fringes of the town, and sixty-four of the diocese's ninety-six villages were still, after three years, uninhabited. Many of the fugitives had fled southwards to Kalambaka, Trikkala and Larissa; others had sought refuge in Kozani.

The refugees had included seventy-five parish priests, only sixteen of whom had as yet been able to return to their villages. Two priests had been done to death by the Germans; three others, as well as three monks, murdered by the Communists. As recently as October, 1949, the solitary occupant of the monastery of St. Athanasius, close to the village of Trikomon, had returned home after two years' exile, despite the advice of the Bishop and others who counselled him to wait two or three months longer, only to be brutally murdered within the space of a [798] few days. It was when matters were at their worst that the Bishop formed his clerical militia and drilled his venerable warriors in the square where stands the monument to his predecessor in the see of Grevena, the Metropolitan Aimilianos, who had suffered death at the hands of the Turks in 1911 and is revered in this region as a martyr. This redoubtable force had never been called upon to take the field against the Accursed of God, but, said the Lord Theokletos, it had served as an example.

As to the destruction of churches, it seemed that some months must

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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while in many churches and halls there are regular sermons at other times during the week.

In the country dioceses, owing to the shortage of qualified preachers, sermons are still all too rarely to be heard outside the cathedral towns. The bishop and the diocesan preacher, with such other assistants as can be mustered from local resources, will visit one or two villages every Sunday, but in a diocese of perhaps 100 scattered communities it may well be that months will pass without the majority of the people having the opportunity to hear a sermon. I remember one Macedonian 'saint', who had taken advantage of the cessation of fighting in his diocese from the spring of 1949 onwards to undertake an intensive preaching campaign, telling me that in some villages it was more than ten years since a sermon had last been heard.

An energetic *hierokeryx* will often perform wonders; take for instance this typical week-end itinerary of a lay theologian, a member of Zoë, who used to be stationed at Kozani; on Saturday afternoon by army truck to Amyntaion (a distance of about fifty-five kilometres) and thence to the village of Lechovo, an hour's journey to the westward towards Kastoria. Here he gives an evening address in the church, the greater part of the community present. On Sunday morning a sermon at the liturgy is followed by an address to the young men and women. After a hurried meal he sets off on foot to the neighbouring village of Skydro for an address, not this time in the church but in the square. Thence he climbs to the village of Nymphaion, high on the mountain-side, for two further addresses before nightfall—one in church, the other, for the young people, in the school. On Monday morning he proceeds by mule to Aetos and thence to Amyntaion and Kozani. The assistant *hierokeryx* of the diocese will in the meantime have set out for the *comopolis* of Servia to preach, from a cart standing in the midst of the square, to the crowds who have gathered there for the weekly market.

The Greek *hierokeryx* can in general assume in his hearers a knowledge of the fundamentals of the Christian faith such as can no longer be taken for granted in England, at any rate. He and they will speak a common language—even though many have forgotten the reality that lies behind the familiar phrases. The outward tokens of a Christian society have still survived to a remarkable degree—the fasts of the Church's year, for instance, are still observed as a matter of course by multitudes who would make no claim to piety above the average. In

262 369 much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not 262 allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the pro- 785 vinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many 796 of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the [197] latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

262 Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential 511 for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set [196] up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

178 Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want 185 is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has [196] lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Attitudes and Beliefs about Nature

82

The Greek people, as one would expect of individuals everywhere, vary considerably in their attitude toward the physical environment.[3] Some, completely oblivious to the beauty about them, nevertheless try to read the weather signs in order to know when they should plow or sow. Some, at the other extreme, show a deep sensitivity to the changing moods of nature, as, for example, the illiterate shepherd in the Boeotian village of Schematari who would take pencil and paper and lovingly draw a tree-filled landscape or the rising sun. Most of the Greek villagers, however, seem to fall between these two extremes; from time to time they, in the words of one peasant, "gain an optimism in life when they see the beauty of a nice slope of the mountain or a lovely dawn." On the whole, the world seems a friendly place and there are few things to fear at the hands of nature.

More than this, the world is in God's hands. The frequent reference to God in popular speech may be a cultural trait handed down from generation to generation, but some of the oft-repeated, time-honored phrases are said with such animation and with such a light in the eye that they must express the individual feeling of those using them. There is no counterpart in English to the common phrase *Chara Theou* (Joy of God), which combines not only rapture and active enjoyment but the sense of the sparkling light God sheds on the earth. During the spectacular Greek spring, this phrase is a most appropriate way of describing one's feeling. 82 771 776 [195]

Even those who are not very conscious of their natural surroundings from day to day miss them deeply when distant from them. Over and over again, returned emigrants in Greek villages gave as the reason for their departure from America their need to see the mountains or plains or the sea on which their eyes had rested while they grew up. 82 [167]

Much of this feeling toward nature is based on the sense of intimacy with her.[4] Indeed, one of the first requirements in trying to understand the life of any people is to learn their reaction and adjustment to the natural world. The Greek farmer studies nature for important signs which tell him whether to bring the flock in from the high hillside, whether to start or delay a journey, whether to put out his tobacco plants. Those signs directly relating weather to agriculture are obvious and easily understood by the Westerner, if not always accepted as scientifically valid. But the signs which natural objects and events provide of the supernatural — illness and death, the appearance of ghosts, or even the way the universe was made and is run — all of these stretch the imagination of the scientifically trained specialist, who may be inclined to dismiss them as superstition and therefore unimportant. Nevertheless, they continue to be important to many Greek villagers, young and old alike. 82 787

In listening to folk interpretations of nature, one also learns much about

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is
●787 lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at
[777] least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

824 Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of
[787] the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed
777 clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk
539 story:

> Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony
[844] known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panagias to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the
[789] midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward
[754] off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skorthe sto matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[9] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old
82 people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

825 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild
787 animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521]

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 843 787

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843 787 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 834 576 593 [492] [626] Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings. Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

[312] [482] [626] It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the [522] home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

562 593 521 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only occasionally with her husband.

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Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece
[245] will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17, the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[a] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

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[776] [784] [296] [241] [426] [787] [262] [533] [824] [777] [431] [431] [524] [788] [574] [524]

796 777 796

considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[9]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed
[252] with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

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Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." [24] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 3 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

[Good Friday]

796 morning, small boys went from house to house crying, *"Mavros in o uranos,"* [778] "The sky is black," and they were given money or eggs. Meanwhile, the girls of the village worked inside the church covering with wild flowers the sedan- [788] chairlike wooden frame in which an oil painting of Jesus on his bier was to be carried around the village that night. The frame and the icon together are called the *epitafios*. The girls seemed thoroughly to enjoy the morning's work, and they 796 laughed, giggled, jostled each other, and called out orders. Occasionally they 562 sang as they worked. It appeared also as if they were taking particular joy in being inside the church with no men to restrain them. They took turns sprawling over the stalls in which, as females, they rarely sat during a service. They also went up to the chanters' stand and recited some of the cantilations which were to be sung that night—the girls can follow the liturgy only silently during the [778] course of the actual service. Some of the younger girls even dared each other to go behind the panel to the altar, a place forbidden to females, but none actually did. They seemed uneasy and were even frightened at the suggestion.

796 The church bell rang at 2:20 that afternoon. The priest, with one of the chanters and his son, performed the service in the course of which he brought 788 the icon from behind the altar, covered it with a white cloth and placed it in its bower. In accordance with the symbolic re-enactment of the event, only the women and girls (and a few schoolboys) were in the church at the time. Once the icon was in place and strewn with flowers, the priest and then the children [764] went up to kiss it. The priest explained that it should be done slowly and deliberately, exactly as it was done for the dead in the village funeral rituals.

Good Friday services began that night at 9:00. At 11:00 the *epitafios* was carried out of the church by four boys. These marched in procession with the *epitafios* behind boys carrying the *lavara* (standards). Behind the *epitafios* walked the priest and the chanters. The rest of the villagers followed holding candles to light the way as the *epitafios* was carried around the entire village. As the bells of the three village churches pealed, and the children chanted *"Enas ine o theos"* and *"Panayia dhespina,"* "God is one" and "Our Lady, the All Holy One," the villagers picked their way carefully over the stones and ruts as they climbed the hillside, circled the whole settlement, and climbed down again on the other side. When the procession reached the church door once more, the boys held the bier high so that the returning congregation passed into the church under it. The service was over shortly after midnight.

796 On Holy Saturday, sweet Easter breads with red eggs inside were displayed, other eggs were dyed red, last minute finishing touches were given to [262] Easter clothes and last house-cleaning chores were completed. Some people slaughtered the Easter lamb on Saturday, others waited until Sunday. In the [461] meantime, field chores went on as usual. Everyone rested for a few hours, from about 9:00 Saturday night until the Easter Sunday services began shortly after [788] midnight. These lasted until 4:00 in the morning, with two periods of climax. The first occurred when all the lights in the church were put out and the priest [787] kindled the new light. The boys rushed up to see who could be the first to light his own candle from that of the priest's. They said the winner would be the first of the boys to be married. The rest of the congregation then lit its

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

796 527

796 794 [356] [526] [535] [437] [787] [782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

101 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as por-
13 trayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where
[249] the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty
[433] and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

Thessaly, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains
[243] which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[648] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland
[788] Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

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horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from 825
the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he 787
will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that
house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to [777]
left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect
bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows
he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or
left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the
following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon [777]
two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will
die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central [776]
Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in
herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make
a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches [422]
cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these
mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts
the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a 825
child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam 773
and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them
first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then
holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep
her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God
the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so [788]
that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human
beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since
the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if 771
these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely
held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say [521]
that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level.
People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them,
while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is
the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a
ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants 82
and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature,
which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the
course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere,
moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the 821
heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the 127
latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

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342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

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844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere, there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
754 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path
[778] of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or have a little icon."

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Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter. 582 [178] [608]

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 581 779 795 584 585 779

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown. [301]
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life. [273]
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9] [788]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10] 585

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the [587]

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[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve [777] through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the [535] women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From [262] Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is [765] invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets [262] and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, [788] the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

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groom's relations. There is gay music and much shooting, which continues once the party has reached the bride's home. There the flag bearer puts the flag on the bride's roof and receives a ring biscuit from the bride in return. The groom gets off his horse and goes up the steps. As he reaches the top step, the bride's mother offers him wine and a boutonniere of basil, marjoram, or other plants, wrapped in a white handkerchief. The groom kisses her hand and she kisses him on both cheeks. She offers him wine, which he drinks, asking for her blessing. He returns the glass and puts the boutonniere in his lapel. The groom now enters the bride's home whereupon all relatives join him and, if they follow the old custom, give a small sum of money to the bride, who now turns toward the east and bows, then west, north, and south, so as to form the sign of the cross.

585 [788] [788]

As soon as the relatives have received some sweet, the bride, usually leaning on the arm of a cousin, starts for the church. The others, including the groom's relatives, follow on foot. Then comes the church ceremony. When the couple have arrived at the altar, the priest begins to read the liturgy and then takes from a box the two wreaths of artificial blossoms, tied together by a ribbon, which the koumbaros has brought; the priest puts them together and says, starting with the man, "the Lord's servant [name] engages the Lord's servant [name]." He touches the foreheads of each as he says his or her name. He then holds the wreaths between the couple and makes the sign of the cross, "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," three times for the groom and three times for the bride. The koumbaros, who is standing between the couple, receives the wreaths from the priest and, as the priest starts a chant, holds the wreaths over the heads of the couple and starts crossing them back and forth. When this is done, he puts the proper wreath on the proper person though the ribbon still connects the two wreaths. The same thing happens with the rings. After the koumbaros puts the rings on the correct fingers, the priest reads from the Bible, "what God hath joined together let no man put asunder" and separates the couple, who have been holding hands by the little fingers, by moving his hand between them. He next administers the communion — a sip of wine to the groom, the bride, and the koumbaros.

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Perhaps the liveliest part of the whole proceeding is the "dance of Isaiah" which follows next. With the priest holding the Bible in one hand and the hand of the groom in the other, with the groom holding the bride, and the bride the koumbaros, the principals go around the table where the wreaths were laid before the ceremony started. They make the circuit three times, stopping four times in each circuit. During the course of this procession everybody is throwing bonbons and rice at the principals, sometimes with such telling force that the priest stops to warn the people not to be so energetic. The circuits completed, the couple and koumbaros resume their earlier position before the altar and listen to the priest read the final Scripture and receive his blessing.

In Artotina, the procession goes from the church to the bride's home. She is led by the groom and the koumbaros. The dowry is then loaded onto the pack animals to the accompaniment of traditional songs. The bride climbs upon the best animal and the groom, when mounted, takes a stand on her right. He takes a golden coin out of his pocket and hands it to her after making the sign of the

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1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 608 [843] [835] [582] little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koumbara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 608 788 [789] After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings. The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The godparent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

851 574 608 [262] [553] [535] [842] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing, spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter, are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

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796 [776] [784] [296] [241] [426] [787] [262]

considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[8]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

[533] [824] [777] [431] 796 777

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

[431] [524]

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

796 [788] [574] [524]

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

527 533 788 755 777

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

789

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata*, or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti*, since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

585 369 785 769 777

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

785 262 372 783

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

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796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

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the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where 796
people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this [262]
day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ.

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick [778]
flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. [275]
All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from alcoholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church [785]
service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the [788]
streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so.

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A [262]
few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the [541]
firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a [778]
black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once [785]
back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's [262]
visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the [574]
spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city.

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are con- [527]
sidered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful [771]
dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church.

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Kalivi, Attica

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were fed to the threshing machine by the girls, who were wearing goggles 178
and what seemed to be gas masks to protect them from the dust. The women 243
also were wiring the bales of straw which were taken away to be stacked.
The president of the community told me: [293]

[751]

Anyone who wants to work signs up. Every fifteen days we put on a new crew so that quite a few people are employed and paid. We do have to keep a small permanent crew on the job throughout the threshing season, which lasts about sixty days, but almost every family has a chance to get some benefit. We only do the wheat belonging to the people of our community. We determine by lot the order in which a family's wheat is to be threshed. All the people bring their grain here, for we can thresh it much more cheaply than they could do it with animals. [464]

We then went into the large olive-pressing plant, built in 1948, with a 474
loan of about $30,000 from the Agricultural Bank, and learned how this
part of the cooperative's business was conducted. We learned that each 258
family's batch of olives, like its wheat, was processed separately and that [652]
it gave 8 percent of the oil to the cooperative, which is a standard amount taken by presses over Greece, plus an extra 3 percent contribution until the machinery is paid for. After that, it will have to pay only 4 instead of the customary 8 percent. When I noticed an icon in the pressing plant, the man- [778]
ager said that they asked the priest in to bless their work at the beginning
of the season. Another man in the company remarked, "we like our religion, [788]
but we don't like our priests," a comment with which the others seemed to agree.

The more I learned about this cooperative in Kalivi, the more I realized 474
what a shrewd investment the pasture land had been. The cooperative accumulates no money for itself but reinvests all profits into public works or special funds as determined by the directors of the cooperative. For example, a doctor is paid out of a cooperative philanthropic fund in return for [758]
looking after the poor of the community free of charge.

In addition to this general cooperative, to which all family heads belong, there are in Kalivi five other cooperatives. First, there is the credit coopera- [652]
tive explained to me as follows: "Since many people here have to depend upon the Agricultural Bank for loans, the credit cooperative gets the money for them and they do not have to make the contact themselves. If a local peasant wants sulphur or insecticides, the cooperative gets all that is needed. The individual then owes the cost to the cooperative. He pays no membership dues. Both men and women belong." It so happened that the president and the secretary of the community, plus three other people, made up the five-man executive committee of this credit cooperative.

Second, there is a livestock cooperative which the owners of the five [233]
thousand sheep in the community support. The members number forty,

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793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will
[777] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest."[11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires
[754] was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, con-
794 sisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-
[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other
●788 Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending cannot help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross,
[346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome repre-
[778] senting heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*),
[562] which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congregate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

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795 the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. 788 To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the [778] left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read [198] in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tug- [852] ging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but [562] show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes 771 it this way: 788

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or 793 rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos,* "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]
>
> [369] [342] [823] [782] [789]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as 793 comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the [794] unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, [627] and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

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So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

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783 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave
788 them an emotional uplift.

793 But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in [737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a poly- technic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about [874] $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an in- [177] stitution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independ- [743] ence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more activity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

793 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country, 794 especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of in- 794 mates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their [428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial [769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the [748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

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watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *agbora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

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with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

[Good Friday]

796 morning, small boys went from house to house crying, *"Mavros in o uranos,"*
[778] "The sky is black," and they were given money or eggs. Meanwhile, the girls
[788] of the village worked inside the church covering with wild flowers the sedan-chairlike wooden frame in which an oil painting of Jesus on his bier was to be carried around the village that night. The frame and the icon together are called
796 the *epitafios*. The girls seemed thoroughly to enjoy the morning's work, and they
562 laughed, giggled, jostled each other, and called out orders. Occasionally they sang as they worked. It appeared also as if they were taking particular joy in being inside the church with no men to restrain them. They took turns sprawling over the stalls in which, as females, they rarely sat during a service. They also went up to the chanters' stand and recited some of the cantilations which were to be sung that night—the girls can follow the liturgy only silently during the
[778] course of the actual service. Some of the younger girls even dared each other to go behind the panel to the altar, a place forbidden to females, but none actually did. They seemed uneasy and were even frightened at the suggestion.

796 The church bell rang at 2:20 that afternoon. The priest, with one of the
788 chanters and his son, performed the service in the course of which he brought the icon from behind the altar, covered it with a white cloth and placed it in its bower. In accordance with the symbolic re-enactment of the event, only the women and girls (and a few schoolboys) were in the church at the time. Once the icon was in place and strewn with flowers, the priest and then the children
[764] went up to kiss it. The priest explained that it should be done slowly and deliberately, exactly as it was done for the dead in the village funeral rituals.

Good Friday services began that night at 9:00. At 11:00 the *epitafios* was carried out of the church by four boys. These marched in procession with the *epitafios* behind boys carrying the *lavara* (standards). Behind the *epitafios* walked the priest and the chanters. The rest of the villagers followed holding candles to light the way as the *epitafios* was carried around the entire village. As the bells of the three village churches pealed, and the children chanted *"Enas ine o theos"* and *"Panayia dhespina,"* "God is one" and "Our Lady, the All Holy One," the villagers picked their way carefully over the stones and ruts as they climbed the hillside, circled the whole settlement, and climbed down again on the other side. When the procession reached the church door once more, the boys held the bier high so that the returning congregation passed into the church under it. The service was over shortly after midnight.

796 On Holy Saturday, sweet Easter breads with red eggs inside were dis-
[262] played, other eggs were dyed red, last minute finishing touches were given to Easter clothes and last house-cleaning chores were completed. Some people
[461] slaughtered the Easter lamb on Saturday, others waited until Sunday. In the meantime, field chores went on as usual. Everyone rested for a few hours, from about 9:00 Saturday night until the Easter Sunday services began shortly after
[788] midnight. These lasted until 4:00 in the morning, with two periods of climax.
[787] The first occurred when all the lights in the church were put out and the priest kindled the new light. The boys rushed up to see who could be the first to light his own candle from that of the priest's. They said the winner would be the first of the boys to be married. The rest of the congregation then lit its

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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *agbora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *agbora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

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shores of Albion and the territories of the "pope of another world". 795
For the Greek, as for the western Christian, the horizon has contracted, and it is only by a considerable effort of the imagination that we can hope to comprehend an outlook that is unfamiliar to the point of fantasy.

One is sometimes asked what are the main points of difference between eastern and western Christendom, in terms which make it quite clear that one's questioner is thinking of particular doctrinal propositions. It can hardly be too strongly emphasised, however, that the manifest cleavage which now exists between the Orthodox and other Christians is less a matter of disagreement on specific issues than of two widely divergent attitudes and approaches. This is not to deny the reality and importance of certain dogmatic questions (such as that concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, for example), but merely to assert that it is not there that the primary differences are to be sought. The truth of this contention is borne out by certain recent developments in western Europe, where the influence of what is commonly known as the liturgical movement has brought about in some very diverse quarters a radically changed attitude toward the Christian mystery: an attitude which—though there is nothing peculiarly *eastern* about it—has at times seemed to come very close to that which has ever been characteristic of the Orthodox world. Where this change of attitude has shown itself it has gone far towards creating a genuine *rapprochement* between theologians of east and west: much farther, I would add, than any amount of discussion of specific points of doctrine where no such common approach exists.

A generation of ecumenical conversation has revealed something of the difficulties of discussion amongst western Christians of different traditions: yet in the west, at least, most of the basic assumptions are held in common. Some affirm and some deny but all set out from the same premises—all speak what is virtually the same language. The crucial difficulty in relations between the Orthodox and western Christians lies in the decay of a common tongue. As the Russian lay theologian A. S. Khomiakov puts it: "All Protestants are crypto-papists . . . all the west knows but one datum *a*; whether it be preceded by the positive sign +, as with the Romanists, or with the negative — as with the Protestants, the *a* remains the same. ... . A passage to Orthodoxy is a rushing into a new and unknown world."

It is significant that it is the restoration of the liturgy to its rightful [788]

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place in the Church's life which, more than anything else, has brought about a partial reassertion of orthodoxy in the west during recent years, for orthodoxy is not so much a matter of 'right opinion' as of 'right worship'. The surest path to a real understanding of the Orthodox Church is through her liturgical life. There is, with all its naïvety, much to be learned from the legend, which has come down to us in a mediaeval Russian chronicle, concerning the envoys of the Prince of Kiev. That monarch, so the story runs, wishing to make Christianity the religion of his people but doubtful as to which of its several forms was authentic, sent envoys to distant lands that they might judge for themselves. The envoys went first to the heretical Bulgars. They observed the way in which the people worshipped; how they bowed themselves to the ground and gazed hither and thither like men possessed. But, alas! "There is no joy among them," they reported upon their return to Kiev, "but only sadness and a frightful smell!" Next, they visited the Germans; but the worship of Latin Christendom left them unmoved. Thence, however, they journeyed to Byzantium, and were present at the divine liturgy of our father among the saints, John Chrysostom, in the great church of the holy wisdom; and there, they afterwards related, "we did not know if we were on earth or in heaven; for there is no such splendour to be found anywhere upon earth. Describe it we cannot: we know only that it is there that God dwells among men."

For the Greek Christian, as for the Russian, the humblest village church is always *heaven upon earth*: the place where men and women, according to their capacity and desire, are caught up into the adoring worship of the redeemed cosmos; where dogmas are no barren abstractions but hymns of exulting praise, and the saving acts of the divine compassion—the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day and the ascension into the heavenly places—are made present and actual through the operation of the Holy Spirit who "ever was, and is and shall be; having neither beginning nor ending, but for ever joined to and numbered with the Father and the Son . . . through whom the Father is known, and the Son is glorified, and by all acknowledged, one power, one worship and one order of the Holy Trinity."

It is important to grasp this essentially liturgical approach, for it provides the key to much else; to the Greek Christian's understanding of scripture, to personal piety, and to the preservation of the faith during the centuries of oppression. Orthodox Christendom has never undergone

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an upheaval comparable to that which shattered the unity of the western world in the sixteenth century, not on account of the glacier of Turkish dominion which descended upon it a hundred years earlier, but because it had never known that separation of theology and mysticism, liturgy and personal devotion, which—when all is said as to the influence of political and economic factors—is required to explain the all-engulfing cataclysm of the Reformation.

In the next chapter I propose to consider certain features of the long history of the Greek Church in so far as they exercise a lively influence upon the contemporary scene; for in Greece it is peculiarly difficult to disentangle past and present, and historical memory is remarkably tenacious. In the remotest mountain villages of Epirus or the Peloponnese one may meet with small children who do not merely know far more about Lord Byron than one can reasonably expect of the majority of his countrymen—*that*, after a little time in Greece, one takes for granted—but who can sometimes relate strange apocryphal stories of Admiral Codrington or Sir Richard Church; and, in the imagination of the monks of Athos, Pope Innocent III occupies a position similar to that which Oliver Cromwell holds amongst the peasant farmers of Ireland.

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nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios!*" 178 197

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language in which they were written. 178 799 795 178 788 795 198

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the triumphant *Christos anesti!* Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is risen!* As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they 178 788 795 178 795 576

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

178 795 576 Embrace one another, and join mutually the side of the Mouth or Cheek to the other . . . and since the Resurrection of Christ is the Miracle of Miracles, and the main Pillar of our Christian Faith and Hope, I am much perswaded that this might be the very manner and way of giving the Holy Kiss amongst the Primitive Christians."

178 795 788 [771] Nor is all this a matter of mere outward forms. Through all the vicissitudes of her history the Greek Church has been enabled to preserve something of the very spirit of the first age of Christianity. Her liturgy still enshrines that element of sheer joy in the resurrection of the Lord that we find in so many of the early Christian writings. The spirit of the ancient fathers of the Church lives on in the liturgy and in the piety of the ordinary Greek Christian. To enter into the spirit of the eastern liturgies is to comprehend as is possible in no other way the characteristic notes of Orthodox spirituality.

This is true above all of the liturgy of Holy Week and Eastertide; here one is perhaps most acutely conscious of the revolution that has been wrought in post-mediaeval western piety. It is a far cry from the Byzantine liturgy of the holy passion to that preoccupation with the sufferings of Christ with which we are familiar. Even in the darkness of the holy and great Friday the note of joy is sounded; the narrative of the passion is interspersed with the divine praises: it is the record of the triumph of the King, and Christ the Victor reigns in royal purple from His throne on Calvary.

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To-day is hanged upon the Tree
He who hanged the earth free in the midst of the waters.
A crown of thorns crowns Him who is King of the angels.
He who wraps the heavens in clouds
    is wrapt about with the purple of mockery;
He who freed Adam in Jordan
    is smote with hands;
He who is the Bridegroom of the Church
    is transfixed with nails;
He who is the Son of the Virgin
    is pierced with a spear.
We worship Thy Passion, O Christ;
Show us also Thy glorious Resurrection!

[771] It is because her life is rooted so completely in the liturgy that the

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Orthodox Church has been able to preserve in all its integrity the faith once delivered to the saints. Ecclesiastical organisation has never in eastern Christendom been looked upon as having an importance such as, at any rate from the eleventh century onwards, it assumed in the west. Provided only that he is free to participate fully in the liturgical life of his local church, the Greek or Russian Christian is prepared to sit curiously lightly to matters of jurisdiction and the machinery of ecclesiastical government and administration. Even when, as in the U.S.S.R. to-day, the Church is subject to every imaginable restriction save this bare permission to celebrate the divine mysteries, she can yet contrive to hold fast to her traditions with a tenacity which must often strike the western Christian as little short of miraculous: "the stable perseverance in these our days of the *Greek* Church", wrote Rycaut in the seventeenth century, "notwithstanding the Oppression and Contempt put upon it by the *Turk* . . . is a Confirmation no less convincing than the Miracles and Power which attended its first beginnings."

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So, throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Greek Church held fast the traditions which enshrined the saving truths of the divine economy. The Gospel was preached less by means of homilies and sermons than through the regular cycle of feast and fast; though Christian schools were maintained, often with great heroism in the face of overwhelming difficulties, the children of Hellas relied even more upon the visible catechism of the Church's liturgy. So it was that the faith was preserved as a royal treasure: the life of the mystical body burned on in secret, though the royal priesthood might be "expelled their Churches and those converted into Moschs; the Mysteries of the Altar conceal'd in secret and dark places . . ."

It is in remote townships like Kastoria that one can best enter into the spirit of the Greek Church under the Turkish yoke. To the traveller who approaches the ancient city of Diocletian from the southward there is little to suggest the presence of some seventy-two churches. Kastoria reveals its secrets only to those who are prepared to spend several days scrambling up and down the stony paths below the nineteenth-century metropolis, where tiny churches are set obscurely amidst the high, fortress-like domestic architecture of a later age. A great number of these churches date from Byzantine days, for from about the seventh century onwards this mountain township served as a place of exile for many whose presence at Constantinople was, for one reason or another, considered undesirable. Many more were built during the

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178 795 346 centuries of Turkish dominion. Outwardly they are scarcely distinguishable from the cottages which surround them: only the shallow apse at the east end proclaims the church.

[532] Within, however, one finds oneself in another world. Walls unpierced by windows are covered with paintings which set forth the whole story of creation and redemption. Patriarchs and prophets mingle with the saints of the new dispensation; Elias is caught up to heaven in a chariot of fire and Jonah goes down to the bottoms of the mountains with the weeds wrapped about his head; those whose names are honoured throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, Athanasius, Basil and Gregory the Divine, rub shoulders with local saints like St. George of Iannina and the Neo-Martyrs; the Lord Christ is baptised in Jordan, He changes the water into wine and reigns in triumph from the tree of Calvary; the Holy Spirit descends in tongues of fire upon the apostles. Here in these little chapels—"rather like Vaults or Sepulchres than Churches, having their Roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgency of structure should be accused for triumph of Religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the *Mahometan* Moschs"—the mysterious life of the local church was nourished throughout the dark days of oppression; the saints which were in Kastoria, like their brethren at Thessalonica, obeyed the apostolic injunction to hold fast the traditions which they had been taught.

178 795 788 771 Not infrequently, it must be confessed, zeal for the preservation of the faith in the midst of an alien environment gave rise to a certain lack of discrimination. The pure gold of the apostolic tradition has not been handed down from generation to generation without gathering to itself certain accretions of doubtful worth, and the simple Christian is not always able to distinguish the one from the other or prepared even to admit the possibility of such intermingling.

> This Reverence to the Church [observes one of the old writers] produces a firm belief and strict adherence to the Articles of it, and to all the Ceremonies and matters the most minute and indifferent, not suffering the least change or alteration in them. For although they are sensible (as many of their Priests have confessed to me) of the inconvenient length of their Liturgies . . . and of many superstitious Customs and Ceremonies derived to them from the times of *Gentilism*, which are now ingrafted into, and as it were grown up

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with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaiomerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places?

The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness (already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

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the effect of the Turkish dominion was to foster—perhaps to excess—an attitude which was already discernible in Byzantine days and which always made for a certain liveliness in ecclesiastical affairs.

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During the last few years it has been becoming increasingly clear that the episode which may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to as '1054 and all that' has gained a far more important place in our text-books of European history than it justly merits. No longer is it possible to regard the schism of Cerularius as marking the decisive breach between eastern Christendom and the west. A date which seemed to hold out to the struggling schoolboy a refuge no less secure than that of the Conqueror's triumph at Hastings has been swept away, to leave him floundering in the troubled waters of speculation and surmise. But whatever the immediate causes of the disastrous breach which was to divide Christendom into warring factions, and which underlies all our western divisions, there can be little question that far the greatest factor in the hardening of the schism was the invasion of the Levant by the crusading Franks, the sack of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. These unhappy events made an impression upon the Greek mind that the passing of eight centuries has not effaced.

The legend of Frankish aggression—unhistorical and confused though it be—lives on in our own day especially amongst the monks. Pope Innocent III, Michael Palaeologus, the Patriarch Bekkos, the Catalans who established themselves in the Kassandra peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Pope Eugenius IV, who flourished more than a century later, are all confounded in a wild farrago of monkish imagination and prejudice. The Pope, attended by Frankish soldiers and executioners, presides over the martyrdom of the twenty-six monks of Zographou, and terrible stories are still to be heard on the holy mountain of the gruesome fate that befell the renegade monks who took part in the Latin mass at the Lavra. In a painting at the Serbian convent of Chilandari the Pope appears in the company of Mahomet and the arch-heretic Arius, and the earth opens and swallows them up together.

The traveller in monastic Greece must not, therefore, be surprised to find that an unwary allusion to the Pope can still conjure up in the imagination of a Greek monk a nightmare figure far surpassing the inventions of the most rabid Protestant. I recall one such reference to

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V

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

> If any Art or Polity can be said to have place over the affection of the People, none seems more efficacious than the strict observation of the Fasts and Feasts of their Church, by which the people are taught as in a visible *Catechism* . . . more (I dare say) than by their ill-composed Sermons, or repetition of the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue; for being severely imposed, and observed with much solemnity, they affect the Vulgar with an awe of something divine and extraordinary in them.
>
> PAUL RYCAUT

A FEW years after the restoration of the house of Stuart to the English throne, the Archbishop of Larissa, in Thessaly, received an unexpected visitor: a certain Père Robert, *Capucin de Saint-Jaques à Paris, et Aumonier de l'Ambassadeur de France*. This reverend personage chancing to be in Larissa during Holy Week (according to the western reckoning), he attended a celebration of what, despite a certain confusedness in his account, was manifestly the liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. Describing this in the journal which was his constant travelling companion during the period 1665-69, he observes that the Archbishop, when he had delivered his sermon, "went in procession about the church, accompanied by nine bishops, his suffragans". To-day, though the traveller may but rarely and with great good fortune chance upon such a mitred assembly as that which Père Robert describes, the divine liturgy is still celebrated, even in the smallest and poorest village of the Greek mountain dioceses, with something of its traditional splendour, and in such fashion as to impress upon the mind of the least sensitive of worshippers that he is a participant in no work of man's devising but in the very worship of heaven; in the praises of those who sing without ceasing to the glory of the holy and consubstantial and life-giving and undivided Trinity.

The festival which is observed on August 15th is described in the service-books as that of the Dormition, or Falling Asleep (*Koimesis*), "of our most holy, glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin

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494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[521] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *epheremios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver-headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis.

The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently redecorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who had followed us up the stony path from the *mesochori*, or village-square, crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office (the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion, overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

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as to lead me to suspect the offering of a discreet compliment to western Christendom; the fruits of the word, love, joy and peace, made manifest in the life and death of the blessed Polycarp. 796

"And you boys", said the Bishop, with 'a diligent and busy cast of his eye' toward certain of the more youthful of his auditors; "you who steal eggs and fruit and take other people's food out of the communal oven: there is no reason why you—if you keep the word of God faithfully—should not be as great as St. Peter or St. Paul, or why at the end of your lives you should not be able to echo those ever-memorable words of Polycarp: 'These eighty and six years have I been His servant' . . ."

Looking round that crowded church, my mind went to the Whitsuntide hymn: "Blessed art thou, O Christ our God, who hast made the fishermen wise by the sending down upon them of the Holy Spirit, and through them hast drawn the world into thy net."

The sermon ended, the singers took up the solemn chant of the Hymn of the Cherubim, and a hush fell upon the congregation as the ministers with their attendants emerged from the prothesis chapel and made their slow circuit of the church, the veiled oblations borne aloft, to the accompaniment of that all-embracing appeal: [533]

> May the Lord God be mindful of us all
> in His kingdom, always, now and for ever,
> and unto the ages of ages.

The holy gifts were carried up within the sanctuary and laid upon the altar. The singers resumed their interrupted hymn; the atmosphere was heavy with incense—which, say the commentators, is here an emblem of the mixture of myrrh and aloes which Nicodemus brought for the entombment of the Lord: [782]

> Lo, Christ is crucified, the Life is buried,
> the tomb is made fast, the stone is sealed.

Two shallow alms-baskets piled high with tattered notes were passed slowly round the church, while the sacristan sprinkled perfume from a pewter vessel into the outstretched hands of the more accessible among the male members of the congregation. [794]

The long drawn-out alleluias died away into silence as the parish [788]

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796 priest resumed his place before the doors and took up anew the litanies
788 which properly pertain to the deacon's liturgy:

> For the precious gifts which have been offered,
> For this holy temple, and for those who enter it in
> faith, reverence and the fear of God . . .

while the reiterated *Kyrie eleison* of the singers rose and fell and we commended "ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God".

At the cry: "The doors, the doors!" all became suddenly alert, and a young girl—one of those celebrating their name-day—pushed through the crowd of women and children who filled the space between the lectern of the singers and the eikonostasis on the north side of the church and, standing before the eikon of the Mother of God, read the Nicene Creed. The Bishop commenced the great eucharistic prayer and the climax of the liturgy drew near. After the loaves that remained over from
796 the consecrated bread had been blessed, the Bishop sent me, by the hand
778 of his assistant, a portion bearing the seal IC . XC . NI . KA: how many a
262 holy custom have we forfeited in exchanging the *artos* of scripture and primitive tradition for the *azymes* which bear no evident relation to the
783 common bread which one bakes and breaks at home, or to the daily toil of ordinary men and women. In Greece the bread and the wine
[793] that are brought to the altar are the very same as those which are eaten and drunk at home, and such loaves as remain over after the distribution of the blessed bread—the *antidoron* (literally, 'instead of the gift')—go to the parish priest; so, we may recall, the English Prayer Book requires that: "the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten. . . . And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated the Curate shall have it to his own use."

Came the solemn pronouncement of the Lord's words: "This is my body. . . . This is my blood", and the great cry "Thine of thine own we offer to thee . . ." and then the Bishop knelt before the holy table and called upon God to "send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit", while the singers softly intoned their hymn of adoring praise, and the holy people of God stood with bowed heads in the pools of sunlight, veiled by the slowly spiralling haze of incense.

796 In some parts of Greece where movements such as the Brotherhood
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of Life have been most active, there have, as we shall see in a later chapter, been certain changes in liturgical practice during recent years: very often now the celebrant reads in an audible voice the whole of the *anaphora*, or great eucharistic prayer, which the rubric directs him to say *mystikos*—mystically, or secretly—and the whole congregation kneels at the invocation of the Holy Spirit. None of these influences had as yet reached this remote corner of New Greece, however, and the liturgy was still celebrated at Dasoto after the fashion which caused Robert de Dreux, in the seventeenth century, to observe that "it is not easy to see all that they do when they say mass, because the celebrant is hidden by a screen which shuts off the altar, and only shows himself three or four times". This, however, is a topic to which we shall have occasion to return. 796 788 178

The Lord's Prayer (like the Creed) was recited by a girl, and there were some thirty communicants including several children borne in the arms of their mothers—a familiar sight this in every Greek parish church. When the liturgy was ended, and the Bishop had distributed the blessed bread to the whole congregation, I observed some twenty of those who had communicated kneel before the royal doors while their father in God read a brief prayer of absolution. I have referred elsewhere to contemporary Greek practice in regard to the use of the mystery of confession. In the country districts at least, where confessors are rare, this is by no means as uniform as some are apt to suppose, or as might be inferred from the customs which obtain among the Russians of the diaspora, in Paris and elsewhere, with whom the sacrament has tended in recent times to become an obligatory part of the preparation for holy communion. 796 782 852 788 783 796

When one has fasted as a Christian one feasts as a Christian—in Greece at least. 796 [785]

> Then for their Festivals [says Dr. Covel] . . . there is not one that appears there but will contribute something, as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at our old Whitsun-Ales, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival; and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the Virgin Mary, or any other

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VI

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

> Let the Christian consider well when he enters the church that he is entering into another heaven. That same majesty of God which is in heaven is also in His church, and on this account the Christian must needs enter with reverence and fear.
>
> From a *Synopsis* printed at Venice in 1857

788

DR. COVEL, it must be confessed, looked with a somewhat jaundiced eye upon the liturgical performances of the Greeks of Constantinople—the "jolly Easterlings," as he styles them. Not for him the wondering awe of the emissaries of the Prince of Kiev who, seven centuries before his advent as chaplain to King Charles' ambassador at the Sublime Porte, had been present at a celebration of the divine liturgy of our father among the saints, John Chrysostom, in the great church of the Emperor Justinian, and had not known whether they were yet on earth or in heaven by reason of its surpassing splendour.

"A miserable Jumble, or patcht Piece of Service", says Covel, "so confused and so tedious, as it takes away all Devotion"; not to be compared with the chaste dignity of that incomparable liturgy whose compilers "with wonderful Prudence and sound Judgment did distinguish, or rather . . . garble the Offices of Greeks and Latins: and retaining and adding only such things as might promote true Piety and primitive Devotion, did cast away all the rest."

The good Doctor was plainly subject to the prejudices which are characteristic of most Frankish divines and travellers of his generation; and yet, making due allowance for a certain lack of sympathy in the face of an unfamiliar liturgical tradition, we must admit the substantial truth of his assertion that "the greatest part of the Easterlings' Oeconomy and discipline, especially of the Greeks, consist first in their Pomp and amusing Ceremonies at their Liturgies and other Offices . . . and in celebrating their Fasts and Feasts."

Nobody who has lived and worshipped amongst Greek Christians for any length of time but has sensed in some measure the extraordinary hold which the recurring cycle of the Church's liturgy has upon the piety of the common people. Nobody who has kept the great lent with 788 796 [771]

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the Greek Church, who has shared in the fast which lies heavy upon the whole nation for forty days; who had stood for long hours, one of an innumerable multitude who crowd the tiny Byzantine churches of Athens and overflow into the streets, while the familiar pattern of God's saving economy towards man is re-presented in psalm and prophecy, in lections from the Gospel, and the matchless poetry of the canons; who has known the desolation of the holy and great Friday, when every bell in Greece tolls its lament and the body of the Saviour lies shrouded in flowers in all the village churches throughout the land; who has been present at the kindling of the new fire and tasted of the joy of a world released from the bondage of sin and death—none can have lived through all this and not have realised that for the Greek Christian the Gospel is inseparably linked with the liturgy that is unfolded week by week in his parish church. Not among the Greeks only but throughout Orthodox Christendom the liturgy has remained at the very heart of the Church's life.

What the west knows as the liturgical movement bears witness to a very different state of affairs. Throughout western Christendom we can trace the growth of a spirit profoundly alien to that which characterises the Orthodox Christian's approach to the mysteries of the faith. The prayer of the Church no longer shapes and controls the piety of ordinary men and women as it did in former days. Liturgy has as it were become separated from dogma and then, inevitably, from spirituality also. The holy eucharist—the corporate action wherein every member of the organic body has its appropriate *liturgy* to perform—has become clericalised; has come to be thought of as the act of one member acting on behalf of the whole body.

Many who reverence the Bible as the word of God forget that the treasures of the divine scriptures are fully revealed only to the worshipping *ekklesia*, in whose liturgy they are embedded as in a precious frame. Every fragment of a shattered Christendom has its private *lex orandi*, born of isolation and bearing the marks of controversies which are in their turn the legacy of schism and partial vision; while personal devotion—no longer fully subject to the control of the liturgy—has brought forth strange fruit; and a theology divorced from worship and banished to the schools has come to be regarded as a barren science of the intellect: a necessary discipline for scholars and specialists, but utterly irrelevant to the life of the ordinary Christian doing daily battle against the threefold enemy.

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

The liturgical movement in the west is nothing less than a reassertion of the true nature of the liturgy and of its place in the life of the Church, springing from a recovered vision of the nature of the Christian mystery, and from the realisation that dogma and scripture can never be isolated from the living liturgical tradition of the worshipping community without serious impoverishment and distortion. Its scope embraces a far wider field than the province of the liturgiologist, and though it is commonly associated with such 'ecclesiastical' matters as the purifying of the traditional chant and the reform of ceremonial, it is ultimately concerned with fundamental theological realities. Herein lies the secret of the widespread influence of the movement—an influence which although it has been most profound within the bounds of the Roman communion has yet extended in some measure to German Lutherans, French and Scottish Calvinists and others scarcely less remote from Old Rome. The movement is inextricably bound up with the return, now manifest in many different quarters, to a truly theological approach to biblical exegesis, and a recovered awareness that the ancient fathers are not so dead as some would have them be. 788

Dom Olivier Rousseau (whose *Histoire du Mouvement liturgique* affords an admirable survey of the origins and later development of the movement throughout western Christendom) has justly observed that so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned there can be no question of a liturgical movement, for her piety has never deviated from her worship.

I have already had occasion to refer to certain reforming tendencies which are exercising a growing influence upon the liturgical life of the Greek Church at the present time. Father Eusebius Matthopoulos never wearied of expounding the significance of the divine liturgy to the multitudes who flocked to hear him in every city of Old Greece, and one of the primary aims of the Brotherhood which this great preacher and evangelist founded at the beginning of the present century has always been the reverent celebration of the holy mysteries. One has but to compare the manner in which the holy eucharist is celebrated at the Metropolis in Athens, or the little chapel dedicated to St. Catherine above the outer harbour at the Piraeus, with the use which still obtains in the average Macedonian village church, to realise something of the progress that has been made within a generation. 788 178 [794]

While, however, one may in a certain sense speak of a liturgical movement within the Greek Church to-day, it is important to recognise how restricted is its scope when compared with recent developments

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788 in western Christendom. The very limitations of this Greek 'liturgical
178 movement' illustrate the Roman Catholic historian's contention that the Orthodox Church has never lost her hold upon certain important truths which we in the west are only now, after long centuries of neglect, beginning to recover and make our own.

788 The word *leitourgia* had in classical Greek the meaning of a public
796 service or duty—it might be building a wall or fitting out a hollow ship
[192] for a naval expedition. Despite the specifically religious associations which the word has acquired through later usage, it is still sometimes employed in this quite general sense. I remember, for example, being told on one occasion in a small provincial town of northern Greece that the municipal school was not *liturgising* that morning: was not performing its liturgy, or service.

For the Christian, likewise, the liturgy which he fulfils every Sunday in his parish church is a public service; an action performed on behalf not of any terrestrial *polis* but of that city which, as Augustine puts it, is Christ's body of which Christ is the head. The holy eucharist in particular, the service to which the Greek Christian commonly refers as 'the divine liturgy', and upon which the whole of the liturgy, in the wider sense of that word, centres, is supremely the characteristic act of the Church: a corporate action in which every member of the one body takes part. Nor is it those now on earth who alone participate in the eucharistic liturgy. It is not merely the bishop, priest, deacon and reader who, with the remainder of the *laos*—the holy people of God—have their peculiar service to offer within the setting of the one oblation. The saints and the angels, the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, no less than the earthly ministers of Christ's body have each their several liturgy to perform; the whole company of the heavenly Sion is present and active in every village church or hilltop chapel where the holy and ineffable mysteries are fulfilled and where the King of kings and Lord of lords comes forth to be sacrificed and given for food to the faithful.

For many centuries now, so far as the west is concerned, this aspect of the eucharist as the characteristic action of the whole Christian community has tended to be obscured. The passing of the austere Latin of the ancient liturgies as a language "understanded of the people" and the banishing of theology to the schools gradually brought about the virtual exclusion of the laity from any active participation in the

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celebration of the divine mysteries. The liturgy was no longer thought of as a corporate action in which the whole congregation—the laity no less than the clerks—had an essential part to play. Slowly but surely the mass came to be regarded rather in the light of a marvellous rite, fraught indeed with inexpressible wonder and mystery, performed by the sacred ministers: as something *said* rather than *done*. The common people, capable no longer of entering into the full meaning of the prayer of the Church, came to church to hear the mass and to occupy themselves with 'private' devotions bearing little relation to the action which was taking place within the sanctuary, where the sacred ministers performed their liturgy on behalf of the whole body. The ceremonies which from about the thirteenth century onwards gathered about the elevation of the holy gifts belong to an age which had already acquiesced in the growth of a popular piety no longer effectively subject to the control of the prayer of the Church. 788 796

The English Prayer Book attempted to restore to the laity their rightful liturgy. The mass was again sung that the people might hear it and in a language which they could understand. But the reformers themselves were too much subject to mediaeval assumptions: the real roots of the trouble still lay hid. An emphasis on audibility was not enough and congregational worship was not necessarily *corporate* worship. For the common people the new vernacular mass was still something said rather than done; metrical psalms and the congregational hymns which gradually superseded them, had no more organic connexion with the eucharistic action than the older vernacular devotions wherewith our forefathers had occupied themselves while the priest, aloof and apart, performed his mysterious acts at God's board.

The expression 'to hear mass' has no parallel in Greek. The Greek Christian goes to his parish church not so much to *hear* a service as to play his part in a corporate action in which all the different orders of the Church are actively involved. The very arrangement of the church emphasises this fact; the sacred ministers are not, as is now usual in the west, separated from the people by a long quire or chancel. The holy table stands not against the east wall of the apse but clear in the midst of the *altar*, or sanctuary as we should say. The average Greek church, it should also be borne in mind, is by western standards very tiny—even the great basilicas of Salonica are dwarfed by the cathedrals of the gothic north—and since the space which separates the holy table from 788 796 346

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788 the eikonostasis is commonly no greater than suffices to permit of the
796 prostrations of the celebrant, and, in a parish church, the laity occupy
the greater part of the space beneath the dome, and press against the
346 great screen which bears the eikons, many of the congregation are thus within two or three yards of the holy table itself.

But what, the reader may ask, of the eikonostasis? Does not this solid screen, pierced only by three doors, extending right across the whole width of the church, cut off the laity from all effective participation in the action taking place within the sanctuary quite as much as mere physical remoteness? Does it not tend, as has been asserted by Dom Gregory Dix, to force "upon the eastern liturgies the character of two simultaneous services, the one proceeding outside the screen for the people, conducted chiefly by the deacon; the other—the real liturgical action—proceeding inside the screen conducted by the celebrant"?

788 That there is an element of truth in such contentions may be ad-
796 mitted: witness a tendency which is steadily gaining ground in Greece
to-day. In many town churches (with the exception of a few provincial
346 cathedrals liturgical reform has as yet made little headway in the
178 country districts), the curtain which could be drawn across the space above the double doors in the centre of the eikonostasis has now fallen into disuse—at any rate so far as the eucharistic liturgy is concerned. The doors themselves are as a rule only about three feet in height, and it has long been customary to draw these curtains (thus screening the sanctuary completely from the view of the people) at two points during the divine liturgy, at both of which there is much coming and going about the holy table; at the placing of the holy gifts upon the altar immediately after the Great Entrance; and again during the communion of the ministers. This custom has now been abandoned in many places. In a few churches the doors themselves have been removed as, for instance, at Aghia Katerini, Piraeus (where the liturgy is celebrated with a reverence and propriety unsurpassed in all Greece), and, I am told, in the chapel of the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople.

788 When all is said, however, the effects of the eikonostasis have been
796 grossly exaggerated by western writers, too many of whom have been
content to reiterate *ad nauseam* the strictures of their predecessors in the
346 field of controversy: strictures grounded not infrequently upon the most superficial acquaintance with the liturgical practice of eastern Christendom. The divisive properties of the eikonostasis are most marked in a large church when the space before the royal doors normally

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occupied by the laity is railed off and reserved for the singers and distinguished visitors. Such an arrangement, so far as Greece is concerned, will be found only in certain churches of Athens and Salonica. It would, I fancy, be generally acknowledged by all who have worshipped among Greek Christians as well as in the churches of the Latins that as an instrument for creating a sense of separation between ministers and people the eikonostasis of the Easterlings is vastly inferior to the Frankish quire or chancel. An Orthodox priest who has celebrated the liturgy in more than 200 western churches (most of them Anglican) has remarked that he finds himself far more cut off from his congregation in an English parish church—without an eikonostasis of course, but with a long chancel, often having a screen at its *western* end—than in an Orthodox church where the screen is never further away than four feet from the altar.

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It needs also to be borne in mind how great a part of the eucharistic action is enacted *outside* the eikonostasis in the midst of the congregation. Thus the deacon, whose normal place is immediately beneath the eikon of the Pantocrator in the dome, acts as a constant link between all the various orders of the church. The bishop's throne, which forms part of the ordinary furnishing of every Greek church—a constant reminder that the parish priest 'liturgises' only as the deputy of the diocesan—also stands outside the screen, on the south side of the space beneath the dome, so that the bishop is often completely surrounded by his flock. At the solemn entries which occur during the course of the divine liturgy—the lesser, with the book of the Gospels, the greater, with the holy gifts veiled and borne aloft—the sacred ministers descend into the body of the church and make a slow circuit of the whole building. Outside the eucharistic liturgy itself, some of the most memorable events of the liturgical year—the great blessing of the waters at Epiphany (the Feast of Lights, as it is popularly known), the solemn kneeling at the second vespers of Whit-Sunday and the adoration of the holy cross on September 14th, as well as many of the profoundly moving ceremonies of Holy Week and Eastertide—are celebrated not within the sanctuary but in the midst of the congregation.

This would naturally be impossible if the Greek church were encumbered with chairs or pews. In fact, the only seating consists of a few stalls, with crutch-like supports for the arms, against the walls of the church. Standing—not kneeling—is, as it has always been, the normal attitude for prayer. At one of the great festivals the people will stand for hours wedged so tightly together that it is impossible even to cross

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788 oneself. All other considerations apart, such a setting is hardly favourable to
796 the growth of certain individualistic types of piety which flourish amongst
[346] the Franks, who worship their Creator in strange and novel ways, each isolated from his fellow and entrenched within the citadel of his own pew.

In Greece there is but one celebration of the liturgy on a Sunday or holy day in any one church. This is a rule which is waived only in cases
[346] of extreme necessity and then only when a *parekklesion*, or side-chapel, is available so that it is not necessary to use the same altar twice (most
[793] Greek churches have only one altar). A priest may celebrate only once on any given day.

In Greece the times of services are never announced and questions on this score are invariably met with evasive if not actually misleading replies. Services commence earlier in summer than in winter. An hour or two after sunrise the bells will be rung and the priest and a couple of readers will begin to sing the morning offices—*mesonyktikon* (which should, as the name indicates, be read at midnight, as it is in the monastic use), and *ortbros*, or lauds, the office of the dawn. Towards the end of the latter service—perhaps an hour or more after the village's first awakening—the bells will be rung a second time. Still the church is comparatively empty. The holy eucharist follows *ortbros* without a break about nine o'clock, and by the time that the thrice-holy hymn is sung (when the bells summon the faithful for the third and last time) the congregation will have begun to swell, until, at the great entry with the holy gifts, the greater part of the village will be packed within the walls of the church, the men to the right, the women to the left, the air by this time heavy with incense.

788 The whole service is invariably sung. What the west knows as a low
533 mass, the 'early service' or 'eight o'clock', dear to so many English churchmen, is unknown to the Greeks. The traditional Byzantine chant is still more or less universal and is always sung without instrumental accompaniment; only in certain urban parishes has it been partially displaced of recent years by that bastard child of strangely-matched parents, the so-called European chant. In its pure form the traditional plainsong can be quite ravishing in its unearthly beauty. Never shall I forget the singing of the monks of Moni Petraki who gather morning by morning in their tiny church, while Athens lies in darkness and before the first tramcar has gone clanging down the tree-lined avenue of the *Basilissa* Sophia towards the outer suburbs.

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

"Nowhere, either in Greece or the East," observes the Abbé de St. Michon, "do men sing as loud as we do. It is an usage that we owe to the barbarism of our fathers. The oriental psalmody is sweet, low and without effort." Alas! it is not always so. "Their singing", says Thomas Smith, "is very mean and pitifull, without figure and the relishes of art, and is at best but a kind of harsh Plain-song." "We heard the Greek Vespers", wrote Sir George Wheler in 1675, "worse sung than *Hopkins* Psalms used to be in some of our Country Churches." All too frequently the beauty of the traditional chant has been overlaid by accretions and adornment from alien sources; and its delivery, as the Abbé justly remarks, "with nasal sounds which weary European ears". Much of the "tedious and indiscreet length of liturgies" whereof so many Frankish travellers have complained, is due not to any inner necessity of the rite itself but solely to the elaboration of the chant. The restoration of the oriental plainchant to something of its earlier simplicity and directness has therefore become an imperative need in circles where the holy mysteries are celebrated frequently: one cannot expect the laity to spend the greater part of every morning in church. There are churches in Greece to-day where the liturgy is celebrated with great reverence in an hour and a quarter, even when many of the secret prayers are read aloud.

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Concelebration—which has all but disappeared from the west—is still very much a reality in Greece, and is an important factor in enabling the Greek Church to retain the ancient rule of a single eucharist attended by the whole church in each several locality. On a Sunday morning at an important parish church, such as St. Panteleimon, Acharnon (in the suburbs of Athens), one may see five or six priests attended by a deacon concelebrating at the great square altar, often with a bishop (one of the suffragans of the Archbishop, or a provincial metropolitan serving his term of duty as a member of the synod) presiding over the whole assembly. The Greek bishop or priest who finds himself away from his own diocese on the Lord's day does not take his place amongst the laity in the body of the church but joins the other ministers gathered around the holy table and there fulfils his proper liturgy.

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Now there are those who, while recognising that the Orthodox Church has in many respects faithfully preserved the liturgical tradition of the first centuries of our era, would yet ask whether the liturgy of the laity has not—within the bounds of the *oikoumene* no less than in the

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788 796 west—been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Is not the Greek Christian for all practical purposes a mere passive onlooker at a gorgeous spectacle performed by the resplendent ministers: even though the sacred participants in the divine drama sometimes descend from their apron stage and mingle with the audience?

It must be admitted that the average Greek layman communicates very rarely, often only once or twice a year; outside the immediate sphere of influence of the movements, hardly ever more than four times. This reluctance of the laity to communicate frequently is a phenomenon which has been common to east and west from a very early period—though in the west (among Orthodox of the diaspora as well as amongst western Christians) there has been a widespread return to something more nearly approaching primitive practice. Its causes are complex and, to a great extent, a matter for speculation. One factor which is peculiar to the east is the place which the *antidoron* has come to occupy. It would be an over-simplification to say that the blessed bread which the Greek Christian is accustomed to receive at the end of every liturgy is consciously looked upon as a substitute for the holy communion; nevertheless, the *antidoron* has a deep significance for the Greek layman —more, perhaps, than in other parts of the Orthodox world.

The reluctance to communicate frequently does not, as we can see from the history of certain movements within western Christendom, necessarily spring from carelessness and sloth; often it is due to a sense of unworthiness which is none the less real though it be considered misguided. Even in reforming circles in Greece to-day one discovers great wariness on the part of the clergy in recommending frequent, let alone daily, communion to their people. This is not, it is held, a matter [783] to be undertaken lightly, or without the advice and approval of an experienced confessor; and few priests will permit their penitents to communicate as often as once a month unless they are satisfied that the desire goes hand in hand with a real determination to follow Christ in their daily life. To communicate every Sunday is regarded as an inestimable privilege, but one which is hardly for all men.

[782] Then we must not ignore the part played by the ordinary Christian [769] in the offertory. In the country districts of Greece the housewife who [369] bakes her bread on Saturday will set aside one loaf upon which she has stamped with a wooden seal a traditional design wherein the words "Jesus Christ conquers"—abbreviated to I(HCOY)C . X(PICTO)C . NI . KA—constitute the most prominent feature. Early on Sunday

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morning she will set out for the parish church with her loaf, and arriving whilst the singers are still chanting the morning psalms, and taking it to the door of the chapel where the elements are prepared, she will hand it to the priest together with a vessel of wine, the family diptychs —or lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated by name at the holy eucharist—and perhaps a flask of oil for the lamps and a few grains of incense. Even in an urban parish church the faithful may purchase a sealed loaf at the counter in the narthex where candles are sold, and send it to the celebrant with their diptychs.

It is frequently asserted that the offering of the people disappeared from the eastern liturgies at an early date. One can only marvel at the number of eminent scholars who have been led astray in this matter through failure to distinguish clearly between the offertory procession of the Roman rite and the offering itself. The procession never found a place in the Byzantine rite, which retained the older practice of presenting the bread and wine informally before the commencement of the eucharistic liturgy. So widely-used a liturgical handbook as the late Dr. Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy* asserts that "the offerings of the people, which consisted partly of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the eucharist were taken, and partly of alms . . . continued in the west longer than in the east".[1] In actual fact the offering of the people has never disappeared from the Byzantine liturgy and may still be witnessed in any Greek village church on the Lord's day.

But even though it be admitted that the offering of the bread and wine makes the ordinary people something more than mere passive spectators at a gorgeous pageant, it may yet be said that from very early times the rightful liturgy of the laity has in practice been transferred to the choir: the common people hardly open their mouths from one end of the eucharistic liturgy to the other. Now it is true that congregational singing as practised in the west is so rare among the Greeks as to be almost unknown. Only on one of the great festivals of the Church's year will the whole congregation take up the melody of some ancient hymn: the paschal anthem *Christ is risen from the dead*, for example, or the dismissal hymn at the Epiphany. Normally those parts of the liturgy which properly belong to the laity are in fact sung by the *psaltai* or trained singers —and this applies even to the responses to the petitions of the litanies.

[1] 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1949, p. 127. Dom Gregory Dix and Professor Burkitt have already been taken to task on this issue by the Archimandrite Alexis van der Mensbrugghe.

THE WATERS OF MARAH

788 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat,
796 almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy
533 as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary
[782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the
[292] whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear
[369] lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the
788 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way
796 for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the
[175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

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welcome to his dominions the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus with a following which included several Greek ecclesiastics, both bishops and priests.[1] These unwonted guests remained in London until the end of February following. The Greek services were celebrated daily, many English churchmen being present, and several contemporary accounts of the impression created by these unfamiliar rites have been preserved. More than one chronicler notes with surprise that laymen as well as clerks took an active part in the services which, to quote Adam of Usk, "were joined in as well by soldiers as by priests; for they chanted them without distinction in their native tongue". 788 796 [175]

One last word in connexion with the liturgy of the laity. A contemporary of King Henry IV relates that the Emperor's chaplains were catechised by certain English churchmen who had been present at the Greeks' services as to whether "the common people and the ignorant in their country did indeed understand the scriptures and the divine words which they recited together with the learned." Is the 'old school-Greek' whereof Covel and others speak, sufficiently understanded of the people? 788 796 198

Let us hear another voice from the fifteenth century: "The Grekis", says John Purvey, "wiche ben nobel men, han al this in ther owne langage. But yet adversaries of trewith seien, wane men rehersen that Grekis . . . han al in ther owne langage, the clerkis of hem speiken grammaticalliche and the puple understondith it not."

It should be remarked that the Orthodox Church has never opposed the translation of the scriptures or the liturgy into new tongues when such translation has been necessary for the furtherance of her missionary and pastoral work. On the contrary, the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is probably celebrated in more languages than any other of the historic rites of Christendom. I have myself been present at celebrations at which old Slavonic, Greek, English, French and Arabic have all been used during the course of the liturgy, and W. J. Birkbeck mentions a committee he encountered at St. Petersburg in 1889 which was engaged in translating the liturgy for a small tribe in the north-east of Siberia, numbering less than 5,000 souls and whose language contained scarcely 788 797 198

[1] The story of this Byzantine Emperor's fruitless expedition to the west in quest of military aid against the Turk, and of his sojourn in Paris and London—one of the most diverting episodes in fifteenth-century history—is related in some detail in Schlumberger's *Byzance et Croisades* (Paris, 1927), pp. 87-147: "Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres."

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more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

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consider the family prayers and personal devotions of the Greek laity. These are made up wholly of prayers, psalms and hymns drawn from the liturgy: scarcely ever (save in certain circles influenced by the new movements) do they include vernacular prayers. The *Hiera Synopsis*—the laity's manual of prayers—consists entirely of extracts from the Church's liturgy. The form of evening prayer commonly used in a Greek household is simply a shortened version of the Little Compline which closes the day in every monastery.

The 'liturgical' approach to the Bible has, it must be confessed, certain limitations. If the laity were present at *all* the services of the Church they would indeed acquire a working knowledge of the greater part of the holy scriptures. In practice, however, they will normally hear only those portions of the Old and New Testaments which are read on Sundays and holy days at the eucharistic liturgy and (depending on the regularity of their attendance) at mattins and evensong. Since 'Bible-reading' is little practised outside the new movements (where, indeed, it is universal) this inevitably means that the majority of the Greek laity, being wholly dependent upon the lections which occur in the course of the regular liturgical cycle, are unfamiliar with considerable portions of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament.

It is, moreover, almost certainly true that the common people understand very imperfectly some of the elaborate 'canons' which recur only once every year (and then generally at mattins when few of the laity are present in church). But, as W. J. Birkbeck remarks not inappositely of the Russian muzhiks of his day: "I myself have heard a great many more quotations (and intelligent quotations too) made from the canons . . . of St. Cosmas and St. John Damascene than I have ever heard from the Norfolk peasantry, amongst whom I have lived all my life, from the Hebrew prophets, which are read, or ought to be read, in all our churches throughout the months of September and October!"

While many a Greek Christian's familiarity with the Bible will extend only to those passages which are read during the course of the liturgy, his *theological* understanding of the scriptures is commonly far deeper than that of the, often better-informed, English churchman. Unlike so many an earnest student of the Bible, he realises—however obscurely—that the divine history is related at every point to what goes on week by week in his parish church: that it is only to those who are baptised into Christ's saving death, who are living in the mystery revealed in the Church, that the full meaning of the scriptures is laid bare.

783 Of liturgical
796 reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary
794 object is to enable the laity to participate more fully and intelligently
[783] in the eucharistic action, through more frequent communion (Father Eusebius was himself in the habit of celebrating daily), and through a greater 'openness' in the manner of celebrating the holy mysteries.
[214] In Athens and Salonica many people now follow the services in the little manual of the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas—the popularity of which may be judged by the fact that it had reached its fifth edition by 1950. In general, where the new movements have exercised an effective influence, a high standard of liturgical propriety prevails, though it must be confessed that certain musical innovations of recent years have been unfortunate, to say the least.

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793 All the movements of which I have been speaking have remained
797 quite unofficial in character, though they have always carried out their
[794] work with the blessing of the ecclesiastical authorities and under the general supervision of the local bishop. There has of late, however, been a development of a rather different nature, so important as to demand brief consideration. This is what amounts to the refounding of a body known as the 'Apostolic Diaconate of the Church of Greece', which came into being as long ago as 1930. I do not propose to dwell upon its fortunes prior to its virtual reconstitution: suffice it to say that although great potentialities were latent in this organisation from the outset, its actual activity during the first fifteen years of its life was on a very small scale. It is directed by a council of members of the Holy Synod and professors of the theological faculty of the University of Athens under the presidency of the Archbishop, with Professor Basil Vellas as general director.

The aim of this official organisation is to systematise and co-ordinate the many-sided missionary activity now being undertaken throughout the length and breadth of Greece. In addition to its headquarters at Moni Pétraki in Athens it has a local office in every diocese, and is assured of a basis of material resources by a system of annual diocesan contributions.

The possibilities inherent in such a venture are without question very great, and already much has been accomplished. A theological
874 hostel and a school for preachers and confessors have been established at Moni Petraki: the latter promises to be of the greatest service in the

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degrees, from the Primates and Metropolites down to the lowest Order of Deacons . . . and if we English Churchmen are lookt upon by the Easterlings in this Point, but as Mongrels or half primitive Clergy-men at the best, how odious and abominable must the Calvinists appear to them, when they shall be told . . . that there is no such outward Pomp, or any reverend or decent Garments used in their divine Offices amongst them; their Ministers are not Episcopally ordain'd, and they wear only a common black Cloak and a Coat or Jump.

The Greek Church has never known a vestiarian controversy. The *phelonion*, richly wrought with gold and silver though it be, has never, like the western vestment and the comely surplice, served to kindle polemical ardour. It is evident to all men that the earthly ministers of Christ should be clothed in such apparel as becomes their high calling: to celebrate the divine mysteries in a common black cloak or Calvinistic "jump" would be indecent, a breach of good manners—like going to a formal banquet in one's workaday clothes.

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It is not a little startling to turn from the controversies about vestments and lights and incense which continue to agitate many western Christians, to a church where these things are used quite simply and naturally and without occasioning the slightest comment. The Greek attitude towards the liturgical use of incense does indeed afford a peculiarly striking instance of the dangers awaiting the Frankish controversialist who seeks to bolster up his tottering defences with unwary borrowings from beyond the Adriatic shores. Amongst the Greeks incense is used at every service, from the most elaborate of pontifical liturgies to a simple ceremony such as the blessing of a house. To do otherwise would be thought irreverent: if any custom can claim to be evangelical it is surely this. Did not the Lord God Himself command Moses his servant:

> Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy. And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

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GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

To worship without incense is commonly regarded as one of the innovations of the Catholics. There is a story of an English churchman who was catechised by some Orthodox monks (I fancy that they were Serbs) as to the practice of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

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"Do you, in your divine worship", they demanded, "invariably offer incense?"

The Englishman confessed that this evangelical custom was not observed at every service within the territories of the Metropolitan of Canterbury.

"Ah!" said the monks, shaking their heads at this irrefutable testimony to the spread of popery: "We knew that you were tainted with Catholicism!"

Let not the western Protestant be dismayed if his refusal to burn incense in his churches is interpreted by the Orthodox not as a sign of his adherence to evangelical tradition but, on the contrary, as a badge of popery. I have always suspected that my Greek friends must find it extraordinarily difficult to enter into the history of the 'ritualistic' controversies of the latter part of the nineteenth century, since the issues at stake are so remote from their own experience. What *can* one make of muddle-headed *barbaroi* who are so perverse as to regard the observance of evangelical customs as evidence of the continuing influence of the Arch-Protestant?

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XVI

EPILOGUE

THE WATERS OF MARAH

Thou only art more excellent than all the forests of cedars; whereon hung the Life of the world, whereon Christ triumphed and through death overcame death for evermore.

AMONGST the miscellaneous papers of Dr. Covel which now repose in the British Museum, there is a letter addressed to the Doctor from "The Coach Office" on December 21st, 1714, by one Humfrey Wanley. Covel—still industriously accumulating "Brick, Stone and Timber" for his book on the state of the Greek Church—had apparently asked this correspondent whether he had ever sounded Arsenius, Metropolitan of Thebais, with whom he had had some association since the latter's arrival in England, about his belief in the matter of transubstantiation.

Mr. Wanley replies, somewhat irritably, to the effect that on the previous Monday he had succeeded in extracting a highly unsatisfactory profession of faith, "craftily worded", from the Metropolitan and his archimandrite. "I told them", he goes on, "I believed it was taken from some book I had heretofore read: They replied it is taken from the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysostome. I told 'em roundly, the Question was not about what Chrysostome or Basil believed, but about what they themselves believed; They answered, They believe as those saints did."

Poor Arsenius! He must have had a trying time of it in this country, what with his constant financial difficulties (rendered all the greater by the necessity of providing for an oddly assorted following that included "Gennadius, a Cypriot and Archimandrite, and Kathegumenos of Alexandria, with four Deacons, an Anagnostes, a Cook and an Interpreter,"—who, says Wanley, "consume all") and his inability to enter into the subtle disputations of the English divines. Nobody seems to have known what to do with these jolly Easterlings; the universities would not be pestered with them and the Bishop of London tried to

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persuade them that they must quickly be gone. "The poor Archbishop", it is related, "cried out like a child when my Lord of London told him he must Depart." Clearly, the Metropolitan of Thebais was no theologian and felt himself quite out of his depth in controversies about the 'grand Dogma'. Nor was it otherwise with the majority of his contemporaries: "From a Native Greek or Easterling", writes Covel, "who never was out of his country, (though he was there a Man of some Dignity) I never could meet with any tolerable reasoning or answer towards the clearing of this point. Many of my acquaintance would avoid any set discourse about these matters, desiring rather to be quiet and not to embarrass themselves about these, φρικτὰ μυστήρια (as they called them) dreadfull or hidden mysteries."

For all his want of book-learning, however, the bishop's instincts were sound. In transcribing Chrysostom and Basil ("a copie . . . badly spelt and badly accented", says Humfrey Wanley) rather than hazarding a personal opinion, he and Gennadius were appealing not to the private views of two theologians, but to the common faith of all Orthodox Christians; Chrysostom and Basil did but bear witness to this common tradition.

From the day when darkness fell upon the empire of Constantine down to our own time, the Greek Christian has held fast with remarkable tenacity to the faith committed to his charge. He has, for the most part, been little capable of expounding this faith—certainly not in a manner likely to carry conviction with the western theologian. Nevertheless, throughout the dark night of Turkish dominion he has continued to cling at any rate to the outward forms of sound doctrine, and to live to the best of his power in the liturgical tradition inherited from an earlier and more creative epoch. This was no time for unprofitable speculation and the subtleties of the vanished schools, but for striving to preserve the royal treasure entrusted to his keeping.

Now, in our own day, the faithfulness with which through long centuries of oppression a host of unremembered parish priests and simple Christians held fast the traditions of the fathers is beginning to bear fruit. The Greek theologian, furnished once more with a scientific equipment not inferior to that of his western colleague, is rediscovering the marvellous riches of the incomparable treasure locked away these many centuries, and entering into his proper heritage. Unlike the Russian theologian of the diaspora—upon whom enforced contact with western ways of thought has already acted as a powerful stimulus—the

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [553]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness.

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new underkakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

he worships her like the Virgin. A derisive Dodecanese anti-Mussolini song, composed during Italian occupation, makes casual reference to God and the beloved Virgin of the Island.

HEALTH

The stock phrase for beginning a Greek letter is "We have health and health we wish for you." A frequent form of greeting and good-bye is "Health to you", and this is also said to anyone who sneezes. Anyone wearing a new article of clothing is greeted with the wish that he wear it with health. The question "How are you? Are you well?" asked upon a meeting with someone, are real questions, requiring an answer. Health is good and important, it is desired, but it is not a preoccupation. The wish for health is not a sanction; one of the child care manuals uses this sanction in urging mothers not to let their young children play with the neighbourhood children for fear of contracting infections, but the other urges the mothers not to worry about microbes, since association with others is of primary importance. In general, however, health is not a motivation in nutrition, recreation, or housing. And human relations are definitely more important. It is terrible to send a member of the family to the hospital unless, of course, it is necessary for an operation. Because of this attitude, tuberculosis often spreads through the family, since very often not even the barrier of self-protection will be introduced between the ailing and the well. Added to this is the fear that, if tuberculosis is known to be in the family, it will be hard to get a son-in-law. However, if an operation is required, a woman will go alone from a village to a hospital in Athens. There is no rejection by her family involved here; in addition, the pattern of fortitude is evoked.

In general, people do not go to a doctor unless something is very wrong. They do not go for a general check-up, although the habit of going to maternal and well-baby clinics is gaining ground. If anyone is unwell, home remedies are first resorted to, and probably the wise woman who knows about herbs is called in. The manuals on child care have long sections, covering about a third of the book, on home care and the diagnosis of disease; and they urge the use of traditional remedies: cupping, the use of camomile and other herbs. When a serious illness is recognized, the doctor is called and vows are made to the Virgin or the appropriate Saint; a mother may vow a foot pilgrimage, or 40 daily obeisances over a period of time, or the gilding of the hands of an ikon. Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells, and can be counteracted by magical practices.

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only one half the amount of tubercu-

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is
787 lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at
[777] least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

824 Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of
[787] the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed
777 clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk
539 story:

> Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony
[844] known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panagias to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[6] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the
[789] midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward
[754] off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sta matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[6] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old
82 people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

825 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild
787 animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 and strangly moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the
186 knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives,
823 only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 For the slanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (Jan-
823 uary 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering him-
[755] self fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism
[778] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of
[789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most per-
776 sistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of
539 Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

753 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, —
776 from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest,
759 who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particu-
[793] lar charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters,
[868] although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary
755 folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia,
757 a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was
[184] expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane per-
793 son out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

● [789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

I:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[835] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings.
[789] The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The god-
608 parent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[262] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
[553] fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

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Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure. 796 527 [465]

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity. [184] [241]

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil. 527 [789]

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell 796 372 [369] [783] 796 787

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

[527] [533] [788] [755] [777]

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

[789]

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata*, or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti*, since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

[585] [369] [785] [769] [777]

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

[785] [262] [372] [783]

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

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the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understamd because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked,, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He iis there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the lharmony of the community.[14]

/75 cont./ 873
to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given [544]
to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter [242]
months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. [793]
A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies.

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous 789
activities of an educational character that have been established [178]
there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside
old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain
people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does [832]
not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and [484]
their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of
the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are [843]
asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman
desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians [791]
to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role [759]
of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same
women may act as mid-wives, too.

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are 777
believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a
bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think
the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean [763]
somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the
eyelid moves fast some good news is coming.

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom 353
he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 778
776

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse. 178

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions. 178 203 831

There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future. 178 184 [789]

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings. 178 476

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and

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to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of
241 summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the blazing sun.

Land Reform (Thessaly)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece, but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illustrate modern Greek land reform.[12] The size of the farm holding in Thes-
[241] saly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province: the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece; just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still
[671] exists for those poor villagers who need it.

During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land reform. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the questions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain; he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre-maximum holding.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs.

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them.

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients.

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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17. A monk on the ageless journey to Salamis with casks from his monastery to be filled or to sell.

18. Godparents hold the child before the priest for a controlled moment in the exuberance of a baptism, Macedonia.

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[p. 272-K]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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> with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaioemerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places?

The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness (already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who
[463] exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

793 The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age, and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight
465 increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one
[874] of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—
[589] which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of
[659] his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this
792 may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic
[423] property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

793 Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in
[795] work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece.
[589] There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

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THE ORGANIC BODY

Dr. Holland, who was travelling about Greece in the year of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, relates that when he visited the Archbishop of Larissa the metropolis was filled, both in the morning and also after dinner, with people approaching the Archbishop, either as petitioners or to obtain an adjustment of differences; and describes how "on entering the apartment, each person knelt before him, kissed his hand, and frequently after rising repeated this ceremony a second time". The Archbishop's manner, in fulfilling this part of his pastoral office, was, he says, "mild and ingratiating, without any loss of dignity proper to his station". 793 [576]

The bishop, though he must be unmarried, need never have lived as a member of a religious community in the technical sense. The great majority of the Greek metropolitans are chosen from the archimandrites attached, in one capacity or another, to episcopal households. The title of archimandrite was originally confined to the superior of a monastery—the literal meaning of the word is 'ruler of a fold' (*mandra*)—nowadays, however, it is commonly conferred upon any priest-theologian. The Greek archimandrite is almost invariably a graduate either of the theological faculty of the University of Athens or of the Academy at Halki (the theological school at Salonica has been in existence only a few years). He may have taken the monastic habit on Mount Athos, or elsewhere, when scarcely more than a boy, and, showing promise of more than the average ability, have been sent to the university by his monastic superiors as a young deacon. Alternatively, he may have come to the theological faculty after completing the ordinary course at a *gymnasium* or hieratic school, in which case he will not, in all probability, be ordained deacon until he has finished his studies. 793 792 [874]

After taking his degree he will normally pass to the household of a bishop, whom he will serve either as personal deacon or as chaplain and *hierokeryx* of the metropolis. He will doubtless become an archimandrite and will be addressed not merely as 'Reverend Sir' but as 'Altogether-most-blessed'! (*Panosiologiotate!*) In due course he may be called to take charge of a large parish in Athens, to undertake administrative work of some kind, or to serve as a secretary to the Holy Synod. It is from this category of the clergy that most of the bishops are chosen —though a monk may be summoned from his community to be consecrated, and an unmarried lay theologian or professor is also eligible for election to the episcopate. 793

A small minority of the present metropolitans of the Church of [874]

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794 that he is 'going into the Church'. For the Orthodox, every Christian is in some sense called to be a theologian: to verify in his own life and experience the truths which are set forth in scripture and tradition; and although the bishop has, in virtue of his office, a peculiar responsibility for bearing witness to the *paradosis* which enshrines the saving truth of the Gospel, it is a responsibility that is shared by every lively member of the Church—by the laity no less than by the ordained ministry which is called to perform a particular function within the one body. In this connexion it may be remarked that monasticism, among the Orthodox, has never developed into a predominantly clerical institution. As in the early days of Benedictine monachism, the majority of Greek monks are peasants of little education; very few are in orders —a community of forty or fifty *kalogeroi* may well include only two or three priests or deacons.

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From about 1936 onwards the voluntary religious movements, which had already obtained widespread recognition in the Athens-Piraeus region, as well as in several provincial centres of Old Greece, began to take an important place within the normal diocesan and parochial system but in some measure as supplementary to it. To-day their influence has spread to the remotest corners of the Kingdom of the Hellenes, and no balanced account of the organisation of the Church of Greece can fail to give a prominent place to these predominantly lay movements which (under the general supervision of the hierarchy and with full episcopal approval) now play so vital a part in almost every aspect of the Church's life and evangelistic work.

The more one sees of these movements and of their widespread influence, the more one realises how different might have been the present condition of the Church of England had the Methodists not been forced to go into schism at the end of the eighteenth century. There is indeed a striking analogy between the situation in Greece to-day and that of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* as it might have been had the Methodists remained within her fold and continued to receive the sacraments of the one body at the hands of their parish clergy while exercising, under the general control and supervision of the episcopate, a lay apostolate of their own. The tragic character of that schism cannot but be brought home to anyone who has lived and worshipped among Greek Christians during recent years, has seen the apostolic labours of lay men and women as theologians, preachers and catechists, and has realised that this Church—at first sight so rigidly hierarchical—is in

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VII

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A THESSALIAN THEBAID

> It seems a place of such stupendious solitude, as if the situation thereof had been designed for the retirement of Monks or the Cells of Anchorites.
>
> PAUL RYCAUT

> For the Quiet and innocency of their Life, the natural Beauty of the Place, the Rocks, Mountains, Streams, Woods, and curious Plants, joyn'd with the Harmonious Notes of Nightingales, and other Birds, in whole Quires, celebrating, and as it were, welcoming the forward Spring, to speak the truth, so charmed my melancholick Fancy for a time, that I had almost made a Resolution never to part with so great a Happiness, for whatever the rest of the World could present me with. But, in conclusion, it prov'd too hard a Task for me, so soon to wean myself from the World.
>
> GEORGE WHELER
> *A Journey into Greece*, 1682.

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THE traveller who follows the shallow streams of Peneios beyond Trikkala, with its Byzantine citadel, towards Kalambaka at the head of the Thessalian plain, will observe, long before the ruined cottages and hastily improvised dwellings of that oft-destroyed township come into view, a singular group of fantastically shaped rocks rising abruptly from the plain. As he draws nearer and the mountains close in on either hand he will distinguish what appear to be human habitations occupying seemingly inaccessible sites among these monstrous crags and pinnacles. Above Kalambaka itself the limestone cliffs tower toward heaven, "asperous, craggy, and barren"; a few monasteries and hermitages clinging as it seems miraculously to the very brink of the abyss, in defiance alike of the violence of the elements and of the laws of gravity. These are the Meteora monasteries, so extraordinary in their situation that one is disposed to accept the local belief that God formed

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these strange rocks for the peculiar benefit of the communities of 133
stylites who, in the fulness of time, were to build their chapels and 361
hermitages upon their barren summits. Assuredly, there are few places 792
on earth so admirably fitted to serve as a refuge for those who are called
to the solitary life and to the labour of the angels as this rocky wilderness 346
above Kalambaka.

The early history of the monasteries is lost in obscurity. We cannot 175
say at what period the first solitaries found their way to this remote 792
corner of Thessaly. It seems clear, however, that certainly before the 346
end of the thirteenth century, and perhaps considerably earlier, there were many hermits scattered about this wild region. *Staghi* (as Kalambaka, the ancient Aeginion, was known in the Middle Ages), seems to be a contraction of *eis tous aghious*—the name is still preserved in the official title of the Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi. It may have been many years before the unorganised eremitical life crystallised into anything in the nature of regular communities. Many of the monasteries trace their origins to the troubled epoch during the latter part of the fourteenth century when the Emperor of the Serbs carried on an intermittent campaign against the successors of Constantine from his base at Trikkala, a few miles further down the valley of the Peneios, and the desert of the solitaries was invaded by armed bands and by men whose warfare was not with principalities and powers. The hermits took refuge among the high rocks. How they first succeeded in establishing themselves on some of the apparently unscalable heights which are now surmounted by the crumbling ruins of their cells is one of the unfathomed mysteries of monastic history—though there are explanations to be heard in the mountain villages of Pindos.

Between 1356 and 1372 there came to Staghi a monk trained in the [133]
great coenobia of Mount Athos, Athanasius by name, who founded on the summit of the Platys Lithos—the vast mass of rock which towers to a height of more than 1,800 feet to the north of Kastraki—the monastery dedicated in honour of the Transfiguration of our Lord and Saviour which has ever since been known as the Great Meteoron. As darkness descended upon the glories of New Rome, and the church of the Holy Wisdom—"the most fayr Chirche and the most noble of alle the world"—fell into the hands of the infidel, the desert blossomed and a flourishing group of monasteries sprang up among the barren rocks. The Great Meteoron prospered and served as a model for other foundations, thanks to the wisdom of its founder and to the benefactions of

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175 the wife of the Despot of Ioannina, whose brother, Ioasaph, had come to
792 Staghi as a postulant in 1388. By the sixteenth century there would
346 seem to have been as many as twenty-four communities scattered about the rocks.

The convent of St. Stephen, built on the site of a hermitage founded in 1312, lies on the farther side of a chasm spanned by a drawbridge. [406] In order to gain access to most of the monasteries, however, it was necessary to be hoisted in a net lowered from the gate-house of the monastery (commonly situated some 150 feet above the farthest point [417] to which the traveller could attain by his own unaided efforts), or to clamber up ladders somewhat imperfectly secured by long wooden pegs to the face of the precipice. Travellers' accounts abound in references to the perils of either means of ascent: to frayed ropes which were replaced only after a catastrophe had actually occurred, and to the horrors of ladders hung perpendicularly upon the face of the cliff, below which, as Curzon relates: "the precipice went sheer down to so tremendous a depth, that my head turned when I surveyed the distant valley over which I was hanging in the air like a fly on a wall." It was not until 1925 that, as the result of the construction of some rough tunnels and steps, it became possible to reach the four monasteries then inhabited without considerable hazard to life and limb. The alterations then effected are bitterly lamented by the present *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron, the Archimandrite Callinicos, as a misguided concession to episcopal infirmity on the part of his predecessor. It seemed very [406] doubtful, however, whether the combined energies of the few remaining monks would suffice to operate their ancient windlass at all effectively. Curzon (who visited the Meteora in 1834) speaks of the ten or twelve monks at Aghia Trias who pulled him up to their monastery with a rope thirty-two fathoms long, and of the like number of reverend stevedores who assembled at the bars of the capstan at St. Barlaam, and whose efforts had the somewhat disconcerting effect of lifting him off the floor in his net and launching him "out of the door right into the sky, with an impetus which kept me swinging backwards and forwards at a fearful rate". To-day, the largest community can muster no more than half a dozen monks, of whom two are well advanced in years.

A great transformation has indeed come about since the days of prosperity vividly depicted in an old print which hangs in the sadly dilapidated guest-chamber of the Great Meteoron. More than twenty

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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monasteries are there represented, each one inaccessible on its rock. Wayfarers seeking hospitality strive to attract the notice of monastic porters, remote and unheeding in their aerial gate-houses. Venerable bearded figures in flowing black robes dangle in nets above the abyss, or swing with grave and solemn motion upon rope-ladders; while their brethren labour unceasingly at windlasses and capstans high above the earth, and hoist provisions, firewood and travellers to their fastnesses among the rocks.

The Thebaid of Staghi to-day presents a very different picture: no more than four of the original twenty-four foundations are now inhabited. The history of the monasteries from the sixteenth century onwards is one long record of steadily declining numbers. There were interminable struggles for supremacy between the abbots of the Great Meteoron and the superiors of the hermitage of Panaghia Doupiani, who strove to retain their ancient title of 'Father of the ascetics of Staghi'. Discord rent the communities, there were disputes concerning the lands belonging to the monasteries, and before long the number of those inhabited was reduced to fourteen. The English travellers Holland and Hughes, who paid brief visits to the Meteora during the early part of the nineteenth century, found only ten remaining. During the further twenty years that elapsed before the advent of the Hon. Robert Curzon with his escort of brigands three more convents were abandoned.

As late as 1830 many of the caves which mark the perpendicular rock face were apparently inhabited: though whether by hermits or, as seems more probable, by refugees, is not entirely clear. Urquhart describes these cave-dwellings: some "like handsome houses, with regular landing-places, windows and projecting balconies", others, the smaller and meaner ones, "shut in with basket work, with a hole to enter by", and reached by curious ladders hanging like chains, some of which were drawn up when their lord and master was installed in his aerial dwelling; while those which were longer and gave access to the more elevated among the caves were pulled up fifteen or twenty feet from the ground and let down with "a strange clattering noise". All have been swept away and only the dark holes in the face of the cliff remain. By 1911 only thirty-eight monks were left, dispersed among four communities: the Great Meteoron, Aghios Barlaam, Aghios Stephanos and Aghia Trias. A monk from the Belgian monastery of Amay, who visited the Meteora in 1931, found the number of the

monks still further reduced to twenty-one. A decade of war has added a catastrophic chapter to this melancholy tale of gradual decline, for it was not possible that the monks should remain aloof from the calamities which have befallen their native land during those terrible years. The day was long since flown when the monks could look down from the security of their rocky retreats upon scenes of slaughter and pillage as armies came and went on the plain below; and, turning away with the sign of the cross and a *Kyrie eleison*, go back to their labours. The unscalable heights were impregnable no longer.

I spent several days at the monasteries in January 1950, accompanied by a young theologian from the Russian Academy in Paris. Heavy falls of snow had blocked the Metsovo pass—the one road that leads northwestwards from Kalambaka across the heights of Pindos, connecting the plain of Thessaly with Ioannina and Epirus—and the cold was intense. We had slept the previous night at Trikkala, where the Metropolitan had shown us a number of charred manuscripts which had been salvaged from the monasteries. Our first concern upon reaching Kalambaka the following morning was to seek out the curate of the place, Father Christos Benda, whom we discovered wrapped in a blanket at his fireside. He was not a little startled at the sudden apparition of two Frankish visitors in the doorway of his cottage, and regarded somewhat gloomily our proposal to sleep at the monasteries for the duration of our stay, assuring us (not without reason, as we subsequently discovered), that the monks had little enough bedding to protect their own persons from the bitter winds which swept the exposed summits. He promised, nevertheless, to come with us to look for the *Igoumenos* of the Great Meteoron who was said to have descended from his airy retreat that morning in order to deal with some piece of monastic business. First, however, we were taken to see the fourteenth-century basilica with its remarkable marble *ambon*, and to visit the school, where we found classes of 150 children overflowing the one available building (which had perforce to serve as primary school in the forenoon and as high school for the rest of the day), and packed into two small chapels which had been furnished with desks. The children were delighted at the diversion caused by the appearance of the *xenoi*. Papa Christos carried us off in search of the abbot who was finally run to earth in a tavern where, monastic business satisfactorily despatched, he was disposing of a dish of vegetables.

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A THESSALIAN THEBAID

An hour or so later we were scrambling up the chasm which separates the Platys Lithos from the adjacent massif of Drakospelaia. Hundreds of feet above us the walls of the monastery of St. Barlaam stood out, a ragged fringe of ivory, against the sky. The *Igoumenos* reined in his pony and pointed out to us the site of the monastic prisons, high in the towering cliffs above Kastraki. 792 [346]

"Your names once again, that I may remember them?"

"Boris and Petros."

"Boris and Petros", repeated Father Callinicos, readjusting the bundles of leeks which festooned his saddle, "*na eisthe kala!*"

"The *Kyrios* Boris", he went on, as we relapsed into single file, "is from Paris, and yet, you say is Orthodox?"

"He is indeed Orthodox, O *Igoumenos*."

"But the Christians of Paris are of another dogma, are they not? Are they not Catholics?"

My exposition of the state of the Christians of Paris and of the condition of the erring patriarch of the west was cut short as the gatehouse of the Great Meteoron came into view in breath-taking perspective. We gained the narrow platform of rock at the head of the gully, immediately below the monastery, and Gregorios threw back his head and sent cries of *Agathangelle!* echoing and re-echoing among the high rocks. 346 792

> Having reached the foot of the precipice, says Curzon, we stopped in the middle of this dark chasm and fired a gun . . . which was intended to answer the same purpose as knocking at the door in more civilised places; and we all strained our necks in looking up at the monastery to see whether any answer would be made to our call. Presently we were hailed by some one in the sky, whose voice came down to us like the cry of a bird; and we saw the face and grey beard of an old monk some hundred feet above us peering out of a kind of window or door. . . . Presently, after a careful reconnoitring from several long-bearded monks, a rope with a net at the end of it came slowly down to us, a distance of about twenty-five fathoms; and being bundled into the net, I was slowly drawn up into the monastery, where I was lugged in at the window by two of the strongest of the brethren, and after having been dragged along the floor and unpacked, I was presented to the admiring gaze of the whole reverend community, who were assembled round the capstan.

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

346 *Autres temps, autres moeurs.* "Unhappily", said Father Callinicos, as
792 we waited at the foot of the precipice and Gregorios unsaddled the
[406] pony, "there have been regrettable changes; formerly there was great security." The windlass, it appeared, was now used only for hauling up firewood and victuals. We took a last look at the leeks, now 100 feet above our heads, and entered the dark passage which gives access to the steps leading to the monastery. Agathangellos was awaiting us outside the now disused refectory: a youngish monk, clad in a tattered grey cassock and soft cap, who had come to the Meteora, we subsequently discovered, in 1939. He carried us off to the guest-chamber (little used in these days) and left us among the faded memorials
[796] of former splendour while he went in search of refreshment. A few minutes later the insistent clamour of the *semandron* summoned us to vespers in the fine *catholicon*, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, where Athanasius the Athonite, clad in the habit of a western monk, looks down from the apse—a fragment of an earlier church on the
[262] same site, built by Ioasaph in 1388. A frugal supper of vegetables,
[352] goats' milk cheese and bread followed, and afterwards we sat on wooden stools round a fire of brushwood and talked to the *Igoumenos*
[372] and the other members of his little family, while Agathangellos busied himself in the kitchens, where cats as lean as the stylite saints depicted
792 in the frescoes of the narthex lurked in the shadows. Father Callinicos, we discovered, had been at the Great Meteoron for nearly forty years. There was one other priest in the community: a Father Theophylaktos who had lived in the Athonite house of Xeropotamou for several years as a simple monk before he was ordained and came to Thessaly in 1935. Another monk—also named Callinicos—had been carried off by the Italians and had died in exile. Apart from Father Agathangellos, the only remaining member of the community was a very ancient personage named Paul who appeared to lead the life of a solitary, and whom we but dimly discerned amidst the shadows of the church. Gregorios, who had accompanied us from Kalambaka, was no monk but a married man with a wife and several children, lately returned to their village in the mountains to the west of Trikkala. We encountered him again some ten days later, breasting a snow-covered ridge among the foothills of Pindos with a couple of heavily-laden pack-animals, and accompanied by a little troop of refugees on their way home after three years in Kalambaka.

[796] Shortly after eight o'clock Father Agathangellos reappeared with a
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huge iron lantern, to lead the way along rickety galleries and past rows of long-abandoned cells to the church. We shivered in our stalls while compline was shrilly chanted, without book and by the light of a single guttering candle, in the narthex. "They are so expert and ready therein", says Rycaut, "that they can run from the beginning to the ending without stop or hesitation, and gallop it over at that rate, that one must have a good ear and some skill in the Greek language, to distinguish the different sound of the words which they utter." As the monastic day ended, the monks emerged from the shadows of the narthex, and, one by one, filed past the *Igoumenos* to ask his forgiveness and blessing, and he theirs:

"Your blessing, holy father, and forgive me, a sinner."

"May God forgive you, holy father."

At the Great Meteoron, despite the gloomy prophecies of those who had tried to dissuade us from staying at the monasteries, there were plenty of blankets, and we slept soundly till, long before the dawn, the *semandron* recalled us to church for mattins and lauds. We groped our way towards the door of the narthex, slipping and stumbling on the ice-bound rocks and mindful of Father Agathangellos' parting exhortation to "avoid the edge of the abyss". The whole world seemed wrapt in an unfathomable silence—infinitely remote there floated up out of the vast emptiness at our feet the faint clink of a chain, where a mule moved restlessly in the camp at Kalambaka. We crept into the church with the unearthly chant rising and falling in our ears. Agathangellos, a candle held between his fingers, swayed back and forth at his lectern, a solitary pool of yellow light in the universal blackness; an occasional movement from the remoter recesses of the darkened church betrayed the presence of other members of the community. With the first pale light of dawn mattins gave place to lauds, and as a shaft of dusty sunlight pierced the darkness, picking out the gold and crimson of antique frescoes and bringing new life to limbs rigid with the cold, Father Callinicos, from within the sanctuary, took up the ancient hymn: "Glory to Thee who hast shown us the light . . ."

When the office was ended and we had drunk a cup of coffee and a thimbleful of *ouzo*, we spent a little time exploring the monastery, now stripped of all its movable treasures. Then, after taking leave of our kind hosts, we made our way to Aghios Barlaam where we were welcomed by the Archimandrite Ambrose and a young deacon named Bessarion. The *Igoumenos* was below in Kalambaka but would be back

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792 later in the day. There was, alas! no bedding at the monastery, said
[669] Father Ambrose: everything had been carried off by the Communists, to equip a field-hospital which they had established in the mountains to the northward; "What is to be done? But we will find something for you when you return this evening."

792 We spent the rest of the day scrambling about the rocks and visiting long-abandoned monasteries and hermitages. At St. Nicolas—fast
346 falling into ruin, and where one must tread with circumspection—we found a few paintings remaining in the two chapels and the refectory, as well as an iron chest containing liturgical books and an eikon of the Forerunner; elsewhere, nothing save slowly crumbling masonry and the all-enveloping silence. We paid a fleeting visit to Kalambaka and returned to St. Barlaam a little before sunset laden with cognac and cigarettes. Like the Great Meteoron, this monastery, which crowns the
[361] towering cliffs of Drakospelaia, was until quite recent times inaccessible
[133] save by net and windlass. It is a sixteenth-century foundation, having been built about 1517 by two brothers from Ioannina—Nektarios and Theophanes—on the site of the fourteenth-century hermitage founded by the solitary from whom the monastery takes its name. In 1950 it
792 was inhabited by six monks. The *Igoumenos*, Father Christopher, told
[162] us he had been at the monastery for twenty-one years, and for another twenty years at a convent to the westward of Trikkala. He was seventy-seven—twelve years older than Father Ambrose, an Athenian who was ordained many years ago at Moni Petraki in the shadow of Lykavettos. This was the only one of the monasteries where we came across any novices. Father Bessarion (who came from a village near Larissa and who had seen service with the British army in the Middle East), had been received only five months earlier, as had another young deacon, a native of Chios. There were in addition two simple monks, one of them more than ninety years old.

That night it snowed heavily. Father Bessarion produced a threadbare
[346] carpet which, folded double, afforded us a little protection against the bitter cold; and he and a shepherd from Kalambaka, who was living at the monastery, kindled a huge fire which blazed on the open hearth of our cell until morning, while the wind howled along the deserted galleries, the ancient timbers groaned and shivered, and it seemed that an exceptionally heavy squall would send the whole monastery with its domed chapels and its frail scaffolding of cells and domestic buildings spinning off into the abyss. When daylight came we seemed to be sus-

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pended in the void, without visible contact with the world which we had revisited the previous afternoon. We returned to the *Igoumenos'* cell and sat and talked around a brazier filled with glowing charcoal, while we waited for the weather to moderate. Father Christopher told us of his own experiences during the troubled years of war; how he had been thrown into prison at Trikkala by the Italians and had escaped by jumping from a window; how several years later he had been carried off by the Communists in company with some 300 men, women and children from Kalambaka, and had been in the mountains for six days before his release; he told us too of the great monastery where he had taken the monastic habit, and of its 366 cells. Father Ambrose joined our little circle and catechised us as to our age, our families, were our parents living, were we married or *agamos*: "Certainly marriage is of God; a soldier from England and a *koritsi* from Piraeus, and God joins them. Truly, this is a great mystery, as says the apostle."

So the morning passed and at midday Father Bessarion reappeared with bean soup and bread for our lunch. By one o'clock the snow had somewhat abated, and since the visibility had increased sufficiently to enable us to see the monastery of Rosani, 500 yards distant, we decided to set out for St. Stephen where we were expected that evening. The *Igoumenos* and Father Ambrose advised us to take the easier, though less direct, path by way of Kalambaka; but being reluctant to add two miles or more to our journey in such weather we insisted on following the path which keeps to the high ground. Father Bessarion accompanied us a little way, and then, since the weather seemed to be improving, he left us after giving us precise directions as to our route.

All went well for a time, despite the fact that the path was entirely obscured beneath the drifting snow, and Rosani (formerly the dwelling of an aged female solitary) gradually faded from our view. Shortly afterwards, however, the mist thickened until visibility was but a few yards, and it was not long before we were in difficulties. For a time we crept along the edge of the abyss, edging our way cautiously across expanses of bare rock scoured by the wind, a thin coating of ice affording none save the most precarious foothold, until it seemed that we must be within a stone's throw of Aghia Trias. Alas! there were no monks left to answer our shouts; no slight thinning of the mist afforded us a momentary glimpse of the encompassing heights such as would have sufficed to give us our bearings. For three hours we wandered in an unfamiliar world until, an hour before dark, the mist lifted somewhat,

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that before nightfall we should be back on the windswept heights above Kalambaka and amongst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. 574

A little before three o'clock Father Apostolos and the village president bade us *kalo taxidi*, after accompanying us as far as the outskirts of the village, and we set out for Aghios Stephanos with a guide. The sun had vanished beneath the jagged rim of Pindos when we at last worked our way gingerly across the icy rocks above the deserted monastery of the Holy Trinity and came suddenly upon Aghios Stephanos, four-square upon its rock like the heavenly Jerusalem, and found the whole of Thessaly lying at our feet. 792 346

Vespers was drawing to a close in the church of St. Charalambos, which stands so close to the brink of the precipice that one could, it seemed, empty the contents of a thurible into Father Christos' chicken-run below in Kalambaka. We spent two nights at this monastery before setting out for the mountain villages of Pindos, and I returned alone for a final visit some ten days later.

Of all the monasteries now inhabited St. Stephen had, it seemed evident, sustained far the greatest calamities as the result of war. Sacked first by the Italians and later by the Communists, it was a mere shell of a building, its unglazed windows affording little protection—as we learned by bitter experience—against wind or snow. Its former guest-rooms were crammed with wrecked furniture and empty ammunition boxes, while the eikons in the smaller of the two churches (the chapel dedicated to St. Stephen) had been wantonly defaced. Almost everything of value had been carried off when the monastery was pillaged: vestments and plate, an ancient gold cross from Mount Athos, five horses and mules, 130 sheep, provisions and fodder, beds and bedding, pots and pans, crockery and cutlery, carpets, even the bee hives, and—needless to add—the excellent wine for which the monastery was renowned in former days. The few surviving monks lacked the barest necessities of life and it was hardly surprising that sickness should have taken a heavy toll of this and the other communities during the winter months. The *Igoumenos* of St. Stephen's was the Deacon Anthimos, who came to the Meteora between the wars from the great Athonite house of Vatopedi—"a good house and garden . . . snakes very big and long in it", notes Dr. Covel. There were also living at St. Stephen three simple monks—lay-brothers, as they would be called in the west—Ephrem, who had been a monk for twenty years, Eusebius, who was formerly a policeman, and Cyril. Whilst we were staying at the 792 727 346 792

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792 monastery there arrived from Trikkala a certain Papa Iannis, an octogenarian with three married daughters. He had obtained his bishop's permission to come and share the life of the monks (there being no other priest in the community). Finally, there was Basil, a layman of sixty-five, who, after spending his boyhood in America, had returned to his native Thessaly to serve more than one monastery as a resourceful factotum; and there were the inevitable stylite cats. The *Igoumenos* was plainly a sick man—it was little wonder, considering what he had been through during the last few years and the rigours of the life at St. Stephen's—and the morning we left the monastery there was not a monk capable of getting to his place in church for *mesonyktikon* and *ortbros*.

792 796 Life at the Meteora to-day is hard indeed, and under such conditions as prevail it is hardly astonishing that the liturgical life of the monasteries should exhibit but little of the dignity and splendour which one rightly looks for in a large and well-ordered community. We were none the less deeply impressed by the efforts which are made to maintain the regular course of the *opus Dei*. Night after night, while Kalambaka sleeps, the few remaining ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi gather in the dimly-lighted chapels among the high rocks to perform what for the monk must always be his primary liturgy; morning by morning as the sun touches the heights of Pindos with new fire and the flickering candles grow pale in the first light of dawn, the great trinitarian doxology banishes the shades of night and unites heaven and earth, angels and archangels, sinful men and those whose warfare is accomplished, in a single bond of adoration:

Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace, goodwill towards men.
We praise Thee,
We bless Thee,
We worship Thee,
We glorify Thee,
We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory.
O Lord King,
O God of Heaven,
Father Almighty;
O Lord, Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ,
And O Holy Spirit.

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VIII

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

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> There is no village or city . . . which is not surrounded by monasteries as if by walls, and the inhabitants are supported by their prayers as if resting upon God.
>
> *Historia Monachorum*

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THE importance of the monastic life for the whole of the Orthodox world can scarcely be exaggerated. From the days when rumour of the heroic exploits of the hermits of the Egyptian deserts first moved men to forsake home and family and friends, and to go forth to do battle with the demons in those very regions which were held to be peculiarly their own, the ascetic life has never ceased to exercise its compelling attraction. The Orthodox Christian has always had the greatest veneration for the monastic ideal: it is only in quite recent times that the traditional view of the function of the monk and of his importance for the life and health of the whole body of the Church has been widely challenged. The great historic centres of Orthodox monasticism—the deserts of Egypt and the Judaean wilderness, the holy mountains of Sinai and Athos, the monastery of Studium, at the very heart of *oikoumene*, and the great *lavras* of Kiev and Moscow beyond its farthest confines—all these have exercised an incalculable influence upon the life of eastern Christendom.

Orthodox monasticism, though it has many different forms, does not consist of a multiplicity of distinct orders and congregations, each with its peculiar characteristics and sphere of activity. The western Christian who feels the call to the religious life may decide to test his vocation as a Carthusian, as a Benedictine, or as a member of an 'active' order such as the Jesuits or the Franciscans. The Greek simply becomes a monk. There are no 'orders' in eastern Christendom: no Order of St. Basil, as so many writers have mistakenly supposed. Thus Père Robert de Dreux remarks that all the Greek metropolitans and patriarchs "are chosen from among the religious of St. Basil, of whom there are a great number in that country", and speaks of Mount Athos as "inhabited

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by a great number of the monks of St. Basil, who dwell there in great austerity". So too (to quote a more recent instance of the same error) Bardenhewer asserts that "the Basilians are the one great Order of the East", while the reverend author of *Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church* speaks of "the ancient unity of the Order of St. Basil, which has subsisted since his time with its original simplicity".

Such expressions as these rest upon a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of eastern monachism. Antony, the hermit of the Egyptian desert—not Basil—is the patriarch of eastern monks. Western writers have all too frequently been led astray by the supposition that the rules of St. Basil have exercised, within the context of eastern monachism, an influence comparable to that of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* in the west.

In actual fact this supposed analogy is without foundation. The writings of the great Cappadocian have, it is true, exercised a considerable influence upon the development of coenobitic monachism in the east: though for the working out of much that was latent in the original rules we have to look to the work of Theodore of Studium (759-826). There is, however, no one document which has moulded the growth of eastern monachism as the Rule of St. Benedict has shaped the religious life of the west. The essential character of eastern monachism does not depend upon the writings attributed to St. Basil, nor indeed upon any written rule, but upon a traditional observance which was slowly hammered out in the great centres of eastern spirituality and which was spread abroad throughout the Orthodox world from Sinai to Siberia.

The Basilian monk is a Frankish invention. The Orthodox Church knows no *Order of St. Basil*—only the order of monks: the whole company of those who have sought to follow the Lord Christ in poverty and nakedness and in the spirit of the evangelical counsels; those who wage war incessantly on the ramparts of the city to guard the Christian polity against the assaults of the enemy without.

In a certain sense one may say that all Orthodox monks and nuns are contemplatives: though it has to be recognised that western categories such as 'contemplative', 'active', 'mixed', etc., are not really applicable to eastern monachism, which knows of only one *activity* proper to the monk—the unremitting struggle of prayer and the ascetic life. The Orthodox Christian who takes the monastic habit does so that he may renounce the life of this present world and abandon himself to the

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labour of the angels. A great part of the day and night he will henceforth devote to the *opus Dei*: the chanting of the divine office. For the rest, he will practise the prayer of Jesus and will be nourished upon the Gospels and the Psalter, the *Philokalia* (a collection of the writings of many of the great ascetics and fathers of the Church), and certain classic works of monastic spirituality—notably the *Ladder of Perfection* of St. John the Scholastic, Abbot of Sinai, which is read in every Orthodox monastery during the great lent. 792 [779]

Within this traditional framework there exist considerable variations suited to differences of personal vocation. Though the *coenobium*, or monastery of the common life (that form of eastern monachism which owes the greatest debt to the legislation of St. Basil and St. Theodore of Studium), has commanded the greatest influence, the coenobitic life is only one among several traditional patterns of asceticism which lie open to the Orthodox monk. Side by side with the regular discipline of the community there exist other forms of the monastic life which trace their origin not to Cappadocia but to the primitive hermits of the desert; and despite St. Basil's admiration for the coenobitic life it can scarcely be questioned that, amongst the generality of Orthodox Christians, it has commonly been the solitary who has been accorded the greatest veneration and respect.

To this day, a large coenobium (such as one finds on Mount Athos, for example) will as a rule possess several small, dependent *sketai*, where two or three monks pursue a manner of life that has seen but little change during the course of 1,500 years, and may have in addition one or two anchorites nesting in inaccessible caves amongst the rocks and following an observance of incredible austerity; these are the μεγαλόσχημοι—monks of the great or angelic habit—of whom Covel observes that they "never eat at most above three times in a week; whence they are emaciated to meer Skin and Bones before they quite leave this world; this extravagant Fasting being counted the very heighth of an Aschetick Life."

Such extremes of asceticism, needless to say, are not for all men. Towards the end of the fourteenth century there made its appearance on the holy mountain a somewhat relaxed form of the monastic life known as the idiorrhythmic. The idiorrhythmic monk is literally one who follows his own rhythm. He owns personal property and takes his meals (prepared, if he be well-to-do, in his own kitchen by a monkish servant), not in the refectory but in the privacy of his own rooms. The

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government of the idiorrhythmic convent is normally vested in an assembly of senior monks presided over by two *epitropoi*. Such a system as this, although in certain of its features it recalls the loosely organised settlements of hermits of pre-coenobitic monachism, has in practice prospered chiefly in times of decadence. The true contemporary parallel to the settlements of the desert is not the idiorrhythmic monastery but the *skete*, or group of ascetic cottages, where the living traditions of Orthodox spirituality are preserved in all their integrity.

The great age of the idiorrhythmic monastery extended from the end of the fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth and was followed by a widespread reversion to the coenobitic pattern. Nine of the twenty ruling monasteries of Athos are now idiorrhythmic. There are, moreover, many Athonite monks who, though wearing the monastic habit, live after a fashion differing but little from that of the ordinary Greek peasant or fisherman. Many of them own their *kellia*, or 'cells'. A Greek prelate who wishes to retire to the holy mountain may purchase the lease of a cottage (commonly known as a *kathisma*, or 'seat') where he will pass the last years of his life with a monk or two to minister to his needs.

Between these two extremes lies the coenobium, the life and organisation of which differ but little in substance from the pattern laid down by St. Benedict. It should, however, be remarked that the Orthodox convent has never become a community of clerks: the overwhelming majority of Orthodox monks are to this day what we should call lay brothers; it is not even essential that the abbot should be in orders—though if he is not a *hieromonachos* he cannot claim the title of archimandrite but only of *hegoumenos*.

There can be little question that the ordinary regimen of the Orthodox coenobium, to say nothing of that which obtains in the *sketai*, is of a rigour which the average Frankish monk would find insupportable. A visitor from the Belgian priory of Chevetogne remarked, after a short stay at the celebrated convent of Mar Sabbas, that the diet was such that that of La Trappe would seem quite relaxed by comparison. Much, however, that western Christendom would now consider intolerably rigorous, the Greek peasant-monk takes for granted. "The contempt of food and drink and of a soft bed", as Chrysostom observes, "is a matter of no effort to many persons, especially if they have led a rustic life, and been brought up to these hardships from their infancy."

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NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

As of Orthodox Christendom in general, so of the Church of Greece in particular, it may be said that the monastic life has been of quite unique importance in shaping her life and piety. This is no less true of the long centuries of the captivity than of the earlier and more formative ages of her history. Even to-day, when the monasteries are subject to widespread criticism, the ancient traditions of monastic spirituality persist and sometimes reveal themselves most unmistakably in precisely those circles where hostility toward the existing institutions—especially in their more idiorrhythmic forms—is most evident and outspoken. It needs to be remembered that the first stirrings of the new missionary spirit, which has had so notable an effect upon the Greek Church within the space of the last 100 years, centre upon the great monastery of Megaspelaion in the Peloponnese, and that Eusebius Matthopoulos, the founder of the Brotherhood of Life, was himself a monk of this convent, steeped in the ascetic traditions of his Church.

"There is no place where the *Greek* Religion is professed", says Rycaut, "so famous for Monasteries as that of Mount *Athos*; and indeed if we consider the number of them, and of the Religious belonging thereunto, it is not to be parallel'd in all the world . . . the grand Conservatory of the Christian Religion in *Greece*, and ancient austerity of living, and therefore not unaptly stiled by them *Ἅγιον ὄρος*, or the *Holy Mountain* . . . the high Pique or Peer whereof . . . is uneven, craggy, and as horrid as Caucasus."

Athos remains, after more than 1,000 years, the heart of Greek monasticism. Isolated and aloof, the life of the holy mountain moves to a slow rhythm which is as little susceptible of change or alteration as the constant surge of the waters about the rocky promontory, in whose narrow clefts and ledges the anchorites roost like wild sea fowl. In Greece one can never wholly escape from the all-pervading influence of Athos. One is always dimly aware of the holy mountain, brooding over the dark waters of the Aegean, its head wrapped in the clouds. At the very heart of fashionable Athens one may encounter a student-deacon from the *sketai* of St. Anne, or a stately *epitropos* in silken gown bound for the offices of the Holy Synod.

Thanks to its isolation, Athos suffered comparatively little from the ravages of war—though many monks endured imprisonment and ill-treatment, and considerable damage was done to monastic properties scattered about the mainland of northern Greece. The Communist revolution in Russia and the subsequent division of Europe into two

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792 648 hostile camps have, however, already gone far towards transforming the holy mountain into a purely Hellenic preserve, and threaten wholly to deprive it of the pan-Orthodox character which it yet retains, despite the fact that for many years now every monk has been required to adopt Greek nationality. Three of the twenty ruling monasteries—St. Panteleimon, Zographou and Chilandari—are non-Hellenic convents, being Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian respectively. In former days these monasteries were amongst the wealthiest on the mountain; St. Panteleimon, in particular, with its numerous dependencies—some of the latter far larger than any other ruling monastery—could boast of more monks than were to be found in all the other convents together. All these alien monasteries, however, were dependent mainly upon the produce of lands which now lie behind the iron curtain, and to-day, cut off as they are from their sources both of supply and of recruitment, they are in a most melancholy condition.

Of all the thousands of Russian monks who once inhabited the holy mountain scarcely 300 remain. The majority of these are aged and infirm: many of them physically incapable of cultivating the vegetables, olives and vineyards which now form the monastery's only means of support. It is now more than thirty-five years since the monks have been cut off from their own land. A certain amount of assistance continued to reach Athos from the Russian community in Jerusalem, but this also has ceased since the property became subject to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate. With the passing of the years the position of the alien monasteries becomes more and more desperate, as the list of invalids grows longer, and fewer and fewer hands are available for the support of those who can no longer work; and greatly as one may regret the fact, the day seems not far distant when Athos will become a purely Hellenic community.

792 727 Mount Athos apart, the organised religious life has come very near to complete suppression in northern and central Greece during the last few years. I have already said something of the sufferings of the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi. The fortunes of two or three other important monasteries are not without a certain melancholy interest.

Take, for example, the ancient convent of Eikosiphoinisses, which [361] traces its foundation to the second decade of the sixth century: a vast walled enclosure on the wooded slopes of Mount Pangaion, accessible only by mule-tracks winding high above the marshes of Philippi. It is said that there were some fifty monks inhabiting the convent at the

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beginning of this century. Eikosiphoinisses suffered grievously at the hands of the Bulgars in 1913 and again five years later. All its flocks and herds were driven off and the monastery was looted of most of its treasures—precious manuscripts, vestments, holy vessels and reliquaries. There could, therefore, be little room for doubt as to the fate in store for it when the Bulgars again swarmed into Greece in the wake of the German forces in the summer of 1941. 792 727

The history of the convent from this time down till its destruction three years later is obscure. The pillage of its remaining property seems to have commenced about two months after the Bulgars had descended upon Drama and expelled the Greek clergy; a certain Botseph, Bulgarian *protosyngellos* of the metropolis, celebrated the festival of the Dormition of the Mother of God by stealing from the monastery a mitre, an ancient chalice, six silver crosses such as are used for the blessing of the waters at Epiphany, sundry liturgical vestments and ten manuscripts on parchment from the library. Some six weeks later several Bulgarian officers were moved to emulate the pious labours of this worthy ecclesiastic. They returned from their expedition to the heights of Pangaion driving before them a train of asses laden with clothing, furniture and other tangible fruits of their pilgrimage.

Another Bulgar, Sophronios Natseph, the *epitropos*, makes a fleeting and discreditable appearance upon the stage of Greek history on June 20th, 1943, on which day he despoiled Eikosiphoinisses of seventeen carpets, ninety-eight goats and as much bedding as he and his accomplices were able to bear away with them down the rocky paths.

The final chapter in this catalogue of infamy was written a little more than a year after this episode when, on July 13th, 1944—a few months before they fled from the scene of their barbarous crimes—the Bulgars set fire to the monastery and destroyed it utterly. Only the *catholicon* (which stood somewhat apart in the centre of the great courtyard) and a single block of cells survived the conflagration; the rest of the convent, including a three-storied edifice said to contain 300 cells, the bakery and the refectory (dating from the eleventh century), and all the stables and outbuildings were gutted. Before setting fire to the monastery the Bulgars looted it of everything of value and drove off all the live-stock. The library, which contained some 1,500 volumes, was reduced to ashes. [346]

All the monks of this monastery endured great hardship and privation. One was executed by the Bulgars; another died as the result of the treatment which he suffered at their hands. The former was the *monachos*

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792 727 Daniel—a native of Thasos, who had taken refuge in the village of Palaiochori, on the lower slopes of Pangaion, when the district was invaded by the Bulgars. He was tortured before being put to death. The other monk who perished was the *hieromonachos* Sophronios, carried off as a hostage to Bulgaria. The *igoumenos* of the monastery, Gregorios Katsivakes, fled with several other monks to the village of Nikesiani, a few miles to the northward. There he fell into the hands of the Bulgars and was carried off into exile in northern Bulgaria. After six terrible months he was allowed to return, broken in health, to Nikesiani where he remained supported by the alms of the people.

When the occupation was over, Mount Pangaion—together with the [669] heights of Chalkidiki (with which it enjoys easy communications)—became a stronghold of the *katsapliades*. The coastal road between Cavalla and Salonica was closed to traffic after it had been mined repeatedly, and all vehicles had to make a long detour to the north of Pangaion by way of Drama and Serres. The ruins of Eikosiphoinisses remained uninhabited. Only recently have a handful of monks gone back to the monastery which lies desolate like the city of the Philippians amidst the marshes far below.

A few miles to the north-west of Eikosiphoinisses and close to the town of Serres stands another historic convent, that of St. John the Forerunner. This, too, has fallen a prey on more than one occasion to the rapacity of the Bulgars. In 1918 the conventual library was looted and its chief treasures carried off to the Bulgarian monastery of Rila. Thence, in due course, they were returned to the Greek government, and (with a view to their greater security), distributed amongst the libraries of Athens. The cataloguing of the library of this Macedonian convent had, incidentally, been carried out some years before this calamity by one who was subsequently to become a well-known figure throughout western Christendom: the late Metropolitan of Thyateira, Germanos.

In 1941 the monastery was sacked by the Bulgars. The monks joined the innumerable host of refugees. Several are said to have died of starvation in the streets of occupied Serres. Others escaped to Nigrita, Salonica and Athens. Seven of them came back in 1945 and were joined by two novices. It was not long, however, before the monastery [669] was again attacked and pillaged—this time by the Communists. Every scrap of food and clothing was carried off to sustain the democratic warriors of the mountains. In view of the constant threat of further

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raids, the Metropolitan of Serres arranged for rations to be sent daily to the monastery, and this state of affairs endured down till the summer of 1949, when it was considered safe to lay in stores once again. In the spring of 1950 only three monks were living in the convent: one of them a priest who could celebrate the divine mysteries. The other monks had been sent by the Metropolitan to serve in parishes of the diocese, where (owing to the very high proportion of casualties amongst the village clergy), the shortage of clergy was peculiarly grave. 792 727

All over northern Greece the same tragic history has been re-enacted time and time again. The monastery of Aghios Nikanor, Zavordas, lies at the heart of a barren and desolate region to the southward of Kozani, and within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Grevena. Like so many Greek monasteries its situation is remarkable: the summit of a high rock set amidst the swirling waters of the Aliakmon. The remoteness of its site, far from the lines of communication, brought this convent through the years of occupation unscathed; isolation, however, afforded little protection against the Communists. The monastery was attacked and looted; everything of the slightest value was borne off to the mountains together with the convent's pack-animals and its 300 sheep and goats. The abbot, Father Gabriel Balayiannes, and an older monk named Gerasimos Stathopoulos were murdered, and the survivors fled to the village of Palaiochori (some four hours' journey from the monastery) where they were still living when I visited this region in the spring of 1950. [361] [669]

Southwards, over the pass which skirts snow-capped Olympus and connects western Macedonia with the broad plains of Thessaly, stands the ancient monastery of Panaghia Olympiotissa at Elassona. This, too, was pillaged, the monks driven out, the abbot severely beaten, imprisoned and sent into exile. In almost every diocese of Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus the few surviving monasteries and their inhabitants have suffered a like fate.

The Abbé de St. Michon observes that in his day the Greek monk was a patriot who fought for the independence of his country, and who was loved for virtues which belong more to the soldier than to the man of prayer. The cannon of Megaspelaion were indeed used to some purpose against the Turk during the war of independence, and Urquhart gives a vivid description of his arrival at the monastery of Lezini, in the guise of a "goul or spirit of the marsh", with twenty muskets and a nine-pounder full of grape trained upon him. Alas! the monkish batteries

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792 have been allowed to rust these many years, and armed resistance,
727 however effective it may have been a century ago against a lightly armed assailant, could have availed the monks but little in the face of an enemy equipped with modern artillery. The monasteries lay at the mercy of the *barbaroi*: an easy prey, holding out a tempting prospect of plunder.

Elsewhere in Greece the destruction and pillage of religious houses has been less universal than in the isolated dioceses of the north. The ascetic life still flourishes in many communities scattered amongst the islands and in the Peloponnese; one may still find convents where the unrelenting battle with the powers of darkness is waged with something of its ancient ardour and where the monk is still manifestly the guardian of the walls; but such houses, it must be confessed, are now few and far between.

792 It must not, however, be supposed that the present decline of Greek
178 monasticism is wholly attributable to the effects of a decade of war.
659 Long before the storm burst upon them in 1940 the Greek monasteries had, with few exceptions, been reduced to a sorry plight. At the beginning of the nineteenth century many convents were very wealthy. Since then the foundations of their economy have been undermined by the loss of their properties situated in Rumania, the Caucasus and elsewhere, and as the result of a series of confiscations by the Hellenic government dating from 1833 onwards. Although a portion of the wealth made available by these confiscations has gone to swell the General Ecclesiastical Fund, and so to benefit the work of the Church, this anti-monastic legislation continues to arouse acrimonious controversy not only among the monks but (for rather different reasons) among churchmen in general.

There are, nevertheless, few laymen who would oppose the diversion of monastic property to the furtherance of social and educational projects and the improvement of the condition of the parochial ministry.
792 The contemplative life has few champions outside the *sketai* of the holy
178 mountain. There are many who value the monasteries for their former contribution to the life of the nation, for their traditions of hospitality, and for their archaeological interest, but few indeed who now regard them as centres of spiritual power. The traditional monasticism has come to be looked upon—at any rate in the towns—as an out-of-date phenomenon, quite irrelevant to the needs of the present time.

This is true not least of many of the leaders of the new movements,

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many of whom are outspoken critics of the monks. Everywhere the demand is for *activity* (in the western sense of that word): for training preachers, confessors and catechists, and for raising the standards of clerical education. The monks are looked upon as idle drones who make no contribution to the life of the whole body. Inevitably, such views (which are widespread to-day) have had a marked effect upon monastic recruitment, and postulants are but few. All over Greece the monasteries lie abandoned and falling into ruin; rambling buildings in remote mountain sites visited only by shepherds, or inhabited by a solitary *kalogeros*, more farmer than monk, tending his vineyards and his olive groves and watching over his flocks and herds. 792 178

It would, nevertheless, be rash to assert that the new movements which have sprung up and taken root within the last two generations are anti-monastic in character, however hostile they may seem to be towards the traditional forms of the monastic life. It is tempting to compare a society such as the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë, for example, to the friars who made their appearance in western Europe more than seven centuries ago and who were frequently no more sympathetic towards the old monasticism than is the Greek theologian of the present time. I shall have occasion to describe this brotherhood in some detail in a later chapter; here I would but remind my reader of the fact that its founder was himself a monk of Megaspelaion, grounded in the traditional observance of that monastery, and that its members (though they do not bind themselves by permanent vows) are celibate priests or laymen, living under a common rule. Despite its novel constitution and organisation the movement retains much of the spirit of the old asceticism, and, in some respects at least, has more of the nature of a reassertion of the fundamental demands of the ascetic life in a form appropriate to the needs of the present time than a denial of their abiding value. 792 794 178

Soon after my arrival in Salonica in 1948, I was warned of the errors of the Zoë brothers and their sympathisers by a *very* idiorrhythmic monk, who assured me that these unhappy innovators were seeking to persuade men that the path that led to salvation was strait and the gateway narrow: such language seemed to have a familiar ring!

If we confine our view to the relics of the old monasticism it must be confessed that the prospect for the future is melancholy in the extreme. Everywhere the old order is passing away; amidst the crumbling walls a few survivors linger on as aliens in an unfamiliar world. But what of

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the new wine that is to be found in abundance within the religious societies? Is a new monasticism seeking forms appropriate to a changed environment? It is too early as yet to speak with any confidence, and yet there are signs that out of the present ferment may come something not so very far removed from the traditional patterns of the ascetic life.

Assuredly the passion for activity will have an end. It is but one aspect of that fascination which the feverish culture of the west holds for the modern Greek. Even now there are close personal links between the Zoë Brotherhood and certain convents in Old Greece and the islands where the ancient warfare is still waged with something of its first fiery ardour, and these may well prove to be of great importance for the future of Greek monasticism. We may be certain that the apostolic zeal and devotion which is so abundantly manifest within the religious societies will in time bring about a new awakening to the continuing need for men and women who will give themselves wholly to prayer. Then, indeed, we may hope to see a widespread revival of the monastic life that will people the ancient convents which now lie desolate and abandoned, and bring again the anchorites to the barren heights of Staghi.

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722 the small country towns which serve as centres for the ecclesiastical
362 administration. Here many of them remained for three years. Some, and those the most fortunate, were able to build themselves wooden houses or *kalyvai*; others were lodged in huts; multitudes, especially in Macedonia, lived (often twenty or twenty-five families together) in old Turkish houses; those who fared worst of all had to be content with hastily improvised shelters of mud and thatch, or even to pass the bitter months of winter in tents. By the end of 1948 the number of the refugees exceeded 700,000: for the second time within ten years a tenth part of the whole nation was homeless. The country towns were packed with refugees: not a ruined cottage or a stable but sheltered two or three families. Some words from Thomas Alcock's *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece in 1828-29* might well have been written 120 years later: "Nothing in Greece", says this traveller, "can more forcibly give an idea of the war that has been carried on, than finding on inquiry that not a third of the residents in any place are natives of it, but only sojourners there, till security is afforded them in their own birth-places."

727 The parish clergy fled with their people to the comparative security
793 of the towns, but the priest was a marked man and many failed to make good their escape. No less than 239 priests and monks were done to
[792] death by the Communists alone, and seventy-seven by the Germans,
[798] while a further forty-seven died at the hands of Bulgars, Italians or Albanian moslems. Of the total number of 363 the majority (297 to be precise) were parish priests: no single category of the population sustained heavier casualties in the slaughter of these years than the village *papades*.

793 "I triumphed", says De Quincey, "but infer not, reader, a condition
798 of joy or exultation." Not all of those who died were men of the quality of the heroic parish priest of the village of Megarchis, Papa George Skrekas, who was crucified by the Communists on Good Friday, 1947. Nor, needless to add, did every Christian who suffered for the faith during the first three centuries of our era embrace death with the ardour of an Ignatius or the serenity of a Polycarp. The Church of Greece has ever been rich in martyrs, and there are not a few names—unknown though they be to Christendom at large—which have been added during the last ten years to the roll of those who will be remembered in the mountain dioceses whenever the Church gathers for the eucharist:

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created as it were out of nothing. Everywhere these institutions were hastily improvised in the face of desperate and clamorous necessity, and, more often than not, maintained with a heroic disregard for the universal lack of material resources, and a courage worthy of a St. Vincent de Paul. 727 794

In almost every diocese the bishop bore a heavy responsibility in this work of relief. Nearly always he exercised a close personal supervision over the various institutions which had come into being in response to the need of a people driven, for the second time within less than ten years, from their homes and lands; over the *estia* where for several years milk was distributed daily to thousands of refugee children; the *paidikos stathmos* where infants were cared for during the day; the distribution of clothing, black stuff for cassocks, soap, cocoa, macaroni, beans, sugar, boots and shoes—all the multiplicity of urgently needed supplies with which a host of relief organisations, societies, British and American towns and villages, and private benefactors sought to succour the people of Greece in their distress. [648]

At Siderokastro, for example, the Metropolitan (who as assistant bishop of Salonica was an ardent supporter of the work of the Near East Foundation during the period between the wars), founded a small hospital where poor families could receive free medical attention, as well as a remarkable school of housekeeping for girls of marriageable age. Like all the Macedonian 'despots', the Bishop was president of the local branch of the national relief organisation known as P.I.K.P.A., and supervised the two centres from which milk and cocoa were issued daily to thousands of refugee children from the villages of his diocese. [657] [793]

At Edessa, in western Macedonia, the Metropolitan founded, shortly after the end of the occupation, an orphanage for twenty-five boys. This was originally situated in a house on the outskirts of the town, but during the heavy fighting at Epiphany, 1949—when Naoussa, a few kilometres to the southward, was sacked by the Communists and more than 600 of its inhabitants carried away captive to the mountains —this building was extensively damaged and rendered almost uninhabitable. The Bishop then established his orphans under the care of a monk in a dilapidated Turkish house next to the metropolis, and this was subsequently transformed into a permanent orphanage. Not content with this, the Bishop proceeded to found two further orphanages attached to nearby monasteries, as soon as the district was sufficiently tranquil [669] [792]

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727 to permit the monks and nuns—who had taken refuge in the town of
794 Edessa—to return to their respective convents. A fourth orphanage
[792] was established a few miles away at Iannitsa.'

So, all over Greece, there was heroic improvisation in the face of overwhelming material need; and, as at Edessa and Siderokastro, so in many another provincial town from the Peloponnese to the remotest fringes of northern Epirus and Thrace, the courage and initiative of the local 'despot' were factors of incalculable importance.

727 And yet, as I emphasised at the beginning of this chapter, pre-
794 occupation with the material needs of her children did not cause the
793 Church to neglect their spiritual welfare. The feeding and clothing of the homeless and the destitute, the distribution of soup and the creation of hospitals and orphanages, went hand in hand with the preaching of the Gospel. The Metropolitan of Siderokastro was not content with his hospital, his P.I.K.P.A. centres and his school of housekeeping. Even while the issue of the long struggle with the Communists was yet in the balance—and the Bulgarian frontier lies barely ten miles to the northward of the town—the Lord Basil was organising his "Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment" and pressing ahead with the construction of a *Christianiki Estia*: a building comprising a large hall, library, class-rooms and offices, which should serve as a centre for the already vigorous Christian youth movements of the diocese and for training catechists and preachers. He needed, as every bishop did, cassocks for his clergy, food and clothing and medical supplies for his stricken people; but he was anxious above all to obtain Greek New Testaments for his catechetical schools, and a duplicator which would enable him to send a weekly sermon to every village *papas* in the diocese.

795 So it was elsewhere. Nothing that I saw in Greece impressed me more deeply than the fact that it was so often in precisely those districts where suffering had been most acute, where destruction and devastation were most evident, that the life of the Church seemed to burn most brightly. Suffering and desolation, which in a people less profoundly Christian than the Greeks might have brought forth nothing more creative than despair, have in Greece borne precious fruit. Deprived of all worldly security and riches, the Church has been forced back upon the Rock whereon she is founded; has learned anew that there can be no resurrection apart from the cross—the instrument of shameful death which is yet the throne of the victor. Through prolonged suffering she has

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

795 797 Though the traditions which enshrine the saving truths of the Gospel had been handed down from generation to generation throughout the centuries of Turkish dominion, the life of the Church was nevertheless gravely threatened by corruption and decay. The ministry of the word had fallen into almost complete neglect even in Athens, while in the country districts sermons were all but unknown. The ordinary people were for the most part "ill instructed, or rather not taught at all, sermons and catechising rare amongst them, Masses and Divine Service hudled and run over in a cursory and negligent manner . . ."

793 797 The higher clergy, with few exceptions, paid but scanty heed to their pastoral responsibilities. By the eighteen-forties (owing to the long delay in the recognition of the autocephalous status of the Church of Greece by the Oecumenical Patriarch) the number of the bishops had declined until only four remained, and those well advanced in years. As to the parish clergy, one may read accounts of their ignorance that differ but little from those which Covel had set down 200 years earlier: "Most priests have no books by them, but only their Church Offices; and . . . all their Study is only to get them by Heart, which takes up so much of their time as they cannot attend to read or Study other learned books if they had them. . . . Their ordinary prayers and liturgies, like Parrots they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and use them very imperfectly, with strange variety and confusion."

[792] As for the monasteries, though there remained many holy monks and learned even in the darkest days, all too many of the *kalogeroi* were worldly and ignorant; jealous of their privileges, content with a merely formal discharge of the duties belonging to their state; drowsing in sunny galleries, cultivating their vegetables and their pleasant vineyards.

794 797 It is against such a background that we have to view the labours of that little company of priests and laymen who laid the foundations of what, in our own time, has become a nation-wide movement. The initiative in the growing revival of evangelistic and missionary activity that has characterised the last 100 years of the history of the Greek Church has come, not from the hierarchy—though many bishops have been whole-hearted supporters of the new movements—but from individual churchmen: lay theologians, monks and clergy. It is only [793] very recently that an official 'Home Mission' has come into being, with the foundation of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* of the Church of Greece (not to be confounded with a far older movement of the same name which still flourishes in Salonica and the northern dioceses).

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GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

The true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their Prelacy and Clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special Messengers and Ministers of Almighty God.

Canons of 1604

The parson's apparel . . . plain but reverend, and clean, without spots, or dust, or smell.

GEORGE HERBERT

361
[439] CAVALLA, the ancient Neapolis, where St. Paul first set foot on European soil, is a flourishing port, the chief centre for exporting the tobacco grown on the rich coastal plains of Thrace and Macedonia east of the river Strymon, the gateway to the Plain of Gold which stretches from the marshes of Philippi to the mountains to the northward of Drama. Great stone warehouses surround the harbour and give an air of solid commercial prosperity to the town, which boasts, moreover, two cinemas, a restaurant with plate-glass windows and chromium fittings, and a remarkable town hall in Hungarian baroque, apart from lesser amenities. Yet the pedestrian who pauses for breath after scrambling up the steps which give access to the metropolis, or who through some narrow break in the line of warehouses gazes out across the busy harbour and the waters of the Aegean, may observe—faint and barely discernible at midday, sharper and more clearly defined at dawn and towards sunset—a distant triangle rising from beyond the sea's rim: Aghion Oros, the holy mountain of Athos, "that is so highe, that the Schadewe of hym rechethe to Lempne, that is an Ile; and it is lxxvi Myle betwene".

[792]
[292] Thence, as from another world, come occasional caiques manned by singular bearded figures in black gowns and tall cylindrical caps;

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mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin, the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least, far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping

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793 Ministers" down to the simple monk, is substantially identical. It
292 consists of an inner *rason* (corresponding to the western cassock), very
[792] long and with narrow sleeves, often—but not invariably—belted at the waist. This is essentially an undergarment, and this it was that the metropolitan of a Macedonian diocese presumably had in mind when he returned some patterns of heavy black serge, which had been sent to him for inspection, with the comment that the cloth would be most suitable for making "warm winter underwear" for his clergy. Over it is worn a fuller gown with wide sleeves: the outer *rason*. The latter is always of black stuff but the inner *rason* may be of various colours. Purple and dark blue are often favoured by the higher clergy, while in
[792] the monasteries a grey cassock made of very light material is frequently worn. One abbot of my acquaintance (a resourceful and many-sided character) is accustomed to appear on Sundays and holy days decked in the purest crimson—a splendid sight for eyes grown weary of the joylessness of English clerical attire—while on lesser days he wears a fur-lined outer *rason* (if the season be chill) over a cassock of russet. Among a nation of individualists it would indeed be remarkable if
[183] one did not from time to time stumble upon minor sartorial eccentricities on the part of the clergy. These divergences from the norm of unchanging custom are never, however, of so radical a nature as to obscure the ecclesiastical character of their author. In Greece the priest and the monk are marked men, instantly recognisable to all.

793 I have already referred to the distinctive form of headgear in use
792 among the Greek clergy. This is simply a cylinder of stiffened cloth about nine inches in height, most commonly known as the *kalymmaf-*
292 *chion*. That worn by the married clergy is *surmounted* by a narrow brim, but the monastic form, sometimes called a *skoupbos*, is brimless. In Greece all the bishops as well as monastic clergy not actually residing in a regular community, wear the former type of *kalymmafchion*. Over this, on formal occasions, a bishop or an archimandrite will wear a long black veil known as the *epanokalymmafchion*. This, however, forms part of the monastic habit, and consequently is never worn by the secular clergy. In the monasteries a soft cap often takes the place of the more formal *kalymmafchion*, though, unlike the Russians, the Greek monks do not venture abroad thus attired. Dr. Covel notes, somewhere in his journals, that on Athos the priests and deacons knit their own caps.

792 An English visitor to the monastery of Megaspelaion in 1829, the
292

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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milordos Thomas Alcock, comments unfavourably on the attire of the monks: "the want of neatness in the persons of these people", he remarks, "is too conspicuous", a failing our traveller denounces as one of the sure consequences of "an unnatural and unsocial life". Thomas Alcock, it is hardly necessary to add, found the mode of life and habits of Greek monks "little agreeable". "They flatter themselves", he writes, "that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove." Whatever may have been the condition of the monks of Megaspelaion in 1829, certainly to-day the great poverty which afflicts many of the surviving communities is sufficient explanation of some want of neatness in their members. 792 292

The costume which I have thus briefly described, inner and outer *rason* and the appropriate form of *kalymmafchion*, is the customary outdoor dress of the Greek ecclesiastic, regardless of his status or office: of the aspiring archimandrite, in silken gown and with rolled umbrella and brief-case, who hovers discreetly about the chambers of the Holy Synod, as of the village *papas* who labours at his plot of ground, or, with a train of pack-animals picks his way along the boulder-strewn bed of some water-course in trackless Pindos. 793 292 184

Within doors, though the parish priest may put off his tall hat and outer garment, he is seldom to be seen less formally apparelled. And in the mountain villages what more appropriate night-attire for an ecclesiastical person than a thick homespun *rason*: though holy tradition be silent and the Greek country parson abed be subject to no such irksome canonical prohibitions as his brother, tending his flock beneath the vigilant eye of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is strictly charged that in the interests of decency, gravity and order, he shall not wear "any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet". 793 292 [513]

It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed description of the liturgical vestments of the Greek clergy. "It would be impossible", asserts Dr. King, "to give a description of the habits of the clergy . . . to an English reader without the assistance of figures: for as we have none which resemble them so we have no names in our language to express them by." The reader who would learn to distinguish an *epigonation* from an *epitrachelion* or would comprehend the mystical signification of [113]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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[End Map-A]

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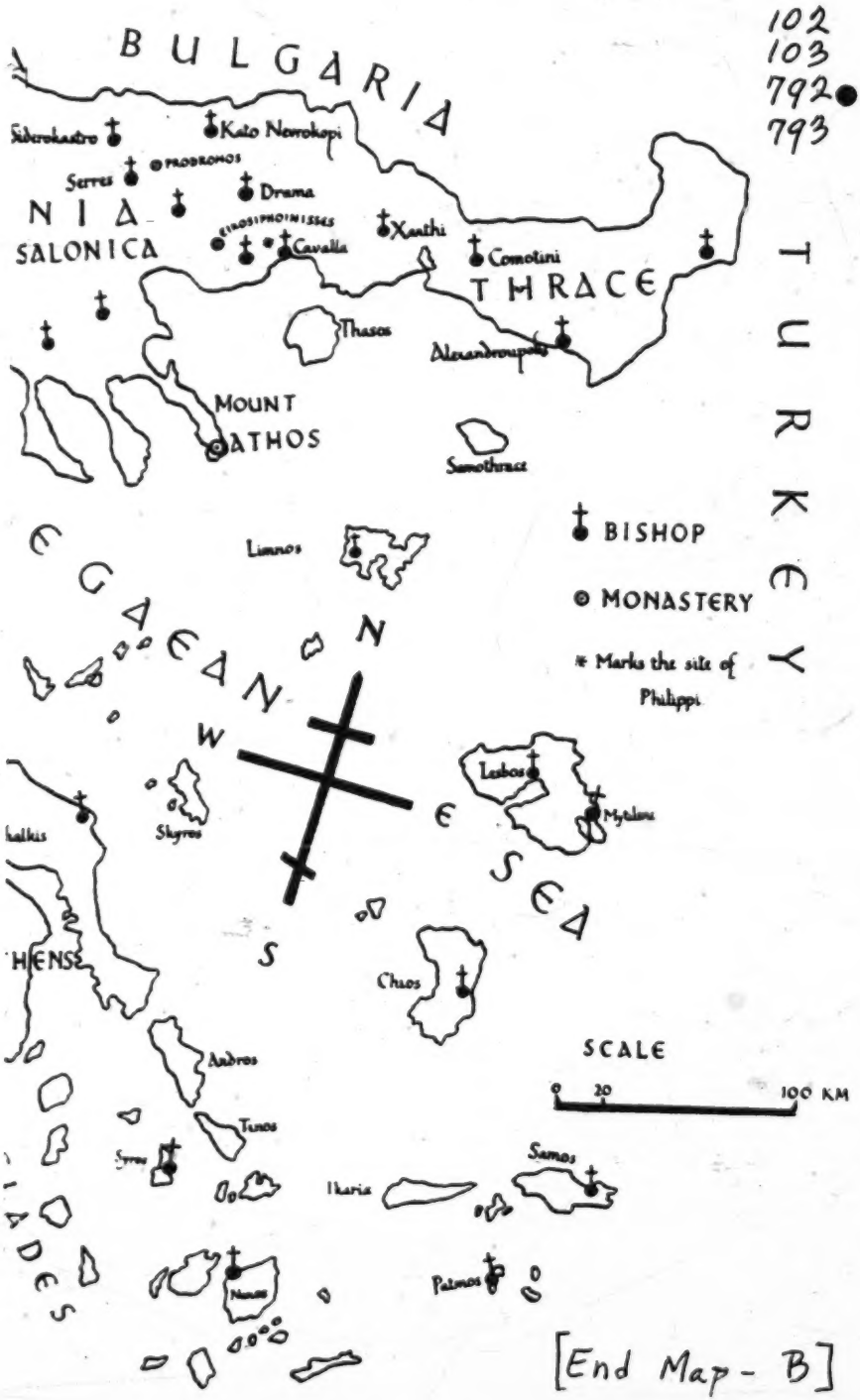

[End Map - B]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EHJ

mummified remains were brought from the Church of the Archangel Michael as soon as the ships had sailed, and carried in a thanksgiving procession round the town.

Spiridione was a shepherd of Cyprus who became first a monk and then a bishop. He was born as long ago as the third century after Christ, and was one of the members of the celebrated Council of Nicæa in the year 325. According to legend he attended the meetings of the council carrying a brick—(did the holy man intend to use the brick as an argument ?)—and from this brick issued a magical stream of water and fire. From this time forward many miracles were attributed to him, so that after his death in the year 350 his relics were very highly prized. His body was exhumed, and after many vicissitudes reached Constantinople, whence it was brought to Corfu by a priest named Kalaichairetis and placed in the church of the Archangel Michael, where it still lies. This was in 1456. With Spiridione came the embalmed body of St. Theodora—also, apparently, the property of Kalaichairetis—which was placed in the cathedral. When Kalaichairetis died, he bequeathed Spiridione to his two eldest sons and Theodora to his youngest son. The latter, being a public-spirited individual, presented Theodora to the community

Spiridione, however, was handed down from generation to generation, and is at the present day the property of a well-known Corfiote family, who derive from the relics, so it is said, an income varying from £1,000 to £2,000 a year, made up of offerings from devout believers. The head of

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

769 792 the family is always a priest and has charge of the church in which the relics rest, and, as I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of a Greek lady who knew the family well, I was able to arrange through her to visit the church on a certain morning and to have the sarcophagus opened for my benefit. She accompanied me herself, and brought with her two friends, a young man and a young woman, who had begged to be allowed to join the party on what was evidently a very unusual occasion.

PRIEST OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

346 The interior of the church[1] was cool and pleasant after the yellow glare of the Corfu streets. From the painted roof hung magnificent lamps of hammered silverwork, and on the shining parquet floor stood two massive candelabra—offerings, like the lamps, from those who had benefited, or believed they had benefited, by the intercession of the saint. As is customary in the Greek Church, there were no pews or chairs other than seats round the wall, and the building gained greatly in dignity by their absence. Pictures, deep-toned and mellow with age, decorated the walls.

771 While we were waiting for the sacristan to announce our arrival to the priest, a constant stream of worshippers entered the church—men, women, and children. With every appearance of devotion, they made a pilgrimage from one sacred object to the other, kissing each in turn, and finally entering

1 [containing relics of Spiridi-150 one, see cat. 116, pp. 149-150--- Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

753 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, —
776 from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest,
759 who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particu-
[793] lar charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters,
[868] although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary
755 folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia,
757 a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was
[184] expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane per-
793 son out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

To cure terrific abdominal pains, or "twisting the navel": 755

The constant pains and vomiting are said to be due to the untwisting of the navel. If the patient is to recover, his navel must be retwisted. Only a few people know how to do this. The one effecting the cure presses the navel with the index finger of his right hand, holds it firmly and starts walking around the patient. As he turns around he halts — at the head, at the feet, and at each side. He goes around like this seven or eight times and the patient recovers. (Aetolia and Arcadia) [753] [826]

Only special women can do this. The one who helps puts a rag around her finger, twists the navel several times until she feels it catch. Then she withdraws her finger and puts a compress on the navel: This compress is composed of blue paper into which some incense melted in *mastica* has been placed. (Spetsai)

Even though some of these practices are restricted to particular regions of Greece, and are carried out by only a few people in a given village, they do constitute a folk approach to healing. But there is one important belief, general throughout Greece, which is associated with illness: the Evil Eye. In one family, in a village near the town of Thebes, some of the members wore amulets which the priest had blessed and into which communion bread had been sewed. Elsewhere in Greece I saw amulets containing splinters of holy wood or earth from Jerusalem, worn around the neck. The women in explaining the Evil Eye said that one cannot always tell who casts the Evil Eye, but that there are some people in the village suspected of doing this and that they are to be avoided or else watched carefully. 751 754 [753]

If a child is believed to be under the spell (that is, shivers and does not feel well), the person suspected can be brought before the child and asked to spit three times to get rid of the curse, or the child can be taken to the priest who reads a blessing. Perhaps the cure thought most efficacious is a secret formula which an older woman passes on to a younger one with the instructions that it is never to be improperly revealed. Not all village women know the formula but only those who have been particularly selected by the wise women, or an older relative, for this purpose. In this village home, the women after much whispered discussion, decided details of the formula would do no harm since we were outsiders and would be leaving soon. Here are the basic elements: 755 [753] [793] [124]

Christ and the Virgin Mary
Passed through a crossroad;
They spread their golden apron
And ate. Crumbs fell on the apron.
They took those crumbs
And tossed them into the sea.
The sea waters were stirred up
And man was cured.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Engagement

Once dowry arrangements have been completed, the couple becomes engaged. This is invariably a festive occasion at the home of the girl, which calls not only for the hiring of musicians but frequently the preparation of special dishes, such as fried octopus, and the serving of great quantities of brandy and special liqueurs. The significance of the engagement is stressed by the fact that it often involves the village and not just the families concerned. One day while riding muleback in the mountains of Epirus we heard the sound of music from a distance. As we approached a small hamlet, small because most people were afraid to live in that politically unsettled area, we recognized the music as that of the *daouli* (big drum) and bagpipe. As we passed through, the president of the community came out and invited us to stop and join in the festivities. Here, as elsewhere, I learned that there were ceremonial ways in which the couple plight their troth: exchange of glasses of sweet liqueur from which they each drink and, more importantly, the exchange of heavy rings. If both sets of parents are alive, it is the custom in the Peloponnesos for the bride's mother to be the first to hand the rings over to the couple, the groom's father then repeats this, and the bride's does so for the third time. The priest is not involved nor is the *koumbaros* (sponsor at the wedding to follow and godparent at the baptism) called upon at this time.

The engagement period is not viewed as a time of exploration and reaching a decision by the young people as to whether they are actually suited to each other; in Greece, once engaged, the couple is expected to marry, and there is almost no breaking off of an engagement. This step is regarded as serious as the wedding itself, for it is a public recognition that two families are to be related. But customs during the engagement period vary considerably in Greece. For example, the customary length of engagement may vary from one week or less in a few villages to less than a year in other places, although most generally the engagement period would be at least a year. This is a feverish period of activity on the part of the family to ensure the collection of all necessary dowry items. In some parts of Greece the young man may go to live in the home of his future in-laws if he is needed there. He may be working in the village where he found his bride-to-be and, rather than maintain separate bachelor's quarters or board with some other family, he may move into his future home. Or, if he has no fields of his own and goes to work on his in-laws' estate, he will probably move into the in-laws' home. In Aetolia, if the boy is from a different village, he can come from time to time to the bride's house for a visit of a few days; if he is from the same village, he also can visit the home but seldom spends a night there.

The casual way in which young people occasionally talked about their engagement stressed the social rather than personal aspects of this experi-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others
661 and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid
[875] by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
[758] rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[465] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

795 which are found throughout the Balkans, speaks of the rich texture of
184 Christianity there, which came to the Balkan nations in the shape of Byzantine Orthodoxy and which meant a particular culture, comprising art, literature, and theology, in the service of the Church.[3]

One has only to review the brief description of the peasant and nature or the peasant approach to sickness and child care in earlier chapters to see how lively is the environment for any peasant who believes in the Evil Eye or the omens of spiders, birds in flight, or the hooting of an owl.[4] The peasant, instead of being made over into some sort of revolutionary Christian image, was able to take early Christianity and make it over into the even earlier Greek image. That is what survives in rural Greece today.

The educated Greek went through almost the same process, but on a much more sophisticated level. Instead of equating the sun god with St. Elijah, he equated Platonic teachings with the doctrines of St. Paul. Thanassis Aghnides sets forth this theme:

> As regards religious life, let us not forget that the New Testament was written in Greek, and most of the principles of Christianity are loans from Greek moral philosophy. Plato's ideas could find no better means of diffusion in the world than the New Testament.
>
> Thus a Greek never feels that the Christian religion is a Jewish gift to the world. When he reads the New Testament he is reminded of the highest precepts of the Greek classical period. Here again the modern Greek is not very conscious of the lines of demarcation between the high precepts of Christianity, and, let us say, those of Socrates. The latter's principles and those of the Galilean are derived from the same source. The modern Greek is confusedly aware of this. He may not say it in as many words but he feels the modern ethical standards of the Christian world as being part and parcel of his own heritage from his classical ancestors.[5]

In support of this point of view among the peasants, I can mention the consternation shown by some Greek village women when, for the first time, they learned that Christ was a Jew. They had always assumed that he was Greek and would not believe otherwise until they had gone to check with the priest.

795 Orthodoxy and Greekness are tied in together not only because of the
619 continuity between ancient traditions and Christian doctrine; the Orthodox Church was also the vehicle through which Greekness was preserved under
659 alien conquerors. Church and politics went hand in hand. The Greek Orthodox Church, which was the basic institution of the Byzantine Empire, continues as such within the modern Greek nation, and contemporary Greeks, like the Byzantines, find it hard to accept political ideas which do not assume the complete unification of church and state. Today the church is still an integral part of the Greek government, its affairs administered
[793] within the Ministry of Education and Religion, the salaries of the clergy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religious belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interest and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[6]

Greeks view contemporary events in terms of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[7] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because these touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas,* or priest, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married and unmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmarried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks, can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many
[423] cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a
few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from
[441] the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usu-
[571] ally lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a
little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher
standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to
mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest mini-
[554] mum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called
a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

[794] The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop
appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can
raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways
the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the
kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often ac-
[428] quires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his chil-
dren. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service
of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now
off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a
fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When
I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they
pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the
names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family
was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as
a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church
papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all quali-
fied people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible
candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the
notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not
serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he
makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who dis-
cussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

793 In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest
and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop
465 (Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping
[659] his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupa-
tion back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid
by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products
from the parishioners. *Kondota,* or the subscription by families of so much
wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was
[794] widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round
figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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needed to pay the priests' salaries, with the difference coming from state revenue. Also, the local parishes have to pay an amount equal to 6 percent of their priest's salary to the bishop toward the retirement fund for the local priest. 465 [745]

For salary purposes, the priests are divided into four classes: those who have gone through the theological faculty of the university; those who have attended the seminary, perhaps one or two years beyond gymnasium; those who have no seminary but who have finished gymnasium; and those put in a miscellaneous category. There are apparently sufficient candidates for the priesthood now, and some effort is being made to fashion their curriculum to prepare them to serve village needs more effectively; even the older priests are encouraged to come back for periods of study. One member of the Holy Synod thought that the priests ought to know more about agriculture, economics, and first aid, so that they might play a more vital part in community life. His view of the priest's role was that "he is to help people with their problems of all kinds and settle any disputes among the villagers." [874] 793

But what part does the village priest really play? As has already been indicated, the Greeks are ambivalent toward the priest.[9] "As an individual, he commands respect, and gives advice to those who seek it. However, he is also a figure of ridicule and of ill omen." [10] A great deal depends upon the personality of the priest himself. One informant told me that when he was a boy their village had had a wonderful priest who was very important. Today, even though the people are probably just as much attached to their religion, the present priest is not popular. In the course of an extended conversation with the people in a village near Volos, we asked what kind of priest they had. "Oh, our priest is from around Karpenesi. He has five children and is a good family man." He was not singled out for praise because of any priestly performance, but because of his conformity to basic village values. But children in that same village must have heard many, many times the local account of what happened to some monks who lived in a monastery not far from the village. This had been built in 1714 as an annex of a Mount Athos establishment, but in due course of time the monks became "naughty" in that they called to and teased the women who were on their way to work in the fields. Finally the villagers could stand this no longer, so the men took the monks to a rock overlooking the sea and told them to jump. The monks jumped and were never heard of again. The present priest, unlike the monks, is "a good family man." 793 554 793 173

Very persistent and widespread is the belief, already mentioned, that an encounter with the priest brings bad luck. If peasants starting on some new venture meet a priest, they will turn back home and not begin it on that day for fear of failure. Anyone who meets a priest, in addition to "giving" the bad luck to a companion by hitting him on the shoulder, can tie a knot 793 777

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will [777] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest."[11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires [754] was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, con-794 sisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other 788 Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending cannot help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross, [346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome repre-[778] senting heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*), which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congre-[562] gate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works

793 794 [346] The contrast between an ordinary priest's home and the bishop's palace in Kalamata is quite marked, for the latter was once the ornate building housing the local branch of the Bank of Greece. But the bishop's interest in the people of his diocese, both the city dwellers in Kalamata and the farmers in the surrounding villages, equaled that of any priest for his parishioners. The bishop, when visited in 1953, proved a friendly, jovial person, with an iron-gray beard, a dignified though rotund figure, and a very forward-looking social philosophy. It was this latter quality in particular that had made me seek him out after hearing from friends in Athens of his unusual achievements in the welfare field.

He began to talk about what he had done and hoped to do for his people: "I became interested when I saw their great needs, for, as a church leader, I am responsible for the welfare of whatever people are under me." But before he started on any specific projects after his arrival in this diocese, he had thought it best, as he phrased it, "to put myself at the disposal of the people." He gradually gained the confidence of the members of his diocese by making available to them for local use all of the church's funds derived from festivals. The people began to realize that this bishop was interested in them. Later on, when he began asking them to support the various projects which he started, they gladly cooperated.

793 747 His first project was a day nursery, which takes care of one hundred and twenty children whose mothers are at work, started in 1947. Visiting this nursery in the afternoon when all of the children had gone home, we noted the cleanliness and the simple but adequate facilities. The success of this nursery prompted the bishop to start another one in Mycenae for one hundred children in 1948.

736 793 .848 [597] [847] One perplexing problem was that of illegitimate children. In many cases the mother would kill such a child or leave it with people who exploited it unmercifully. So he started a home for these children in 1947. Since then, two hundred and fifty children have gone through the home, sixty of them have been adopted and fifty were there then. The equipment was simple and bare, but everything was spotless. When we entered, the children came up to the bishop with great pleasure, for he is a favorite with the young children. One of the nurses told us: "When we have a child that is lonesome, who won't eat, we ask the bishop to come feed the child. When he comes, the child always eats."

793 736 [597] [657] The bishop noticed, however, that many of the boy foundlings, but relatively few of the girl foundlings, would be adopted. The boys who were not taken by foster parents by their fifth or sixth year would go into the National Boys' Orphanage of Kalamata, largely supported by the state, which had one hundred and fifty boys in 1953. Something had to be done for the girls.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

So the bishop arranged for nuns at a convent on the edge of town to teach some of the girls to spin and weave silk. For two hundred years the nuns of this convent have been leaders in the silk industry. In 1770, under the Turks, the nuns with their abbess were exiled to Constantinople, went to Broussa, and learned the manipulation of silk. Later, when they were able to come back to Kalamata, they brought with them the silkworm eggs and started the silk industry. Many local girls come to the convent to learn how to carry on silkworm production and weaving on a simple loom at home. So, the bishop thought, these same nuns would be able to teach these orphan girls the silk industry, and many other things as well. When we visited the convent, eighteen girls were living there, but buildings were nearing completion which would accommodate up to fifty girls. Queen Frederika had come to help dedicate the cornerstones. But the nuns were anxious to show us where they produced the fine silk cloth we had been admiring. It was a strange experience to go with the nuns into the big room full of textile machines and to see the dexterity with which these women clad in medieval garments managed the complex machinery, even to the point of making many mechanical repairs. 793 736 792 288 [175] [231]

One institution which the bishop showed us with evident pride was a tuberculosis sanatorium. To reach it we had to ride from his palace through the town to a mountain a few miles distant. We could not help notice the people's affection for the bishop: men, upon seeing him, would take off their hats and women would cross themselves. Some of this, we knew, was done because he was a bishop and thus due a certain amount of reverence, but the expression of warmth on the faces of the people indicated their genuine appreciation of what the bishop was doing for them. 793 734 [788]

When we arrived at the sanatorium, the bishop explained: "Why should a few old monks have such a beautiful site to live in when tuberculosis was proving such a scourge to so many people? I told the monks they could go pray somewhere else and that we would make this into a sanatorium." Of course, the bishop admitted that he was oversimplifying the problem a bit, for even the Greek Orthodox Church has its red tape. In any event, he had succeeded in getting about twenty patients out into this healthful spot under proper care. One of the first things he did upon our arrival was to go check the menu posted in the kitchen, for he takes a personal interest in what is being served to the patients. [164]

While at the sanatorium we noticed a number of donkeys tied outside and many peasant men and women sitting at the door of the little church dedicated to St. Elijah. We learned that many of these peasants had come quite far on this Sunday and had brought gifts of food and oil to the sanatorium as *psychiko*, a word which comes from Byzantine times and means property donated to monasteries or churches by pious pilgrims for the salvation of their souls. These peasants proved a lighthearted group, probably 783 788 [734]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 788 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave them an emotional uplift.

793 [737] [874] [177] But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a polytechnic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. [743] While looking over this school we also learned about one more activity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

793 [97] [57] The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country, especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 794 [428] [769] For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of inmates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the aged, and the like. [748] Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 ● 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 736 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing."[15] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[16] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at 785 748 [873]

Pierce College.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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17. A monk on the ageless journey to Salamis with casks from his monastery to be filled or to sell.

18. Godparents hold the child before the priest for a controlled moment in the exuberance of a baptism, Macedonia.

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[p. 272-K]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Village Notables

554 Contrary to popular belief, one does not always find the village notables sitting around the coffeehouse. Most of them are usually busy people, working in their fields, around their houses, or in a shop. They do make at least brief appearances around the square some time during the day, most probably after supper. Loafers do not become notables in a Greek village. To learn who these notables were, I asked throughout mainland Greece: "Who are the most important people in your village? Why are they important?"

[622] I was struck by the fact that in 1955 and 1959 more people seemed to stress the high prestige of the community president than they had done in 1953. This impression, if fully verified, would indicate a growing importance of and a re-emphasis upon local government in the Greek scheme of things. One priest in the Peloponnesos attributed this shift to the fact that "interest in religion is not as great as twenty years ago and church attendance has declined." A few typical replies, many contradicting each other in some details, will convey the villager's view of the notables in his community. From Central Greece:

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The greatest honor in our village is to be president of the community. Those who are most respected are those with the most money. Anyone who has money receives a hearty "good morning"; without money he doesn't. This is because our people are not educated. In fact, the priest gets more respect than the teacher, which is not as it should be. The local doctor, too, is respected.

From another village in Central Greece we hear:

The most important people are the most educated, either the doctor or the teacher who, thanks to his education, can solve a problem in which the people are interested. We have some clever people who try to overshadow the teacher in order to influence other villagers, but if they are to do this they must be respected. If an extremely clever person is immoral, he has no great prestige. Two things influence other people: to be just in his judgment and honorable. We respect a man more if he is honorable than if he is rich. Even an uneducated man who is a good farmer and has good judgment and is honorable can have influence.

[665] Party leaders in former times would have been included among the notables, according to a businessman from Thebes:

In my childhood days the party leader would have ranked as most important, particularly if he belonged to the strongest party and would be able to help local people solve their problems. Nowadays in the village the president of the community would play a great part. The doctor, if there is one, has high position, provided that he is respected by the others. In the old days the priest and teacher were more respected than today. In my childhood when the teacher

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In my childhood when the teacher

or priest would pass through the village square people would stand up. The local merchants in the village have changed their status little, for their role in life is still to do commerce. 554 875 793 622

The extent to which the priest or the president of the local cooperative, where it exists, is considered important depends today very much upon the personalities of the individuals involved. One person said: [474]

The role of the priest should be mentioned along with the teacher and doctor. He should lead because he represents the church and is more educated than the peasants. But there are some priests who play little part in community life. I know of one who drinks too much, shoots off his revolver, and is not respected.

The relative prestige of the village notables has been influenced by the practice of the central government in providing the teacher and the priest. Only the community president comes into office as the result of local initiative, but even his status, though gaining ground, is not what it used to be thirty or forty years ago:

The president of the village is usually a better man than the president of the cooperative because there is more tradition behind his office. But it does not always hold that the best man is picked as president. In Thessaly forty years ago when the president came into the coffeehouse all the men rose in deference to "their president." [474]

A man from a mountain village in Central Greece who is active in the cooperative movement contrasted the various statuses in his community:

I find that the teacher enjoyed more prestige formerly than now. Earlier there was a higher percentage of illiterates, but today many village sons have gone away for a higher education and so people are not so dependent upon the teacher. Since officials do not wish to undermine the position of the teacher, the agronom and other representatives of the nomarchia always consult the teacher when arriving in the village.

This man thought the secretary of the village more important than the president.

When I put the question of relative prestige of the notables to a group of students at the American Farm School in Salonica, I found the anticipated difference of opinion. The majority of the boys, all from villages, said that the president of the community was most important, but others said that the priest would be "if he is from the village itself and has a good reputation." They pointed out that the president of the community becomes involved in politics and is therefore apt to antagonize those who may differ with him politically. Of the twenty villages represented, fourteen had doctors. Only six of these were considered community leaders. These village boys also thought, for the most part, that the wealthy peasants were [759]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Macedonia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history, and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

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I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States, would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)A63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit. 434 511 231 235 443 438

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings. 445

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households. 294 463

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in. 793 463 434 796 846

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily. 463 794 624 434

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here. 433

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156 is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by
828 overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individ-
571 ual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its mem-
594 bers, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

571 Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not
578 between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

571 Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly
561 as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they
88 have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference
561 toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior
576 among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older
888 men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in
[593] front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the
[276] age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba*
[521] (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and
[793] older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

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planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

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watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *aghora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 539 [293] [427]

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793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the
796 children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early eve-
[535] ning the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a
[273] glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
796 after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the
[574] adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
[484] the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

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II

600

SOME UNFAMILIAR PERSPECTIVES

"And who", quoth the Patriarch . . . "Who is the Archbishop of Canterbury?"
"What?" said I, a little astonished at the question.
"Who", said he, "is this Archbishop?"
"Why, the Archbishop of Canterbury."
"Archbishop of *what*?" said the Patriarch.
"Canterbury", said I.
"Oh", said the Patriarch. "Ah! Yes! and who is he?"

THE HON. ROBERT CURZON, JR.
Visits to Monasteries in the Levant, London, 1849

795

THE western Christian who would enter with understanding into the spirit of the Greek Church must be prepared to approach with a certain childlike simplicity a strange world that will not be forced into the mould of familiar categories; a world in which traditional western controversies become meaningless, where the Pope is regarded as the arch-Protestant and the Christian Scientist as an eccentric Roman Catholic.

What is the western Christian to make of a Church, so manifestly conservative and hierarchical in its whole ordering, which yet accords to the laity so prominent—even, some might say, obtrusive—a place in its public worship; in which laymen preach and teach while the clergy meekly attend; a Church which detects in the western Protestant's refusal to use incense a sign of popery; which honours the monastic vocation and refuses to tolerate the unmarried parish priest? What of the Greek country parson: a peasant-farmer, unlettered and, by western standards, virtually untrained, administering the *mysteries* of initiation and communion in his village church and labouring at his patch of stony ground, the servant of the community?

Let the western Christian see something of the liturgical life of the [793] Greek Church, and he will tell you of gorgeous pageantry and ceremonial and of services which never end; of bishops and metropolitans in

SOME UNFAMILIAR PERSPECTIVES

jewelled mitres and vestments of gold, assisted by priests and deacons whose "Garments and Accoutrements", in the words of a seventeenth-century divine, "are very Glorious and different"; of richly decorated churches where lamps burn day and night before the eikons of the saints. But let him go also to a house which stands beside the great basilica of St. Demetrius at Salonica and he will find himself in a gathering of students and professional men, the atmosphere of which recalls a nonconformist prayer-meeting; and to the adjoining hall where children shout the vernacular hymns of the catechetical schools, or where a young woman expounds a chapter of the Greek New Testament to an audience of housewives. 795 [793]

Christendom and the course of church history take on a very different aspect when one's vantage point lies to the eastward of the Adriatic: whether it be Constantinople or Jerusalem, Mount Athos or Alexandria. For the Greek Christian the visible fold of the Church is made up of the four ancient patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, together with the patriarchate of Moscow and certain autocephalous churches. Beyond the frontiers of the Orthodox Church all is obscure and uncertain: to be committed to the boundless mercy of God, and approached (when circumstances require it) with wariness and circumspection. "As for the English Liturgy", runs the *Answer of the Orthodox of the East to the proposals sent from Britain for an union and agreement with the Oriental Church*, "we are unacquainted with it, having never either seen or read it; but we have some suspicion of it, because many and various Heresies, Schisms and Sects have arisen up in those parts, lest the hereticks should have introduced into it any corruption or deviation from the right Faith. Upon this account it is necessary we should both see and read it. . . ." 795 798

Within this outer darkness of heresy and schism the Greek is not given to nice distinctions, and strange confusions, baffling to the western mind, are common. A friend of mine was catechised at some length as to who it was who commemorated the Pope in the liturgy, by an old monk of Athos who was equally prepared to attribute this weighty offence to the Lutherans or to the Methodists! The persisting error of the patriarch of the west is seen in the same light as those of the reformers, as a hankering after innovation and new-fangled ways:

> Some time since [write the eastern patriarchs to "the Remnant of Primitive Piety"] the Pope of Rome, being deceived by the

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III

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THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught.

ST. PAUL to the church in Thessalonica

795
178 IT IS no use beginning one's study of that in many ways anachronistic, yet persistently lively institution, the Church of England, at the sixteenth century: not so can one hope to comprehend the anomalies of her parochial organisation and system of patronage, or to fathom the element of uncertainty that attaches to every archdeacon's prospects [793] of eternal felicity. No more can the student of the Greek Church expect to enter into the spirit of this venerable institution if he looks no farther than the reading of the *Synodical Tome* whereby, in the year 1850, her autocephalous status was first accorded official recognition.

795 One cannot spend many hours in Greece without being struck by the
178 extraordinary continuity of her history. The girl who shepherds one through the customs at the airport may well rejoice in the name of
551 Andromache or Ismene; it is startling to hear a ragged stevedore, one of "that unpolished plebeian race always employed in the hardest labours of the ports and which in every country represents the least noble aspect of a people", being hailed by a passing boatman at the Piraeus as Menelaus or Agamemnon. The traveller arriving at nightfall in a mountain village of Thessaly or the Peloponnese is questioned in terms which have scarcely altered since the prince of swineherds examined the re urned Odysseus: "Who are you and whence do you come? What is your city and your family? Aboard what vessel came you to Ithaca?" New Demetrius often proves to be but old Demeter, and in the country dioceses there linger on observances of immemorial antiquity: local rites connected with birth and death which carry one back to an age infinitely remote from the Lord's coming in human flesh.

178 Though the Greek that is heard to-day in the streets of Athens is
197 scarcely that of Aristotle or Pericles, the continuity of language is

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nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios*!"

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language in which they were written.

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the triumphant *Christos anesti*! Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is risen*! As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they

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> with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

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The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaiomerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

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Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places?

[869]

The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness (already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

178 795 788 771 [793]

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of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God". Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood paintings of the *Averoff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as compared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potentialities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping: conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians, the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for Christendom as a whole.

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369 Thus, despite a certain drift from the villages to the towns during the last few years, the average Greek is still a countryman. Even the Athenian, if one delves into his personal history, is generally found to have his roots in some mountain village of the Peloponnese or in one of the islands. The generality of the Greek bishops are charged with the pastoral care of a flock dispersed in village communities among the mountains; a single market town or *comopolis* forming the centre of the ecclesiastical as of the civil administration.

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The Church of Greece, from the point of view of outward organisation, consists of sixty-seven dioceses: thirty-four belonging to Old Greece and the remainder to the territories annexed to the Greek kingdom after the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the first world war. These latter dioceses, though formally subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, are at present placed under that of the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy, which is presided over by the Archbishop of Athens and of all Greece. This body, which is made up of the metropolitans of the sixty-seven dioceses, assembles every three years and may be summoned on other occasions if need arise. Extraordinary business apart, however, the affairs of the Church are administered by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, which is composed of twelve bishops under the presidency of the Archbishop. All the bishops are called in turn to serve on this body, and during the greater part of their year as *synodikoi* (which normally recurs about once every five years), they reside in Athens, going home to their dioceses only during the heat of the summer and for the great festivals.

795 162

In Greece the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church has not been replaced by 'the Churches'. According to the figures of the 1940 census, out of a total population of 7,344,860 persons, no less than 7,090,192 were Orthodox, while the non-Orthodox Christians amounted to a bare 51,851. This small minority consists of Roman Catholics and a few so-called 'evangelicals' who came to Greece in the early 'twenties from Asia Minor and owe their origin to the proselytising zeal of American missionaries. All of them are confined to the islands and to a few towns on the mainland: in the country districts a Dissenter would be a curiosity indeed.

[797]

The Greek diocese is, by English standards, very small and sparsely populated; in some respects more akin to a rural deanery than to our overgrown dioceses. Its average population—if we leave on one side the

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Athens-Piraeus region—is no more than about 85,000 souls. In terms of parishes there is considerable disparity between different dioceses: that of Ioannina, in Epirus, one of the largest, includes 230 parishes—many of them mere hamlets of forty or fifty families—while that of Nevrokopi, on the frontier of eastern Macedonia, has only fifteen. The average number is rather less than 100. If we take the twenty-four dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace, for example, we find that the average works out at seventy-eight parishes to the diocese, while the metropolitans of Philippi and Neapolis, Xanthi, Nevrokopi, Eleftheroupolis, Nea Zichni, Alexandroupolis and Hierissos all have less than sixty communities committed to their care, and only five bishops—the metropolitans of Salonica, Drama, Kilkis, Serres and Florina—more than 100.

As against this comparatively low average population and number of parishes one has, of course, to set in the balance the extremely primitive nature of the communications which the Greek bishop can command. To this day the majority of the villages of northern Greece are inaccessible to wheeled transport, at any rate during the winter months; and while the truly remarkable achievements of the last few years—the repair of the shattered railways, and the construction of roads and air-strips—have given Greece a very fair system of long-distance communications, the facilities which most bishops enjoy for travel within their own dioceses remain much as they have been since apostolic days. The metropolitan of a country diocese will think nothing of long journeys by mule or mountain pony across appallingly difficult terrain, his episcopal vestments slung from the high wooden saddle; of fording torrents swollen by the melting snows, and negotiating precipitous slopes where the path seems scarcely to afford adequate foothold for a goat—much less for an elderly ecclesiastic. It is little wonder that many mountain villages saw their father in God but seldom, even in the days before the natural hazards which confronted the traveller had been supplemented by mines and wandering bands of *katsapliades*, as the Communists were styled in the villages.

When we turn to the internal organisation of the dioceses we find many features which cannot but seem strange to most western Christians. We have come to take for granted the fact that a bishop, charged with the pastoral care of a vast and unmanageable diocese, inevitably delegates most of his priestly functions to his parish clergy. In the small country dioceses of Greece, however, the bishop retains a far greater measure of

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793 direct personal responsibility, and delegates comparatively little to his [795] curates. The ministry of the word, for example, is always the work of the bishop: the most that the parish priest is permitted to do is to read a homily sent him by his diocesan. In some dioceses the metropolitan alone preaches, and the country people hear sermons only when he is 793 able to visit their villages. As a rule, however, the bishop will be assisted by a *hierokryx* or 'sacred herald'—'preacher' seems a miserably inadequate 794 translation of such a splendid word—who is normally a priest-monk (though he may sometimes be a lay theologian), and lives in the metropolis. Often, too, the bishop and his *hierokryx* will be assisted by several lay preachers who go out into the villages Sunday by Sunday to preach at the liturgy.

Thus, at Siderokastro (the 'Iron Castle'), close to the Bulgarian frontier, the Metropolitan, the Lord Basil, finding himself, when the refugees began to return to their villages in the summer of 1949, with only one priest qualified to assist him in the ministry of the word, formed a little society of lay preachers known as the Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment, which included the headmaster of the local high school and one of his assistant masters, as well as the doctor and the dentist of the town and two or three other educated laymen, several of whom now go out to preach in the surrounding villages every Sunday.

A friend who visited the diocese of Chalkis during the 'thirties has told me of the ancient Fiat which used to leave the metropolis at daybreak every Sunday and scatter monkish theologians among the hamlets of Euboea. At Kozani, in western Macedonia, no sooner were the roads reasonably clear of mines in the summer of 1949 than the Metropolitan started to send out every Saturday afternoon an army truck laden with young catechists who would spend the week-end preaching and teaching in remote villages of the diocese and return to their work or their school on Monday morning.

793 What is true of preaching applies also to the sacrament of penance; it is to the bishop, not to his parish priest, that the villager who is 783 oppressed with the consciousness of grave sin will turn for the benefits of absolution and ghostly counsel. The Greek priest is not allowed to act as a confessor without the express authorisation of his bishop. "As for Confession", says Covel, "it is not to be made to every ordinary Priest, but only to such Confessors . . . who are chosen out of monasteries, and are solemnly appointed and authorised to this Office . . . so that a regular or secular Priest not thus qualified, durst not attempt to

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 793

take it." In the *Great Euchologion*, or Prayer Book, of the Greek Church 783
the order for confession is in fact immediately preceded by a short office for the making of a *pneumatikos*, or spiritual father, in which the bishop, after he has read the Gospel containing our Lord's words: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained", addresses the would-be *pneumatikos* (who must, needless to say, be in priests' orders) as follows:

"Our mediocrity, through the grace of the all-holy and divine Spirit, promotes thee, the most pious N. *Pneumatikos*, to the ministry of spiritual fatherhood, etc."

Covel quotes ancient canons to the effect that "if any one without the Mandate of the Bishop of the place shall dare to receive . . . spiritual [688]
accounts and Confessions, such a one shall be Canonically punished as a Transgressor of the Divine Canons; because he hath not only destroy'd himself, but all they also who have been Confessed by him are still unconfessed, and whatever things he hath Bound or Loosed, are yet uncorrected". And again: "Let all the Priest-Monks, who take Confessions, or Bind and Loose know that our Holy Fathers will not suffer any Priests to reconcile Penitents without the Archbishop's Order". According to an old canonist "a Bishop may . . . according to his Judgment, give this Right or Power of receiving Confessions to a secular Priest, but this is to be done discreetly, to some choice or well approved Persons only, and upon some extraordinary occasions".

Professor Bratsiotes, in the introduction which he contributed to the English translation of the life of the Archimandrite Eusebius Matthopoulos, observed that "unhappily there are very few confessors, because it is much more difficult to develop confessors than to train preachers; and it requires much individual genius and great maturity in virtue and experience to be a proper confessor". At the time when these words [794]
were written only eight members of the Zoë Confraternity—all trained theologians as they are—were licensed as confessors. In the country dioceses to-day the only clergy who are permitted to assist the bishop as *pneumatikoi* are the priest-monks attached to the metropolis; married priests who are authorised to hear confessions are rare indeed.

What then of the parish clergy? There is no parallel in Greece to the 793
country parson who has "read the Fathers also and the Schoolmen and the later writers", and who has been one of the fairest ornaments of the English Church these many centuries. The Greek country parson is a [463]

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793 peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who
[463] exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

793 The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age, and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight
465 increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one
[874] of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the
[589] fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of
[659] his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this
792 may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic
[423] property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

793 Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in
[795] work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece.
[589] There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as *ὁ Δεσπότης*, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

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793 garrison, it makes no difference—bow to kiss the hand of their father
[576] in God and greet him with the word *proskyno*, 'I worship': with that same *proskynesis* which is offered to the eikons of the saints, and which is not to be confounded with the *latreia* which we accord to the Three Persons of the consubstantial Trinity alone.

For the Greek bishop is not merely 'the Despot'. He is moreover 'the Saint'. Thus, one may frequently hear the country people refer to their metropolitan as *ὁ ἅγιος Ἐδέσσης, ὁ ἅγιος Ἐλευθερουπόλεως*, 'the Saint of Edessa, the Saint of Eleftheroupolis', etc., in recognition of the objective sanctity which attaches to the episcopal office, quite independently of the moral character of him who occupies it. If the bishop is the despot, tracing his ancestry back to those local potentates who flourished during the last days of the Byzantine Empire, he is also the successor of the apostles, the bearer of more than temporal power; binding and loosing and wielding an anathema which can arrest the normal processes of dissolution to which the body is subject after death; a father in God to whom the humblest member of his scattered flock can turn in need or perplexity, for ghostly counsel or for material aid.

For all the dignity attaching to his high office the Greek bishop is commonly the most approachable of men; the sheer accessibility of the generality of the bishops of the country dioceses is a matter for wonder and rejoicing in a world fallen beneath the curse of an impersonal
[794] and irresponsible bureaucracy. Every morning, his liturgy fulfilled, the metropolitan takes his seat in his office and all the world comes to see him: Papa Iannis, who needs a new cassock, and Papa Athanasi who wants to go to the recently established seminary, although he forsook the scholars' bench to look after his father's sheep while he was yet in the second class of his village school; an elderly widow whose son requires medical attention comes to ask for help from the Fund for the Poor.

[438] Go almost any forenoon to the metropolis at Salonica, a few yards from the windy quays where gaily painted caiques discharge their cargoes of charcoal and resinated wine, timber from the slopes of Athos, and lemons and pottery from the islands of the Aegean, and observe the crowds who throng the steps awaiting an opportunity to dart into the office of 'the Saint of Myra', who sits at his desk beneath an eikon of the Pantocrator, questioning, counselling, reproving and writing letters of commendation, while a stalwart archimandrite leans against the door with outstretched arm to keep the multitude without at bay.

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THE ORGANIC BODY

Dr. Holland, who was travelling about Greece in the year of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, relates that when he visited the Archbishop of Larissa the metropolis was filled, both in the morning and also after dinner, with people approaching the Archbishop, either as petitioners or to obtain an adjustment of differences; and describes how "on entering the apartment, each person knelt before him, kissed his hand, and frequently after rising repeated this ceremony a second time". The Archbishop's manner, in fulfilling this part of his pastoral office, was, he says, "mild and ingratiating, without any loss of dignity proper to his station". 793 [576]

The bishop, though he must be unmarried, need never have lived as a member of a religious community in the technical sense. The great majority of the Greek metropolitans are chosen from the archimandrites attached, in one capacity or another, to episcopal households. The title of archimandrite was originally confined to the superior of a monastery—the literal meaning of the word is 'ruler of a fold' (*mandra*)—nowadays, however, it is commonly conferred upon any priest-theologian. The Greek archimandrite is almost invariably a graduate either of the theological faculty of the University of Athens or of the Academy at Halki (the theological school at Salonica has been in existence only a few years). He may have taken the monastic habit on Mount Athos, or elsewhere, when scarcely more than a boy, and, showing promise of more than the average ability, have been sent to the university by his monastic superiors as a young deacon. Alternatively, he may have come to the theological faculty after completing the ordinary course at a *gymnasium* or hieratic school, in which case he will not, in all probability, be ordained deacon until he has finished his studies. 793 792 [874]

After taking his degree he will normally pass to the household of a bishop, whom he will serve either as personal deacon or as chaplain and *hierokeryx* of the metropolis. He will doubtless become an archimandrite and will be addressed not merely as 'Reverend Sir' but as 'Altogether-most-blessed'! (*Panosiologiotate!*) In due course he may be called to take charge of a large parish in Athens, to undertake administrative work of some kind, or to serve as a secretary to the Holy Synod. It is from this category of the clergy that most of the bishops are chosen —though a monk may be summoned from his community to be consecrated, and an unmarried lay theologian or professor is also eligible for election to the episcopate. 793

A small minority of the present metropolitans of the Church of [874]

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793 Greece have studied in western Europe or America after completing
[874] their course at Athens or at the Academy of Halki, near Constantinople. Of those who go abroad for post-graduate theological studies far the greater number marry and become lay theologians, and it is to the latter rather than the episcopate that the Greek layman looks for academic learning. The metropolitan of scholarly interests, though far from unknown, is somewhat exceptional in these days. Happily, however, it is not necessary to burn midnight oil at Halle or Tübingen in order to learn to love our Lord with great fervour and simplicity and to feed His flock, and among the bishops of the Church of Greece there are many devoted pastors and fathers in God tending their scattered flocks in the obscurity of the war-ravaged mountain dioceses with a zeal not unworthy of the successor of the apostles.

The office of deacon has, so far as the west is concerned, long since ceased to be a reality. In Greece, however, it is otherwise. The diaconate is not, as in this country, a mere step to the priesthood; a kind of noviciate which the ordinand must needs serve before being admitted into priests' orders. In the Greek Church a man who has been ordained deacon may well remain in the diaconate for the rest of his days. The function of the deacon is essentially different from that of the presbyter. His liturgical rôle is of the utmost importance, and one of the chief qualifications in the candidate for the diaconate is the possession of a powerful and resonant voice. It is the deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation from the space before the royal doors—"a body standing before men, but a mind knocking at the gates of heaven through prayer"—in the vivid image of the sixth-century ascetic and master of the spiritual life, St. John of the Ladder; it is he who sings the Gospel from the *ambon*, or pulpit, high on the north side of the church.

[252] In the monasteries the deacons are responsible for baking the *prosphora*, the loaves used at the eucharist. Thus Covel remarks somewhere in his Athonite journals that: "The priests and deacons do no work but what is in ye church or immediately belonging to it . . . ye deacons bake ye *προσφορά*, and may sometimes be sent of an errand, but nothing else. Ye priests do nothing at all. All laborious work wtever out of ye church else is done by *καλόγ*. or hired labourers." And elsewhere: "The *προσφορά* is baked by ye deacons, ye other bread by ye *καλόγ*. aforesaid."

In Athens and its suburbs, and in Salonica, there are a few married

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deacons attached to parish churches. More often, however, the deacon is a monk and belongs to the *familia* of a bishop, whom he serves as personal attendant and factotum. Outside the larger towns one never finds a deacon attached to a parish but always on the staff of the metropolis and retaining his close connexion with the bishop. In the two university towns there is always a sprinkling of young deacons who have been sent by their monastic superiors to study at the theological schools and who are attached to a parish church during their four years at the university. Many of these student-deacons are also permitted to preach. It may be noted in passing that in the Orthodox world an archdeacon is in fact, and not merely in name, a deacon, and is, moreover, a person of some consequence. 793 [874]

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The English churchman, even when faced with the present acute and continuing shortage of clergy, is with difficulty persuaded that the laity are called to play an active part in the evangelistic work of the Church. Everywhere in the west the lay theologian is something of a phenomenon. A young man does not read theology at Oxford or Cambridge unless he intends to be a parson: theology is surely the concern of the clergy? It is well, therefore, that we should realise that in Greece (and throughout Orthodox Christendom for that matter), very different notions as to the active ministry of the laity prevail. The lay catechist, theologian and preacher fulfil a ministry that is scarcely less essential to the life of the Greek Church than that proper to bishop, priest and deacon respectively. How varied and important this lay ministry can be, will, I hope, become clearer when we come to consider the work of a movement such as the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë and the organisations connected with it. A very large share of the responsibility for the great spiritual upheaval of recent years must be assigned to lay men and women: the majority of the voluntary movements and associations are predominantly lay in character. 794

If I may venture upon a generalisation, I would assert that among ordinary Orthodox Christians one commonly finds a greater sense of responsibility for the Church than can be looked for in western Christendom to-day. The Church does not tend, as it does so often in the west, to be identified in the thought of ordinary men and women with the clergy; nor is it said of a young man who offers himself for ordination

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494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[52] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the
[513] metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

793 ●

When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver-788 headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that [346] surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all [346] who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's 262 cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of 785 the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis. [485]

The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a 796 quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of 793 Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After 795 the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its 648 villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
[162] about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
722 whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
166 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward. When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away, which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[235] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
[493] before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently redecorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who had followed us up the stony path from the *mesokhori*, or village-square, crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office (the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion, overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

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796 priest resumed his place before the doors and took up anew the litanies
788 which properly pertain to the deacon's liturgy:

> For the precious gifts which have been offered,
> For this holy temple, and for those who enter it in
> faith, reverence and the fear of God . . .

while the reiterated *Kyrie eleison* of the singers rose and fell and we commended "ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God".

At the cry: "The doors, the doors!" all became suddenly alert, and a young girl—one of those celebrating their name-day—pushed through the crowd of women and children who filled the space between the lectern of the singers and the eikonostasis on the north side of the church and, standing before the eikon of the Mother of God, read the Nicene Creed. The Bishop commenced the great eucharistic prayer and the climax of the liturgy drew near. After the loaves that remained over from
796 the consecrated bread had been blessed, the Bishop sent me, by the hand
778 of his assistant, a portion bearing the seal IC . XC . NI . KA: how many a
262 holy custom have we forfeited in exchanging the *artos* of scripture and
788 primitive tradition for the *azymes* which bear no evident relation to the common bread which one bakes and breaks at home, or to the daily toil of ordinary men and women. In Greece the bread and the wine
[793] that are brought to the altar are the very same as those which are eaten and drunk at home, and such loaves as remain over after the distribution of the blessed bread—the *antidoron* (literally, 'instead of the gift')—go to the parish priest; so, we may recall, the English Prayer Book requires that: "the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten. . . . And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated the Curate shall have it to his own use."

Came the solemn pronouncement of the Lord's words: "This is my body. . . . This is my blood", and the great cry "Thine of thine own we offer to thee . . ." and then the Bishop knelt before the holy table and called upon God to "send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit", while the singers softly intoned their hymn of adoring praise, and the holy people of God stood with bowed heads in the pools of sunlight, veiled by the slowly spiralling haze of incense.

796 In some parts of Greece where movements such as the Brotherhood
788
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796 peculiar Saint, especially those to whom they are particularly devoted. These jolly Easterlings, when they hear . . . that the Christians pretending to be Reformed in the West, do utterly hate and abjure all such Practices as *Heathenish* and *Prophane*, must think them all the vilest Miscreants living.

796 When the last of the *antidoron* had been distributed, Anargyri had
● 793 replaced the mitre in its brass box, and the Metropolitan had concluded
574 a long conversation with the churchwardens about the best method of shoring up the roof—a section of which was sagging ominously—we left the church and made our way to the dwelling of the parish priest where a vast table had been erected in the shade of a vine. There we feasted until it was high afternoon: the Lord Agathangellos, the president of the community, the *kapetanios* of the militia, the *papas*, the schoolmaster, Anargyri, the churchwardens, the singers and several officers from the garrison of Nevrokopi who had accompanied us to Dasoto that morning.

796 It was not by any means my first experience of a village festival: a
574 few months earlier I might well have been deceived into thinking that
262 the bowls of eggs, goat's milk cheese, olives, and finely-shredded
273 vegetables soaked in oil and lemon which appeared with the *ouzo* constituted the substance of the feast and not a mere *hors d'oeuvre*. Now I knew better, and I was not surprised when the clearing of the table by the *papadia* and her daughters after forty minutes proved to be no more than a prelude to a banquet of an altogether more serious character.

As the dishes came and went and the dark wine flowed freely, I recalled Dr. Covel's description of another such festival at the great Athonite house of Iveron: "The best monkish fare that could be gotten was provided, excellent fish (severall ways), oyl, salet, beanes, hortechockes, beets . . . chees, onions, garlick, olives, caveor, Pyes of herbs, φακαὶς, κτωπόδι; pepper, salt, saffron in all. At last conserved little oranges, most exquisite, good wine (a sort of small claret), and we alwayes drank most plentifully. . . . He is no Greek that cannot drink twenty or thirty plump glasses at a setting."

[535] After the feast there was dancing, and the sun was low in the west when we drove back to Nevrokopi. The day drew to a close amongst the eikons of those who had finished their course, with those yet in the way of salvation joining with one voice in the ancient canticle, *Hail! Gladdening Light*, to the praise and glory of the Holy Trinity.

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788 oneself. All other considerations apart, such a setting is hardly favourable to
796 the growth of certain individualistic types of piety which flourish amongst
[346] the Franks, who worship their Creator in strange and novel ways, each isolated from his fellow and entrenched within the citadel of his own pew.

In Greece there is but one celebration of the liturgy on a Sunday or holy day in any one church. This is a rule which is waived only in cases
[346] of extreme necessity and then only when a *parekklesion*, or side-chapel, is available so that it is not necessary to use the same altar twice (most
[793] Greek churches have only one altar). A priest may celebrate only once on any given day.

In Greece the times of services are never announced and questions on this score are invariably met with evasive if not actually misleading replies. Services commence earlier in summer than in winter. An hour or two after sunrise the bells will be rung and the priest and a couple of readers will begin to sing the morning offices—*mesonyktikon* (which should, as the name indicates, be read at midnight, as it is in the monastic use), and *ortbros*, or lauds, the office of the dawn. Towards the end of the latter service—perhaps an hour or more after the village's first awakening—the bells will be rung a second time. Still the church is comparatively empty. The holy eucharist follows *ortbros* without a break about nine o'clock, and by the time that the thrice-holy hymn is sung (when the bells summon the faithful for the third and last time) the congregation will have begun to swell, until, at the great entry with the holy gifts, the greater part of the village will be packed within the walls of the church, the men to the right, the women to the left, the air by this time heavy with incense.

788 The whole service is invariably sung. What the west knows as a low
533 mass, the 'early service' or 'eight o'clock', dear to so many English churchmen, is unknown to the Greeks. The traditional Byzantine chant is still more or less universal and is always sung without instrumental accompaniment; only in certain urban parishes has it been partially displaced of recent years by that bastard child of strangely-matched parents, the so-called European chant. In its pure form the traditional plainsong can be quite ravishing in its unearthly beauty. Never shall I forget the singing of the monks of Moni Petraki who gather morning by morning in their tiny church, while Athens lies in darkness and before the first tramcar has gone clanging down the tree-lined avenue of the *Basilissa* Sophia towards the outer suburbs.

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

"Nowhere, either in Greece or the East," observes the Abbé de St. Michon, "do men sing as loud as we do. It is an usage that we owe to the barbarism of our fathers. The oriental psalmody is sweet, low and without effort." Alas! it is not always so. "Their singing", says Thomas Smith, "is very mean and pitifull, without figure and the relishes of art, and is at best but a kind of harsh Plain-song." "We heard the Greek Vespers", wrote Sir George Wheler in 1675, "worse sung than *Hopkins* Psalms used to be in some of our Country Churches." All too frequently the beauty of the traditional chant has been overlaid by accretions and adornment from alien sources; and its delivery, as the Abbé justly remarks, "with nasal sounds which weary European ears". Much of the "tedious and indiscreet length of liturgies" whereof so many Frankish travellers have complained, is due not to any inner necessity of the rite itself but solely to the elaboration of the chant. The restoration of the oriental plainchant to something of its earlier simplicity and directness has therefore become an imperative need in circles where the holy mysteries are celebrated frequently: one cannot expect the laity to spend the greater part of every morning in church. There are churches in Greece to-day where the liturgy is celebrated with great reverence in an hour and a quarter, even when many of the secret prayers are read aloud.

Concelebration—which has all but disappeared from the west—is still very much a reality in Greece, and is an important factor in enabling the Greek Church to retain the ancient rule of a single eucharist attended by the whole church in each several locality. On a Sunday morning at an important parish church, such as St. Panteleimon, Acharnon (in the suburbs of Athens), one may see five or six priests attended by a deacon concelebrating at the great square altar, often with a bishop (one of the suffragans of the Archbishop, or a provincial metropolitan serving his term of duty as a member of the synod) presiding over the whole assembly. The Greek bishop or priest who finds himself away from his own diocese on the Lord's day does not take his place amongst the laity in the body of the church but joins the other ministers gathered around the holy table and there fulfils his proper liturgy.

Now there are those who, while recognising that the Orthodox Church has in many respects faithfully preserved the liturgical tradition of the first centuries of our era, would yet ask whether the liturgy of the laity has not—within the bounds of the *oikoumene* no less than in the

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727 foreign occupation and armed sedition, that it is possible to grasp the
794 full significance of the spiritual ferment which marked these ten years, or to understand the magnitude of the task which the Church faces at the present time. For this reason I make no apology for dwelling at some length on the extent of the all-engulfing catastrophe which overwhelmed the Greek nation from the time of the Italian invasion of 1940 down to the decisive defeat of the Communists in the campaigns of 1949.

722 Much has already been written concerning the sufferings of the
727 people of Greece during these terrible years: about the horrors of the occupation, the burning and pillage of undefended villages, the famine which carried off more than 300,000 men, women and children, and the multitude of the homeless approaching in number the population of Athens and the Piraeus. Long before the end of the struggle with the Communists was in sight the destruction had become so manifest, so universal, that after a time one no longer marvelled. One came to accept the long lines of shattered rolling-stock stretching westwards from the walls of Salonica across the plain towards the muddy waters of the Vardar; the rusting carriages which lay strewn around the fair shores of Salamis. It was impossible to travel for any distance without encountering a dynamited bridge, a recently filled mine-crater, or the blackened ruins of an abandoned village. Every town of northern Greece was crowded with refugees, and even the suburbs of Salonica were liable to nocturnal bombardment.

722 Little attention, however, has as yet been given to the effect of ten
727 years of all but unbroken warfare upon the life of the Church: to the breakdown of normal parochial organisation over large tracts of country
795 for two or three years at a stretch, in consequence of the flight of the
[793] clergy together with their people from the villages; to the slaughter of the country parsons, and the destruction and looting of countless churches and monasteries which were to create such insuperable problems when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes; to the fate of those dioceses which were occupied by the Bulgars, who attempted to eradicate every trace of 'Hellenism' from those areas of eastern Macedonia and Thrace which fell to their lot; where the Greek bishops and their clergy were supplanted by Bulgars, the Greek service-books burned; where the very saints were de-Hellenised and had their names repainted in Slavonic characters. All who were able to do so fled from this region and took refuge in Salonica or in other towns to the west of the river Strymon, though some 40,000 were massacred. In the

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722 the small country towns which serve as centres for the ecclesiastical
362 administration. Here many of them remained for three years. Some, and those the most fortunate, were able to build themselves wooden houses or *kalyvai*; others were lodged in huts; multitudes, especially in Macedonia, lived (often twenty or twenty-five families together) in old Turkish houses; those who fared worst of all had to be content with hastily improvised shelters of mud and thatch, or even to pass the bitter months of winter in tents. By the end of 1948 the number of the refugees exceeded 700,000: for the second time within ten years a tenth part of the whole nation was homeless. The country towns were packed with refugees: not a ruined cottage or a stable but sheltered two or three families. Some words from Thomas Alcock's *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece in 1828-29* might well have been written 120 years later: "Nothing in Greece", says this traveller, "can more forcibly give an idea of the war that has been carried on, than finding on inquiry that not a third of the residents in any place are natives of it, but only sojourners there, till security is afforded them in their own birth-places."

727 The parish clergy fled with their people to the comparative security of the towns, but the priest was a marked man and many failed to make
●793 good their escape. No less than 239 priests and monks were done to
[792] death by the Communists alone, and seventy-seven by the Germans,
[798] while a further forty-seven died at the hands of Bulgars, Italians or Albanian moslems. Of the total number of 363 the majority (297 to be precise) were parish priests: no single category of the population sustained heavier casualties in the slaughter of these years than the village *papades*.

793 "I triumphed", says De Quincey, "but infer not, reader, a condition of joy or exultation." Not all of those who died were men of the quality
798 of the heroic parish priest of the village of Megarchis, Papa George Skrekas, who was crucified by the Communists on Good Friday, 1947. Nor, needless to add, did every Christian who suffered for the faith during the first three centuries of our era embrace death with the ardour of an Ignatius or the serenity of a Polycarp. The Church of Greece has ever been rich in martyrs, and there are not a few names—unknown though they be to Christendom at large—which have been added during the last ten years to the roll of those who will be remembered in the mountain dioceses whenever the Church gathers for the eucharist:

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A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION

793 798

"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen."

But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands.

722 793

It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation.

722 727 795 669 [619]

THE WATERS OF MARAH

727 795 By the summer of 1950 it had become possible to gain some notion of the full extent of the material destruction which the Church had sustained since the beginning of the war; although with large tracts of northern Greece uninhabited until a few months before, the compiling of accurate statistics—never a simple matter—presented problems such as only one who had been in Greece during the last few years could hope to appreciate fully. I have already referred to the wholesale destruction of churches and monasteries. This, though serious enough, was perhaps most easily remedied. I remember one bishop who chuckled inordinately when I questioned him on this subject; "All that is necessary", he assured me, "is that I should go in person to the village with a spade and set to work, and then: *Panaghia!* in no time at all the whole village will turn out and a new church will be built before one can say a *kathisma* of psalms!"

More serious, perhaps, and not confined to those villages where the fabric of the church had been demolished, was the acute shortage of liturgical books, chalices, vestments, and other accessories of worship which could not be supplied from local resources. The dearth of [213] service-books, in particular, was occasioning widespread difficulty. Old Venetian editions had been brought in from long-abandoned monasteries and remote hill-top chapels which had escaped pillage—though the antique characters in which many of them were printed, while intelligible enough to the experienced monk, made it difficult for the average *papas* (to say nothing of the village choir) to read the service with any facility.

727 ●793 346 I remarked in an earlier chapter that the metropolis is as a rule one of the most impressive and substantial buildings of a provincial town. In 1950, however, several bishops were homeless. The Metropolitan of Grevena was living in lodgings, having one room for his personal use and another which served as the diocesan office; the Lord Agathangellos of Nevrokopi was living in the most apostolic simplicity in two barely furnished rooms; nor, amongst the provincial 'saints', were such cases exceptional.

727 794 Faced by a catastrophe so complete and overwhelming, the first concern of the Church was to try to meet the urgent demand for the bare necessities of life: for food, clothing and shelter. Everywhere the response was the same: orphanages, homes for refugee children, centres for the distribution of food and clothing, clinics and hospitals, were

created as it were out of nothing. Everywhere these institutions were hastily improvised in the face of desperate and clamorous necessity, and, more often than not, maintained with a heroic disregard for the universal lack of material resources, and a courage worthy of a St. Vincent de Paul. 727 794

In almost every diocese the bishop bore a heavy responsibility in this work of relief. Nearly always he exercised a close personal supervision over the various institutions which had come into being in response to the need of a people driven, for the second time within less than ten years, from their homes and lands; over the *estia* where for several years milk was distributed daily to thousands of refugee children; the *paidikos stathmos* where infants were cared for during the day; the distribution of clothing, black stuff for cassocks, soap, cocoa, macaroni, beans, sugar, boots and shoes—all the multiplicity of urgently needed supplies with which a host of relief organisations, societies, British and American towns and villages, and private benefactors sought to succour the people of Greece in their distress. [648]

At Siderokastro, for example, the Metropolitan (who as assistant bishop of Salonica was an ardent supporter of the work of the Near East Foundation during the period between the wars), founded a small hospital where poor families could receive free medical attention, as well as a remarkable school of housekeeping for girls of marriageable age. Like all the Macedonian 'despots', the Bishop was president of the local branch of the national relief organisation known as P.I.K.P.A., and supervised the two centres from which milk and cocoa were issued daily to thousands of refugee children from the villages of his diocese. [657] [793]

At Edessa, in western Macedonia, the Metropolitan founded, shortly after the end of the occupation, an orphanage for twenty-five boys. This was originally situated in a house on the outskirts of the town, but during the heavy fighting at Epiphany, 1949—when Naoussa, a few kilometres to the southward, was sacked by the Communists and more than 600 of its inhabitants carried away captive to the mountains —this building was extensively damaged and rendered almost uninhabitable. The Bishop then established his orphans under the care of a monk in a dilapidated Turkish house next to the metropolis, and this was subsequently transformed into a permanent orphanage. Not content with this, the Bishop proceeded to found two further orphanages attached to nearby monasteries, as soon as the district was sufficiently tranquil [669] [792]

727 to permit the monks and nuns—who had taken refuge in the town of
794 Edessa—to return to their respective convents. A fourth orphanage
[792] was established a few miles away at Iannitsa.'

So, all over Greece, there was heroic improvisation in the face of overwhelming material need; and, as at Edessa and Siderokastro, so in many another provincial town from the Peloponnese to the remotest fringes of northern Epirus and Thrace, the courage and initiative of the local 'despot' were factors of incalculable importance.

727 And yet, as I emphasised at the beginning of this chapter, pre-
794 occupation with the material needs of her children did not cause the
793 Church to neglect their spiritual welfare. The feeding and clothing of the homeless and the destitute, the distribution of soup and the creation of hospitals and orphanages, went hand in hand with the preaching of the Gospel. The Metropolitan of Siderokastro was not content with his hospital, his P.I.K.P.A. centres and his school of housekeeping. Even while the issue of the long struggle with the Communists was yet in the balance—and the Bulgarian frontier lies barely ten miles to the northward of the town—the Lord Basil was organising his "Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment" and pressing ahead with the construction of a *Christianiki Estia*: a building comprising a large hall, library, class-rooms and offices, which should serve as a centre for the already vigorous Christian youth movements of the diocese and for training catechists and preachers. He needed, as every bishop did, cassocks for his clergy, food and clothing and medical supplies for his stricken people; but he was anxious above all to obtain Greek New Testaments for his catechetical schools, and a duplicator which would enable him to send a weekly sermon to every village *papas* in the diocese.

795 So it was elsewhere. Nothing that I saw in Greece impressed me more deeply than the fact that it was so often in precisely those districts where suffering had been most acute, where destruction and devastation were most evident, that the life of the Church seemed to burn most brightly. Suffering and desolation, which in a people less profoundly Christian than the Greeks might have brought forth nothing more creative than despair, have in Greece borne precious fruit. Deprived of all worldly security and riches, the Church has been forced back upon the Rock whereon she is founded; has learned anew that there can be no resurrection apart from the cross—the instrument of shameful death which is yet the throne of the victor. Through prolonged suffering she has

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X

A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer a-sonder.

A FEW paces from the gates of the University of Salonica, just south of the Via Ignatia where antique tramcars go clanging across the dusty waste that was once the Jewish cemetery, the daily papers, which play so important a part in Greek intellectual and social life, used to be publicly displayed every morning so that all men—poor scholars and unbeneficed clerks as well as prosperous merchants rich in this world's goods—might read of the heroic exploits of the armies which strove to drive the Accursed of God from the snowy heights of Pindos: a public-spirited gesture, worthy of a people who have ever set the pursuit of truth far beyond mere commercial advantage, and one of which I was often glad to avail myself on my way from the university library at midday.

One sunny forenoon in the spring of 1949 as I scanned the headlines of *Kathimerini* and *Akropolis* a photograph caught my eye. At first sight it seemed in no way remarkable: a group of country clergy gathered about their father in God—the latter an impressive figure wearing the *enkolpion*, or pectoral eikon, which is the mark of the higher clergy. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed that this was no ordinary clerical assembly, for every one of these reverend personages had a rifle slung across his shoulder. I turned in some astonishment to the accompanying paragraph and read that "in the war against the insurgents, the clergy of Grevena hastened to be enrolled under the banner of the movement for the deliverance of the Hellenic race. . . ." The photograph, it concluded, "shows the Metropolitan of Grevena with his armed priests".

I went to lunch with my curiosity whetted. Grevena, I knew, was a peculiarly isolated diocese and one that had suffered severely, first at the hands of the Germans and again in the present troubles. Further enquiries disclosed that the present Metropolitan, the Lord Theokletos, was a man renowned for his ardent patriotism and his immense stature.

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

During the weeks which followed I had occasion to correspond with this prelate as to the state of his diocese, and received a pressing invitation to come and see for myself the desperate conditions resulting from eight years of all but continuous warfare. 727 793

Some months went by before an opportunity presented itself, and then one morning in February, 1950, found me travelling westwards from Kozani in a jeep belonging to the 2nd Army Corps. When I had last come this way, the previous March, we had been constrained to travel in convoy: a seemingly endless line of heavy army trucks laden with provisions, fodder and ammunition for the outlying garrisons of northern Pindos. It had been the eve of the festival of the Annunciation —which is also the day on which Greece commemorates the raising of the standard of revolt by the Archbishop of Patras in 1821—and every vehicle was decked with evergreens and plastered with patriotic slogans: 484 527

ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΖΗΤΩ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ
ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.

The wild, mountainous tract of country that lies south and west of Kozani is a desolate region at all times, and never more so than in early February when the outworks of the great fortress of Pindos are veiled in snow, and icy winds scour the exposed valley which leads westward away from the haunts of men. A mile or two from Siatista the road forked and we turned southwards out of the teeth of the wind, the lightly-laden jeep lurching and jolting over the deeply-scored, rock-strewn surface of a truly Hellenic road—"the worst road in all Macedonia", the driver assured me with emphasis. 491

At Grevena—set drab and cheerless amongst low hills, the gaunt ruin of the orphanage dark against the sky—boulders gave place to mud. It lapped about us as we turned out of the market, where I had a fleeting glimpse of whiskered *papades* in rusty cassocks sprawled round a table amidst the dull gleam of copper pans and cauldrons. A veritable sea of mud, churned by the wheels of heavy vehicles, stretched unbroken from the steps of the regimental headquarters towards the broken line of ramshackle dwellings beyond the river.

Here on the furthermost fringe of Macedonia the road was swallowed up in the muddy deeps; beyond the cottages lay the massive rampart of Pindos, traversed only by mule-tracks winding high among the

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491 snows, westwards towards Metsovo and Epirus. To the southward a few paths—impassable save on foot during the winter months—gave access to Kalambaka and the plains of Thessaly.

793 After paying my respects to the colonel in command of the garrison I plunged afresh into the inland sea and struck out for the metropolis: a simple cottage where the Bishop rented a couple of rooms. The Lord Theokletos—a monumental figure in an ungirt robe of indigo—looked [785] strangely out of place in such a setting. The Friday fast was waived out of regard to the presence of a traveller, and when we had eaten the [574] Metropolitan told me something of the state of his diocese. It was a gloomy picture that he outlined.

722 Owing to the remoteness of the district and its poor communications 793 almost every village had been abandoned by its inhabitants from 1947 till the summer of 1949. Grevena itself, a comopolis with a pre-war 727 population in the region of 3,500, had, for more than two years, sheltered five times that number of refugees. During the past six months it had been possible for the people to return to certain villages situated in the northern part of the diocese, but there were reputed to be more than 2,000 families still living in the great refugee camp on the southern fringes of the town, and sixty-four of the diocese's ninety-six villages were still, after three years, uninhabited. Many of the fugitives had fled southwards to Kalambaka, Trikkala and Larissa; others had sought refuge in Kozani.

The refugees had included seventy-five parish priests, only sixteen of whom had as yet been able to return to their villages. Two priests had been done to death by the Germans; three others, as well as three monks, murdered by the Communists. As recently as October, 1949, the solitary occupant of the monastery of St. Athanasius, close to the village of Trikomon, had returned home after two years' exile, despite the advice of the Bishop and others who counselled him to wait two or three months longer, only to be brutally murdered within the space of a [798] few days. It was when matters were at their worst that the Bishop formed his clerical militia and drilled his venerable warriors in the square where stands the monument to his predecessor in the see of Grevena, the Metropolitan Aimilianos, who had suffered death at the hands of the Turks in 1911 and is revered in this region as a martyr. This redoubtable force had never been called upon to take the field against the Accursed of God, but, said the Lord Theokletos, it had served as an example.

As to the destruction of churches, it seemed that some months must

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inevitably elapse before the Bishop could hope to be in a position to make a detailed statement. He instructed his secretary to provide me with a report embodying such information as had reached him. Grevena itself had suffered a heavy bombardment during the retreat of 1941 and the cathedral church of the Annunciation had been seriously damaged (the old cathedral of St. George had been destroyed by fire several years earlier). On the outskirts of the town lay a little church dedicated to St. Archelaos of Larissa. This had become the parish church of the refugees. Here, from 1947 onwards, the refugee clergy had assembled daily to sing mattins and evensong, and on Sundays and festivals to celebrate together the divine mysteries. This church, as I subsequently discovered, also served as a centre for the distribution of rations to the vast multitude of the homeless who dwelt in the nissen huts on the edge of the town. On my way back to the metropolis I ran into a large group of refugee clergy. They had got wind of my projected expedition and begged me to visit their villages and to bring back news of their condition after three years' abandonment.

I returned to the regimental headquarters at dusk, armed with my report, and spent an hour poring over maps with a young captain from Volos. We finally decided upon two itineraries, each of several days' duration. The first would enable me to see something of those parts of the diocese which were still uninhabited, and about which the Bishop had little information; the second, to visit several villages north and west of Grevena to which the refugees had lately returned. Arrangements having been made for a nine o'clock start the following morning, I returned to the metropolis for supper and discussed the Zoë movement and the architectural projects of the Metropolitan of Siatista with the Lord Theokletos until it was time for bed.

Saturday, February 4th, dawned fine and dry. The first stage of my journey was accomplished in a jeep driven by an *Epeirotes* who had concealed two British soldiers in his house at Iannina during the occupation. Less than five miles from Grevena the track which we were following gave up the ghost and further progress was impossible. At this point we were met by a sergeant and two soldiers, mounted on mules and leading a handsome bay mare caparisoned after the European manner. It took us an hour to climb to the village of Mavranaioi, which was strongly garrisoned (it had been partly inhabited since the previous October). After lunching with the officers of the garrison I resumed

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in 1945, but two years later the people fled to Grevena and all was left unfinished. Some fifty families had returned in November, 1949, and were now settled in their old houses. The church which was to replace that destroyed by the Germans stood roofless: the windows unglazed, the eikonostasis of rough-hewn timbers. There was a tiny chapel dedicated to the prophet Elias on the brow of the hill, half a mile beyond the village, where the holy mysteries had been celebrated for a time. Now the church which was in Elatos assembled Sunday by Sunday for the breaking of the bread in the half-finished structure which dominated the village.

Whilst we were within the church there was a murmuring amongst the crowd that had gathered in the snow outside: shouts of "Behold! He comes. Make haste, O Papa Iannis!" The parish priest had just returned from Grevena, having followed a more direct route than ourselves. He came scrambling up through the orchard below the church, a ragged figure clad in *kalymmafchion* and tattered overcoat, his boots heavy with mud, his cassock slung across his shoulder, clawing his way up the slope with the aid of a shepherd's staff. We all retired to the *taverna* for a glass of ouzo, and then, after despatching three of the escort with the baggage-mule, the rest of my party (together with two lads from the local militia and the indefatigable Papa Iannis, who, despite his seventy-three years, had already covered the best part of ten miles that morning), set out for the neighbouring village of Anavryta—a deserted hamlet set on the brink of a deep chasm where the inky thread of the Venetikos lay twisted in the pale sunlight. Far away against the towering ramparts of Pindos the ruins of Ziakas could be distinguished: a dark stain on the white vesture which enfolded the silent countryside.

The more enterprising of the Anavrytans had found lodging in the recently reoccupied village of Kallirachi (where we spent the following night) and were planning to return to their houses in the spring. The parish priest at Kallirachi had improvised a temporary oratory where he said the daily offices. The church lay in ruins, and the liturgy was celebrated in a tiny chapel dedicated to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, a full kilometre from the village. I left my escort at Kallirachi and set out early with a couple of local guides for Megaron, the largest village of the district and, like Kallirachi, reoccupied by its inhabitants some two months earlier. Here I made but a brief stay, as I was anxious to reach Kydonies (which lay well outside the inhabited zone) and get

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727 back to a populated village before nightfall. The *kapetanios* of the local
484 militia undertook to have an escort ready by noon, and in the meantime the parish priest carried me off to the refectory of the police station (where we broke our fast) and thence to see the parish church: an ancient structure roofed with corrugated iron, the walls bulging and sagging ominously at several points.

By one o'clock I was riding westwards on a handsome white mule, with an escort of local militia, armed to the teeth, in line ahead and astern, and all the mountains of Macedonia spread out around the horizon. Kydonies, where we arrived a little after three o'clock, was
727 utterly deserted. It had been a large village (some 175 families, according to my escort), and the destruction was more restricted than in many villages of this region. The church, like that at Elatos, had apparently
[346] been left uncompleted when the people fled: a temporary chapel which occupied the position of the outer narthex was in a ruinous condition. Several eikons lay half buried amongst the fallen masonry. The whole building, like the ruined school-house adjoining it, was daubed with democratic slogans.

727 The parish priest of Kydonies, Papa Athanasius Toskas, had been
793 murdered by the Germans who fell upon the village on July 7th, 1944. Papa Athanasius, despite his sixty-seven years, had gathered up his skirts and made for the forest as fast as his legs would carry him, in company with the curate of the neighbouring village of Ekklesia, Papa Nicolas Tsabiri. The latter succeeded in making good his escape, but Papa Athanasius was surrounded and captured. His body was found some days later, barbarously mutilated. His ears and hands had been cut off, his beard set on fire, and his chest and back slashed with knives.
727 All about the village were little chapels: one which we passed, as we
[346] recrossed the stream at the foot of the hill and turned towards Rodia, had been burned down.

I lay that night at the house of George Sabbas: the house where his brother had been killed before his eyes three years earlier and whence he had fled into the darkness to blunder about the wooded hills all night before reaching Aghios Georgios and safety. The people of Rodia had returned home only two months earlier. The youngest of my host's three sons had married the daughter of the parish priest, and this young woman now kept house for her father-in-law. After supper who
793 should appear but Father Athanasius, the *ephemerios*, who proved to be an old friend from the Kozani seminary. He had come home for the

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week-end. Conversation turned to the subject of the parish clergy; 793 ●
Papa Athanasi was a whole-hearted admirer of the new system; he was not one who could learn only from the Lord or rest content with a mere facility in turning the pages of the service-books:

"The divine liturgy, *Kyrie Petre*, can be gabbled through by a man who is all but illiterate: we are called to be shepherds, and a shepherd has need of great knowledge and wisdom."

Next morning Father Athanasius celebrated the holy mysteries in 727
the village church. It was one of the Saturdays of all souls, and the [769]
priest's daughter was early astir, making preparations for the commemoration of departed relatives and friends. Before the service was ended I left for the neighbouring village of Sydendron, where the curate, Papa Constantinos, introduced himself as "the priest who bore the machine-gun in the sacred company of the despot". St. [346]
Nicolas, Sydendron, had been a fine church, apparently dating from the [669]
sixteenth century. It had survived the years of occupation only to be set on fire by the Communists on the night of July 25th, 1947. The ancient frescoes were slowly crumbling away, but sufficient remained to show something of the former splendour of the church.

I lunched at the presbytery and rode on to Amygdalies in the early afternoon. Most of the village's 200 children seemed to be dancing barefoot in the sun outside their newly opened school: a nissen hut [346]
erected on the site of the building destroyed by the Germans in July, 1943. A huge new church was in process of construction, but work was at a standstill through lack of funds, and the liturgy had to be celebrated in a brick chapel hastily constructed in 1946 within the walls of the unfinished church. Being anxious to reach Aghios Georgios before 722
nightfall I resisted the efforts of the parish priest to persuade me to stay the night at Amygdalies, and as twilight deepened into darkness came clattering down the steep slopes to the stream where a few children still lingered, on a mule which I would have pitted even against Urquhart's Aristotle, and dismounted outside the house of the president.

Aghios Georgios was one of the only two villages in the diocese of Grevena where the population had remained throughout the troubled years which followed the end of the occupation, and had, moreover, afforded shelter to many refugees from other communities. The [712]
church—a massive structure dating from the middle of the nineteenth [346]
century—stood on rising ground in the centre of the village. The [669]

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following day I rode into Vatolakkos with an escort of six militiamen and fell straight into the hands of the parish priest, who was sunning himself on a bench outside the gendarmerie station. This *papas* was a graduate of the Kozani seminary; his father had been a priest in Smyrna (like Kivotos, this was a refugee village). He spoke with pride of the catechetical school which had been flourishing in the village since the previous autumn.

Vatolakkos, like Aghios Georgios, had never been abandoned by its inhabitants. Owing to its important position—astride the main road from Grevena to Kozani—it had been strongly garrisoned throughout the troubles, and had offered sanctuary to the fugitives from no less than ten neighbouring communities, despite the fact that the greater number of the houses had been destroyed in the German advance of 1941—there were bomb craters all along the road from Kivotos southward. The parish priest had sheltered five refugee families in his house for more than two years. The church, which had never been completed, had, according to the Bishop's report, been pillaged by the Germans. It had moreover been damaged by mortar fire during an attack on the village by the Communists. A new school had just been opened to take the place of the one destroyed by the Germans.

From Vatolakkos I succeeded in telephoning to army headquarters at Grevena, and shortly after three o'clock I was picked up by my friend from Iannina. After attending the evensong of the refugee clergy, in company with the Bishop's deacon, and a long talk with the fugitive *ephemerioi* of Spelaion and Kosmati, I paid a final visit to the metropolis. The Bishop was unwell: he had been ill for some time past, and I took my leave early. Some months later, after a letter enclosing photographs of the ruined churches of the diocese had remained long unanswered, I saw from a notice in *Ekklesia* that the Lord Theokletos had passed to his rest.

Like Father Ioakeim, his deacon, he was a native of the Piraeus and had laboured there for thirty-three years as vicar of the parish of St. Constantine before being called to take charge of the see of Grevena in the third year of the occupation. The state of the diocese even in those days was serious enough, and had the new *despotes* been able to foresee the full extent of the catastrophe which was to overwhelm the widely scattered communities committed to his charge within the space of another five years, he might understandably have shrunk from the heavy burden of responsibility that he was called to bear.

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793 722 From 1947 onwards the Lord Theokletos found himself the bishop of a vast multitude of displaced persons; the whole outward framework of diocesan administration disrupted; his parish clergy driven from their cures and scattered to far corners of Greece, or crowded together in the nissen huts on the margins of Grevena; the town itself threatened by the Communists. Called to face a truly desperate situation, the Metropolitan set an example worthy of his predecessor, the martyred Aimilianos, and of the great traditions of the Greek Church. Somehow, despite all material difficulties, food, shelter and clothing were provided for the innumerable refugees who descended upon Grevena during the fourth year of his episcopate, the philanthropic institutions of the battered township continued to function, and the Saint and Despot of Grevena, at the head of his 'sacred company' of refugee clergy, showed that the spirit of the warrior-prelates of the old wars was not yet extinct.

793 794 This alone was sufficient to ensure that the episcopate of the Metropolitan Theokletos of Grevena would long be remembered, not merely in western Macedonia but throughout the Church of Greece. But this was not all. I have said that it was often in those districts where devastation and suffering had left their deepest mark that the Church manifested most plainly the Source of her life. The episcopate of Theokletos of Grevena may well serve to illustrate this truth.

The late Metropolitan had not been long in residence (he had been forced to spend some months in Kozani before coming to his diocese) before he summoned to his assistance a priest-monk then working in Florina, the Archimandrite Augustine: a powerful preacher, an ardent evangelist noted for his adherence to the letter of the dominical counsels in such matters as personal property, and an outspoken rebuker of vice —even when manifested in high places. This last characteristic having apparently rendered Father Augustine's relations with a certain dignitary of the Church somewhat delicate, he established himself at Grevena during the third year of the Lord Theokletos' episcopate and threw himself into the task of building up a Christian movement among the young men and girls of the diocese.

Father Augustine's method was to gather round him a little band of potential leaders: a score of young catechists of both sexes, the majority drawn from the senior classes of the high school, who would in time be able to carry on the work which he had begun. Before long it had proved possible to organise catechetical schools for children of all ages, and (as the refugee camp became more and more swollen

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during the course of 1947) to draw into the new Christian Unions many hundreds of boys and girls from the remote hamlets of Pindos, few of whom had ever heard a sermon preached in their village churches, let alone received any systematic course of instruction in the faith such as was now offered them. Whilst the whole diocese lay desolate and the Communist bands roamed the mountains almost at will, there was slowly growing up amongst the young Christians crowded together in the mud and squalor of Grevena a movement which promised to transform the religious life of this barren region. 793 ● 794

In 1949 Father Augustine left Grevena to take up new work as chaplain to the 2nd Army Corps at Kozani, but the Christian Unions continued to flourish. Their membership at the time of my visit was in the region of 1,600—and this figure did not include the hundreds of children who had recently returned to their villages. In order that these latter should not be lost to the movement, several young catechists were visiting the lately repopulated villages around Grevena every week-end, giving addresses either during the liturgy or else in the village square when the people came out of church, and labouring to build up catechetical schools in every village. The Metropolitan had given immense stimulus to this work by sending as many parish clergy as he could spare to study at Kozani seminary—men like Papa Athanasius from Rodia—who would be qualified to run their own catechetical schools when they returned home.

Outstanding among the catechists trained by Father Augustine was a young gendarme who, now that there was no regular *hierokeryx* attached to the metropolis, was himself acting as the diocesan preacher and assistant to the Metropolitan. It would have been hard to match the burning devotion and zeal of these young catechists; the enthusiasm and eagerness of their still younger pupils. The Bishop himself had no illusions as to the importance of the work that had been begun three years before: in the face of devastation such as I had seen with my own eyes during the course of the ten days I had spent in the diocese—material destruction on a scale equal to that sustained by any Greek diocese—it was his considered opinion that the most desperate need was not for clothing or food or medical supplies, not for animals to replace those slaughtered by the Germans or driven off to the mountains by the Communists, not for domestic or agricultural implements and tools, but for a properly equipped building to serve as a centre for the Christian Unions, for Greek New Testaments and other Christian 793 794 727

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794 literature, and for a magical *polygraphos* which would enable him to [793] distribute every week a homily to be read by every *papas* in the diocese [727] at the Sunday liturgy.

For the truly notable feature of his episcopate had been neither the destruction and pillage of the villages, nor the slaughter of his clergy and the flight of his people from their homes and lands; all this had but provided the setting for a flowering of new and vigorous spiritual life of untold power, which promised to spread, from the little band of catechists whom Father Augustine had gathered about him, to every village and hamlet of the diocese—to Spelaion, high amongst the towering rocks above the Venetikos, where the saints brooded over the dark church, to Samarina and the summer pastures of the Vlach shepherds, southward and westward to desolate Trikomon and the uninhabited wastes towards Metsovo—and to bring a deepened and more conscious sharing in the Christian mystery to a people who had, as it was, retained their hold upon the fundamental virtues of faith, hope and charity with a tenacity which is rare in the world to-day.

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

795 797 Though the traditions which enshrine the saving truths of the Gospel had been handed down from generation to generation throughout the centuries of Turkish dominion, the life of the Church was nevertheless gravely threatened by corruption and decay. The ministry of the word had fallen into almost complete neglect even in Athens, while in the country districts sermons were all but unknown. The ordinary people were for the most part "ill instructed, or rather not taught at all, sermons and catechising rare amongst them, Masses and Divine Service hudled and run over in a cursory and negligent manner . . ."

● 793 797 The higher clergy, with few exceptions, paid but scanty heed to their pastoral responsibilities. By the eighteen-forties (owing to the long delay in the recognition of the autocephalous status of the Church of Greece by the Oecumenical Patriarch) the number of the bishops had declined until only four remained, and those well advanced in years. As to the parish clergy, one may read accounts of their ignorance that differ but little from those which Covel had set down 200 years earlier: "Most priests have no books by them, but only their Church Offices; and . . . all their Study is only to get them by Heart, which takes up so much of their time as they cannot attend to read or Study other learned books if they had them. . . . Their ordinary prayers and liturgies, like Parrots they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and use them very imperfectly, with strange variety and confusion."

[792] As for the monasteries, though there remained many holy monks and learned even in the darkest days, all too many of the *kalogeroi* were worldly and ignorant; jealous of their privileges, content with a merely formal discharge of the duties belonging to their state; drowsing in sunny galleries, cultivating their vegetables and their pleasant vineyards.

794 797 It is against such a background that we have to view the labours of that little company of priests and laymen who laid the foundations of what, in our own time, has become a nation-wide movement. The initiative in the growing revival of evangelistic and missionary activity that has characterised the last 100 years of the history of the Greek Church has come, not from the hierarchy—though many bishops have been whole-hearted supporters of the new movements—but from individual churchmen: lay theologians, monks and clergy. It is only [793] very recently that an official 'Home Mission' has come into being, with the foundation of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* of the Church of Greece (not to be confounded with a far older movement of the same name which still flourishes in Salonica and the northern dioceses).

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797 good People . . . for the encouraging and encreasing of their Devotion, and for the better management of their Lives and Conversations". 794 The foundation of the School of the Logos constitutes an important 797 landmark; it inaugurates the era of the voluntary movements and establishes the essential features of a pattern of missionary activity 175 which has held the field until our own day, and from which the foundation of an official Home Mission marks the first radical departure.

In September, 1876, Makrakes and his associates founded the School of the Logos which combined the functions of a private *gymnasium* with those of an evening school for adults. Father Eusebius (who had been ordained priest a month before) was appointed chaplain and *pneumatikos* of this remarkable institution—he also made himself responsible for the cleaning of the school (especially, it is related, "of its vilest places", *τῶν εὐτελεστέρων τόπων αὐτῆς*: a phrase charged with sinister meaning for anyone acquainted with the lamentable decline in the standards of Hellenic plumbing since the far-off days when King Minos flourished in his Cretan palace!) The outstanding qualities of this young priest were quickly discerned by those about him, and not a few who were many years his senior in age and experience came to rely upon him as counsellor and spiritual father. It was during this period that Father Eusebius began his experiments with the small groups (*omades*) which were to become so important a feature of the brotherhood which he founded some thirty years later.

But the School of the Logos was not destined to enjoy a long career. Scarcely two years had elapsed from its foundation when Makrakes and his associates became involved in a violent controversy with the authorities, which brought their educational and spiritual work in Athens to an abrupt conclusion and scattered the leaders of the movement to remote islands and monasteries. In 1875, as the result of a scandalous 793 transaction involving payments to certain ministers of the State, three 797 men succeeded in obtaining the vacant bishoprics of Patras, Messenia 662 and Kephallenia. The facts became widely known and public opinion 175 was deeply aroused. Makrakes and certain of his fellow-workers published fiery articles denouncing this flagrant violation of the holy canons. A trial ensued; the guilty ministers were imprisoned and fined, while the three simoniacal bishops were committed to the Holy Synod, which should then, according to the canons, have proceeded to a sentence of deposition.

793 The Synod, however, declined to take this step. Makrakes thereupon
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extended his attacks from the simoniacal bishops themselves to those whom he now accused of being their accomplices—the members of the Holy Synod and the Archbishop of Athens. A bitter controversy ensued. Makrakes (whose language had never been characterised by moderation) threw discretion to the winds and attacked the bishops, the prime minister, the government and the theological faculty of the university without discrimination and in the most violent terms. The Metropolitan of Athens and of all Greece he denounced as "Simon Magus: *Archegos* of the hateful-to-God heresy and Metropolitan of evil courses!" The national university was no longer the *panepistemion*, the home of all the sciences, but the *panskotisterion*, the abode of universal darkness.

The clergy who were associated with Makrakes were more restrained in their denunciations of the hierarchy. They felt bound, nevertheless, to cease to commemorate their diocesan at the divine liturgy. The Synod retaliated by publishing unfounded charges of heresy and false teaching, and warned the faithful to have nothing to do with the theologians associated with the School of the Logos. The school itself was suppressed in the autumn of 1878, though Makrakes continued to publish his journal. In February, 1879, six of the 'Makrakist' clergy (including the archimandrites Hierotheos Metropoulos and Elias Vlachopoulos, as well as Father Eusebius) were brought before the Synod and tried on charges of heresy and *kakodoxia*. Despite the accused clergy's profession of orthodoxy and the absence of any shred of evidence in support of the charges, all were found guilty and sentenced to periods of exile, ranging from eight to ten years, in isolated monasteries dispersed amongst the islands of the Aegean and Ionian seas.

Father Eusebius was sent to the monastery of Palaiokastriotissa in Corfu—a small convent inhabited by ten monks, five hours' journey from the town of Kerkyra—where, cheerfully accepting this enforced interruption of his apostolic labours amongst the Athenians, he gave himself unreservedly to prayer and self-examination, and to the study of the scriptures. It was not long before the abbot of the monastery realised that the character of the exiled priest had been grossly misrepresented by the ecclesiastical authorities, and, with the consent of the local bishop, Father Eusebius began to preach in the villages of the diocese and to confess the people. Hierotheos Metropoulos was meanwhile turning his banishment to good account by reorganising the monastery of Longovardas in the isle of Paros, where his influence has endured to the present day.

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793 The scandal occasioned by the simoniacal bishops had not been
797 silenced by the banishment of the 'Makrakist' clergy. On the contrary,
175 there was a widespread feeling that a grave injustice had been committed; petitions were organised, the subject was raised again and again in parliament, and at last, after three years, the exiles were recalled and the case of the guilty prelates reopened before the Holy Synod. Father Eusebius had so endeared himself to the people of Kerkyra that they refused to let him go immediately and he continued his work of spiritual regeneration amongst them for a year longer. In 1883 the Synod suspended the simoniacs for three years, and shortly afterwards the director of the Rizareion School, the then Bishop of Platamon, was charged with the re-examination of the case of the clergy formerly associated with the School of the Logos. He reported that the accusations of heresy and *kakodoxia* were utterly without foundation, the six priests and deacons admitted their fault in ceasing to commemorate their diocesan at the liturgy, and a formal reconciliation was effected.

797 Makrakes, however, refused to admit that the action of the Synod
175 of 1879 constituted not a heresy (which might be held to justify separation from the local bishop) but a crime (ἔγκλημα) which certainly did not, and continued obstinately in schism. The story of the later years of this gifted but unbalanced man makes melancholy reading. In 1879 he had founded the 'Panhellenic Society of Constantine the Great' and announced the approaching overthrow of Constantinople and the end of the 'Kingdom of the Antichrist Mohamed'. From this time onward oracles and prophetic visions occupy a prominent place in his writings. The Apocalypse and the dreams of an eccentric lawyer from Patras (much given to threatening his unbelieving fellow-townsmen with earthquakes) are pressed into service for his shrill polemics.

Father Eusebius and the other clergy who had formerly collaborated with this Christian philosopher tried hard to convince him of the folly of his ways, but without avail, and in 1884 they regretfully dissociated themselves from their old teacher. Three years later Makrakes was abandoned by most of his remaining supporters, two of whom, Constantine Dialesmas and a lawyer named Michael Galanos (who was subsequently to exercise a memorable ministry as a lay preacher in one of the churches of Athens) were responsible for the foundation of the movement known as *Anaplasis* (Regeneration) which continued the work of Makrakes while renouncing the eccentric ways into which he himself had fallen. Makrakes lived till 1905 and, despite the violence

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dioceses, for it was not until 1936 that the Zoë Brotherhood established a centre in Salonica. The motto of this movement (which I have quoted at the head of this chapter), provides a key to much of the most notable work that is being done in Greece to-day; 'the victory of the width'—to give a literal translation of a phrase that cannot easily be put into English—ultimately depends upon the faithfulness and energy with which 'the battle of the depth' is waged. There can, in other words, be no fruitful outward activity that does not spring from a deepened interior life. It is only as the missioner himself is truly converted, only as he himself learns to dwell in Christ and as Christ is formed in him, that he can be used as an effective instrument for the conversion of others. Apart from this all his activity is in vain:

"As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. . . . If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

It augurs well for the future that the strenuous missionary activity now being undertaken in almost every town and diocese of Greece is so completely grounded in prayer and the study of the scriptures, finding its centre in the divine liturgy and the sacraments. The foundations are being well laid.

The full scope of the activity of the unofficial religious movements is perhaps most conveniently described if we consider in turn the chief instruments now being employed to bring about the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ. These include preaching, the mystery of confession, the organisation of catechetical schools, youth movements and study circles, the publication of Christian literature, and, finally, liturgical reform.

Preaching has from the outset been of primary importance. Cosmas Phlamiatos, Apostolos Makrakes and Eusebius Matthopoulos all relied upon the spoken *krygma* as their most effective instrument. The theologian—whether cleric or layman—who serves on the staff of a provincial bishop is first and foremost the *hierokryx*, the sacred herald, whose duty it is to assist the bishop in the ministry of the word. In the course of the last two generations there has been a tremendous revival of preaching—at any rate in the towns. Every parish church in Athens and the Piraeus now has a sermon at the Sunday liturgy—normally an exposition of the Gospel which immediately precedes it—

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793 while in many churches and halls there are regular sermons at other
796 times during the week.

In the country dioceses, owing to the shortage of qualified preachers, sermons are still all too rarely to be heard outside the cathedral towns. The bishop and the diocesan preacher, with such other assistants as can be mustered from local resources, will visit one or two villages every Sunday, but in a diocese of perhaps 100 scattered communities it may well be that months will pass without the majority of the people having the opportunity to hear a sermon. I remember one Macedonian 'saint', who had taken advantage of the cessation of fighting in his diocese from the spring of 1949 onwards to undertake an intensive preaching campaign, telling me that in some villages it was more than ten years since a sermon had last been heard.

793 An energetic *hierokeryx* will often perform wonders; take for instance
796 this typical week-end itinerary of a lay theologian, a member of Zoë,
484 who used to be stationed at Kozani; on Saturday afternoon by army truck to Amyntaion (a distance of about fifty-five kilometres) and thence to the village of Lechovo, an hour's journey to the westward towards Kastoria. Here he gives an evening address in the church, the greater part of the community present. On Sunday morning a sermon at the liturgy is followed by an address to the young men and women. After a hurried meal he sets off on foot to the neighbouring village of Skydro for an address, not this time in the church but in the square. Thence he climbs to the village of Nymphaion, high on the mountainside, for two further addresses before nightfall—one in church, the other, for the young people, in the school. On Monday morning he proceeds by mule to Aetos and thence to Amyntaion and Kozani. The assistant *hierokeryx* of the diocese will in the meantime have set out for the *comopolis* of Servia to preach, from a cart standing in the midst of the square, to the crowds who have gathered there for the weekly market.

793 The Greek *hierokeryx* can in general assume in his hearers a knowledge
796 of the fundamentals of the Christian faith such as can no longer be
537 taken for granted in England, at any rate. He and they will speak a common language—even though many have forgotten the reality that lies behind the familiar phrases. The outward tokens of a Christian
[785] society have still survived to a remarkable degree—the fasts of the Church's year, for instance, are still observed as a matter of course by multitudes who would make no claim to piety above the average. In

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these circumstances it is understandable that contemporary preaching should (to accept the distinction now current in reforming circles) be practical rather than theoretical: should deal less with doctrine than with conduct. 793 796 537

Father Eusebius was wont to insist on the importance of ending every sermon with a clear and distinct conclusion, to bring home the particular moral and spiritual truth with which the preacher had been dealing to the conscience of his hearers, as well as on the need for preaching in a style suited to their condition. His example has been salutary, and in reforming circles to-day one never hears the type of homily still cultivated by a few eccentric saints who bewilder their silly sheep with florid discourses framed in the ornate periods of Psellos or Anna Comnena. I well recall a certain *hierokeryx*, a lovable if idiorrhythmic character, who modelled his festal homilies on the funeral orations of Bossuet (a much-thumbed volume that accompanied him everywhere). These triumphs of rhetoric, which must have left the Epirote peasantry groping in vain for any clear and distinct practical conclusion, would be composed months before the date of their delivery and constantly reworked and polished until they reached the requisite height of literary perfection. Such artistry would be frowned upon in the religious societies.

The work of the preacher is supplemented by that of the confessor. Although the mystery of confession has in practice fallen into sad neglect, owing to the shortage of qualified *pneumatikoi*, there has been no more effective instrument for the reawakening of the Greek Church; none that is more highly prized in reforming circles to-day. While east and west are at one as to the fundamental nature of this 'mystery', there is a certain difference of emphasis. Amongst the Greeks the element of 'ghostly counsel and advice' is far more prominent than is commonly the case amongst western Christians. So marked is this difference of emphasis that Dr. Covel—who is as immoderate in his assaults upon the Romish doctrine of auricular confession as upon any other of the 'seven pretended sacraments'—is yet moved to applaud the Greek practice as a pious and laudable institution: such a confession, he remarks, or rather (lest there should be any misunderstanding) "serious Conference or Discourse as this with a Ghostly Father, or discreet Minister, is justly observed and commended by our own Church". 783 793

In these circumstances it is natural that considerably more importance should be attached to the personal character and qualifications of the

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783 confessor amongst the Greeks than in the west. The power to bind and
793 to loose is given by the laying on of hands: the grace of the wise director of souls is conferred only upon a few, and is normally the fruit of great personal holiness and wide experience. Throughout Orthodox Christendom there has been a tendency to demand a high degree of perfection before authorising a priest to exercise the ministry of the confessor: one must oneself become a *spirituel* before aspiring to the office of a *père spirituel*.

The number of confessors at work in Greece to-day is still very small. In the country districts, in particular, this sacrament is still largely neglected. The ministry of the *pneumatikos* is nevertheless a factor of the very greatest importance in the present revival, and one which is held in the highest estimation, within the voluntary movements and the official Apostoliki Diakonia alike.

794 While preaching and the mystery of confession have thus been restored to something approaching their rightful place within the life of the Greek Church after long years of neglect, the leaders of the new movements have forged other weapons to meet the peculiar needs of the time. Chief amongst them must be mentioned the catechetical schools and Christian unions which are now so prominent a feature of Greek church life.

The creation of catechetical schools was essayed as early as the eighteen-seventies, but unsuccessfully, and it was the married priests George Makres and Mark Tsaktanes who were the real pioneers in this field. By the late 'twenties there were many catechetical schools flourishing in Athens and the Piraeus, especially under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes, who had taken over the movement founded by Father Mark at the latter's death in 1924. The Zoë Brotherhood (which had by this time emerged triumphant from two further attacks by suspicious hierarchs, and had also survived the premature death of one of the first and most ardent disciples of its founder, the Archimandrite Dionysios Pharazoules), first turned its attention to the organisation of catechetical schools in 1926. From this time onward these schools begin to establish themselves until at the present day Zoë alone has well over 600 under its supervision, and the movement of Father Angelos some 350, not to mention hundreds of others now flourishing in every part of Greece.

These schools (which are directed almost entirely by lay men and

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women) afford a systematic course of instruction in Christian doctrine and practice for boys and girls between the ages of nine and twenty-two. These children have all, it must be borne in mind, been full communicant members of the Church since infancy. There are no confirmation classes in Greece, and, within the new movements at least, the period of adolescence, when so overwhelming a proportion of our own children lose all vital contact with the Church, is commonly that at which the young Greek Christian begins to play an active part in the life of his local community.

The size of the catechetical schools, even in the provincial towns of northern Greece (where such schools were not founded until the late 'thirties and had hardly established themselves when these districts were overwhelmed by foreign occupation and Communist sedition) is often quite staggering. The figures for the town of Kilkis—a few miles north of Salonica and the scene of some of the bloodiest massacres of the whole war—may serve as an illustration. During the year 1948–49, when the war with the Communists was at its height, membership of the catechetical schools was as follows:

	Boys	*Girls*
Junior schools	782	696
Middle schools	165	180
Senior schools	55	77
Young workers	123	293
	1125	1246

These are the figures for a Macedonian market town whose pre-war population scarcely exceeded 7,000. Even allowing for the fact that several hundreds of the children belonging to the catechetical schools in 1948–49 were refugees from the villages of the diocese, they show the astonishing development of these new Christian schools within a bare ten or eleven years.

Remarkable as these figures may seem they are by no means exceptional. All over Greece catechetical schools have sprung up as it were overnight and multiplied with incredible rapidity, despite the lack of trained leaders. At Kilkis the metropolitan had the assistance of one priest-theologian. [illegible] the adjoining diocese of Siderokastro, where the bishop had only a seminary-trained preacher to help him, and where

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794 [162] [793]

catechetical schools were in September, 1949, quite a recent innovation, membership of the schools, in a town considerably smaller than Kilkis, had already risen to 957 and was increasing rapidly. In and around Salonica the number of catechetical schools under the supervision of the Zoë Brotherhood rose from less than thirty in 1942 to 170 in 1949.

The catechetical school normally meets every Sunday, and the teaching is based on one of the two courses now in circulation—the first issued by the Zoë Brotherhood, the second (only recently published) by the official Home Mission. While the parallels with our own Sunday Schools and 'catechisms' are evident, these Greek schools have a character which is all their own. Particularly impressive is the stimulus which is given to the active apostolate of the laity. The children are from their earliest days encouraged to pull their weight in the life of the local *ekklesia*. At Verroia, in the spring of 1950, boys of nine were visiting the townsfolk and delivering letters from the *hierokeryx* of the metropolis. At Salonica, where the catechetical schools under the auspices of the Apostoliki Diakonia were normally directed by a student of the theological faculty of the university, the teacher would at the end of a lesson despatch his pupils, two by two, to call at the homes of any who through sickness or for some other cause had been unable to be present that day. When the defaulter was run to earth he would be given a brief *résumé* of the afternoon's lesson.

794 883

The catechetical schools form the base of an impressive structure still in process of creation. In describing the Christian youth movements that now flourish in almost every diocese of Greece I will start with those connected with the Zoë Brotherhood, which are the most important. The reader will recall that as early as 1877 Father Eusebius (then chaplain to the School of the Logos) was experimenting with small groups of young people and adults, and such *omades* have played an important part in the extension of his teaching and influence.

First, then, the movement known as *X.M.O.* (*Christianikai Mathetikai Omades*). This is made up of selected members of the catechetical schools between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Its members try to bring others to the catechetical schools, to spread sound sacramental teaching, to distribute Christian publications and generally to set a high standard of conduct by their example. Each group consists of from fifteen to twenty members, meets once or twice a week and is led by an undergraduate (at any rate in Athens and Salonica).

These student-leaders are drawn from another youth organisation

783 Of liturgical
796 reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary
794 object is to enable the laity to participate more fully and intelligently
[783] in the eucharistic action, through more frequent communion (Father Eusebius was himself in the habit of celebrating daily), and through a greater 'openness' in the manner of celebrating the holy mysteries.
[214] In Athens and Salonica many people now follow the services in the little manual of the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas—the popularity of which may be judged by the fact that it had reached its fifth edition by 1950. In general, where the new movements have exercised an effective influence, a high standard of liturgical propriety prevails, though it must be confessed that certain musical innovations of recent years have been unfortunate, to say the least.

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793 All the movements of which I have been speaking have remained
797 quite unofficial in character, though they have always carried out their
[794] work with the blessing of the ecclesiastical authorities and under the general supervision of the local bishop. There has of late, however, been a development of a rather different nature, so important as to demand brief consideration. This is what amounts to the refounding of a body known as the 'Apostolic Diaconate of the Church of Greece', which came into being as long ago as 1930. I do not propose to dwell upon its fortunes prior to its virtual reconstitution: suffice it to say that although great potentialities were latent in this organisation from the outset, its actual activity during the first fifteen years of its life was on a very small scale. It is directed by a council of members of the Holy Synod and professors of the theological faculty of the University of Athens under the presidency of the Archbishop, with Professor Basil Vellas as general director.

The aim of this official organisation is to systematise and co-ordinate the many-sided missionary activity now being undertaken throughout the length and breadth of Greece. In addition to its headquarters at Moni Petraki in Athens it has a local office in every diocese, and is assured of a basis of material resources by a system of annual diocesan contributions.

The possibilities inherent in such a venture are without question very great, and already much has been accomplished. A theological
[874] hostel and a school for preachers and confessors have been established at Moni Petraki: the latter promises to be of the greatest service in the

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training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken 793 up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by 797 the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been [874] particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up [213] of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The [204] official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press.

Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry [874] out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just [794] outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses, a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university, and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary movements, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems [794] probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material resources.

In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, 794 the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder; in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrakes rather than Father Eusebius.

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed [177] somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of [532] eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful traditions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most

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XIII

TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY

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For a priest ought not only to be pure, as being honoured with so great a ministry. He should also be very intelligent, and experienced in many affairs, and even equally skilful in all secular business with those who are engaged in it, while he must yet be more entirely detached from the love of it than anchorites who resort to the mountains.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Let mariners learn astronomy; merchants' factors study arithmetic; surveyors get them geometry; spectacle-makers optic; landleapers geography; town-clerks rhetoric; what should he do with a spade, that hath no ground to dig; or they with learning that have no use of it?

ROBERT BURTON
The Anatomy of Melancholy

IN THE many-sided activity of the voluntary movements the parish clergy, with two or three distinguished exceptions, have as yet played little part. The whole weight of the burden has been borne by the laity and the celibate clergy. To-day, however, it is widely realised that the incalculable spiritual gains of the last two generations or so can be consolidated and made available for the whole of the Greek Church only through the patient labours of an enlightened and devoted parochial ministry: the function of the itinerant confessor, the lay theologian and the catechist is essentially complementary to that of the parish priest; it is upon the latter that the responsibility for the building up of the local church must ultimately rest. Hence the concern for the raising of the prevailing standards of clerical education which one finds among those who are most deeply concerned with the strengthening and purifying of Greek church life at the present time. 793 794

For it is not only in the westernised circles of Kolonaki and Kephissia that the word *papas* is liable to evoke a faintly contemptuous smile, nor is it the hostile critic of the Greek Church who most vehemently 793 871

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bewails the ignorance of her parish clergy. In 1920 only 805 married priests, out of a total number of nearly 4,500, had received any education beyond that afforded by the elementary schools; and although matters have somewhat improved during the course of a generation, it must be admitted that, in the urban parishes at any rate, the level of clerical education has not risen in the same degree as among the generality of the people. The average parish priest is lamentably ill-equipped for meeting the assaults of rationalism or for coming to the aid of a young man troubled by intellectual difficulties: "But as for the Bulk of their Clergy", says Covel, ". . . I do positively assert that they are in general profoundly ignorant in these points; and not one of a thousand amongst the ordinary *Papas*, or common Priests, knows any thing of the matter." It is not, alas, always possible to conjure up at will a learned monk or lay theologian well grounded in the science of the schools.

It is possible, indeed, to exaggerate the evils of the prevailing system. In a country where small rural communities still predominate there is not a little to be said in favour of a priesthood of peasant-farmers and craftsmen. Whatever the deficiencies of his intellectual equipment, the Greek country parson is not separated from the people to whom he ministers by a different cultural background—as is so frequently the case in western Europe to-day.

Provided always that the priest's education is at least as good as that of the people to whom he is called to minister, the less it differs from theirs as to its general characteristics the better—at any rate in a country where Christianity is still a living tradition and education has not been secularised. During the long centuries of Turkish dominion, when "the ancient Structures and Colleges of Athens were become ruinous, and only a fit habitation for its own Owle, and all Greece poor and illiterate", the faith was preserved less through the learning of its champions (though even in the darkest days of oppression there were always a few theologians and monks to keep alive the traditions of Hellenic scholarship) than through the passionate devotion of a people, ill-instructed enough, but for whom all that was requisite to salvation was mysteriously set forth in the Church's liturgy, in the recurring cycle of feast and fast. "It is admirable", wrote Rycaut, "to see and consider with what Constancy, Resolution, and Simplicity, ignorant and poor men keep their Faith."

Notwithstanding considerations such as these, however, the fact

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remains that the provision of a more adequate training for the parish clergy is perhaps the most urgent problem which the Greek Church has to face at the present time. Great efforts are already being made. Nobody who was in touch with ecclesiastical affairs during the years which followed the occupation could fail to be impressed by the energy with which the founding of new seminaries for the country clergy was pursued. The courage with which the problem was then tackled is already beginning to bear fruit in the mountain dioceses of Macedonia and elsewhere, but a vast amount of work remains to be done. 793 871 [874]

The reader will recall that the Greek parish priest must be at least thirty years of age at his ordination. There is much to be said in support of this rule; it does, however, together with the canons relating to clerical marriage, raise very grave practical problems as to the training of the clergy. These are particularly acute in the case of the so-called 'Hieratic Schools', seven of which were flourishing in 1950. These ecclesiastical boarding schools, normally with a priest-monk as director assisted by three or four lay theologians, are open to boys who have completed their course at an ordinary elementary school. A boy will normally remain at the hieratic school until he is eighteen or nineteen, but only a very small proportion of those who stay the course are eventually ordained. A few will decide against marriage and will be made deacons shortly after completing their studies—perhaps going on to the theological school at Athens or Salonica. These, however, form a small minority, and very few of the remaining students will be ordained. Some will marry, and become teachers of theology or the classics in secondary schools; some will attach themselves to episcopal households as secretaries or lay preachers. Far the greater number, however, drift into more or less secular occupations, and while it is doubtless admirable that there should be tobacco merchants and bank clerks who are not merely well grounded in theology but can quote Chrysostom and Nazianzen with as great a facility as any clerk in holy orders, it is understandable that the bishops should lament the fact that so few of those educated at the ecclesiastical secondary schools offer themselves for ordination. 793 874 873 [875]

It would seem that if the parish priest is to be given any theological education over and above that which every Greek boy acquires in his village school and in his home, he must be sent back to school after following some secular calling for twelve years or more, or even after having been in orders for many years. Hence the establishment of the 793 874

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793 'Ecclesiastical Seminaries' (*Ekklesiastika Phrontisteria*) some fourteen of
874 which are now in existence. One of these, the Rizareion Ecclesiastical School at Athens, stands apart from the rest; it celebrated its centenary during the occupation and was for many years the sole institution of its kind in all Greece. Most of these seminaries, however, were founded within the last twenty years. The dioceses of Old Greece are now served by seminaries at Corinth, Patras and Pyrgos, in the Peloponnese, and at Lamia, Larissa and Volos. Crete has its own seminary. At Ioannina there is another older foundation, the *Hierodidaskaleion Vellas* (of which the present Archbishop of Athens was once director) which serves the whole of Epirus. The parish clergy of Thrace and eastern Macedonia can now attend courses at Xanthi (founded in 1945), at Aghia Anastasis in the Chalkidiki peninsula, or at Salonica, where there is a 'higher' seminary. Another post-war foundation at Kozani, in western Macedonia, may serve to illustrate the general characteristics of these training schools for country clergy. This seminary was subsequently transferred to Florina.

793 The Lower Ecclesiastical Seminary of the Metropolis of Kozani,
874 as it was known locally, was founded in 1946, during the lull which followed the Varkiza agreement. The director was a lay theologian,
669 a member of the Zoë Brotherhood, and the seminary was under the immediate supervision of the Metropolitan of Servia and Kozani. During the first few months after its foundation there were no fewer than ninety students in residence, drawn from several different dioceses. Many had to leave, however, as fighting became general during the course of the following year and the refugees again flocked to the towns. By the winter of 1948–49, when the situation in the country dioceses was at its worst and the whole parochial organisation threatened to collapse, only twenty-five students remained. With the suppression of the Communist sedition, and the return of some measure of security, the number slowly increased again, and by March, 1950 (when I last visited the seminary), it had risen to thirty-five.

793 Only three of these students were laymen, sent by their bishops to
874 the seminary for a pre-ordination course—all three were over thirty years of age. The rest were parish clergy, some of whom had been in orders for many years. They had come not only from the diocese of Kozani but from many different districts of northern Greece. The dioceses along the western fringes of Macedonia—Grevena, Kastoria and Florina—were particularly well represented, but there were other

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students from places as far distant as Drama and Katerini. A candidate for the two-year course which the seminary provided must have reached the fourth class of his elementary school: an event which in the case of certain of the more venerable amongst these bewhiskered scholars must have been more than a generation remote from their reappearance *in statu pupillari*. 793 874

The programme of studies, as at all these lower seminaries, was eminently practical and was related at every point to the peculiar circumstances within which the Greek country parson exercises his priestly ministry. It was grounded, as is fitting, "in the Book of books, the store-house and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures," and, in particular, in the study of the text of the Gospels. The director was assisted by another lay theologian, the preacher of the diocese. Their lectures on the Bible, doctrine, catechising, the holy canons and liturgical matters, were supplemented by instruction in the ecclesiastical chant (given by the chief singer of the metropolis), and by talks on the rudiments of first-aid from a local doctor: for the country parson does not merely "condescend to the knowledge of tillage and pasturage"; he desires to be all to his parish, and "not only a pastor but also a physician". A little medical knowledge does indeed constitute an invaluable addition to the skills of a country priest in a region where the only known medicaments are aspirins and ouzo, and doctors are as rare as dissenters. [759] [757] [273]

The seminary at Kozani was housed in a rambling, somewhat dilapidated building adjoining the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Its furnishing and equipment were simple in the extreme. Twice a day the lecture-room was transformed into a refectory. The students slept seven or eight to a room on straw mattresses laid on the bare boards, and St. Benedict's maxim: *stramenta . . . sufficiant matta, sagum et lena et capitale*, was observed by all alike. 874 346

The liturgical life of the seminary was centred in the church which lies on the other side of the courtyard. The whole community assembled twice daily to sing the divine office, and on Sundays and holy days the liturgy was celebrated. Those amongst the students who lived within easy distance of Kozani used to go home every Saturday and return on Monday morning after celebrating the holy mysteries in their own parish churches. They used also to go to their villages for the great festivals. In other cases some temporary provision would be made for the parishes concerned: the late Metropolitan of Grevena, for example, would allow 793 796 874 793 874

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793 874 only one parish priest from each group of three inhabited villages to be away from his flock at any given time. In such circumstances it was not always possible for a priest to complete the full course at the seminary, and many had to be content with twelve months at Kozani.

Despite all these difficulties, however, the seminary had already, by the spring of 1950, established itself as a real centre of pastoral and liturgical teaching in the dioceses of western Macedonia, and its influence could be detected in several score of parishes dispersed throughout this barren region. In remote hamlets of northern Pindos, catechetical schools were flourishing for the first time under the direction of a priest trained at Kozani. The holy sacrifice was being offered week by week with renewed fervour in many a village church; and there were not a few country parsons (not all of them young men) who had gone back to their parishes after spending two years at the seminary with a quickened realisation of the high dignity of their calling.

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Not all the clergy, it is hardly necessary to add, are as yet fully convinced of the utility of the new training school. I well recall meeting one old gentleman who was highly indignant at his metropolitan's suggestion that he might profitably spend a year or two at Kozani, and who maintained with some heat that after thirty-three years in the sacred ministry he could learn only "from the Lord". There has been much hilarity in many a rural tavern that some grave *papas* should have been sent back to school for a couple of years. It will doubtless be a long time before these seminaries for parish clergy (which are still something of an innovation) win universal acceptance and approval, and it would be idle to pretend that they offer a wholly satisfactory solution to the problem of how best to train married priests not ordained till many years after they have completed their ordinary schooling.

The seminaries do, nevertheless, meet an urgent need, and it is to be hoped that they will exert an ever increasing influence upon the country dioceses of Greece, and will send forth into the villages a steady stream of true pastors—men who are not "witty, or learned, or eloquent, but *holy*"—for in Greece, as in other countries, that is perhaps the greatest need of all.

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[589] As I stressed in an earlier chapter, the Greek clergy fall into two sharply defined categories: on the one hand the married *papades*, on the

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other the celibate clergy from whose ranks the chief ministers of the Church are normally chosen. In the training of the former book-learning plays but little part. The seminaries aim at providing no more than an elementary grounding in pastoralia for a race of craftsmen and peasant-farmers who, with few exceptions, are more at home with a plough than a pen, and are wholly unequipped for academic pursuits. The higher clergy, however, are almost invariably graduates, well versed in the disputations of the schools. 793 874 [589]

While the married clergy receive their training in the seminaries, the potential bishop is fashioned in the theological schools of the universities of Athens and Salonica. The theological faculty of the northern university was established only a few years ago. In former days many of the higher Greek clergy went to the theological academy at Halki, near Constantinople: a celebrated institution which, in the days of its prosperity, attracted students from every part of the Orthodox world. After the first world war, however, this sank to the level of a provincial seminary, and it is only in recent years (under the guiding hand of a new Oecumenical Patriarch) that it has regained something of its old prestige. Thus, the great majority of the present Greek bishops and archimandrites are graduates of the University of Athens.

In considering the place occupied by the theological schools of the universities within the framework of training for the ministry, it must not be forgotten that the clergy account for only a small proportion of the students of these faculties, far the greater number of whom are lay men and women (there are quite a few girls amongst the theological students of Athens and Salonica, and their number is steadily increasing). In the universities, moreover, as in the seminaries and the ecclesiastical schools, the majority of the teaching staff are laymen. The only cleric among the Athens professors—the Archimandrite B. Stephanides (whose *Ecclesiastical History* seems likely to be a standard work for every Greek student for many years to come)—retired in 1950 and was succeeded by a layman; while at Salonica likewise, only the professor of ecclesiastical history—an archimandrite who was formerly in charge of the Greek church in Paris—is in orders. Although the lay theologian has a long and distinguished ancestry in eastern Christendom and is often a man of deep spirituality, it can nevertheless be a trifle startling to hear a layman lecturing, to an audience which includes experienced priests and *pneumatikoi*, on the mystery of confession. [875]

The university course normally lasts four years. The theology of the [177]

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schools is characterised for the most part by a somewhat arid academicism. During the nineteenth century a theologian who went abroad for post-graduate studies went almost as a matter of course to Germany; and, although this is no longer so, the shadow of Harnack still lies across the threshold of the theological school at Athens. "Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Halle, etc.", wrote Dr. Adrian Fortescue in 1907, "are full of Greek students, who with the versatility of their race, very soon learn to talk German perfectly, and to think and argue about theological questions like German higher critics!"

Greek academic theology, though distinguished by great technical competence and erudition, and considerable familiarity with the critical work which one associates with the German schools of the latter part of last century, is largely deficient in those qualities which have made the work of certain Russian theologians of the diaspora of such absorbing interest for the western Christian. The Greek theologian, while he has benefited incalculably by his scientific training in the schools of Germany, has scarcely as yet been forced back upon his own proper tradition by the pressure of an alien environment. With few exceptions, moreover, he is curiously out of touch with recent tendencies in western theological thinking: often he seems to be a generation behind the times, unaware that critical theories no longer hold the field in the schools of Paris and Oxford—not to mention Geneva.

How long this state of affairs will last it is difficult to say. The present isolation is not hard to understand if one takes into account the effect of the war years and the lack of contact—even on the intellectual level—between the Greek professors and those Roman Catholic scholars whose work has been so important for the west during the past decade, and whose exchanges with certain Russian theologians have proved so mutually rewarding. It may well be that the links now being forged between Athens and Paris—and in particular with the Russian Academy of St. Sergius—are of crucial importance for the future. At present, it must be confessed, the transition from the theological climate of Orthodox Paris to that of the Athenian schools is apt to be somewhat disappointing to the Frankish *theologos* to whom a first glimpse of the wholeness of Orthodoxy has come as the revelation of a long-forgotten realm. The theology of the schools seems to be earthbound and wholly academic: a theology of the manuals which bears little relation to holy living.

The theoretical character of much contemporary Greek theology has

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had regrettable consequences for the development of the new movements, with which the theological schools have, in general, little vital connexion—although more than one professor of the theological faculty at Athens has played an important rôle in their work and organisation. In many quarters—and especially, perhaps, within Zoë circles—a sense of the apparent irrelevance of this theoretical science to practical piety has given rise to an impatience with all theological questions. We must, it is said, be *practical*—and this theology of the schools is not practical; it is a theoretical science wholly unrelated to the urgent problems which are the daily concern of the preacher and the confessor. Such an attitude cannot but strike one as curiously out of place in an Orthodox *milieu* and is not without its dangers.

A few of the clergy go abroad to continue their studies after graduating from the Greek theological schools. Many a young layman is sent to western Europe or America for post-graduate study in the hope that upon his return to Greece he will offer himself for ordination; but a first acquaintance with ecclesiastical conditions very different from those to which he has been accustomed (particularly in the matter of the status of the married clergy and their field of activity) can easily have an unsettling effect upon the potential *despotes*, and it is not unknown for a young graduate, not conscious of a very definite call to the celibate life, to waver in his first resolve of becoming a priest, after two or three years in England or America.

Apart from the minority who go abroad after leaving the university, the celibate clergy normally pass immediately to an episcopal household without further study. Until quite recently there was nothing in Greece comparable to the English theological college. Since the war, however, there has been opened in Athens an establishment which approximates in some measure to the English institution. This is the 'School for Preachers' which is housed in the hostel of the Apostoliki Diakonia: a fine modern building occupying two sides of the quadrangle at Moni Petraki and overlooking the garden of the British School of Archaeology. Though completed some years ago, it was long requisitioned as a military hospital, and it was not until the early part of 1950 that the whole building was made available to the Church.

The School for Preachers provides a two-year course of study (primarily of a pastoral character) for men who have already graduated from the theological school of the university. In 1950 a considerable

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793 874 794 number of the students were experienced preachers and confessors from the provinces, but in the years to come they will normally consist in the main of young graduates of the theological school. The primary aim of this school is to equip priests (and lay theologians) for work in the dioceses, and it promises to be of the greatest service to the Church of Greece.

The same building serves as a hostel for theological students who live at some distance from Athens and who would otherwise be dispersed in lodgings (though some find a home in one of the hostels of the Zoë Brotherhood). All the inhabitants—theological students as well as those belonging to the School for Preachers—share a common life, with morning and evening prayers, and meals taken together in the refectory on the coenobitic pattern. Now that the theological faculty of the university is attracting students from Ethiopia and America, as well as from the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, and the Apostoliki Diakonia is offering generous hospitality to occasional Frankish visitors and a student or two from the Russian Academy in Paris, this community is fast acquiring an oecumenical character such as belonged to Halki in the day of its fame.

793 874 [177]

The theological faculty at Salonica, as I mentioned earlier, is of recent foundation. Despite the difficulties of the times, however, it is now in full vigour and holds out very great promise to the sorely-tried and understaffed dioceses of northern Greece. It is greatly to be hoped that it will prove possible before long to set up at Salonica an institution similar to that now flourishing in Athens, and combining the functions of a post-graduate theological college and a hostel for theological students from the outlying provinces. Many of these students at present have some difficulty in maintaining themselves for the period of their studies, and comparatively few can be accommodated in the new hostel of the Zoë Brotherhood or in the little hostel maintained for several years in the face of tremendous material difficulties by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica.

At present there is an acute shortage of educated clergy in these the more remote provinces of Greece. Few dioceses have more than one priest-theologian and in some *eparchiai* the metropolitan is single-handed. In such circumstances preaching and the mystery of penance are inevitably much neglected. Not a few amongst the bishops of these northern dioceses are advocates of some kind of 'direction' of the educated clergy which would counteract the prevailing current which

793 369 [783]

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sweeps away so inordinate a number of archimandrites to Athens and its suburbs, leaving the mountain dioceses wretchedly short of trained theologians. 793 369

It is interesting to note that the present Archbishop of Athens has recently been moved by the continuing shortage of clergy of all classes in the outlying districts of Greece to conscript from amongst the clergy of the Athens-Piraeus area a 'Sacred Company', consisting of fifty archimandrites, for a 'Spiritual Campaign' (*Pneumatikē Ekstrateia*) of a month's duration and covering the dioceses of Didymoteichon, Maroneia (Comotini), Drama, Serres, Siderokastro, Kilkis, Verroia, Edessa, Florina, Kastoria, Grevena and Naupaktos: 393 parishes in these dioceses were without a priest in September, 1951. It may well be that similar campaigns, and perhaps some kind of clerical conscription of a more permanent character, will be forced upon the Church if many of her children are not to be left without adequate spiritual guidance.

It is perhaps needless to add that the reader would be greatly deceived if he should suppose for one moment that Athens and its suburbs afford a refuge for idle drones of archimandrites who have from time to time to be dragged forth from their retreats by a stern archbishop, and packed off to the barren mountain dioceses of Macedonia for a month's hard work. Nothing could be farther from the truth: were there three times the present number of educated clergy in the Athens-Piraeus area there would yet be urgent tasks left undone for want of priests capable of tackling them. The Athenian archimandrite is the busiest of men, constantly in demand, not merely to serve on committees, but for preaching and confessing and real spiritual work.

In the country dioceses, nevertheless, the present situation is still more serious; the shortage of educated clergy is even more acute. True, the position is slightly better now than it was in 1949, when many a diocesan *hierckeryx* was somehow contriving to combine his already arduous duties with those of an army chaplain, and others had had to abandon their dioceses for a time in order to minister to isolated mountain outposts, but it remains sufficiently disturbing. Many a provincial 'saint' is acutely conscious of vital work still neglected, which could be undertaken could he but command the services of a single priest-theologian. [722]

The Metropolitan of Kilkis, for example, charged with the care of 140 scattered communities, had only one priest qualified to assist him in the work of preaching and confessing the people; a priest already [794]

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793 369 [794] burdened with the spiritual care of more than 2,000 children belonging to the newly organised Christian Unions of the diocese and a score of isolated garrisons, yet contriving somehow to find time to train a group of young men and women to take charge of the village catechetical schools when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes.

Is it any wonder that in such circumstances the shepherd of one of these mountain flocks will sometimes persuade himself that the populous cities of the south have more than their rightful share of the educated clergy, and picture them as a pleasant haven from the chill blasts that sweep his own desolate pastures; a place where university men "tarry out their time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, and are never used; or, as so many candles, illuminate themselves alone, obscuring one another's light . . . the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some country benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a fair light and be seen over all."

793 871 369 Much will depend upon the success of the strenuous efforts now being made to raise the prevailing standards of education among the country clergy and to increase the number of priest-theologians available for work in urban parishes and as assistants to the provincial metropolitans. So far as the village clergy are concerned, the lower seminaries do, on the whole, meet the needs of the present situation tolerably well. The system whereby the pastor of a small rural community is normally chosen by the village elders ensures that the mountain *papas* is a man of good character and reputation, often the natural leader of the community. The Greek country parson has little need of book-learning, and a lengthy academic training would be wasted upon him.

793 369 [554] With the parish clergy of the towns the position is less satisfactory. The urban parish priest does not always command that universal respect and affection normally enjoyed by his rural colleague. This is not to say that the clergy of the towns are credited with any of the more spectacular vices. The Greek bishop is not compelled to exercise an unsleeping vigilance to ensure that his priests and deacons do not "being drunk bellow in the streets; or what is worse, in their drink whoop and hollow in the church; or read the church service in a double tone . . . that their upper dress though plain be clean, and not one black and another red; that they walk not in a dronish lazy manner, nor lie down to sleep in the streets; nor tipple in brandy houses and alehouses, nor boast the strength of their heads in drinking at entertainments." Such deplorable failings (though apparently regrettably prevalent in the Russia of Peter the

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Great) cannot be said to characterise the Greek clergy of the present day. 793

It is, however, frequently asserted that the town clergy are for the most part ill-educated, worldly, idle, more concerned with fees than with spiritual things; and, while there are, happily, many and notable exceptions to such generalisations, it must be confessed that there is some truth in these charges. The education of many of the urban pastors is woefully inadequate, and a lamentably small proportion of those educated in the ecclesiastical schools—and to whom, one might suppose, the Church would turn in recruiting her ministry for the urban parishes—seem ready to offer themselves for ordination. 369 [871]

This leakage is in part explained by the late canonical age for ordination, but the reluctance of many well-educated men to become parish priests is also due in no small measure to the precarious economic situation of the clergy. "Our diocese", a Greek bishop wrote to me in 1949, "lacks educated clergy . . . no eagerness is to be observed on the part of the laity to attain to the priestly office, on account of the poor, indeed ridiculous stipend which is at present paid to the clergy." Other causes of this lack of eagerness may be discerned in the style of dress, the untrimmed hair and beard, and general manner of life which custom continues to demand of the clergy (and which are often thoroughly distasteful to the young graduate of the ecclesiastical school), as well as in the abundant opportunities open to the lay theologian. It is, perhaps, hardly surprising that the provision of educated priests to serve in the urban parishes of Greece is a matter which in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities is of absolutely primary importance at the present time, and which is receiving the most serious consideration. [465] [178 794]

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XIV

THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

> So great was his sanctity while a shepherd, that he was thought worthy of being made a pastor of men: and having been assigned the bishopric of one of the cities in Cyprus . . . on account of his extreme humility he continued to feed his sheep during his incumbency of the bishopric.
>
> SOCRATES
> *Ecclesiastical History*, I, xii

IN 1892, scarcely more than a decade since the day when the blue and white ensign of the Kingdom of the Hellenes had replaced the crescent of the infidel over the citadel at Trikkala, the wife of the village carpenter in an obscure hamlet amongst the mountains to the westward of Kalambaka gave birth to a son. The carpenter and his family dwelt in a substantial stone house a few paces beyond the village square, where a great plane tree overshadowed the church, dedicated in honour of the Egyptian anchorite Bessarion. Like many families in northern Pindos they spoke not only Greek but also the language of the Tsintsars, the Koutso-Vlachs who come down from the high pastures every autumn with their flocks and herds to winter in the Thessalian plain.

Like their neighbours at Palaiochori the Photis family (for so the carpenter was named) was virtually independent of the world that lay beyond the mountains. They owned a few sheep and goats; the *Kyria* Photis and her daughters spun their own yarn and wove the strong indigo cloth which was made up into *sarka* and *palto* for men and women alike. There was home-baked bread, goats' milk cheese and *yiaourti*, and an occasional lamb roasted on a spit to celebrate a festival; an abundance of rough red wine and the fiery ouzo which gladdens the heart of the traveller when the snow lies deep in Pindos. From time to time the carpenter would saddle his pack-animals and make an expedition to Trikkala, returning with an axe or a set of chisels, and dried figs for the children.

Constantinos, as the carpenter's son was duly christened, began to go to the village school when he was seven. Long before this time,

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however, he was familiar with the mysterious drama which was enacted 159
week by week in the little church of St. Bessarion. Sunday by Sunday, 793
festival by festival, the people of Palaiochori—the carpenter (who had 796
a fine voice and was also the chief *psaltes*); his wife and daughters; Makroiannis, who presided over the tavern; the *Kyria* Andromache, who always stood before the royal doors when Papa Athanasi read the gospel of the resurrection at the end of mattins; Papa Demosthenes, who had fought in the old wars and had seen innumerable wonders, had been to America and visited the holy mountain of Athos—all were caught up for a brief space into the life of the heavenly Jerusalem and joined their praises to those of the saints who looked down on them from wall and eikonostasis.

The carpenter's son learned by heart many of the great psalms and hymns of the Church: long passages from the Gospels and from the Old Testament prophecies which were read on the eves of great festivals and during Holy Week. As he grew older and learned to read he would stand among the singers who crowded round the two lecterns every Sunday, and sometimes the parish priest would allow him to climb up the steps of the bishop's throne that stood on the south side of the church and sing the Epistle from a tattered volume printed at Venice towards the end of the eighteenth century. On the eve of a festival he would come running from the saw-mill or his father's workshop when Papa Athanasi clanged the two bells which hung in the branches of the plane tree beside the church, to take his place among the singers. He learned to find his way about the complicated service-books and to sing the ecclesiastical chant with a confidence which rivalled that of the chief *psaltes* himself.

When Costas left school he went to work with his father. He was 159
already well versed in the rudiments of his trade, and by the time he was 793
called to the colours in 1913 he was a proficient craftsman. He served in the army for three years and had two further spells of soldiering—from 1917 to 1919, and again, in the disastrous campaign in Asia Minor, from 1921 to 1923—before, released from the army at last, he came home to Palaiochori and married a girl from the neighbouring village of Krania. The marriage was blessed with three children: two boys, born in 1924 and 1934, who were christened Leonidas and Athanasius respectively, and a daughter born in 1931.

Meanwhile there was work enough for the village carpenter besides begetting children; even when he was not at his bench there was ground

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159 to be tilled and seed to be sown and a score of sheep to be cared for,
793 as well as an occasional expedition to Trikkala. Fourteen years slipped by: there were good harvests and bad; once a blight fell on the vineyards and once the bishop rode out from Trikkala and preached in the village church where, since the death of his father, Constantinos Photis had been the chief singer. The people of Palaiochori heard few sermons; they worked and prayed, sinned and repented; danced in the square on warm Sunday afternoons and argued about the doings of the great world beyond the mountains as they sipped their ouzo in the village tavern.

In 1937 the parish priest died. The elders of the village debated the question of a worthy successor—and who more suitable than the carpenter, Constantinos Photis? A man universally respected among his fellows for his uprightness and integrity; who knew the intricacies of the Venetian service-books with a familiarity such as could come only from long experience. Polycarp, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, willingly acquiesced in the village's choice of a pastor, and Constantinos Photis, the carpenter, went off one day to Trikkala (after a short stay in a nearby monastery) and returned clad in black gown and *kalymmafchion* as 'Papa Costas'. Back in Palaiochori, life went on much as before. The village priest now wore a cassock of the same indigo homespun in which he had been clad from infancy. There was the same pattern of feast and fast, of eucharist and office; and though an occasional wedding or funeral now broke the regular rhythm of the carpenter's life and the former *psaltes* had a different liturgy to perform on Sundays and holy days, it was one with whose least detail he had long been familiar. The tools in the workshop were not permitted to rust, and the vegetables and the vines, the twenty sheep and the pigs, needed no less attention now that their owner wore a cassock and addressed his wife as *Papadia*.

159 Early in 1941 the Germans poured into Greece. For many months
793 the mountain villages of Pindos, remote from the lines of communica-
648 tion, were scarcely affected by the occupation which, even at that period,
722 brought such acute suffering and privation to the townsfolk and to the villages of the plains. As guerrilla activity became increasingly widespread, however, German and Italian troops were employed in a series of reprisal raids upon the undefended villages lying north and south of a road which connects the Thessalian plain with Epirus by way of the Metsovo pass.

One day early in November, 1943, several hundred soldiers descended

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upon Palaiochori. The people fled to the forest and watched helplessly while the invaders set fire to their homes and slaughtered their animals. When at length they withdrew the whole valley was shrouded in smoke: the incendiaries had done their work only too thoroughly. The church of St. Bessarion—the most prominent building in the village—had been amongst the first to be set on fire. When Papa Costas and a few companions ventured down from the mountainside to make a cautious reconnaissance they found nothing save the blackened walls and a great pile of charred timbers. The school, just below the parish church, was likewise completely gutted, and more than forty of the village's seventy-odd houses were irreparably damaged. The parsonage, a somewhat more substantial edifice than most of its neighbours—a monument to the professional skill of its builder—had resisted the first attempts of the incendiaries, and before the flames had thoroughly obtained a hold Papa Costas and his sons had come scrambling down from amongst the trees, and the building—though badly damaged—was not utterly destroyed. Amongst the smoking ruins of another cottage was found the body of an old woman who had been unable to make good her escape. Every animal in the village had been slaughtered.

After this catastrophe the people of Palaiochori took refuge in Kalambaka—already crammed with refugees from a score of similarly stricken villages—and there, in the shadow of the great rocks, they remained until 1945. In January and February of that year they went back to the village that had become a wilderness. During the first few months after their return home there was tremendous activity at the sawmill and in Papa Costas' workshop. No sooner had a sufficient number of cottages been rendered habitable than the parish priest turned his attention to the church. With the assistance of his elder son and a score of willing if unskilled helpers, the requisite timber was cut and shaped; and soon—though the church was without vestments and Papa Costas had with difficulty been able to procure copies of a few of the most indispensable liturgical books—there was at least a roof to the building and it was no longer necessary for the people to stand for long hours without protection against wind and snow whilst the holy mysteries were celebrated. Then the school was re-roofed, and as summer gave place to autumn the regular pattern of village life began to reassert itself—though Papa Costas no longer had twenty sheep and there were no more than three pack-animals available for the whole community.

But security was short-lived. The following year brought wandering

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VII Constantinos Photis

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159 bands of *andartai* and rumours of terrible deeds wrought in the darkness
793 of long winter nights. In August, 1946, the parish priest of Palaiochori
received warning that the Communists planned to murder him as a
727 'traitor'. Papa Costas fled for the second time within less than three
669 years to Kalambaka. There, at the foot of the limestone cliffs crowned by the hermitages of the ascetics of Staghi, he built a little *kalyva*: a wooden cottage consisting of a single room and a large porch.

Before many months had passed, the whole village was back in the comparative security of Kalambaka, and the mountains were given over to the Accursed of God. Papa Costas and his family (all except Leonidas, who had gone off to the wars) settled down in their new house and the younger boy began to attend the overcrowded school. There were many other refugee clergy in the town: not from the diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone but also from many of the villages lying to the north and west of Kalambaka towards the *comopolis* of Grevena.

The second period of exile lasted until October, 1949. As a refugee
[465] priest, Papa Costas was entitled to a monthly stipend of 175,000 dr. (the equivalent of a little more than four pounds sterling) and the usual refugee rations of flour, sugar, etc.; but there was no ground to be tilled, no sheep or goats, no fees from baptisms or weddings to supplement the meagre wages of a 'fourth-class priest'. There was, however, some slight measure of security in Kalambaka, with its garrison and its communications, and Papa Costas' wife and daughter wove gaily coloured rugs, and adorned the little house with lace and tins of basil until any craftsman might have rejoiced in his handiwork.

*

The defeat of the Communists at Florina early in 1949 marked the turning point in the seemingly interminable struggle against an enemy who, when defeated, could always withdraw beyond the northern frontiers of Greece to lick his wounds and build up his strength for another assault. During the summer months the wild region that lies to the westwards of Kalambaka was laboriously combed by units of the Greek army, and in October Papa Costas led the first party of returning refugees back to Palaiochori. His daughter and his younger son remained behind, however, in order that the boy might complete his studies at the high school, and it was in Kalambaka in January, 1950, that we first encountered our country parson.

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VIII The phelonion

[facing p. 159]

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He had set out from Palaiochori at half-past two that morning, and with the moon often obscured by clouds and with drifts of snow lying deep in places, it was well past ten before he reached the town. We had taken refuge from the bitter winds that scoured the valley of the Peneios and brought sudden flurries of snow down the pass from the mountains above Metsovo, in one of the dimly lighted taverns that open off the main street, and were deep in conversation with the president and schoolmaster from a village away to the north-eastward of Kalambaka when Papa Costas arrived. We shared a further bottle of ouzo and he invited us to lunch in his cottage. 123 793

He had come down, he told us, to do some shopping, and was off to Trikkala the next morning. He would return to Palaiochori early the following day. Why did we not come with him and see with our own eyes the ruined villages of Pindos? Mitsos—a cousin, we subsequently discovered—would be in Kalambaka with the remaining animals the next evening and there would be mounts to spare if we would come. We were not afraid of *katsapliades*? We fairly jumped at the suggestion —*katsapliades* indeed! I sat down there and then and addressed a hasty note to the Lord Theokletos, Metropolitan of Grevena, which was carried off by Athanasi and put aboard the afternoon bus to Trikkala, informing him that I should be several days later in reaching his diocese on the fringes of Macedonia than I had supposed. We laid our plans for the journey, and the light was failing as we set out to climb to the monastery of St. Stephen where we were expected that evening.

Two days later we left the monastery at daybreak: all the monks were ill, and, since Basil was away in Trikkala, we had ourselves to unbar the massive doors that open on to the encompassing abyss. Forty minutes after leaving St. Stephen we were breaking our fast at Papa Costas' cottage: scraps of pork, bread soaked in oil, cognac and retsina. [262] Our priest-carpenter had brought back from Trikkala a great saw, and a pig to be fattened against the following winter. The pig, despite loud protestations, was tied up in a sack and slung from his owner's saddle: [492]

"He has a splendid voice—we must make a *psaltes* of him when we get him back to Palaiochori."

We led our horses out along the Metsovo road. Papa Costas' niece, Katina, had been staying at the 'town-house' for the festival and was returning with her uncle to Palaiochori. [484] On the outskirts of Kalambaka we overtook a party of homeward-bound refugees, their beasts heavy-laden with bedding and great copper pans. A little way out of the town

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we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly difficult stretch of terrain.

About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins. Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy ridges of Pindos far above us.

It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless. Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa Costas divested himself of his outer *rason*, and, commending ourselves to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas, Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

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little church was a melancholy sight: the stone eikonostasis had survived the fire but every trace of woodwork had perished. Our priest-carpenter had just completed two new lecterns for the singers and an episcopal throne: there was plenty of work to be done as soon as Leonidas—who had been discharged from the army with wounds in both hands—was home again and fit to return to his trade.

We went on to the school where sixty-four ragged children were huddled round a smoking stove. There had been no teacher in the village between the first and second periods of exile; the schoolmaster, we were told, had disappeared in 1946 and nothing had been heard of him since. Had he gone to the mountains, we asked? Nobody knew—he had disappeared. Kleoniki Zambra, the girl we had met the previous evening, had just been sent to reopen the village school. The windows of the building—roughly re-roofed by the priest and his sons—were blocked with stones and cardboard from packing cases which had contained powdered milk; light was an altogether secondary consideration when warmth was in question.

"Last Friday", the *didaskalissa* assured us, "it was so cold that the children cried aloud and we were obliged to give up." There seemed to be no books or slates or paper—there was indeed no equipment of any description save for the stove and a few wooden benches—but the school was again performing its liturgy, and the whole village was conscious that an important step had been taken along the road that led back from the anarchy and insecurity of a decade of war towards the halcyon days which none of the children who crowded the schoolhouse that January morning was capable of recalling.

Time and time again as I travelled about the ruined villages of Pindos during that terrible winter of 1949–50 it was brought home to me how essential an element the school constitutes in the pattern of Greek village life. Almost invariably the first thought of the returning refugees, once they had succeeded in improvising some temporary shelter from wind and snow, was for the church and the school. They would rest content with the most wretched living quarters, provided only that the house of God were decently furnished and their children were receiving regular instruction; but a village without a priest and a schoolmaster was a village only in name.

Urquhart arrived in Metsovo astride the sagacious Aristotle, in the summer of the year 1830, to find that mountain township in a state of the utmost panic and alarm: the houses barricaded, the sheep, cattle

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727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community
[796] gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great, in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
793 He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos.*
346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

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About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had just been released from the army. He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. The priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena. [872] 875 123 [793]

The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the [484]

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123 inhabitants malevolently. As we dismounted outside the cottage of Papa Costas we were greeted by a score of old friends headed by Basil the resourceful, just descended from Aghios Stephanos and bound for Trikkala to negotiate some delicate piece of monkish diplomacy. Papa Costas' daughter and two cousins from Trikkala were bent over their [252] sewing, and a dish of bean soup simmered on the stove.

123 513 Boris bade us farewell that afternoon and set out for Larissa, whence he would travel southwards the following day to sunny Attica and the populous cities: back to that strange, mad world where men spent their days poring over antique folios and writing solemn dissertations; effeminate creatures who slept at night between linen sheets and pillowed in soft down, clad in ridiculous garments fit only for infidels: not indiscriminately, men and women together, upon the hard earth, snugly rolled in warm rugs beside a roaring fire; a pampered and degenerate race.

123 As the sun went to his rest that evening amongst the snows of Pindos I sat for the last time amidst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi and related the strange and terrible things that we had seen [252] during the past few days, while Father Anthimos boiled some eggs in an empty salmon tin, the stylite cats lurked in the shadows, and old Papa Iannis stroked his venerable beard and murmured an occasional *Kyrie eleison!*

*

● 793 The country parson of Pindos, writes an early nineteenth-century traveller, displays a truly primitive simplicity. He is at once the director, adviser, friend and companion of those who till the same fields or pursue the same occupations as himself. The unaspiring *papas*, endued, as it were,

> . . . in spite of his ignorance with an evangelical instinct, sympathised with the sorrows and shared in the joys of his people, and abandoning himself to them, made up for any deficiency of ecclesiastical dignity by a fraternal affection which was rendered doubly dear by the misfortunes and misery of those on whom it was bestowed. In the evening, when the labours of the day were finished, the pastor of the mountain assembled with his parishioners at one of their unadorned chapels on the hills. . . . On the festival and the feast, when

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the service of the morning was concluded, he joined with enthusiasm in all their gaiety and rejoicings; he had his seat at their festive board and his place in the evening dance, nor did his hilarity and mirth render him less dear, or less venerated in the eyes of those who had yet to learn that cheerfulness was sin, and that ascetic melancholy alone was suited to the dignified sobriety of Christianity!

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Several years have passed since Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood in the village square and waved farewell; the isolated hamlets of northern Pindos have suffered prolonged and untold hardship, for the process of reconstruction and recovery is inevitably a slow one. Occasional letters reveal the continuing scarcity of the bare necessities of life and the unremitting struggle to restore a disrupted economy. At Palaiochori the ground is again under cultivation, Leonidas is back at his bench, and the church of St. Bessarion bears eloquent witness to the skill of the village carpenter and his elder son.

The passage of time has done little to efface the memory of that journey to the silent depths of Pindos: the chapel at Kato Perlangion, the whole community gathered for the evening office, the candles hissing and spluttering as the rain dripped from the roughly patched roof; Papa Athanasius, the parish priest of Chrysomelia with its golden fruit and shattered dwellings, beside the desecrated altar where for a quarter of a century he had pleaded the one perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, a silent multitude of men and boys bare-headed in the snow; Nicolas Kokoravas the many-tongued, like one of the patriarchs of the old dispensation, amongst his children and his children's children in their dilapidated dwelling in the midst of the rushing torrents and the frozen pools; the whitewashed cottage beneath the towering cliffs of Staghi, with its tins of sweet basil and its gay Vlach rugs, a lamp burning in a corner before the eikons of the Lord Christ and His saints; and Papa Costas—village carpenter and minister of the holy and ineffable mysteries—at the head of a winding column of pack animals, threading his way amidst the polished boulders.

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mingling strangely with the merchants and tobacco-workers who throng the quays and sip ouzo outside the taverns which sprawl against the low cliff below the old Turkish quarter of the town. Here, under the canvas awnings, one may meet the visitors at close quarters; one may discern the strange aroma, redolent of incense, garlic, fish, tar, resin, the smoke of candles and the salt Aegean, which clings to their garments and persons, defying analysis. Here too the careful observer may note the unwonted mingling of ecclesiastical and nautical attire which characterises these monastic seafarers: a black gown parted to reveal a rope-girt cassock and sea-boots; the cuff of the seaman's jersey peeping from beneath the monkish robe. These seafaring monks from Athos are a race apart, rarely to be seen among ordinary mortals save on the wind-swept quay at Salonica, supervising the discharge of a cargo of timber, or munching sour herbs soaked in lemon in the harbourside taverns at Cavalla.

To the casual beholder, however, the ordinary Greek ecclesiastic is no less plainly a man set apart from other men. Whatever may have come to be sanctioned in the outward garb of Orthodox clergy ministering to congregations in America or western Europe, a rigid conservatism prevails throughout the length and breadth of Greece. Here, at least, far from the corrupting influence of the Frank, the holy canons are faithfully observed. This is true above all of those which relate to the use of (or, rather, abstinence from) razor and scissors: the notion lingers on that in the divine economy there is some mysterious connexion between the orthodoxy of an ecclesiastical personage and the length of his beard; a beardless bishop would be unthinkable. "All the Greek Ecclesiasticks", observes a seventeenth-century traveller, "count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at Athos and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long." And Mandeville tells us that "the Grekis also seye, that wee synne dedly, in schavynge oure Berdes. For the Berd is tokene of a Man, and gifte of oure Lord." This fidelity to the letter of the canons and to immemorial custom gives the Greek cleric a sufficiently distinctive appearance. The *papas* with his straggling beard, his hair gathered up in a bun and his tall *kalymmafchion*, is a familiar and accepted figure in all strata of Greek society.

The outdoor habit of all the clergy, from the "Prelates and topping

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793 Ministers" down to the simple monk, is substantially identical. It
292 consists of an inner *rason* (corresponding to the western cassock), very
[792] long and with narrow sleeves, often—but not invariably—belted at the waist. This is essentially an undergarment, and this it was that the metropolitan of a Macedonian diocese presumably had in mind when he returned some patterns of heavy black serge, which had been sent to him for inspection, with the comment that the cloth would be most suitable for making "warm winter underwear" for his clergy. Over it is worn a fuller gown with wide sleeves: the outer *rason*. The latter is always of black stuff but the inner *rason* may be of various colours. Purple and dark blue are often favoured by the higher clergy, while in
[792] the monasteries a grey cassock made of very light material is frequently worn. One abbot of my acquaintance (a resourceful and many-sided character) is accustomed to appear on Sundays and holy days decked in the purest crimson—a splendid sight for eyes grown weary of the joylessness of English clerical attire—while on lesser days he wears a fur-lined outer *rason* (if the season be chill) over a cassock of russet. Among a nation of individualists it would indeed be remarkable if
[183] one did not from time to time stumble upon minor sartorial eccentricities on the part of the clergy. These divergences from the norm of unchanging custom are never, however, of so radical a nature as to obscure the ecclesiastical character of their author. In Greece the priest and the monk are marked men, instantly recognisable to all.

793 I have already referred to the distinctive form of headgear in use
792 among the Greek clergy. This is simply a cylinder of stiffened cloth
292 about nine inches in height, most commonly known as the *kalymmafchion*. That worn by the married clergy is *surmounted* by a narrow brim, but the monastic form, sometimes called a *skoupbos*, is brimless. In Greece all the bishops as well as monastic clergy not actually residing in a regular community, wear the former type of *kalymmafchion*. Over this, on formal occasions, a bishop or an archimandrite will wear a long black veil known as the *epanokalymmafchion*. This, however, forms part of the monastic habit, and consequently is never worn by the secular clergy. In the monasteries a soft cap often takes the place of the more formal *kalymmafchion*, though, unlike the Russians, the Greek monks do not venture abroad thus attired. Dr. Covel notes, somewhere in his journals, that on Athos the priests and deacons knit their own caps.

792 An English visitor to the monastery of Megaspelaion in 1829, the
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milordos Thomas Alcock, comments unfavourably on the attire of the monks: "the want of neatness in the persons of these people", he remarks, "is too conspicuous", a failing our traveller denounces as one of the sure consequences of "an unnatural and unsocial life". Thomas Alcock, it is hardly necessary to add, found the mode of life and habits of Greek monks "little agreeable". "They flatter themselves", he writes, "that their recluse life places them out of the way of the vanities and vices of the world; but it may be doubtful if this retirement does not produce even more disgusting effects than any it may remove." Whatever may have been the condition of the monks of Megaspelaion in 1829, certainly to-day the great poverty which afflicts many of the surviving communities is sufficient explanation of some want of neatness in their members.

The costume which I have thus briefly described, inner and outer *rason* and the appropriate form of *kalymmafchion*, is the customary outdoor dress of the Greek ecclesiastic, regardless of his status or office: of the aspiring archimandrite, in silken gown and with rolled umbrella and brief-case, who hovers discreetly about the chambers of the Holy Synod, as of the village *papas* who labours at his plot of ground, or, with a train of pack-animals picks his way along the boulder-strewn bed of some water-course in trackless Pindos.

Within doors, though the parish priest may put off his tall hat and outer garment, he is seldom to be seen less formally apparelled. And in the mountain villages what more appropriate night-attire for an ecclesiastical person than a thick homespun *rason*: though holy tradition be silent and the Greek country parson abed be subject to no such irksome canonical prohibitions as his brother, tending his flock beneath the vigilant eye of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is strictly charged that in the interests of decency, gravity and order, he shall not wear "any Coif or wrought Night-cap, but only plain Night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet".

It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed description of the liturgical vestments of the Greek clergy. "It would be impossible", asserts Dr. King, "to give a description of the habits of the clergy . . . to an English reader without the assistance of figures: for as we have none which resemble them so we have no names in our language to express them by." The reader who would learn to distinguish an *epigonation* from an *epitrachelion* or would comprehend the mystical signification of

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793 the stripes of red and white which adorn an episcopal *mandyas* and are
292 called *pomata and potama*, may with great profit refer to the delightful
[113] engravings which illuminate that learned writer's discussion of these matters in his work on *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*.

I will but refer briefly to the vestment known as the *phelonion*, which is of primary importance so far as the ordinary parish church is concerned. It is always worn by the celebrant at the liturgy and in its general appearance somewhat resembles the western cope, being of far more ample cut than the chasuble to which it in fact corresponds.

Dr. Covel (who has some diverting observations on this topic) connects it with the 'cloke' (*phailones*) which the Apostle asks Timothy to bring him from Troas (II Timothy, iv. 13), and with the ancient *penula* which was made in such fashion that "when the Head is put through the Top, all the rest hangs down round on all Sides, sloping like the Top of a round Tower or the Roof of a house . . . *Penula* was worn both by Men and Women in Winter upon their Journeys . . . purely to fence off Rain or cold Winter-like Weather. . . . *Tully* takes notice that it was a *peaceable* Garment (and so much more becoming *St. Paul* and a *Greek* Priest), for he was excuseth *Milo* from being guilty of Murder from having it on: *cum Penula irretitus, when he was wrapt up in his winter Peticoat, what could be less prepared or fit for fighting?* For a man cannot handle a Sword or any Weapon under it, either to assault another or to defend himself." The *phelonion*, he continues, is "something like a Woman's Petticoat, with only a hole at the top to put their Heads through, and the rest of it hangs down round about their thighs to their ankles. It is richly wrought with Gold and Silver; and the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one, though of a meaner making".

So much for the *phelonion*. Of the other vestures worn by the clergy at their various offices I will only observe that in former days every church would normally possess a complete set, while a large urban parish where several clergy might concelebrate on a Sunday or a festival would as a rule be suitably furnished with the appropriate vestments.
[822] The Greek Church has no scheme of liturgical colours: if a church possesses more than one vestment, the best will be brought out on high days without any regard to colour. The *kalymmafchion* is worn in church, as well as forming part of the outdoor attire of the clergy.

[727] To-day, alas, it can no longer be affirmed with any confidence of the *phelonion* that "the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one"—of however

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mean a making—or that the other "Garments and Accoutrements" of the clergy are "very Glorious and different". The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings. 793 292 727

The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred. [648]

During the winter of 1949–50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves. [669]

The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askue even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various 793 292 186

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degrees, from the Primates and Metropolites down to the lowest Order of Deacons . . . and if we English Churchmen are lookt upon by the Easterlings in this Point, but as Mongrels or half primitive Clergy-men at the best, how odious and abominable must the Calvinists appear to them, when they shall be told . . . that there is no such outward Pomp, or any reverend or decent Garments used in their divine Offices amongst them; their Ministers are not Episcopally ordain'd, and they wear only a common black Cloak and a Coat or Jump.

The Greek Church has never known a vestiarian controversy. The *phelonion*, richly wrought with gold and silver though it be, has never, like the western vestment and the comely surplice, served to kindle polemical ardour. It is evident to all men that the earthly ministers of Christ should be clothed in such apparel as becomes their high calling: to celebrate the divine mysteries in a common black cloak or Calvinistic "jump" would be indecent, a breach of good manners—like going to a formal banquet in one's workaday clothes.

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It is not a little startling to turn from the controversies about vestments and lights and incense which continue to agitate many western Christians, to a church where these things are used quite simply and naturally and without occasioning the slightest comment. The Greek attitude towards the liturgical use of incense does indeed afford a peculiarly striking instance of the dangers awaiting the Frankish controversialist who seeks to bolster up his tottering defences with unwary borrowings from beyond the Adriatic shores. Amongst the Greeks incense is used at every service, from the most elaborate of pontifical liturgies to a simple ceremony such as the blessing of a house. To do otherwise would be thought irreverent: if any custom can claim to be evangelical it is surely this. Did not the Lord God Himself command Moses his servant:

> Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy. And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

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[End Map-A]

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[End Map - B]

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communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

/31 cont./

where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political leaders meet their followers. 275 517

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission. [208] [203]

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/ learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to special designated saints whom they think are able to help them. For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line. It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They take their religion seriously and believe in it completely. 794 869 872 [796] [796] 782 776 795 [771]

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the representative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God. Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places. 793 782 [776] 869

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period. 533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance. 212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs. 212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

/70 cont./
Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern [354]
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [553]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness.

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe. 233 533

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community. 221 621

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis. [623] [622]

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots. [666]

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school. [871] [794] [474] [652] [233]

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous 621 [186] [175] [776] [669] [778]

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 courts. The village priest, therefore, acquires land and farms, in many
[423] cases just as diligently as the other villagers; he may even embark upon a
few small-scale business enterprises on the side. His regular salary from
[441] the state gives him a steady income which the rest of the local people usu-
[571] ally lack. This, combined with thrift and diligence, helps him acquire a
little more property than the average farmer and enjoy a slightly higher
standard of living. This is not guaranteed, of course, and one can call to
mind many village priests who obviously were living on the barest mini-
[554] mum. At the same time, the priest is able to maintain what has been called
a "comradely equality" with his people.[8]

[794] The priest, however, is not necessarily a permanent fixture. The bishop
appoints him to a post and the local congregation can refuse him, or it can
raise objections to a bishop about a priest who conducts himself in ways
the local people do not like. In most cases, the bishop tries to find the
kind of priest that the local parishioners prefer. Since the priest often ac-
[428] quires land, as has been pointed out, he wants to pass that on to his chil-
dren. He may try to persuade one son at least to follow him in the service
of the church. In one Peloponnesian village I found that a priest's son now
off at the seminary was coming back to succeed his father, thus making a
fourth generation of priests from the same family serving that parish. When
I mentioned this to bishops and others familiar with church matters, they
pointed out that this was a common phenomenon, and even gave the
names of villages where a fifth-generation member from the same family
was ministering to the same parish.

Should a parish vacancy occur, the bishop, who is informed about it as
a matter of course, announces in the local papers as well as in the church
papers that there is a vacancy in such and such a village and that all quali-
fied people may apply. He goes through the applications, selects the eligible
candidates, and posts their names on the door of the cathedral, with the
notice that anyone who knows any reason why these people should not
serve as priests should inform the bishop. After due time has elapsed, he
makes the choice, giving heavy weight, according to one bishop who dis-
cussed this, to educational qualifications and moral considerations.

793 In pursuing in greater detail the relationship between the parish priest
and the state, I learned that it was under the leadership of Archbishop
465 (Metropolitan) Damaskinos, who played such an important part in helping
[659] his country through the politically troubled waters from German occupa-
tion back to self-government, that the priests were put on a salary paid
by the state. Before that, they had been paid from fees and also by products
from the parishioners. *Kondota,* or the subscription by families of so much
wheat, eggs, olive oil, and such, to the priest if he would serve them was
[794] widely practiced before the present salary arrangement was made. In round
figures, the parishes now contribute about one fourth of the amount

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will
[777] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest." [11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires
[754] was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the
794 priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, consisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-
[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other
788 Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending cannot help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross,
[346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome repre-
[778] senting heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*),
[562] which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congregate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

1:Sanders Z-5 d (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works

793 The contrast between an ordinary priest's home and the bishop's palace
794 in Kalamata is quite marked, for the latter was once the ornate building
[346] housing the local branch of the Bank of Greece. But the bishop's interest in the people of his diocese, both the city dwellers in Kalamata and the farmers in the surrounding villages, equaled that of any priest for his parishioners. The bishop, when visited in 1953, proved a friendly, jovial person, with an iron-gray beard, a dignified though rotund figure, and a very forward-looking social philosophy. It was this latter quality in particular that had made me seek him out after hearing from friends in Athens of his unusual achievements in the welfare field.

He began to talk about what he had done and hoped to do for his people: "I became interested when I saw their great needs, for, as a church leader, I am responsible for the welfare of whatever people are under me." But before he started on any specific projects after his arrival in this diocese, he had thought it best, as he phrased it, "to put myself at the disposal of the people." He gradually gained the confidence of the members of his diocese by making available to them for local use all of the church's funds derived from festivals. The people began to realize that this bishop was interested in them. Later on, when he began asking them to support the various projects which he started, they gladly cooperated.

793 His first project was a day nursery, which takes care of one hundred and twenty children whose mothers are at work, started in 1947. Visiting this
747 nursery in the afternoon when all of the children had gone home, we noted the cleanliness and the simple but adequate facilities. The success of this nursery prompted the bishop to start another one in Mycenae for one hundred children in 1948.

736 One perplexing problem was that of illegitimate children. In many cases
793 the mother would kill such a child or leave it with people who exploited it unmercifully. So he started a home for these children in 1947. Since then,
848 two hundred and fifty children have gone through the home, sixty of them
[597] have been adopted and fifty were there then. The equipment was simple
[847] and bare, but everything was spotless. When we entered, the children came up to the bishop with great pleasure, for he is a favorite with the young children. One of the nurses told us: "When we have a child that is lonesome, who won't eat, we ask the bishop to come feed the child. When he comes, the child always eats."

793 The bishop noticed, however, that many of the boy foundlings, but relatively few of the girl foundlings, would be adopted. The boys who were not
736 taken by foster parents by their fifth or sixth year would go into the National
[597] Boys' Orphanage of Kalamata, largely supported by the state, which had
[657] one hundred and fifty boys in 1953. Something had to be done for the girls.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave
788 them an emotional uplift.

But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he
793 had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in
[737] relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a poly-
[874] technic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about
[177] $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more ac-
[743] tivity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

793 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole
794 complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country,
757 especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of in-
794 mates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their
[428] homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial
[769] service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the
[748] aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others. 793 794 [748]

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute. 783 736 476 [769]

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing." [15] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face). [539]

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[16] 783 794 [527] [127]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at Pierce College. 783 748 [873]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

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watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity.

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church.

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect.

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *aghora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had

793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the
796 children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early eve-
[535] ning the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a
[273] glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
796 after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the
[574] adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is
484 "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

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with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [467]

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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *aghora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *aghora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

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793 direct personal responsibility, and delegates comparatively little to his
[795] curates. The ministry of the word, for example, is always the work of the bishop: the most that the parish priest is permitted to do is to read a homily sent him by his diocesan. In some dioceses the metropolitan alone preaches, and the country people hear sermons only when he is
793 able to visit their villages. As a rule, however, the bishop will be assisted by a *hierokryx* or 'sacred herald'—'preacher' seems a miserably inadequate
794 translation of such a splendid word—who is normally a priest-monk (though he may sometimes be a lay theologian), and lives in the metropolis. Often, too, the bishop and his *hierokryx* will be assisted by several lay preachers who go out into the villages Sunday by Sunday to preach at the liturgy.

Thus, at Siderokastro (the 'Iron Castle'), close to the Bulgarian frontier, the Metropolitan, the Lord Basil, finding himself, when the refugees began to return to their villages in the summer of 1949, with only one priest qualified to assist him in the ministry of the word, formed a little society of lay preachers known as the Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment, which included the headmaster of the local high school and one of his assistant masters, as well as the doctor and the dentist of the town and two or three other educated laymen, several of whom now go out to preach in the surrounding villages every Sunday.

A friend who visited the diocese of Chalkis during the 'thirties has told me of the ancient Fiat which used to leave the metropolis at daybreak every Sunday and scatter monkish theologians among the hamlets of Euboea. At Kozani, in western Macedonia, no sooner were the roads reasonably clear of mines in the summer of 1949 than the Metropolitan started to send out every Saturday afternoon an army truck laden with young catechists who would spend the week-end preaching and teaching in remote villages of the diocese and return to their work or their school on Monday morning.

793 What is true of preaching applies also to the sacrament of penance;
783 it is to the bishop, not to his parish priest, that the villager who is oppressed with the consciousness of grave sin will turn for the benefits of absolution and ghostly counsel. The Greek priest is not allowed to act as a confessor without the express authorisation of his bishop. "As for Confession", says Covel, "it is not to be made to every ordinary Priest, but only to such Confessors . . . who are chosen out of monasteries, and are solemnly appointed and authorised to this Office . . . so that a regular or secular Priest not thus qualified, durst not attempt to

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 793

take it." In the *Great Euchologion*, or Prayer Book, of the Greek Church 783
the order for confession is in fact immediately preceded by a short office for the making of a *pneumatikos*, or spiritual father, in which the bishop, after he has read the Gospel containing our Lord's words: "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained", addresses the would-be *pneumatikos* (who must, needless to say, be in priests' orders) as follows:

"Our mediocrity, through the grace of the all-holy and divine Spirit, promotes thee, the most pious N. *Pneumatikos*, to the ministry of spiritual fatherhood, etc."

Covel quotes ancient canons to the effect that "if any one without the Mandate of the Bishop of the place shall dare to receive . . . spiritual [688]
accounts and Confessions, such a one shall be Canonically punished as a Transgressor of the Divine Canons; because he hath not only destroy'd himself, but all they also who have been Confessed by him are still unconfessed, and whatever things he hath Bound or Loosed, are yet uncorrected". And again: "Let all the Priest-Monks, who take Confessions, or Bind and Loose know that our Holy Fathers will not suffer any Priests to reconcile Penitents without the Archbishop's Order". According to an old canonist "a Bishop may . . . according to his Judgment, give this Right or Power of receiving Confessions to a secular Priest, but this is to be done discreetly, to some choice or well approved Persons only, and upon some extraordinary occasions".

Professor Bratsiotes, in the introduction which he contributed to the English translation of the life of the Archimandrite Eusebius Matthopoulos, observed that "unhappily there are very few confessors, because it is much more difficult to develop confessors than to train preachers; and it requires much individual genius and great maturity in virtue and experience to be a proper confessor". At the time when these words [794]
were written only eight members of the Zoë Confraternity—all trained theologians as they are—were licensed as confessors. In the country dioceses to-day the only clergy who are permitted to assist the bishop as *pneumatikoi* are the priest-monks attached to the metropolis; married priests who are authorised to hear confessions are rare indeed.

What then of the parish clergy? There is no parallel in Greece to the 793
country parson who has "read the Fathers also and the Schoolmen and the later writers", and who has been one of the fairest ornaments of the English Church these many centuries. The Greek country parson is a [463]

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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as *ὁ Δεσπότης*, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [654] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

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793 [576] garrison, it makes no difference—bow to kiss the hand of their father in God and greet him with the word *proskyno*, 'I worship': with that same *proskynesis* which is offered to the eikons of the saints, and which is not to be confounded with the *latreia* which we accord to the Three Persons of the consubstantial Trinity alone.

For the Greek bishop is not merely 'the Despot'. He is moreover 'the Saint'. Thus, one may frequently hear the country people refer to their metropolitan as ὁ ἅγιος Ἐδέσσης, ὁ ἅγιος Ἐλευθερουπόλεως, 'the Saint of Edessa, the Saint of Eleftheroupolis', etc., in recognition of the objective sanctity which attaches to the episcopal office, quite independently of the moral character of him who occupies it. If the bishop is the despot, tracing his ancestry back to those local potentates who flourished during the last days of the Byzantine Empire, he is also the successor of the apostles, the bearer of more than temporal power; binding and loosing and wielding an anathema which can arrest the normal processes of dissolution to which the body is subject after death; a father in God to whom the humblest member of his scattered flock can turn in need or perplexity, for ghostly counsel or for material aid.

For all the dignity attaching to his high office the Greek bishop is commonly the most approachable of men; the sheer accessibility of the generality of the bishops of the country dioceses is a matter for wonder and rejoicing in a world fallen beneath the curse of an impersonal and irresponsible bureaucracy. Every morning, his liturgy fulfilled, the [794] metropolitan takes his seat in his office and all the world comes to see him: Papa Iannis, who needs a new cassock, and Papa Athanasi who wants to go to the recently established seminary, although he forsook the scholars' bench to look after his father's sheep while he was yet in the second class of his village school; an elderly widow whose son requires medical attention comes to ask for help from the Fund for the Poor.

[438] Go almost any forenoon to the metropolis at Salonica, a few yards from the windy quays where gaily painted caiques discharge their cargoes of charcoal and resinated wine, timber from the slopes of Athos, and lemons and pottery from the islands of the Aegean, and observe the crowds who throng the steps awaiting an opportunity to dart into the office of 'the Saint of Myra', who sits at his desk beneath an eikon of the Pantocrator, questioning, counselling, reproving and writing letters of commendation, while a stalwart archimandrite leans against the door with outstretched arm to keep the multitude without at bay.

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deacons attached to parish churches. More often, however, the deacon is a monk and belongs to the *familia* of a bishop, whom he serves as personal attendant and factotum. Outside the larger towns one never finds a deacon attached to a parish but always on the staff of the metropolis and retaining his close connexion with the bishop. In the two university towns there is always a sprinkling of young deacons who have been sent by their monastic superiors to study at the theological schools and who are attached to a parish church during their four years at the university. Many of these student-deacons are also permitted to preach. It may be noted in passing that in the Orthodox world an archdeacon is in fact, and not merely in name, a deacon, and is, moreover, a person of some consequence. 793 [874]

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The English churchman, even when faced with the present acute and continuing shortage of clergy, is with difficulty persuaded that the laity are called to play an active part in the evangelistic work of the Church. Everywhere in the west the lay theologian is something of a phenomenon. A young man does not read theology at Oxford or Cambridge unless he intends to be a parson: theology is surely the concern of the clergy? It is well, therefore, that we should realise that in Greece (and throughout Orthodox Christendom for that matter), very different notions as to the active ministry of the laity prevail. The lay catechist, theologian and preacher fulfil a ministry that is scarcely less essential to the life of the Greek Church than that proper to bishop, priest and deacon respectively. How varied and important this lay ministry can be, will, I hope, become clearer when we come to consider the work of a movement such as the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë and the organisations connected with it. A very large share of the responsibility for the great spiritual upheaval of recent years must be assigned to lay men and women: the majority of the voluntary movements and associations are predominantly lay in character. 794

If I may venture upon a generalisation, I would assert that among ordinary Orthodox Christians one commonly finds a greater sense of responsibility for the Church than can be looked for in western Christendom to-day. The Church does not tend, as it does so often in the west, to be identified in the thought of ordinary men and women with the clergy; nor is it said of a young man who offers himself for ordination

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794 that he is 'going into the Church'. For the Orthodox, every Christian is in some sense called to be a theologian: to verify in his own life and experience the truths which are set forth in scripture and tradition; and although the bishop has, in virtue of his office, a peculiar responsibility for bearing witness to the *paradosis* which enshrines the saving truth of the Gospel, it is a responsibility that is shared by every lively member of the Church—by the laity no less than by the ordained ministry which is called to perform a particular function within the one body. In this connexion it may be remarked that monasticism, among the Orthodox, has never developed into a predominantly clerical institution. As in the early days of Benedictine monachism, the majority of Greek monks are peasants of little education; very few are in orders —a community of forty or fifty *kalogeroi* may well include only two or three priests or deacons.

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From about 1936 onwards the voluntary religious movements, which had already obtained widespread recognition in the Athens-Piraeus region, as well as in several provincial centres of Old Greece, began to take an important place within the normal diocesan and parochial system but in some measure as supplementary to it. To-day their influence has spread to the remotest corners of the Kingdom of the Hellenes, and no balanced account of the organisation of the Church of Greece can fail to give a prominent place to these predominantly lay movements which (under the general supervision of the hierarchy and with full episcopal approval) now play so vital a part in almost every aspect of the Church's life and evangelistic work.

The more one sees of these movements and of their widespread influence, the more one realises how different might have been the present condition of the Church of England had the Methodists not been forced to go into schism at the end of the eighteenth century. There is indeed a striking analogy between the situation in Greece to-day and that of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* as it might have been had the Methodists remained within her fold and continued to receive the sacraments of the one body at the hands of their parish clergy while exercising, under the general control and supervision of the episcopate, a lay apostolate of their own. The tragic character of that schism cannot but be brought home to anyone who has lived and worshipped among Greek Christians during recent years, has seen the apostolic labours of lay men and women as theologians, preachers and catechists, and has realised that this Church—at first sight so rigidly hierarchical—is in

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fact in no merely superficial sense the Church of the laity: a Church whose every member, whether clerk or layman, is called to exercise an active apostolate appropriate to his status and vocation—"for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ". 794

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood 796
of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells [793]
jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on
the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I [778]
was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon
of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re- [782]
decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the
interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the [531]
contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the
squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who [361]
had followed us up the stony path from the *mesochori*, or village-square,
crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of [782]
our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ
conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of [769]
relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated
at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers 796
and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office
(the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again. 788

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the
chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon [782]
the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured
carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the [852]
church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by 796
the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who
had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion, 794
overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which 533
were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in
which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who
now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

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796 confidence in the familiar chants, had had a hand clapped precisely
●794 to his mouth when he rashly ventured upon the uncharted depths of one
533 less familiar, and little by little had attained to his present mastery of his art. This is the universal method for training singers: the Greeks know nothing of the prolonged agony of choir-practices. As a boy gains confidence he will occasionally be permitted to sing the Epistle at the liturgy: it is by no means unusual, even in a big urban parish, to see such a 'reader'—perhaps not more than twelve or thirteen years of age.

796 The Gospel was sung from the throne—not from the pulpit—by the parish priest, and, as is customary, was followed immediately by the sermon. The men and boys parted to allow the Bishop to reach his throne, and then closed in solidly around him: a sea of intent faces stretching from the doors of the sanctuary out through the shadowed narthex into the fierce glare of sunlight beyond. The sermon, as befitted the occasion, was homely both in language and illustration. The Bishop took his text from the Gospel appointed for the feast: "Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it". He pictured the two sisters: Martha, "cumbered about much serving" (a pungent sipasng reference to certain absent members of his flock who were so preoccupied with their chaffering that they could ill spare an hour or two to come to church), and Mary, who "sat at Jesus' feet and heard His word". It was well that we should hearken to the divine word; that we should come to church and hear the holy Gospels read Sunday by Sunday. It was still more to the point, however, that we should be not mere hearers of the word but doers also; that we should not only *hear* the word of God but *keep* it. Therein lay the true holiness of that other Mary, the Mother of the Word. It was on account of her entire conformity to the divine will that we venerated her, the fiery chariot of the word, the bush burning and yet unconsumed, above every creature: above the bodiless powers and the choirs of archangels, above the cherubim and seraphim who veil their faces before the unapproachable glory.

"For us too, my children", the Bishop went on, "this is the sure way of salvation. There are no bounds to the creative energy of the word in the life of the Christian who surrenders himself in simplicity to its power". A series of illustrations followed: the eunuch of Queen Candace, hearing the divine word and straightway being baptised; the converting power of the word as revealed in the life of St. Augustine —a father who figures so infrequently in the discourses of Greek prelates

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as to lead me to suspect the offering of a discreet compliment to western Christendom; the fruits of the word, love, joy and peace, made manifest in the life and death of the blessed Polycarp. 796

"And you boys", said the Bishop, with 'a diligent and busy cast of his eye' toward certain of the more youthful of his auditors; "you who steal eggs and fruit and take other people's food out of the communal oven: there is no reason why you—if you keep the word of God faithfully—should not be as great as St. Peter or St. Paul, or why at the end of your lives you should not be able to echo those ever-memorable words of Polycarp: 'These eighty and six years have I been His servant' . . ."

Looking round that crowded church, my mind went to the Whitsuntide hymn: "Blessed art thou, O Christ our God, who hast made the fishermen wise by the sending down upon them of the Holy Spirit, and through them hast drawn the world into thy net."

The sermon ended, the singers took up the solemn chant of the Hymn of the Cherubim, and a hush fell upon the congregation as the ministers with their attendants emerged from the prothesis chapel and made their slow circuit of the church, the veiled oblations borne aloft, to the accompaniment of that all-embracing appeal: [533]

> May the Lord God be mindful of us all
> in His kingdom, always, now and for ever,
> and unto the ages of ages.

The holy gifts were carried up within the sanctuary and laid upon the altar. The singers resumed their interrupted hymn; the atmosphere was heavy with incense—which, say the commentators, is here an emblem of the mixture of myrrh and aloes which Nicodemus brought for the entombment of the Lord: [782]

> Lo, Christ is crucified, the Life is buried,
> the tomb is made fast, the stone is sealed.

Two shallow alms-baskets piled high with tattered notes were passed slowly round the church, while the sacristan sprinkled perfume from a pewter vessel into the outstretched hands of the more accessible among the male members of the congregation. [794]

The long drawn-out alleluias died away into silence as the parish [788]

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

The liturgical movement in the west is nothing less than a reassertion of the true nature of the liturgy and of its place in the life of the Church, springing from a recovered vision of the nature of the Christian mystery, and from the realisation that dogma and scripture can never be isolated from the living liturgical tradition of the worshipping community without serious impoverishment and distortion. Its scope embraces a far wider field than the province of the liturgiologist, and though it is commonly associated with such 'ecclesiastical' matters as the purifying of the traditional chant and the reform of ceremonial, it is ultimately concerned with fundamental theological realities. Herein lies the secret of the widespread influence of the movement—an influence which although it has been most profound within the bounds of the Roman communion has yet extended in some measure to German Lutherans, French and Scottish Calvinists and others scarcely less remote from Old Rome. The movement is inextricably bound up with the return, now manifest in many different quarters, to a truly theological approach to biblical exegesis, and a recovered awareness that the ancient fathers are not so dead as some would have them be. 788

Dom Olivier Rousseau (whose *Histoire du Mouvement liturgique* affords an admirable survey of the origins and later development of the movement throughout western Christendom) has justly observed that so far as the Orthodox Church is concerned there can be no question of a liturgical movement, for her piety has never deviated from her worship.

I have already had occasion to refer to certain reforming tendencies which are exercising a growing influence upon the liturgical life of the Greek Church at the present time. Father Eusebius Matthopoulos never wearied of expounding the significance of the divine liturgy to the multitudes who flocked to hear him in every city of Old Greece, and one of the primary aims of the Brotherhood which this great preacher and evangelist founded at the beginning of the present century has always been the reverent celebration of the holy mysteries. One has but to compare the manner in which the holy eucharist is celebrated at the Metropolis in Athens, or the little chapel dedicated to St. Catherine above the outer harbour at the Piraeus, with the use which still obtains in the average Macedonian village church, to realise something of the progress that has been made within a generation. 788 178 [794]

While, however, one may in a certain sense speak of a liturgical movement within the Greek Church to-day, it is important to recognise how restricted is its scope when compared with recent developments

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NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

As of Orthodox Christendom in general, so of the Church of Greece in particular, it may be said that the monastic life has been of quite unique importance in shaping her life and piety. This is no less true of the long centuries of the captivity than of the earlier and more formative ages of her history. Even to-day, when the monasteries are subject to widespread criticism, the ancient traditions of monastic spirituality persist and sometimes reveal themselves most unmistakably in precisely those circles where hostility toward the existing institutions—especially in their more idiorrhythmic forms—is most evident and outspoken. It needs to be remembered that the first stirrings of the new missionary spirit, which has had so notable an effect upon the Greek Church within the space of the last 100 years, centre upon the great monastery of Megaspelaion in the Peloponnese, and that Eusebius Matthopoulos, the founder of the Brotherhood of Life, was himself a monk of this convent, steeped in the ascetic traditions of his Church.

"There is no place where the *Greek* Religion is professed", says Rycaut, "so famous for Monasteries as that of Mount *Athos*; and indeed if we consider the number of them, and of the Religious belonging thereunto, it is not to be parallel'd in all the world . . . the grand Conservatory of the Christian Religion in *Greece*, and ancient austerity of living, and therefore not unaptly stiled by them *Ἅγιον ὄρος*, or the *Holy Mountain* . . . the high Pique or Peer whereof . . . is uneven, craggy, and as horrid as Caucasus."

Athos remains, after more than 1,000 years, the heart of Greek monasticism. Isolated and aloof, the life of the holy mountain moves to a slow rhythm which is as little susceptible of change or alteration as the constant surge of the waters about the rocky promontory, in whose narrow clefts and ledges the anchorites roost like wild sea fowl. In Greece one can never wholly escape from the all-pervading influence of Athos. One is always dimly aware of the holy mountain, brooding over the dark waters of the Aegean, its head wrapped in the clouds. At the very heart of fashionable Athens one may encounter a student-deacon from the *sketai* of St. Anne, or a stately *epitropos* in silken gown bound for the offices of the Holy Synod.

Thanks to its isolation, Athos suffered comparatively little from the ravages of war—though many monks endured imprisonment and ill-treatment, and considerable damage was done to monastic properties scattered about the mainland of northern Greece. The Communist revolution in Russia and the subsequent division of Europe into two

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many of whom are outspoken critics of the monks. Everywhere the demand is for *activity* (in the western sense of that word): for training preachers, confessors and catechists, and for raising the standards of clerical education. The monks are looked upon as idle drones who make no contribution to the life of the whole body. Inevitably, such views (which are widespread to-day) have had a marked effect upon monastic recruitment, and postulants are but few. All over Greece the monasteries lie abandoned and falling into ruin; rambling buildings in remote mountain sites visited only by shepherds, or inhabited by a solitary *kalogeros*, more farmer than monk, tending his vineyards and his olive groves and watching over his flocks and herds.

It would, nevertheless, be rash to assert that the new movements which have sprung up and taken root within the last two generations are anti-monastic in character, however hostile they may seem to be towards the traditional forms of the monastic life. It is tempting to compare a society such as the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë, for example, to the friars who made their appearance in western Europe more than seven centuries ago and who were frequently no more sympathetic towards the old monasticism than is the Greek theologian of the present time. I shall have occasion to describe this brotherhood in some detail in a later chapter; here I would but remind my reader of the fact that its founder was himself a monk of Megaspelaion, grounded in the traditional observance of that monastery, and that its members (though they do not bind themselves by permanent vows) are celibate priests or laymen, living under a common rule. Despite its novel constitution and organisation the movement retains much of the spirit of the old asceticism, and, in some respects at least, has more of the nature of a reassertion of the fundamental demands of the ascetic life in a form appropriate to the needs of the present time than a denial of their abiding value.

Soon after my arrival in Salonica in 1948, I was warned of the errors of the Zoë brothers and their sympathisers by a *very* idiorrhythmic monk, who assured me that these unhappy innovators were seeking to persuade men that the path that led to salvation was strait and the gateway narrow: such language seemed to have a familiar ring!

If we confine our view to the relics of the old monasticism it must be confessed that the prospect for the future is melancholy in the extreme. Everywhere the old order is passing away; amidst the crumbling walls a few survivors linger on as aliens in an unfamiliar world. But what of

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792 the new wine that is to be found in abundance within the religious
●794 societies? Is a new monasticism seeking forms appropriate to a changed
178 environment? It is too early as yet to speak with any confidence, and yet there are signs that out of the present ferment may come something not so very far removed from the traditional patterns of the ascetic life.

Assuredly the passion for activity will have an end. It is but one aspect of that fascination which the feverish culture of the west holds for the modern Greek. Even now there are close personal links between the Zoë Brotherhood and certain convents in Old Greece and the islands where the ancient warfare is still waged with something of its first fiery ardour, and these may well prove to be of great importance for the future of Greek monasticism. We may be certain that the apostolic zeal and devotion which is so abundantly manifest within the religious societies will in time bring about a new awakening to the continuing need for men and women who will give themselves wholly to prayer. Then, indeed, we may hope to see a widespread revival of the monastic life that will people the ancient convents which now lie desolate and abandoned, and bring again the anchorites to the barren heights of Staghi.

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IX

A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION 000

> It is not enough to understand the extremity of the affliction that has been endured, although if this is not understood, nothing has been understood.
>
> F. A. VOIGT
> *The Greek Sedition*

SINCE a measure of security was restored to Greece, the ecclesiastical authorities have had little respite from urgent practical problems clamouring for solution. To the most cursory reader of a periodical such as *Ekklesia* (the official journal of the Greek Church), it must have been apparent that during the years which followed the collapse of the Communist sedition the bishops were constantly preoccupied with questions of material welfare and relief. Scarcely an issue but contained some reference to the resettlement of refugees, plans for the rebuilding of destroyed churches or the provision of clothing for the clergy; while the *Paidoupolis*, the *Paidikos Stathmos* and the P.I.K.P.A. clinic and food-distribution centre had, it would seem, become permanent features of the diocesan organisation in many parts of Greece. 727 794 [204]

It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to assume that the Church of Greece was forced by her preoccupation with these overwhelming material needs to neglect what must always be her primary task. Quite the contrary is true. That concern for the poor, the prisoners, the homeless and the oppressed which one looks for in a Church which pays peculiar reverence to St. John Chrysostom, went hand in hand with a missionary activity which, all else apart, would have sufficed to make the decade from 1940 to 1950 a memorable one in the annals of the Greek Church. Greece, as a theologian of the Zoë Brotherhood wrote to me in 1949, "issued from the war completely ruined—materially. Nothing was left to her of her national wealth. Her houses, villages, fields, factories, communications, and economy were all utterly destroyed. Spiritually, nevertheless, she emerged from the chaos of war reborn."

It is only against this background of suffering and devastation, of

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727 foreign occupation and armed sedition, that it is possible to grasp the
794 full significance of the spiritual ferment which marked these ten years, or to understand the magnitude of the task which the Church faces at the present time. For this reason I make no apology for dwelling at some length on the extent of the all-engulfing catastrophe which overwhelmed the Greek nation from the time of the Italian invasion of 1940 down to the decisive defeat of the Communists in the campaigns of 1949.

722 Much has already been written concerning the sufferings of the
727 people of Greece during these terrible years: about the horrors of the occupation, the burning and pillage of undefended villages, the famine which carried off more than 300,000 men, women and children, and the multitude of the homeless approaching in number the population of Athens and the Piraeus. Long before the end of the struggle with the Communists was in sight the destruction had become so manifest, so universal, that after a time one no longer marvelled. One came to accept the long lines of shattered rolling-stock stretching westwards from the walls of Salonica across the plain towards the muddy waters of the Vardar; the rusting carriages which lay strewn around the fair shores of Salamis. It was impossible to travel for any distance without encountering a dynamited bridge, a recently filled mine-crater, or the blackened ruins of an abandoned village. Every town of northern Greece was crowded with refugees, and even the suburbs of Salonica were liable to nocturnal bombardment.

722 Little attention, however, has as yet been given to the effect of ten
727 years of all but unbroken warfare upon the life of the Church: to the breakdown of normal parochial organisation over large tracts of country
795 for two or three years at a stretch, in consequence of the flight of the
[793] clergy together with their people from the villages; to the slaughter of the country parsons, and the destruction and looting of countless churches and monasteries which were to create such insuperable problems when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes; to the fate of those dioceses which were occupied by the Bulgars, who attempted to eradicate every trace of 'Hellenism' from those areas of eastern Macedonia and Thrace which fell to their lot; where the Greek bishops and their clergy were supplanted by Bulgars, the Greek service-books burned; where the very saints were de-Hellenised and had their names repainted in Slavonic characters. All who were able to do so fled from this region and took refuge in Salonica or in other towns to the west of the river Strymon, though some 40,000 were massacred. In the

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727 795 By the summer of 1950 it had become possible to gain some notion of the full extent of the material destruction which the Church had sustained since the beginning of the war; although with large tracts of northern Greece uninhabited until a few months before, the compiling of accurate statistics—never a simple matter—presented problems such as only one who had been in Greece during the last few years could hope to appreciate fully. I have already referred to the wholesale destruction of churches and monasteries. This, though serious enough, was perhaps most easily remedied. I remember one bishop who chuckled inordinately when I questioned him on this subject; "All that is necessary", he assured me, "is that I should go in person to the village with a spade and set to work, and then: *Panaghia*! in no time at all the whole village will turn out and a new church will be built before one can say a *kathisma* of psalms!"

More serious, perhaps, and not confined to those villages where the fabric of the church had been demolished, was the acute shortage of liturgical books, chalices, vestments, and other accessories of worship which could not be supplied from local resources. The dearth of [213] service-books, in particular, was occasioning widespread difficulty. Old Venetian editions had been brought in from long-abandoned monasteries and remote hill-top chapels which had escaped pillage—though the antique characters in which many of them were printed, while intelligible enough to the experienced monk, made it difficult for the average *papas* (to say nothing of the village choir) to read the service with any facility.

727 793 346 I remarked in an earlier chapter that the metropolis is as a rule one of the most impressive and substantial buildings of a provincial town. In 1950, however, several bishops were homeless. The Metropolitan of Grevena was living in lodgings, having one room for his personal use and another which served as the diocesan office; the Lord Agathangellos of Nevrokopi was living in the most apostolic simplicity in two barely furnished rooms; nor, amongst the provincial 'saints', were such cases exceptional.

727 794 Faced by a catastrophe so complete and overwhelming, the first concern of the Church was to try to meet the urgent demand for the bare necessities of life: for food, clothing and shelter. Everywhere the response was the same: orphanages, homes for refugee children, centres for the distribution of food and clothing, clinics and hospitals, were

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created as it were out of nothing. Everywhere these institutions were hastily improvised in the face of desperate and clamorous necessity, and, more often than not, maintained with a heroic disregard for the universal lack of material resources, and a courage worthy of a St. Vincent de Paul. 727 794

In almost every diocese the bishop bore a heavy responsibility in this work of relief. Nearly always he exercised a close personal supervision over the various institutions which had come into being in response to the need of a people driven, for the second time within less than ten years, from their homes and lands; over the *estia* where for several years milk was distributed daily to thousands of refugee children; the *paidikos stathmos* where infants were cared for during the day; the distribution of clothing, black stuff for cassocks, soap, cocoa, macaroni, beans, sugar, boots and shoes—all the multiplicity of urgently needed supplies with which a host of relief organisations, societies, British and American towns and villages, and private benefactors sought to succour the people of Greece in their distress. [648]

At Siderokastro, for example, the Metropolitan (who as assistant bishop of Salonica was an ardent supporter of the work of the Near East Foundation during the period between the wars), founded a small hospital where poor families could receive free medical attention, as well as a remarkable school of housekeeping for girls of marriageable age. Like all the Macedonian 'despots', the Bishop was president of the local branch of the national relief organisation known as P.I.K.P.A., and supervised the two centres from which milk and cocoa were issued daily to thousands of refugee children from the villages of his diocese. [657] [793]

At Edessa, in western Macedonia, the Metropolitan founded, shortly after the end of the occupation, an orphanage for twenty-five boys. This was originally situated in a house on the outskirts of the town, but during the heavy fighting at Epiphany, 1949—when Naoussa, a few kilometres to the southward, was sacked by the Communists and more than 600 of its inhabitants carried away captive to the mountains —this building was extensively damaged and rendered almost uninhabitable. The Bishop then established his orphans under the care of a monk in a dilapidated Turkish house next to the metropolis, and this was subsequently transformed into a permanent orphanage. Not content with this, the Bishop proceeded to found two further orphanages attached to nearby monasteries, as soon as the district was sufficiently tranquil [669] [792]

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727 to permit the monks and nuns—who had taken refuge in the town of
794 Edessa—to return to their respective convents. A fourth orphanage
[792] was established a few miles away at Iannitsa.'

So, all over Greece, there was heroic improvisation in the face of overwhelming material need; and, as at Edessa and Siderokastro, so in many another provincial town from the Peloponnese to the remotest fringes of northern Epirus and Thrace, the courage and initiative of the local 'despot' were factors of incalculable importance.

727 And yet, as I emphasised at the beginning of this chapter, pre-
794 occupation with the material needs of her children did not cause the
793 Church to neglect their spiritual welfare. The feeding and clothing of the homeless and the destitute, the distribution of soup and the creation of hospitals and orphanages, went hand in hand with the preaching of the Gospel. The Metropolitan of Siderokastro was not content with his hospital, his P.I.K.P.A. centres and his school of housekeeping. Even while the issue of the long struggle with the Communists was yet in the balance—and the Bulgarian frontier lies barely ten miles to the northward of the town—the Lord Basil was organising his "Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment" and pressing ahead with the construction of a *Christianiki Estia*: a building comprising a large hall, library, class-rooms and offices, which should serve as a centre for the already vigorous Christian youth movements of the diocese and for training catechists and preachers. He needed, as every bishop did, cassocks for his clergy, food and clothing and medical supplies for his stricken people; but he was anxious above all to obtain Greek New Testaments for his catechetical schools, and a duplicator which would enable him to send a weekly sermon to every village *papas* in the diocese.

795 So it was elsewhere. Nothing that I saw in Greece impressed me more deeply than the fact that it was so often in precisely those districts where suffering had been most acute, where destruction and devastation were most evident, that the life of the Church seemed to burn most brightly. Suffering and desolation, which in a people less profoundly Christian than the Greeks might have brought forth nothing more creative than despair, have in Greece borne precious fruit. Deprived of all worldly security and riches, the Church has been forced back upon the Rock whereon she is founded; has learned anew that there can be no resurrection apart from the cross—the instrument of shameful death which is yet the throne of the victor. Through prolonged suffering she has

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inevitably elapse before the Bishop could hope to be in a position to make a detailed statement. He instructed his secretary to provide me with a report embodying such information as had reached him. Grevena itself had suffered a heavy bombardment during the retreat of 1941 and the cathedral church of the Annunciation had been seriously damaged (the old cathedral of St. George had been destroyed by fire several years earlier). On the outskirts of the town lay a little church dedicated to St. Archelaos of Larissa. This had become the parish church of the refugees. Here, from 1947 onwards, the refugee clergy had assembled daily to sing mattins and evensong, and on Sundays and festivals to celebrate together the divine mysteries. This church, as I subsequently discovered, also served as a centre for the distribution of rations to the vast multitude of the homeless who dwelt in the nissen huts on the edge of the town. On my way back to the metropolis I ran into a large group of refugee clergy. They had got wind of my projected expedition and begged me to visit their villages and to bring back news of their condition after three years' abandonment.

I returned to the regimental headquarters at dusk, armed with my report, and spent an hour poring over maps with a young captain from Volos. We finally decided upon two itineraries, each of several days' duration. The first would enable me to see something of those parts of the diocese which were still uninhabited, and about which the Bishop had little information; the second, to visit several villages north and west of Grevena to which the refugees had lately returned. Arrangements having been made for a nine o'clock start the following morning, I returned to the metropolis for supper and discussed the Zoë movement and the architectural projects of the Metropolitan of Siatista with the Lord Theokletos until it was time for bed.

Saturday, February 4th, dawned fine and dry. The first stage of my journey was accomplished in a jeep driven by an *Epeirotes* who had concealed two British soldiers in his house at Iannina during the occupation. Less than five miles from Grevena the track which we were following gave up the ghost and further progress was impossible. At this point we were met by a sergeant and two soldiers, mounted on mules and leading a handsome bay mare caparisoned after the European manner. It took us an hour to climb to the village of Mavranaioi, which was strongly garrisoned (it had been partly inhabited since the previous October). After lunching with the officers of the garrison I resumed

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722 windows had been blocked with masonry and stones, and the church,
712 thus barricaded and surrounded by an elaborate system of trenches,
346 pill-boxes and barbed wire defences, transformed into a citadel. Here
669 the greater part of the population had taken refuge while the militia, with a stiffening of gendarmerie, had fought off an assault on the village which raged for a night and a day on May 8th-9th, 1948. The fabric had suffered extensive damage from mortar and machine-gun fire, but the Communists had eventually been driven off. Earlier, the village had suffered grievously at the hands of the Germans. Though the church had been spared, the school and a large proportion of the houses had been destroyed. The school was now flourishing in a large nissen hut: formerly it had been housed in the nave of the church.

574 On Sunday morning there was great scrubbing and polishing of muddy boots, and at half-past eight I ventured forth, looking as spruce as three weeks of sleeping in my clothes would permit, in company with the *proedros*. The latter was anxious not to be too early at church, and, since the second bell had not yet sounded, we went first to inspect the new school. After smoking a cigarette with the *didaskalos* we proceeded to the church at the third bell, followed by all the children of the village. [537] When the liturgy was ended the president climbed with great dignity to the top of one of the pill-boxes and made an impassioned oration welcoming the representative of Greece's great and traditional ally to their gallant and Christ-loving village, and dwelling at some length on the ties which, despite the infernal machinations of the Accursed of God, would surely bind together for all ages the Hellenic and British nations. The said representative thereupon made a brief, but it is to be hoped fitting, reply to this masterpiece of presidential rhetoric, and the whole company drifted away in high good humour to sip cognac and discuss the latest news which had arrived from Kozani.

After a visit to the family of a young theologian from Salonica I went to feast, first with the president and then—at the dictates of charity rather than of appetite—with the parish priest also. The influence of
• [794] the Kozani seminary had made itself felt in this village, and the catechetical school was in full swing as I passed the new school-house on my way to the parsonage. There the wine that makes glad the heart of man flowed freely, and it was a drowsy traveller who rode across the hills to the neighbouring village of Kivotos later that afternoon. Communications having proved unreliable, I was constrained to accept the hospitality of one of the churchwardens. Shortly before noon the

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following day I rode into Vatolakkos with an escort of six militiamen and fell straight into the hands of the parish priest, who was sunning himself on a bench outside the gendarmerie station. This *papas* was a graduate of the Kozani seminary; his father had been a priest in Smyrna (like Kivotos, this was a refugee village). He spoke with pride of the catechetical school which had been flourishing in the village since the previous autumn.

Vatolakkos, like Aghios Georgios, had never been abandoned by its inhabitants. Owing to its important position—astride the main road from Grevena to Kozani—it had been strongly garrisoned throughout the troubles, and had offered sanctuary to the fugitives from no less than ten neighbouring communities, despite the fact that the greater number of the houses had been destroyed in the German advance of 1941—there were bomb craters all along the road from Kivotos southward. The parish priest had sheltered five refugee families in his house for more than two years. The church, which had never been completed, had, according to the Bishop's report, been pillaged by the Germans. It had moreover been damaged by mortar fire during an attack on the village by the Communists. A new school had just been opened to take the place of the one destroyed by the Germans.

From Vatolakkos I succeeded in telephoning to army headquarters at Grevena, and shortly after three o'clock I was picked up by my friend from Iannina. After attending the evensong of the refugee clergy, in company with the Bishop's deacon, and a long talk with the fugitive *ephemerioi* of Spelaion and Kosmati, I paid a final visit to the metropolis. The Bishop was unwell: he had been ill for some time past, and I took my leave early. Some months later, after a letter enclosing photographs of the ruined churches of the diocese had remained long unanswered, I saw from a notice in *Ekklesia* that the Lord Theokletos had passed to his rest.

Like Father Ioakeim, his deacon, he was a native of the Piraeus and had laboured there for thirty-three years as vicar of the parish of St. Constantine before being called to take charge of the see of Grevena in the third year of the occupation. The state of the diocese even in those days was serious enough, and had the new *despotes* been able to foresee the full extent of the catastrophe which was to overwhelm the widely scattered communities committed to his charge within the space of another five years, he might understandably have shrunk from the heavy burden of responsibility that he was called to bear.

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793 722 From 1947 onwards the Lord Theokletos found himself the bishop of a vast multitude of displaced persons; the whole outward framework of diocesan administration disrupted; his parish clergy driven from their cures and scattered to far corners of Greece, or crowded together in the nissen huts on the margins of Grevena; the town itself threatened by the Communists. Called to face a truly desperate situation, the Metropolitan set an example worthy of his predecessor, the martyred Aimilianos, and of the great traditions of the Greek Church. Somehow, despite all material difficulties, food, shelter and clothing were provided for the innumerable refugees who descended upon Grevena during the fourth year of his episcopate, the philanthropic institutions of the battered township continued to function, and the Saint and Despot of Grevena, at the head of his 'sacred company' of refugee clergy, showed that the spirit of the warrior-prelates of the old wars was not yet extinct.

793 794 This alone was sufficient to ensure that the episcopate of the Metropolitan Theokletos of Grevena would long be remembered, not merely in western Macedonia but throughout the Church of Greece. But this was not all. I have said that it was often in those districts where devastation and suffering had left their deepest mark that the Church manifested most plainly the Source of her life. The episcopate of Theokletos of Grevena may well serve to illustrate this truth.

The late Metropolitan had not been long in residence (he had been forced to spend some months in Kozani before coming to his diocese) before he summoned to his assistance a priest-monk then working in Florina, the Archimandrite Augustine: a powerful preacher, an ardent evangelist noted for his adherence to the letter of the dominical counsels in such matters as personal property, and an outspoken rebuker of vice —even when manifested in high places. This last characteristic having apparently rendered Father Augustine's relations with a certain dignitary of the Church somewhat delicate, he established himself at Grevena during the third year of the Lord Theokletos' episcopate and threw himself into the task of building up a Christian movement among the young men and girls of the diocese.

Father Augustine's method was to gather round him a little band of potential leaders: a score of young catechists of both sexes, the majority drawn from the senior classes of the high school, who would in time be able to carry on the work which he had begun. Before long it had proved possible to organise catechetical schools for children of all ages, and (as the refugee camp became more and more swollen

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during the course of 1947) to draw into the new Christian Unions many hundreds of boys and girls from the remote hamlets of Pindos, few of whom had ever heard a sermon preached in their village churches, let alone received any systematic course of instruction in the faith such as was now offered them. Whilst the whole diocese lay desolate and the Communist bands roamed the mountains almost at will, there was slowly growing up amongst the young Christians crowded together in the mud and squalor of Grevena a movement which promised to transform the religious life of this barren region. 793 794

In 1949 Father Augustine left Grevena to take up new work as chaplain to the 2nd Army Corps at Kozani, but the Christian Unions continued to flourish. Their membership at the time of my visit was in the region of 1,600—and this figure did not include the hundreds of children who had recently returned to their villages. In order that these latter should not be lost to the movement, several young catechists were visiting the lately repopulated villages around Grevena every week-end, giving addresses either during the liturgy or else in the village square when the people came out of church, and labouring to build up catechetical schools in every village. The Metropolitan had given immense stimulus to this work by sending as many parish clergy as he could spare to study at Kozani seminary—men like Papa Athanasius from Rodia—who would be qualified to run their own catechetical schools when they returned home.

Outstanding among the catechists trained by Father Augustine was a young gendarme who, now that there was no regular *hitrokeryx* attached to the metropolis, was himself acting as the diocesan preacher and assistant to the Metropolitan. It would have been hard to match the burning devotion and zeal of these young catechists; the enthusiasm and eagerness of their still younger pupils. The Bishop himself had no illusions as to the importance of the work that had been begun three years before: in the face of devastation such as I had seen with my own eyes during the course of the ten days I had spent in the diocese—material destruction on a scale equal to that sustained by any Greek diocese—it was his considered opinion that the most desperate need was not for clothing or food or medical supplies, not for animals to replace those slaughtered by the Germans or driven off to the mountains by the Communists, not for domestic or agricultural implements and tools, but for a properly equipped building to serve as a centre for the Christian Unions, for Greek New Testaments and other Christian 793 794 727

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794 literature, and for a magical *polygraphos* which would enable him to [793] distribute every week a homily to be read by every *papas* in the diocese [727] at the Sunday liturgy.

For the truly notable feature of his episcopate had been neither the destruction and pillage of the villages, nor the slaughter of his clergy and the flight of his people from their homes and lands; all this had but provided the setting for a flowering of new and vigorous spiritual life of untold power, which promised to spread, from the little band of catechists whom Father Augustine had gathered about him, to every village and hamlet of the diocese—to Spelaion, high amongst the towering rocks above the Venetikos, where the saints brooded over the dark church, to Samarina and the summer pastures of the Vlach shepherds, southward and westward to desolate Trikomon and the uninhabited wastes towards Metsovo—and to bring a deepened and more conscious sharing in the Christian mystery to a people who had, as it was, retained their hold upon the fundamental virtues of faith, hope and charity with a tenacity which is rare in the world to-day.

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XI

THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF REVIVAL

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> The people have indeed a lively sense of religion in their hearts, but because they have neither guides nor preachers, nor pastors to lead them to the saving and life-giving truth, they are sleeping the sleep of apathy and spiritual death.
>
> Letter of FATHER EUSEBIUS MATTHOPOULOS, dated 1879

> We live in an Age that hath more need of good examples than precepts.
>
> GEORGE HERBERT

I HAVE dwelt at some length upon the recent history of a single Macedonian diocese, for the *eparchia* of Grevena was as it were a microcosm of the Greek Church as a whole; the essential features of its history during the previous decade were writ large from the Peloponnese to the northern frontiers of the kingdom. It was not only amongst the overcrowded refugee *kalyvai* of Grevena that there sprang up within these last few years a flowering of evangelical Christianity such as tempted one to prophesy that the day might not be far distant when the Church of Greece—poor and naked though she were in the world's eyes—would again become a lamp whose bright beams would extend to every corner of Christendom. 794 797

This widespread kindling of the smouldering embers of the Church's life shone out the more brightly by reason of the unrelieved blackness of its setting. We must not on this account forget the all-important, though less spectacular, work of preparation that had been going on for a century and more. The remarkable developments of the last few years would have been unthinkable were it not for the devoted labours of all those who had worked and prayed for the quickening of this ancient Church during the course of three or four generations.

We do not lack abundant testimony to the wretched condition of the Church of Greece during the first half of the nineteenth century. 795 797

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

795 797 Though the traditions which enshrine the saving truths of the Gospel had been handed down from generation to generation throughout the centuries of Turkish dominion, the life of the Church was nevertheless gravely threatened by corruption and decay. The ministry of the word had fallen into almost complete neglect even in Athens, while in the country districts sermons were all but unknown. The ordinary people were for the most part "ill instructed, or rather not taught at all, sermons and catechising rare amongst them, Masses and Divine Service hudled and run over in a cursory and negligent manner . . ."

793 797 The higher clergy, with few exceptions, paid but scanty heed to their pastoral responsibilities. By the eighteen-forties (owing to the long delay in the recognition of the autocephalous status of the Church of Greece by the Oecumenical Patriarch) the number of the bishops had declined until only four remained, and those well advanced in years. As to the parish clergy, one may read accounts of their ignorance that differ but little from those which Covel had set down 200 years earlier: "Most priests have no books by them, but only their Church Offices; and . . . all their Study is only to get them by Heart, which takes up so much of their time as they cannot attend to read or Study other learned books if they had them. . . . Their ordinary prayers and liturgies, like Parrots they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and use them very imperfectly, with strange variety and confusion."

[792] As for the monasteries, though there remained many holy monks and learned even in the darkest days, all too many of the *kalogeroi* were worldly and ignorant; jealous of their privileges, content with a merely formal discharge of the duties belonging to their state; drowsing in sunny galleries, cultivating their vegetables and their pleasant vineyards.

794 797 It is against such a background that we have to view the labours of that little company of priests and laymen who laid the foundations of what, in our own time, has become a nation-wide movement. The initiative in the growing revival of evangelistic and missionary activity that has characterised the last 100 years of the history of the Greek Church has come, not from the hierarchy—though many bishops have been whole-hearted supporters of the new movements—but from individual churchmen: lay theologians, monks and clergy. It is only [793] very recently that an official 'Home Mission' has come into being, with the foundation of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* of the Church of Greece (not to be confounded with a far older movement of the same name which still flourishes in Salonica and the northern dioceses).

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797 175 the temptation to mingle the pure milk of the Gospel with denunciation of current abuses; but, in spite of his restraint, he was imprisoned for several months at the time of Phlamiatos' arrest and was afterwards confined to his monastery. He remained at Megaspelaion for twelve years, and, despite the curtailment of his missionary journeys, continued to exercise a most effectual ministry through correspondence; while, as the fame of his holiness and wisdom went abroad, there came to the monastery a constant stream of visitors. Father Ignatius continued to preach and to hear confessions, and at last, when H.M.S. *Scylla* had borne away to Venice the unfortunate Otho and his consort, he was free once more to resume his itinerant work. The story of the last seven years of his life is a record of strenuous missionary activity amongst the towns and villages of the Peloponnese. His work received the blessing of the hierarchy, and he gathered about him a little group of disciples which included both clergy and laymen, prominent amongst them the deacon Hierotheos Metropoulos, uncle of Eusebius Matthopoulos, himself a monk of Megaspelaion and a future Archbishop of Patras. In 1866 Father Ignatius declined the offer of the bishopric of Triphylia on the plea of ill-health, and three years later he died.

The life of this zealous monk had already exercised a most potent influence throughout the Peloponnese, and through the little company of disciples that gathered about him at Megaspelaion his labours were destined to bear fruit over a far wider field than that covered by his own missionary journeys. Until the advent of Cosmas Phlamiatos there had been but little preaching in the towns and villages of Old Greece, and the labours of this lay theologian had inaugurated a new era of missionary activity.

797 794 175 The pattern of the first phase of the revival—from the arrival in the Peloponnese of Phlamiatos down to the death of Father Ignatius—bears a curious resemblance to that of the period which ensues, and which culminates in the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zöe. Again the original stimulus is provided by a layman whose effective ministry is terminated by a clash with authority, and again a monk of Megaspelaion is left to build upon another's foundation and to consolidate his work.

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In 1866, three years before the death of Ignatius Lambropoulos,

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there came to Athens a certain Apostolos Makrakes, a lay philosopher from the Cyclades, who had studied in Constantinople and in Paris, and had already won a considerable renown through his writings against the Franks and on the true nature of the Church. Makrakes electrified the Athenians by his preaching in Omonoia Square and other public places in the city. To all who heard this Christian philosopher it was evident that a new spirit was abroad in Greece. Shortly before the death of Father Ignatius, Makrakes visited Megaspelaion and there encountered a young monk from Melissopetra named Eusebius Matthopoulos. This meeting marks the beginning of a long association between the two men which, clouded though it was by the eccentricities of the layman's later years, was to prove of incalculable importance for the Greek Church. 797 175

Father Eusebius (who, with Apostolos Makrakes, dominates the history of the revival of missionary activity for the next half-century and more) seems to have been set apart for the monastic life almost from his cradle. Despite recurrent bouts of fever (which left him with a thorn in his flesh for the remainder of a long life of strenuous activity), his uncle, Hierotheos Metropoulos, secured his admission to his own convent at the age of fourteen, and during the next few years he became the closest and most ardent disciple of Father Ignatius. It was he who took up the mantle of the great preacher and confessor at the latter's death.

Early in the 'seventies we find Eusebius Matthopoulos (now a deacon) studying the holy scriptures and the ancient philosophers and divines in the Athens schools, and already launched upon his long and most fruitful ministry as a *hierokeryx*. The year 1876 is memorable for two events: the ordination of Father Eusebius to the priesthood, and the foundation of the School of the Logos. [794]

Hitherto the missionary revival inaugurated by the preaching of Phlamiatos had been quite unorganised. Though the monastery of Megaspelaion had afforded a base for the labours of Ignatius Lambropoulos and his fellow workers, there had been no question of any formal association or 'movement'. These itinerant preachers and confessors had but restored and extended that "pious and laudable institution" (so Dr. Covel) whereby certain monkish theologians—"Grave and Reverend Persons that had been bred up in their Monasteries to a strict and mortified life"—would be appointed by the bishops "to go to their respective Cities and Towns . . . to advise, direct and assist all

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797 good People . . . for the encouraging and encreasing of their Devotion, and for the better management of their Lives and Conversations". The foundation of the School of the Logos constitutes an important 794 797 landmark; it inaugurates the era of the voluntary movements and establishes the essential features of a pattern of missionary activity 175 which has held the field until our own day, and from which the foundation of an official Home Mission marks the first radical departure.

In September, 1876, Makrakes and his associates founded the School of the Logos which combined the functions of a private *gymnasium* with those of an evening school for adults. Father Eusebius (who had been ordained priest a month before) was appointed chaplain and *pneumatikos* of this remarkable institution—he also made himself responsible for the cleaning of the school (especially, it is related, "of its vilest places", *τῶν εὐτελεστέρων τόπων αὐτῆς*: a phrase charged with sinister meaning for anyone acquainted with the lamentable decline in the standards of Hellenic plumbing since the far-off days when King Minos flourished in his Cretan palace!) The outstanding qualities of this young priest were quickly discerned by those about him, and not a few who were many years his senior in age and experience came to rely upon him as counsellor and spiritual father. It was during this period that Father Eusebius began his experiments with the small groups (*omades*) which were to become so important a feature of the brotherhood which he founded some thirty years later.

But the School of the Logos was not destined to enjoy a long career. Scarcely two years had elapsed from its foundation when Makrakes and his associates became involved in a violent controversy with the authorities, which brought their educational and spiritual work in Athens to an abrupt conclusion and scattered the leaders of the movement to remote islands and monasteries. In 1875, as the result of a scandalous 793 transaction involving payments to certain ministers of the State, three 797 men succeeded in obtaining the vacant bishoprics of Patras, Messenia 662 and Kephallenia. The facts became widely known and public opinion 175 was deeply aroused. Makrakes and certain of his fellow-workers published fiery articles denouncing this flagrant violation of the holy canons. A trial ensued; the guilty ministers were imprisoned and fined, while the three simoniacal bishops were committed to the Holy Synod, which should then, according to the canons, have proceeded to a sentence of deposition.

793 The Synod, however, declined to take this step. Makrakes thereupon
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extended his attacks from the simoniacal bishops themselves to those whom he now accused of being their accomplices—the members of the Holy Synod and the Archbishop of Athens. A bitter controversy ensued. Makrakes (whose language had never been characterised by moderation) threw discretion to the winds and attacked the bishops, the prime minister, the government and the theological faculty of the university without discrimination and in the most violent terms. The Metropolitan of Athens and of all Greece he denounced as "Simon Magus: *Archegos* of the hateful-to-God heresy and Metropolitan of evil courses!" The national university was no longer the *panepistemion*, the home of all the sciences, but the *panskotisterion*, the abode of universal darkness.

The clergy who were associated with Makrakes were more restrained in their denunciations of the hierarchy. They felt bound, nevertheless, to cease to commemorate their diocesan at the divine liturgy. The Synod retaliated by publishing unfounded charges of heresy and false teaching, and warned the faithful to have nothing to do with the theologians associated with the School of the Logos. The school itself was suppressed in the autumn of 1878, though Makrakes continued to publish his journal. In February, 1879, six of the 'Makrakist' clergy (including the archimandrites Hierotheos Metropoulos and Elias Vlachopoulos, as well as Father Eusebius) were brought before the Synod and tried on charges of heresy and *kakodoxia*. Despite the accused clergy's profession of orthodoxy and the absence of any shred of evidence in support of the charges, all were found guilty and sentenced to periods of exile, ranging from eight to ten years, in isolated monasteries dispersed amongst the islands of the Aegean and Ionian seas.

Father Eusebius was sent to the monastery of Palaiokastriotissa in Corfu—a small convent inhabited by ten monks, five hours' journey from the town of Kerkyra—where, cheerfully accepting this enforced interruption of his apostolic labours amongst the Athenians, he gave himself unreservedly to prayer and self-examination, and to the study of the scriptures. It was not long before the abbot of the monastery realised that the character of the exiled priest had been grossly misrepresented by the ecclesiastical authorities, and, with the consent of the local bishop, Father Eusebius began to preach in the villages of the diocese and to confess the people. Hierotheos Metropoulos was meanwhile turning his banishment to good account by reorganising the monastery of Longovardas in the isle of Paros, where his influence has endured to the present day.

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175 Patras during these years, and when his uncle died in 1902 there was a great and widespread desire that he should succeed him. On this occasion, however, as on every other, Father Eusebius declined all offers of ecclesiastical preferment. With the example of Hierotheos Metropoulos before his eyes he was in no danger of underestimating the influence that could be exercised by a bishop who was a saint in deed as well as in name; but he shrank from the heavy burden of administrative cares which would inevitably hinder the free exercise of that ministry of preaching and reconciliation to which God had called him.

● 794 After the death of Hierotheos Metropoulos, Father Eusebius spent
797 a further five years in missionary journeys to every part of liberated
Greece, and then, in 1907, came the foundation of the Brotherhood of
175 Theologians, Zoë: a society organised on monastic lines which should, if God so willed, serve as a fit instrument for the continued regeneration of the Greek Church and for the extension of the work begun nearly seventy years before by Cosmas Phlamiatos and Ignatius Lambropoulos. A small house in an Athens suburb served as the headquarters of the new brotherhood; and here Father Eusebius gathered about him a little group of young theologians consisting of two priests and two laymen.
[204] In 1911 they commenced the publication of the journal *Zoë*, which was destined before long to extend the teaching of the movement to every diocese of the newly-liberated provinces of northern Greece.

From these modest beginnings there has sprung a movement which in the course of a little more than a generation has exercised a most powerful influence upon the life of the Greek Church. Through the preaching of the Zoë brothers and the many-sided activity of the movements which have grown up under their supervision, the religious life of many a town and village has been transformed beyond all recognition since the days when Apostolos Makrakes first preached in the public places of Athens, and the youthful Eusebius Matthopoulos pondered the writings of the ancient divines and swept the classrooms and corridors of the School of the Logos.

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XII

THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

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Η ΜΑΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΟΥΣ

MOTTO OF THE APOSTOLIC DIACONATE OF THESSALONICA

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IT IS a good general rule in dealing with something that lies outside the experience of one's audience to attempt to describe it in terms of what is known and familiar. Father Michael Manousakes, Hierokeryx of the Sacred Metropolis of Drama, no doubt had some such maxim in mind when he introduced the present writer to an audience made up of members of his catechetical schools as "a *theologos* of the Oxford Movement: a movement which closely resembles out own Zoë Brotherhood". It must nevertheless be admitted that the compact, well-disciplined organisation into which the little brotherhood founded by Eusebius Matthopoulos in 1907 has since developed bears little apparent resemblance to the movement which was stirring in the Oriel S.C.R. during the eighteen-thirties.

The Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë (to give the movement its proper title), now consists of some ninety men—all graduates, the great majority of the theological faculty of the University of Athens—about thirty of whom are in orders, the remainder laymen. The organisation of the brotherhood is monastic in character, though its members do not bind themselves by permanent vows and are at liberty to withdraw at any time. They must be unmarried—though a lay theologian who leaves the movement is free to marry—and property is held in common. The superior holds office for life (at the death of Father Eusebius in 1929 the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas was elected as his successor).

Seven priests and ten laymen were in the spring of 1950 resident in Athens, five other theologians in Salonica. At that time no less than twenty-seven members of the brotherhood (including seven priests) were serving as 'preachers' with the army, and another was acting as [701] [727]

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794 [701] [727] chaplain to the camp in Leros where boys who had fallen beneath the influence of the Communists were being given the opportunity to rediscover the fundamental loyalties within the setting of a Christian community. The remaining members of the brotherhood were dispersed amongst the dioceses of Greece, preaching, confessing the people, training young catechists and preachers, supervising seminaries for the country clergy, directing catechetical schools and youth movements: in these and many other ways building up the body of Christ in each village, town and diocese; seeking, above all, to follow in the steps of their founder by living in the power of the Holy Spirit that Christ might indeed be formed in them.

Every summer all the members of the brotherhood assemble for a period of retreat at Aghia Paraskevi (on the outskirts of Athens), and each is called upon to give an account of his labours during the previous year.

There can be little question that the most potent factor in the religious revival which has transformed the outward face of the Greek Church within the last 100 years has, under God, been the hidden life and apostolic labours of Eusebius Matthopoulos, and of the brotherhood he founded. The latter is still far the most important of the many missionary and evangelistic movements that have sprung up during the last two generations. The number and complexity of these movements is at first quite bewildering, and the visitor to Greece will need to spend a little time in Zoë circles before he can hope to avoid confounding *X.E.N.* with *X.E.E.N.*, or to be able to distinguish with assurance between the spheres of activity appropriate to *X.M.O.*, *X.O.N.*, *X.Φ.E.*, *X.E.E.* and *X.E.E.Λ.* respectively.

There are, on the one hand, all the movements more or less closely connected with the Zoë Brotherhood: some under the immediate supervision of the central organisation, others enjoying a measure of independence. On the other, there are several entirely separate movements which sprang up within the circle of clergy and laity who gathered about Apostolos Makrakes; and, finally, there are several vigorous organisations which have grown up in provincial centres such as Patras and Salonica and are still flourishing at the present time. A detailed account of all these movements would afford material for a substantial volume, and I propose to attempt no more within the limits of a single chapter than the most cursory description of their scope and general characteristics.

THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

I have already referred to the movement known as *Anaplasis*. This was founded as early as 1887 by two lay disciples of Apostolos Makrakes: it is to the latter that it owes its primary characteristics. Its efforts were mainly directed to resisting, by means of preaching, lectures, and the publication of apologetic and philosophical writings, the spread of materialistic notions derived from western Europe. It was from the start a predominantly lay movement widely supported by theologians, philosophers, lawyers and university professors, as well as by many merchants and business men. Its journal formerly had a wide circulation in professional and academic circles and was issued, at first weekly and then fortnightly, right down to 1941.

During the eighteen-nineties the Anaplasis movement supported ten preachers who worked in the Athens-Piraeus region and also to some extent in the provinces. The Crown Prince Constantine was an honorary president, and amongst its most active members were the lawyer, John Skaltsounes (who is looked upon in Greece as a forerunner of the *Aktines* movement), and a Minister of Justice, Nicolas Demetrakopoulos, who, though not himself a trained theologian, was one of the first persons to devote his attention seriously to Christian apologetics. The real leader of the movement, however, was the lawyer and *hierokeryx*, Michael Galanos, and its final eclipse coincided with his death in 1948.

Father Eusebius and his associates collaborated with this movement for many years as preachers and contributors to its journal. Then came the foundation of the Zoë Brotherhood and the growth of a separate movement with its own periodical, and from this time onward the older association declined. It lingered on for many years: Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos gave it his vigorous support from 1922 to 1938 (his brother was for a time its director), and it was not until quite recently that it was finally swallowed up in newer movements like *Aktines*, the home mission society known as *Apostolos Paulos*, and *Enoria*.

The Anaplasis movement was admirably equipped to meet the rationalist influence at work in Athens during the latter part of the nineteenth century; it was not able to adapt itself to the needs of a changing situation—hence its decline. From this pioneer association, however, there sprang two other movements, both of which have exercised a considerable influence during recent years. Both, it is interesting to note, were founded by parish priests. One (which is now under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes) has developed until it is second only to Zoë amongst the unofficial movements in the scope

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794 175 and importance of its activity. The other was the creation of a remarkable parish priest, Father George Makres, who was for many years in charge of the parish of St. Basil in the Piraeus. He it was who in the year 1896 first established catechetical schools (there had been earlier but unsuccessful attempts), and both in this field and in that of the formation of 'circles' or groups for the study of the Bible he was a [204] distinguished pioneer. He also edited a religious journal bearing the title of *Anamorphosis* (Transformation). After his death in 1943 his work in the Piraeus was taken up by one of his numerous spiritual sons, the then Archimandrite Damaskenos Kotzias (now raised to the episcopate).

The second of these movements was founded in 1913 by Father Mark Tsaktanes and grew up about his parish church of St. Catherine. Like Father George, in the Piraeus, this married priest led the way in the organisation of catechetical schools (some schools which still flourish in our own day are his foundations), and of circles for the study of the Bible. When he died, his brother-in-law, Father Angelos Nissiotes, the priest in charge of the parish of the Life-Giving Source in the heart of Athens, carried on and greatly extended his work. The 'Orthodox Christian Unions' and catechetical schools under Father Angelos' direction are now extremely vigorous, and out of this movement have come some of the most interesting experiments of recent years.

An admirable example of the older movements which have grown up in the provincial towns of Greece is that known as the '*Apostoliki Diakonia* of Salonica', founded in 1928 by a lay theologian with the primary object of promoting the study of the holy scriptures among adults. In addition to this side of its work it had founded by 1949 some thirty-one catechetical schools, with a total membership of nearly 3,000 boys and girls. The teachers in these schools included students and professional men. From this movement there has sprung since the end of the occupation a smaller organisation of great interest. This is [874] the 'School of Christ', the creation of the Archimandrite Timothy Papamichael. Its primary object is the training of preachers and lay evangelists. This task has been tackled with such energy that already by 1950 there were more than 120 members of the movement—mostly young men and women—at work in Salonica and the north of Greece.

This unofficial 'Apostolic Diaconate' has led the way in the creation of catechetical schools and small groups for Bible study in the northern

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dioceses, for it was not until 1936 that the Zoë Brotherhood established a centre in Salonica. The motto of this movement (which I have quoted at the head of this chapter), provides a key to much of the most notable work that is being done in Greece to-day; 'the victory of the width'—to give a literal translation of a phrase that cannot easily be put into English—ultimately depends upon the faithfulness and energy with which 'the battle of the depth' is waged. There can, in other words, be no fruitful outward activity that does not spring from a deepened interior life. It is only as the missioner himself is truly converted, only as he himself learns to dwell in Christ and as Christ is formed in him, that he can be used as an effective instrument for the conversion of others. Apart from this all his activity is in vain:

"As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. . . . If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

It augurs well for the future that the strenuous missionary activity now being undertaken in almost every town and diocese of Greece is so completely grounded in prayer and the study of the scriptures, finding its centre in the divine liturgy and the sacraments. The foundations are being well laid.

The full scope of the activity of the unofficial religious movements is perhaps most conveniently described if we consider in turn the chief instruments now being employed to bring about the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ. These include preaching, the mystery of confession, the organisation of catechetical schools, youth movements and study circles, the publication of Christian literature, and, finally, liturgical reform.

Preaching has from the outset been of primary importance. Cosmas Phlamiatos, Apostolos Makrakes and Eusebius Matthopoulos all relied upon the spoken *kerygma* as their most effective instrument. The theologian—whether cleric or layman—who serves on the staff of a provincial bishop is first and foremost the *hierokeryx*, the sacred herald, whose duty it is to assist the bishop in the ministry of the word. In the course of the last two generations there has been a tremendous revival of preaching—at any rate in the towns. Every parish church in Athens and the Piraeus now has a sermon at the Sunday liturgy—normally an exposition of the Gospel which immediately precedes it—

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783 confessor amongst the Greeks than in the west. The power to bind and
793 to loose is given by the laying on of hands: the grace of the wise director of souls is conferred only upon a few, and is normally the fruit of great personal holiness and wide experience. Throughout Orthodox Christendom there has been a tendency to demand a high degree of perfection before authorising a priest to exercise the ministry of the confessor: one must oneself become a *spirituel* before aspiring to the office of a *père spirituel*.

The number of confessors at work in Greece to-day is still very small. In the country districts, in particular, this sacrament is still largely neglected. The ministry of the *pneumatikos* is nevertheless a factor of the very greatest importance in the present revival, and one which is held in the highest estimation, within the voluntary movements and the official Apostoliki Diakonia alike.

794 While preaching and the mystery of confession have thus been restored to something approaching their rightful place within the life of the Greek Church after long years of neglect, the leaders of the new movements have forged other weapons to meet the peculiar needs of the time. Chief amongst them must be mentioned the catechetical schools and Christian unions which are now so prominent a feature of Greek church life.

The creation of catechetical schools was essayed as early as the eighteen-seventies, but unsuccessfully, and it was the married priests George Makres and Mark Tsaktanes who were the real pioneers in this field. By the late 'twenties there were many catechetical schools flourishing in Athens and the Piraeus, especially under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes, who had taken over the movement founded by Father Mark at the latter's death in 1924. The Zoë Brotherhood (which had by this time emerged triumphant from two further attacks by suspicious hierarchs, and had also survived the premature death of one of the first and most ardent disciples of its founder, the Archimandrite Dionysios Pharazoules), first turned its attention to the organisation of catechetical schools in 1926. From this time onward these schools begin to establish themselves until at the present day Zoë alone has well over 600 under its supervision, and the movement of Father Angelos some 350, not to mention hundreds of others now flourishing in every part of Greece.

These schools (which are directed almost entirely by lay men and

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women) afford a systematic course of instruction in Christian doctrine and practice for boys and girls between the ages of nine and twenty-two. These children have all, it must be borne in mind, been full communicant members of the Church since infancy. There are no confirmation classes in Greece, and, within the new movements at least, the period of adolescence, when so overwhelming a proportion of our own children lose all vital contact with the Church, is commonly that at which the young Greek Christian begins to play an active part in the life of his local community.

The size of the catechetical schools, even in the provincial towns of northern Greece (where such schools were not founded until the late 'thirties and had hardly established themselves when these districts were overwhelmed by foreign occupation and Communist sedition) is often quite staggering. The figures for the town of Kilkis—a few miles north of Salonica and the scene of some of the bloodiest massacres of the whole war—may serve as an illustration. During the year 1948–49, when the war with the Communists was at its height, membership of the catechetical schools was as follows:

	Boys	*Girls*
Junior schools	782	696
Middle schools	165	180
Senior schools	55	77
Young workers	123	293
	1125	1246

These are the figures for a Macedonian market town whose pre-war population scarcely exceeded 7,000. Even allowing for the fact that several hundreds of the children belonging to the catechetical schools in 1948–49 were refugees from the villages of the diocese, they show the astonishing development of these new Christian schools within a bare ten or eleven years.

Remarkable as these figures may seem they are by no means exceptional. All over Greece catechetical schools have sprung up as it were overnight and multiplied with incredible rapidity, despite the lack of trained leaders. At Kilkis the metropolitan had the assistance of one priest-theologian. In the adjoining diocese of Siderokastro, where the bishop had only a seminary-trained preacher to help him, and where

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794 [162] [793] catechetical schools were in September, 1949, quite a recent innovation, membership of the schools, in a town considerably smaller than Kilkis, had already risen to 957 and was increasing rapidly. In and around Salonica the number of catechetical schools under the supervision of the Zoë Brotherhood rose from less than thirty in 1942 to 170 in 1949.

The catechetical school normally meets every Sunday, and the teaching is based on one of the two courses now in circulation—the first issued by the Zoë Brotherhood, the second (only recently published) by the official Home Mission. While the parallels with our own Sunday Schools and 'catechisms' are evident, these Greek schools have a character which is all their own. Particularly impressive is the stimulus which is given to the active apostolate of the laity. The children are from their earliest days encouraged to pull their weight in the life of the local *ekklesia*. At Verroia, in the spring of 1950, boys of nine were visiting the townsfolk and delivering letters from the *hierokeryx* of the metropolis. At Salonica, where the catechetical schools under the auspices of the Apostoliki Diakonia were normally directed by a student of the theological faculty of the university, the teacher would at the end of a lesson despatch his pupils, two by two, to call at the homes of any who through sickness or for some other cause had been unable to be present that day. When the defaulter was run to earth he would be given a brief *résumé* of the afternoon's lesson.

794 883 The catechetical schools form the base of an impressive structure still in process of creation. In describing the Christian youth movements that now flourish in almost every diocese of Greece I will start with those connected with the Zoë Brotherhood, which are the most important. The reader will recall that as early as 1877 Father Eusebius (then chaplain to the School of the Logos) was experimenting with small groups of young people and adults, and such *omades* have played an important part in the extension of his teaching and influence.

First, then, the movement known as *X.M.O.* (*Christianikai Mathetikai Omades*). This is made up of selected members of the catechetical schools between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Its members try to bring others to the catechetical schools, to spread sound sacramental teaching, to distribute Christian publications and generally to set a high standard of conduct by their example. Each group consists of from fifteen to twenty members, meets once or twice a week and is led by an undergraduate (at any rate in Athens and Salonica).

These student-leaders are drawn from another youth organisation

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known as the 'Christian Union of Students', or *X.Φ.E.* (*Christianiki Phoitetiki Enosis*), founded in 1933, membership of which is confined to undergraduates of the two universities. The movement is sub-divided into 'circles' which meet every week for Bible study. Members of this organisation often preach in village churches in the vicinity of Athens and Salonica, and teams of students undertake missions in the country dioceses. About 1946 there was created a further youth movement, the 'Christian Union of Young Workers' (*Christianiki Enosis Ergazomenon Neon*, or *X.E.E.N.*) This had spread to most of the chief towns of Greece within three years of its foundation and is growing fast. It is organised in factories and workshops much as *X.Φ.E.* in the universities, in 'circles'—one would be tempted to say 'cells' had the word not acquired associations which would be misleading in the present context. The age limits for this movement are seventeen to twenty-five. Many of its members are at present serving in the army.

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These three youth movements, *X.M.O.*, *X.Φ.E.*, and *X.E.E.N.*, are all under the direction of the Zoë Brotherhood. Amongst other organisations for young men and girls, too numerous to describe in detail, several demand special mention. I have already referred to the 'Christian Union of Young People' (*X.O.N.*) that flourishes in the Piraeus. From the movement of Father Angelos Nissiotes there has sprung up in recent years a 'Student Christian Association' which meets every week under the guidance of Professor Bratsiotes, for the study of the Bible. Membership of this extremely lively group is confined to university men and women: it includes some of the ablest of the younger theologians, and has taken the lead in co-operating with the Oecumenical Institute in Switzerland and with the World Student Christian Federation.

Other vigorous youth organisations are to be found attached to several parish churches in Athens—notably at the church of the Prophet Elias, Pankrati, where the then Archimandrite Timothy Matthaiakes (now assistant bishop of Salonica) built up an extremely interesting movement—while many a provincial town has become a centre for similar activities.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that membership of the voluntary movements is confined to young men and girls. Their scope is far wider. As a lay theologian of the Zoë Brotherhood once said to me, it is scarcely an exaggeration to claim that the various Christian unions now make provision for every man or woman from the cradle to the

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794 grave. Many of the youth movements have in fact sprung from older associations which were intended in the first place for adults. This was so in the case of the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica, for instance, and it was not until nearly twenty years after its foundation that Zoë turned its attention to the development of catechetical schools.

So far as Zoë organisations are concerned, the young man or woman who outgrows *X.Φ.E.* or *X.E.E.N.* may pass to one of the three movements known collectively as *Σ.X.Σ.* (*Synergazomena Christianika Somateia*) One of these is for parents, another for teachers. The third, the 'Christian Union of Scientists' (*X.E.E.*) founded in 1935, membership of which is open to all sorts of professional men, is of considerable importance. This is the movement responsible for the publication of the fortnightly [204] journal *Aktines*, and, moreover, for the remarkable volume entitled *Towards a Christian Civilisation* which was published in Greek and English in 1947. It is in Aktines circles that the pioneer labours of Makrakes and his associates who founded the Anaplasis movement have come to fruition.

Until quite recently *X.E.E.* was confined to Athens. Now, however, there is a lively branch in Salonica and little groups of professional men are being formed in many provincial towns of Greece. One such town, which I visited early in 1950, had a 'circle' whose members included the mayor, the doctor, the dentist, the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and two lawyers. All these would meet once a week, together with the preacher of the metropolis (a priest of the Zoë Brotherhood), to study the Bible and to discuss the bearing of their faith upon the life of their community. Such a movement abounds in promise. Not the least interesting feature of the Aktines wing of the Zoë organisation is the prominent part that many distinguished professors of the science faculties of the universities have played in the leadership of this Christian movement.

Apart from the Christianika Somateia there are several other movements which have grown up under the supervision of the Zoë Brotherhood: the home mission association known as *Apostolos Paulos*, which was founded three years before the death of Father Eusebius and has an admirable centre in the very heart of Athens; the *Eusebeia* sisterhood, which organises catechetical schools, trains certain of its members as nurses, and publishes a periodical for children. There are, besides, several educational establishments in Athens and the Piraeus, hostels for university students in Athens and Salonica, and a Young Workers'

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centre at Agrinion which includes an orphanage, a hospital (where the nurses are members of the Eusebeia sisterhood), and a group of workshops. All this has sprung from the little brotherhood which Father Eusebius gathered about him in 1907. 794

I have made no mention of many other voluntary movements which now flourish in Athens and its suburbs: movements like the 'Christian Corner', the 'Christian Social Union' and the association known as the 'Three Hierarchs'. All these were founded by lay people and have remained wholly lay in character. Their members include many distinguished men and women; their activities are both evangelistic and philanthropic.

No account of the evangelistic activity of recent years can ignore the part played by Christian literature, both periodicals and books. Almost every movement has at least one periodical of its own, and the circulation of these weekly and fortnightly papers is astonishingly large for a country where most of the inhabitants devote little time to reading, and where (even in the universities) oral instruction still predominates. The periodical *Zoë*, for example, which has been issued weekly since 1911, now has more than 100,000 subscribers. Several of the provincial movements publish excellent periodicals which circulate all over Greece; such for instance is the journal *Apolytrosis*, published every month by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Thessaloniki, which has a circulation of about 12,000 copies. The 'School of Christ' in the same city also publishes monthly papers, devoted to scriptural exegesis, which are used by many preachers. Both Zoë and the Christian Unions of Father Nissiotes publish periodicals for children. 284 794 [876]

In the field of book production, as elsewhere, the Zoë Brotherhood has led the way, and the exhibition held in Athens in January, 1950, was an impressive monument to the diligence with which the written word has been cultivated in recent years. Father Eusebius himself wrote many books during the last twenty years of his life, and his *magnum opus*, *The Destiny of Man*, has exercised untold influence. Amidst a wealth of books covering almost every field of Christian literature I would pay special tribute to the work of the brotherhood in publishing the text of the New Testament and the Septuagint in moderately-priced editions well printed on good paper. The Zoë pocket edition of the New Testament has had an enormous circulation. 214 794

Of liturgical reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary

788 Of liturgical
796 reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary
794 object is to enable the laity to participate more fully and intelligently
[783] in the eucharistic action, through more frequent communion (Father Eusebius was himself in the habit of celebrating daily), and through a greater 'openness' in the manner of celebrating the holy mysteries.
[214] In Athens and Salonica many people now follow the services in the little manual of the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas—the popularity of which may be judged by the fact that it had reached its fifth edition by 1950. In general, where the new movements have exercised an effective influence, a high standard of liturgical propriety prevails, though it must be confessed that certain musical innovations of recent years have been unfortunate, to say the least.

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793 All the movements of which I have been speaking have remained
797 quite unofficial in character, though they have always carried out their
[794] work with the blessing of the ecclesiastical authorities and under the general supervision of the local bishop. There has of late, however, been a development of a rather different nature, so important as to demand brief consideration. This is what amounts to the refounding of a body known as the 'Apostolic Diaconate of the Church of Greece', which came into being as long ago as 1930. I do not propose to dwell upon its fortunes prior to its virtual reconstitution: suffice it to say that although great potentialities were latent in this organisation from the outset, its actual activity during the first fifteen years of its life was on a very small scale. It is directed by a council of members of the Holy Synod and professors of the theological faculty of the University of Athens under the presidency of the Archbishop, with Professor Basil Vellas as general director.

The aim of this official organisation is to systematise and co-ordinate the many-sided missionary activity now being undertaken throughout the length and breadth of Greece. In addition to its headquarters at Moni Petraki in Athens it has a local office in every diocese, and is assured of a basis of material resources by a system of annual diocesan contributions.

The possibilities inherent in such a venture are without question very great, and already much has been accomplished. A theological
[874] hostel and a school for preachers and confessors have been established at Moni Petraki: the latter promises to be of the greatest service in the

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training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken 793
up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by 797
the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been [874]
particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up [213]
of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The [204]
official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for
the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press.

Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry [874]
out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just
outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses, [794]
a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university,
and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model
schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary move-
ments, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in
the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems [794]
probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish
in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home
Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material re-
sources.

In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, 794
the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now
has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the
movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of
the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and
tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood
could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and
its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary
people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still
young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the
growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed
with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder;
in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a
spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrakes rather than Father Eusebius.

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed [177]
somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of [532]
eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful tradi-
tions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of
feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin
Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most

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courageous example and one can only hope that the work of Photis Kontoglou, somewhat mannered though it is, may mark the beginnings of return to a tradition that had not wholly perished in the remoter provinces of Greece when the dominion of the Turk was overthrown. 794 [532] [177]

When all is said, however, the fact remains that the Zoë Brotherhood has, under God, been the most potent factor in the spiritual awakening of the Greek people during the last two generations, and the traveller who would form a just estimate of the present situation will, if he is wise, take the trouble to gain a first-hand acquaintance with the labours of this remarkable movement and to enter into its spirit before he pays heed to the strictures of its critics.

One can readily understand the desire of the ecclesiastical authorities to systematise and co-ordinate the evangelistic activity of the voluntary associations: even in reforming circles to-day one is frequently reminded of the saying 'every Greek a *kapetanios!*' It is, however, no less important to remember that the marvellous work of these unofficial bodies has sprung from the consecrated life and example of a handful of men who had given themselves wholly to God that His power might be manifested in them, and it may well be that the new Home Mission will have to learn by bitter experience the lesson that 'the victory of the width' is given only to those who have fought 'the battle of the depth' and have prevailed: the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ will not be brought about through legislation and centralised planning alone. 794 797

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XIII

TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY

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For a priest ought not only to be pure, as being honoured with so great a ministry. He should also be very intelligent, and experienced in many affairs, and even equally skilful in all secular business with those who are engaged in it, while he must yet be more entirely detached from the love of it than anchorites who resort to the mountains.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Let mariners learn astronomy; merchants' factors study arithmetic; surveyors get them geometry; spectacle-makers optic; landleapers geography; town-clerks rhetoric; what should he do with a spade, that hath no ground to dig; or they with learning that have no use of it?

ROBERT BURTON
The Anatomy of Melancholy

IN THE many-sided activity of the voluntary movements the parish clergy, with two or three distinguished exceptions, have as yet played little part. The whole weight of the burden has been borne by the laity and the celibate clergy. To-day, however, it is widely realised that the incalculable spiritual gains of the last two generations or so can be consolidated and made available for the whole of the Greek Church only through the patient labours of an enlightened and devoted parochial ministry: the function of the itinerant confessor, the lay theologian and the catechist is essentially complementary to that of the parish priest; it is upon the latter that the responsibility for the building up of the local church must ultimately rest. Hence the concern for the raising of the prevailing standards of clerical education which one finds among those who are most deeply concerned with the strengthening and purifying of Greek church life at the present time. 793 794

For it is not only in the westernised circles of Kolonaki and Kephissia that the word *papas* is liable to evoke a faintly contemptuous smile, nor is it the hostile critic of the Greek Church who most vehemently 793 871

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793 874 only one parish priest from each group of three inhabited villages to be away from his flock at any given time. In such circumstances it was not always possible for a priest to complete the full course at the seminary, and many had to be content with twelve months at Kozani.

Despite all these difficulties, however, the seminary had already, by the spring of 1950, established itself as a real centre of pastoral and liturgical teaching in the dioceses of western Macedonia, and its influence could be detected in several score of parishes dispersed throughout this barren region. In remote hamlets of northern Pindos, catechetical schools were flourishing for the first time under the direction of a priest trained at Kozani. The holy sacrifice was being offered week by week with renewed fervour in many a village church; and there were not a few country parsons (not all of them young men) who had gone back to their parishes after spending two years at the seminary with a quickened realisation of the high dignity of their calling.

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Not all the clergy, it is hardly necessary to add, are as yet fully convinced of the utility of the new training school. I well recall meeting one old gentleman who was highly indignant at his metropolitan's suggestion that he might profitably spend a year or two at Kozani, and who maintained with some heat that after thirty-three years in the sacred ministry he could learn only "from the Lord". There has been much hilarity in many a rural tavern that some grave *papas* should have been sent back to school for a couple of years. It will doubtless be a long time before these seminaries for parish clergy (which are still something of an innovation) win universal acceptance and approval, and it would be idle to pretend that they offer a wholly satisfactory solution to the problem of how best to train married priests not ordained till many years after they have completed their ordinary schooling.

The seminaries do, nevertheless, meet an urgent need, and it is to be hoped that they will exert an ever increasing influence upon the country dioceses of Greece, and will send forth into the villages a steady stream of true pastors—men who are not "witty, or learned, or eloquent, but *holy*"—for in Greece, as in other countries, that is perhaps the greatest need of all.

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[589] As I stressed in an earlier chapter, the Greek clergy fall into two sharply defined categories: on the one hand the married *papades*, on the

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793 schools is characterised for the most part by a somewhat arid academic-
874 ism. During the nineteenth century a theologian who went abroad for
177 post-graduate studies went almost as a matter of course to Germany; and, although this is no longer so, the shadow of Harnack still lies across the threshold of the theological school at Athens. "Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Halle, etc.", wrote Dr. Adrian Fortescue in 1907, "are full of Greek students, who with the versatility of their race, very soon learn to talk German perfectly, and to think and argue about theological questions like German higher critics!"

779 Greek academic theology, though distinguished by great technical
177 competence and erudition, and considerable familiarity with the critical work which one associates with the German schools of the latter
874 part of last century, is largely deficient in those qualities which have made the work of certain Russian theologians of the diaspora of such absorbing interest for the western Christian. The Greek theologian, while he has benefited incalculably by his scientific training in the schools of Germany, has scarcely as yet been forced back upon his own proper tradition by the pressure of an alien environment. With few exceptions, moreover, he is curiously out of touch with recent tendencies in western theological thinking: often he seems to be a generation behind the times, unaware that critical theories no longer hold the field in the schools of Paris and Oxford—not to mention Geneva.

How long this state of affairs will last it is difficult to say. The present isolation is not hard to understand if one takes into account the effect of the war years and the lack of contact—even on the intellectual level—between the Greek professors and those Roman Catholic scholars whose work has been so important for the west during the past decade, and whose exchanges with certain Russian theologians have proved so mutually rewarding. It may well be that the links now being forged between Athens and Paris—and in particular with the Russian Academy of St. Sergius—are of crucial importance for the future. At present, it must be confessed, the transition from the theological climate of Orthodox Paris to that of the Athenian schools is apt to be somewhat disappointing to the Frankish *theologos* to whom a first glimpse of the wholeness of Orthodoxy has come as the revelation of a long-forgotten realm. The theology of the schools seems to be earthbound and wholly academic: a theology of the manuals which bears little relation to holy living.

779 The theoretical character of much contemporary Greek theology has
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had regrettable consequences for the development of the new movements, with which the theological schools have, in general, little vital connexion—although more than one professor of the theological faculty at Athens has played an important rôle in their work and organisation. In many quarters—and especially, perhaps, within Zoë circles—a sense of the apparent irrelevance of this theoretical science to practical piety has given rise to an impatience with all theological questions. We must, it is said, be *practical*—and this theology of the schools is not practical; it is a theoretical science wholly unrelated to the urgent problems which are the daily concern of the preacher and the confessor. Such an attitude cannot but strike one as curiously out of place in an Orthodox *milieu* and is not without its dangers. 779 794 874

A few of the clergy go abroad to continue their studies after graduating from the Greek theological schools. Many a young layman is sent to western Europe or America for post-graduate study in the hope that upon his return to Greece he will offer himself for ordination; but a first acquaintance with ecclesiastical conditions very different from those to which he has been accustomed (particularly in the matter of the status of the married clergy and their field of activity) can easily have an unsettling effect upon the potential *despotes*, and it is not unknown for a young graduate, not conscious of a very definite call to the celibate life, to waver in his first resolve of becoming a priest, after two or three years in England or America. 793 177

Apart from the minority who go abroad after leaving the university, the celibate clergy normally pass immediately to an episcopal household without further study. Until quite recently there was nothing in Greece comparable to the English theological college. Since the war, however, there has been opened in Athens an establishment which approximates in some measure to the English institution. This is the 'School for Preachers' which is housed in the hostel of the Apostoliki Diakonia: a fine modern building occupying two sides of the quadrangle at Moni Petraki and overlooking the garden of the British School of Archaeology. Though completed some years ago, it was long requisitioned as a military hospital, and it was not until the early part of 1950 that the whole building was made available to the Church. 793 874 [346] [722]

The School for Preachers provides a two-year course of study (primarily of a pastoral character) for men who have already graduated from the theological school of the university. In 1950 a considerable [794]

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number of the students were experienced preachers and confessors from the provinces, but in the years to come they will normally consist in the main of young graduates of the theological school. The primary aim of this school is to equip priests (and lay theologians) for work in the dioceses, and it promises to be of the greatest service to the Church of Greece.

The same building serves as a hostel for theological students who live at some distance from Athens and who would otherwise be dispersed in lodgings (though some find a home in one of the hostels of the Zoë Brotherhood). All the inhabitants—theological students as well as those belonging to the School for Preachers—share a common life, with morning and evening prayers, and meals taken together in the refectory on the coenobitic pattern. Now that the theological faculty of the university is attracting students from Ethiopia and America, as well as from the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, and the Apostoliki Diakonia is offering generous hospitality to occasional Frankish visitors and a student or two from the Russian Academy in Paris, this community is fast acquiring an oecumenical character such as belonged to Halki in the day of its fame.

793 874 [177]

The theological faculty at Salonica, as I mentioned earlier, is of recent foundation. Despite the difficulties of the times, however, it is now in full vigour and holds out very great promise to the sorely-tried and understaffed dioceses of northern Greece. It is greatly to be hoped that it will prove possible before long to set up at Salonica an institution similar to that now flourishing in Athens, and combining the functions of a post-graduate theological college and a hostel for theological students from the outlying provinces. Many of these students at present have some difficulty in maintaining themselves for the period of their studies, and comparatively few can be accommodated in the new hostel of the Zoë Brotherhood or in the little hostel maintained for several years in the face of tremendous material difficulties by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica.

793 369 [783]

At present there is an acute shortage of educated clergy in these the more remote provinces of Greece. Few dioceses have more than one priest-theologian and in some *eparchiai* the metropolitan is single-handed. In such circumstances preaching and the mystery of penance are inevitably much neglected. Not a few amongst the bishops of these northern dioceses are advocates of some kind of 'direction' of the educated clergy which would counteract the prevailing current which

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sweeps away so inordinate a number of archimandrites to Athens and its suburbs, leaving the mountain dioceses wretchedly short of trained theologians. 793 369

It is interesting to note that the present Archbishop of Athens has recently been moved by the continuing shortage of clergy of all classes in the outlying districts of Greece to conscript from amongst the clergy of the Athens-Piraeus area a 'Sacred Company', consisting of fifty archimandrites, for a 'Spiritual Campaign' (*Pneumatikē Ekstrateia*) of a month's duration and covering the dioceses of Didymoteichon, Maroneia (Comotini), Drama, Serres, Siderokastro, Kilkis, Verroia, Edessa, Florina, Kastoria, Grevena and Naupaktos: 393 parishes in these dioceses were without a priest in September, 1951. It may well be that similar campaigns, and perhaps some kind of clerical conscription of a more permanent character, will be forced upon the Church if many of her children are not to be left without adequate spiritual guidance.

It is perhaps needless to add that the reader would be greatly deceived if he should suppose for one moment that Athens and its suburbs afford a refuge for idle drones of archimandrites who have from time to time to be dragged forth from their retreats by a stern archbishop, and packed off to the barren mountain dioceses of Macedonia for a month's hard work. Nothing could be farther from the truth: were there three times the present number of educated clergy in the Athens-Piraeus area there would yet be urgent tasks left undone for want of priests capable of tackling them. The Athenian archimandrite is the busiest of men, constantly in demand, not merely to serve on committees, but for preaching and confessing and real spiritual work.

In the country dioceses, nevertheless, the present situation is still more serious; the shortage of educated clergy is even more acute. True, the position is slightly better now than it was in 1949, when many a diocesan *hierokēryx* was somehow contriving to combine his already arduous duties with those of an army chaplain, and others had had to abandon their dioceses for a time in order to minister to isolated mountain outposts, but it remains sufficiently disturbing. Many a provincial 'saint' is acutely conscious of vital work still neglected, which could be undertaken could he but command the services of a single priest-theologian. [722]

The Metropolitan of Kilkis, for example, charged with the care of 140 scattered communities, had only one priest qualified to assist him in the work of preaching and confessing the people; a priest already [794]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 burdened with the spiritual care of more than 2,000 children belonging
369 to the newly organised Christian Unions of the diocese and a score of
isolated garrisons, yet contriving somehow to find time to train a group
[794] of young men and women to take charge of the village catechetical
schools when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes.

Is it any wonder that in such circumstances the shepherd of one of these mountain flocks will sometimes persuade himself that the populous cities of the south have more than their rightful share of the educated clergy, and picture them as a pleasant haven from the chill blasts that sweep his own desolate pastures; a place where university men "tarry out their time, wither away as a flower ungathered in a garden, and are never used; or, as so many candles, illuminate themselves alone, obscuring one another's light . . . the least of which, translated to a dark room, or to some country benefice, where it might shine apart, would give a fair light and be seen over all."

793 Much will depend upon the success of the strenuous efforts now being
871 made to raise the prevailing standards of education among the country
369 clergy and to increase the number of priest-theologians available for
work in urban parishes and as assistants to the provincial metropolitans. So far as the village clergy are concerned, the lower seminaries do, on the whole, meet the needs of the present situation tolerably well. The system whereby the pastor of a small rural community is normally chosen by the village elders ensures that the mountain *papas* is a man of good character and reputation, often the natural leader of the community. The Greek country parson has little need of book-learning, and a lengthy academic training would be wasted upon him.

793 With the parish clergy of the towns the position is less satisfactory.
369 The urban parish priest does not always command that universal respect
and affection normally enjoyed by his rural colleague. This is not to say
[554] that the clergy of the towns are credited with any of the more spectacular
vices. The Greek bishop is not compelled to exercise an unsleeping vigilance to ensure that his priests and deacons do not "being drunk bellow in the streets; or what is worse, in their drink whoop and hollow in the church; or read the church service in a double tone . . . that their upper dress though plain be clean, and not one black and another red; that they walk not in a dronish lazy manner, nor lie down to sleep in the streets; nor tipple in brandy houses and alehouses, nor boast the strength of their heads in drinking at entertainments." Such deplorable failings (though apparently regrettably prevalent in the Russia of Peter the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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Great) cannot be said to characterise the Greek clergy of the present day. 793

It is, however, frequently asserted that the town clergy are for the most part ill-educated, worldly, idle, more concerned with fees than with spiritual things; and, while there are, happily, many and notable exceptions to such generalisations, it must be confessed that there is some truth in these charges. The education of many of the urban pastors is woefully inadequate, and a lamentably small proportion of those educated in the ecclesiastical schools—and to whom, one might suppose, the Church would turn in recruiting her ministry for the urban parishes—seem ready to offer themselves for ordination. 369 [871]

This leakage is in part explained by the late canonical age for ordination, but the reluctance of many well-educated men to become parish priests is also due in no small measure to the precarious economic situation of the clergy. "Our diocese", a Greek bishop wrote to me in 1949, "lacks educated clergy . . . no eagerness is to be observed on the part of the laity to attain to the priestly office, on account of the poor, indeed ridiculous stipend which is at present paid to the clergy." Other causes of this lack of eagerness may be discerned in the style of dress, the untrimmed hair and beard, and general manner of life which custom continues to demand of the clergy (and which are often thoroughly distasteful to the young graduate of the ecclesiastical school), as well as in the abundant opportunities open to the lay theologian. It is, perhaps, hardly surprising that the provision of educated priests to serve in the urban parishes of Greece is a matter which in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities is of absolutely primary importance at the present time, and which is receiving the most serious consideration. [465] [178] [794]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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795 Greek is as yet only beginning to awake to the full significance of the discovery, and it may well be some years before Athens and Salonica are in a position to make that contribution to the life and thought of Christendom as a whole of which they are potentially capable. Yet from out of the depths of suffering and desolation there has come the rebirth of a Christian nation. The Church of Greece has emerged from her fiery trial purified, and conscious, as perhaps never before, of her mission. What may be the ultimate consequences of such a regeneration none can say: the possibilities are infinite.

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[214] [794] In June, 1948, on the festival of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece published a stencilled typescript of a draft entitled *Towards a Christian Civilisation*—since issued in book form by the Damascus Press. These pages, as the authors remarked in the original preface to the work, came from a country wherein the agitation, the uncertainty and sometimes the agony of the world had been concentrated; from a land often referred to by her friends as "this unhappy country". And yet, they went on, "we know that our happiness (or unhappiness) depends not on the outcome of external political events, but on whether the Christian and spiritual foundations of our life are firmly established or not". Their voice, they concluded, was not the despairing voice of a nation crying out to the world: *morituri te salutamus*; rather it was that of a people who, even from the depth of their present agony, sought to echo our Lord's words: "If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death." That is the spirit that is abroad in Greece to-day.

795 796 If I were asked for a single picture to epitomise the present state of the Greek Church, I would turn once more to the Macedonian township of Edessa, set amidst streams and cherry orchards on the summit of the cliff that bars the way from Salonica to the frontier metropolis of Florina. In the early hours of the morning of the feast of the Epiphany in the year 1949, while the Metropolitan of Edessa and Pella, the Lord Panteleimon, with his deacon, Father Gabriel, two or three refugee monks, his mother, the boys from the orphanage and a handful of lay people, were singing the long vigil-service in the chapel of the metropolis, this already battered town was attacked by a Communist force. By dawn the place was encircled.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing 275
backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in [275]
a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [576]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really pro- [521]
vides the village women with a meeting place where they may [794]
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

/31 cont./ 275
where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political 517
leaders meet their followers.

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government [208]
employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house [203]
where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission.

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people 794
directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, 869
and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole 872
family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child
follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through [796]
its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings
up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/
learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or
that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its
religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend
church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such [796]
holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance
of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their 782
Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other 776
sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as 795
his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to
special designated saints whom they think are able to help them.
For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage
and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For
travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to
St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line.
It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as [771]
Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They
take their religion seriously and believe in it completely.

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop 793
is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the 782
priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the repre- [776]
sentative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God.
Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters 869
as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places.

/80 cont./ 346
their humble houses and subsistence level of living the people like 778
to build beautiful churches with high steeples and decorate them
/81/ with as many ikons and church bells they can. The people [316]
of Megali Vrisi not being satisfied with the structure of the present
church have already quarried stone from the nearby hills for their
future church structure. When the farmers were notified to offer [794]
personal work for the church they did it without complaint.

The people look up to the church as an institution which gives 771
them hope and courage in times of disappointment and discourage-
ment. Once a year a confession is made in the church in front [783]
of the ikons and the priest. People tell of their bad acts and
forgive those that caused them trouble. All wedding ceremonies, [796]
baptisms and name day celebrations take place in the church.

Attendance. Women and children attend the church regular- 794
ly. The men are rather irregular in their attendance. This is not 796
due to their negligence nor to their failure to respect the church,
but is due to the long church services that last for three hours.
The people get tired of going to the church. Most attend the last
part of the services. In spite of the variety of music and cere-
monial activities, the church is losing /82/ attendance. Men
like to know what they hear in the church, and since it is all
abstract to them they prefer to stay out and send their wives and
children.

With the increase of modern scientific beliefs by the farmers,
the church will be forced to change its course and adopt itself
to the new social changes.

The membership is obligatory. Every one born in the village 794
becomes a member. It is not necessary to keep in books the
names of the members since the whole population of the village
naturally belongs to the church.

Contributions. Every family has to contribute for the support
of the priest and for the upkeep of the church. This contribution
is paid in kind. Besides this the church has voluntary donations [769]
by people whose prayers are answered, and by others for the

/82 cont./
peaceful rest of their dead. They donate to the church either money or wheat. On St. Nicolas day, the people from remote villages bring either a chicken, a pig, a cow, a calf, a sheep, or a goat to the church as a present. Numerous animals are lined in the yard of the church which are sold in auction the same day. /83/ Every Sunday morning at the church service a tray is passed to the people for contributions. The selling of candles brings an appreciable amount of money. The church has its fields which are either worked or hired to others to swell the income of the church. 794 [769] [437] [427]

Part VIII Living Together.

Mutual aid. Both groups, the Thracians and the Caucasians, before settling in this village had a civilization of their own. The isolation of the Caucasians in the interior part of mountainous Caucasus has developed a unique type of civilization mostly built around their community life. Here they had the compound type of family organized under the direct rule of the oldest in the family. In spite of the large number in the family the work was divided every day among all. Every one did his best with no complaint. The men gave blind obedience to the head of the family and the women to the mother. The obedience was so strict that misunderstanding would seldom occur. Every one was specialized in his or her own work. All buying and selling was done by the head of the family. No one could smoke, speak, nor could sit by the head of the family unless told to do so. A strictly military type of rules were observed. The father decided the marriage age of his son and this usually would coincide with the need of more labor in the family. Sometimes /84/ the need for labor was so great that the age of 15 was thought practical to give the solution for extra labor. The grandma was responsible for the education of the children either in household work or school work. The children call their mother by her first name and instead, call the grandma, mother. 621 596

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

796 527

796 794 [356] [526] [535] [437] [787] [782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness.

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[3]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[3] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter. 582 [178] [608]

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies: 581 779 795 584 585

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon. 779
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown. [301]
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life. [273]
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9] [788]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10] 585

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the [587]

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although a rare Puritan strain appears now and then, Greek religion is also supposed to be fun, as any attendance at a religious festival will show. In fact, most religious occasions provide an excuse for merriment, even during the ceremonies. To the uninitiated such behavior borders on the irreverent, but the Greek might well argue that joy and even levity should prove as pleasing to God as assumed sorrow or feigned piety. Indeed, festivals are as old as Greek religion itself, with each carrying its own sacramental message to be expressed in dance as well as in formal liturgy. But religious expression is not confined to formal occasions; it permeates the daily life of the people, as we shall see. 771

Orthodoxy and Greekness

To start any discussion of religion and the Greek peasant, it is necessary to state clearly and unequivocally that adherence to the official religion of Greece, the Greek Orthodox Church, is tantamount to being Greek. Only 2 to 3 percent of the population of the country are not members of the Orthodox Church. Though those comprising this small fraction may have political citizenship, may speak the Greek tongue, and may take pride in the legacy of ancient Greece, they are at best suspect Greeks if they do not nominally at least belong to the Orthodox Church. 771 795 619 162

But what is the syncretism that is called Orthodoxy? This question can be answered on at least two levels: first, that of the peasant and, second, that of the educated Greek. To the peasant, the coming of Christianity did not mean an important break with many of his previous practices, beliefs, and even deities. What were formerly deities became saints, with some of the more powerful deities becoming identified with the most powerful saints, such as the Holy Virgin. It seemed perfectly fitting and not at all surprising to find an old, old church dedicated to St. Theodore in the southern Peloponnesos, two of whose columns were from an ancient pre-Christian temple standing on their original pediments. Many scholars have described in considerable detail various aspects of this easy transition from pagan to Christian worship.[1] William Miller, a keen student of Greek life, has pointed out that the saints play a very important part in Greek life: their functions and names often prove that they are the legitimate descendants of the old Greek gods, the new religion having been grafted on to the old. He indicates that Helios, the sun god, has been succeeded by the Prophet Elias (Elijah), whose chapels crown almost every eminence in Greece; the Virgin has replaced Athena Parthenos, and the Parthenon in the Middle Ages was the Church of St. Mary, whether as a Greek Cathedral or as a Latin minster; St. Dionysios has dethroned Dionysis; St. George and the Dragon are the Christian version of Theseus and the Minotaur, so that the Theseum naturally became in Christian times the Church of St. George.[2] 795 184 776 [346]

Marcu Beza, who describes many pagan survivals with Christian names 795 184

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

795 184 which are found throughout the Balkans, speaks of the rich texture of Christianity there, which came to the Balkan nations in the shape of Byzantine Orthodoxy and which meant a particular culture, comprising art, literature, and theology, in the service of the Church.[3]

One has only to review the brief description of the peasant and nature or the peasant approach to sickness and child care in earlier chapters to see how lively is the environment for any peasant who believes in the Evil Eye or the omens of spiders, birds in flight, or the hooting of an owl.[4] The peasant, instead of being made over into some sort of revolutionary Christian image, was able to take early Christianity and make it over into the even earlier Greek image. That is what survives in rural Greece today.

The educated Greek went through almost the same process, but on a much more sophisticated level. Instead of equating the sun god with St. Elijah, he equated Platonic teachings with the doctrines of St. Paul. Thanassis Aghnides sets forth this theme:

> As regards religious life, let us not forget that the New Testament was written in Greek, and most of the principles of Christianity are loans from Greek moral philosophy. Plato's ideas could find no better means of diffusion in the world than the New Testament.
>
> Thus a Greek never feels that the Christian religion is a Jewish gift to the world. When he reads the New Testament he is reminded of the highest precepts of the Greek classical period. Here again the modern Greek is not very conscious of the lines of demarcation between the high precepts of Christianity, and, let us say, those of Socrates. The latter's principles and those of the Galilean are derived from the same source. The modern Greek is confusedly aware of this. He may not say it in as many words but he feels the modern ethical standards of the Christian world as being part and parcel of his own heritage from his classical ancestors.[5]

In support of this point of view among the peasants, I can mention the consternation shown by some Greek village women when, for the first time, they learned that Christ was a Jew. They had always assumed that he was Greek and would not believe otherwise until they had gone to check with the priest.

795 619 659 Orthodoxy and Greekness are tied in together not only because of the continuity between ancient traditions and Christian doctrine; the Orthodox Church was also the vehicle through which Greekness was preserved under alien conquerors. Church and politics went hand in hand. The Greek Orthodox Church, which was the basic institution of the Byzantine Empire, continues as such within the modern Greek nation, and contemporary Greeks, like the Byzantines, find it hard to accept political ideas which do not assume the complete unification of church and state. Today the church is still an integral part of the Greek government, its affairs administered [793] within the Ministry of Education and Religion, the salaries of the clergy

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

paid by the state as civil servants, and religious belief a part of national patriotism. Nothing really fundamental can be done in the nation down to the smallest commune without clerical interest and participation. This is not written law, but deep-seated custom.[6]

Greeks view contemporary events in terms of their own adaptation of New Testament teachings and claim that the Greek nation, though it has suffered many "Golgothas," has recovered from these disasters to experience a "resurrection" each time.[7] Such comparisons with the life and sufferings of Christ are also intelligible to the Greek peasant, who has little difficulty in identifying them with the sufferings of Greece through which the rest of the world will be saved. Greeks give episodes in Greek history, such as their defeat of the Italians in World War II and their fighting back the spread of Communism in postwar years, a political-religious interpretation highly charged with emotion because these touch upon what is sacred in the Greek national tradition — the unique contribution Greece has over and over again made to the preservation of Western civilization through the frequent ordeals she has endured.

The Village Priest and His Parish

An American walking down the street with a Greek friend is usually surprised when the Greek hits him on the shoulder and says, "I give you the priest." This act supposedly transfers to someone else the misfortune that might follow from meeting the *papas*, or priest, who passes dressed in his flowing black robes and his tall stovepipe brimless hat, and wearing a handsome black beard and his long hair neatly done up into a bun. Should he be accompanied by a woman, she is probably his wife, for in the Greek Orthodox Church there are both married and unmarried priests. The married priests can take the ordination vows after marriage, but no priest can marry after ordination. The married priests are usually the parish priests, and it is rare to find the village priest unmarried. On the other hand, the unmarried priest, recruited among the monks, can alone rise to high administrative positions in the church. He may, for instance, be a bishop over one of the sixty-seven dioceses or, if properly qualified, eventually be one of the twelve bishops comprising the Holy Synod which guides the church under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Athens, the actual head of the church. The Patriarch of Constantinople at Istanbul is the titular head, but this is more of a traditional and honorary office, since the Metropolitan is looked upon as the chief functionary. In Greece the king has no authority over the church.

In the village the parish priest, married as he is, settles down, digs his roots in deeply, so to speak. He knows that he has no opportunity for advancement in the church hierarchy; so there is no need for him to spend his time "politicking" for appointment to some choice position in the church

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will
[777] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest."[11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires
[754] was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, con-
794 sisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-
[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other
788 Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending cannot help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross,
[346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome repre-
[778] senting heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*),
[562] which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congregate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

 166

land directly supports boys who live in towns both during their years in school 369
and until they find a job. The possible importance of this for the urban economy 428
of Greece will be discussed again in connection with dower wealth that is trans- 511
ferred to the cities.

Dowering the Daughter

182
The dowry shall be discussed first as the social mechanism by which 583
daughters inherit property at marriage, and second as a mechanism for social [584]
mobility. In Vasilika, parents are obligated to arrange marriages for their children, and with few exceptions they do so. They most frequently look for spouses 582
outside of the village. They expect that a girl will leave the village to live with [591]
her husband and that a farming son will bring his wife to Vasilika to live with him (technically, patrilocal residence). In Vasilika, when the villagers speak of the engagement of a man or a woman, they say, "He (she) has become engaged in Mirali;" or in Sfaka, or in Athens, or in whatever village or town the prospective spouse comes from. They explain the prevalence of exogamy, to which the phrase just quoted gives linguistic expression, by saying that it is too difficult to find, inside Vasilika, anyone who is sufficiently distantly related to be eligible for marriage.

The custom of the village prohibits marriage between relatives on 582
both the mother's and father's side to the degree of third cousin. In a village 621
with a total population of 216, in which there are six sets of adult brothers and one group of three men whose fathers were brothers, there will certainly be limits to the number of boys and girls eligible to marry each other. The number of families connected by kin ties in the village is even larger, however, because in each generation there are some marriages that do take place among fellow villagers and this, of course, relates some of the village's children to each other through their mother's line, even if their fathers have no paternal relatives in Vasilika. Kinship connections are further extended within the village by the [608]
ceremonial kinship ties of godparenthood. On the ground that any godparental [795]
relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned but both their elementary families into close kin relations, the Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between the two families to the same degree that would be necessary if they were consanguineal; that is, blood relatives.

When a daughter is to be married, the father of the girl is believed to 584
have ultimate responsibility for giving the dowry. However, the brothers' inter- [583]
ests are involved, the mother is deeply concerned about the future of her daughter, and certainly the girl herself wants to know something about her prospects. In the informal discussions that go on within the family, everyone participates and expresses his point of view. The father alone, however, has the formal responsibility for conducting the negotiations, which are always carried on with the aid of a *proksenitis* or *proksinitra* (marriage intermediary). In the Boeotian countryside, this person (either a man or a woman) is a friend or relative, either

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

596 ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the
594 principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is
178 one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

428 The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children
583 of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of
182 a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation
[594] and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system
[421] cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

602 The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as
428 inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some
425 further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally in-
[613] herited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with
[583] certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move
[582] down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic
[671] advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357)
[795] prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between
[611] cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

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II

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SOME UNFAMILIAR PERSPECTIVES

"And who", quoth the Patriarch . . . "Who is the Archbishop of Canterbury?"
"What?" said I, a little astonished at the question.
"Who", said he, "is this Archbishop?"
"Why, the Archbishop of Canterbury."
"Archbishop of *what*?" said the Patriarch.
"Canterbury", said I.
"Oh", said the Patriarch. "Ah! Yes! and who is he?"

THE HON. ROBERT CURZON, JR.
Visits to Monasteries in the Levant, London, 1849

•795

THE western Christian who would enter with understanding into the spirit of the Greek Church must be prepared to approach with a certain childlike simplicity a strange world that will not be forced into the mould of familiar categories; a world in which traditional western controversies become meaningless, where the Pope is regarded as the arch-Protestant and the Christian Scientist as an eccentric Roman Catholic.

What is the western Christian to make of a Church, so manifestly conservative and hierarchical in its whole ordering, which yet accords to the laity so prominent—even, some might say, obtrusive—a place in its public worship; in which laymen preach and teach while the clergy meekly attend; a Church which detects in the western Protestant's refusal to use incense a sign of popery; which honours the monastic vocation and refuses to tolerate the unmarried parish priest? What of the Greek country parson: a peasant-farmer, unlettered and, by western standards, virtually untrained, administering the *mysteries* of initiation and communion in his village church and labouring at his patch of stony ground, the servant of the community?

[793] Let the western Christian see something of the liturgical life of the Greek Church, and he will tell you of gorgeous pageantry and ceremonial and of services which never end; of bishops and metropolitans in

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jewelled mitres and vestments of gold, assisted by priests and deacons whose "Garments and Accoutrements", in the words of a seventeenth-century divine, "are very Glorious and different"; of richly decorated churches where lamps burn day and night before the eikons of the saints. But let him go also to a house which stands beside the great basilica of St. Demetrius at Salonica and he will find himself in a gathering of students and professional men, the atmosphere of which recalls a nonconformist prayer-meeting; and to the adjoining hall where children shout the vernacular hymns of the catechetical schools, or where a young woman expounds a chapter of the Greek New Testament to an audience of housewives.

Christendom and the course of church history take on a very different aspect when one's vantage point lies to the eastward of the Adriatic: whether it be Constantinople or Jerusalem, Mount Athos or Alexandria. For the Greek Christian the visible fold of the Church is made up of the four ancient patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, together with the patriarchate of Moscow and certain autocephalous churches. Beyond the frontiers of the Orthodox Church all is obscure and uncertain: to be committed to the boundless mercy of God, and approached (when circumstances require it) with wariness and circumspection. "As for the English Liturgy", runs the *Answer of the Orthodox of the East to the proposals sent from Britain for an union and agreement with the Oriental Church*, "we are unacquainted with it, having never either seen or read it; but we have some suspicion of it, because many and various Heresies, Schisms and Sects have arisen up in those parts, lest the hereticks should have introduced into it any corruption or deviation from the right Faith. Upon this account it is necessary we should both see and read it. . . ."

Within this outer darkness of heresy and schism the Greek is not given to nice distinctions, and strange confusions, baffling to the western mind, are common. A friend of mine was catechised at some length as to who it was who commemorated the Pope in the liturgy, by an old monk of Athos who was equally prepared to attribute this weighty offence to the Lutherans or to the Methodists! The persisting error of the patriarch of the west is seen in the same light as those of the reformers, as a hankering after innovation and new-fangled ways:

> Some time since [write the eastern patriarchs to "the Remnant of Primitive Piety"] the Pope of Rome, being deceived by the

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malice of the Devil and falling into strange novel doctrines, revolted from the unity of the Holy Church, and was cut off; and is now like a tattered rag of the sail of the spiritual vessel of the Church, which formerly consisted and was made up of five parts, four of which continue in the same state of unity and concord, and by these we easily and calmly sail through the ocean of this life, and without difficulty pass over the waves of heresy till we arrive within the haven of salvation. But he who is the fifth part, being separated from the entire sail . . . is unable to perform his voyage, and therefore we behold him at a distance, tossed with constant waves and tempest till he return to our catholic, apostolic, oriental and immaculate faith, and be reinstated in the sail from whence he was torn off: for this will make him secure and able to weather the spiritual storms and tempests that beset him. . . .

Gregory, by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Oecumenical Patriarch, writes on September 26th, 1869, to "the most holy Archbishop, the Metropolitan of Canterbury, and Exarch of the Christians of the Anglican Confession in Great Britain, the Lord Archibald Campbell," to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the English Book of Common Prayer which that dignitary had caused to be sent him. After having examined the said book to "ascertain how far it inclines to or diverges from genuine evangelical and catholic teaching" the Patriarch reluctantly confesses that it contains statements which appear "to savour too much of novelty"; these statements, he concludes, "throw us into suspense, so that we doubt what we are to judge of the rule of Anglican orthodoxy".

These passages are characteristic of the Greek view of Christendom. While the Orthodox Church faithfully preserves the tradition of the undivided Church—"neither adding anything, or taking anything from it"—the western world, encouraged by the evil example of its chief bishop, has confounded the faith once delivered to the saints with "strange, novel doctrines", the fruit of human reasoning; and when holy tradition has once been set at naught there can be no certainty and no "right worship": the saving truth of God is henceforth mingled with the vain imaginings of sinful men.

[123] In the spring of 1950 I made an expedition to the westward of Siatista with a small escort of local militia. The leader of the party questioned me as to the state of Christianity in England.

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SOME UNFAMILIAR PERSPECTIVES

"The English," he demanded, "are Catholics?" 795

"No," said I, "though there is in England a Catholic minority far larger than in Greece." 798

"The English are *diamartyromenoi* (Protestants), then?"

"Indeed, no," said I, knowing something of the associations of the term for the Greek mind; "the English are not Protestants."

The *kapetanios* was perplexed; and then, after a moment's reflection he suddenly exclaimed with enormous satisfaction:

"So, then, the English are simple Christians!"

Needless to say, where the prevailing ignorance is so abysmal much can depend—for good or ill—upon chance encounters and odd scraps of information. There are those whose knowledge of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* would seem to be limited to the fact that she is divided as irrevocably as Caesar's Gaul into three parts, high, low and broad: though the significance of these mysterious divisions eludes their comprehension. Others know her only through the widely publicised activities of certain of the more idiorrhythmic of her dignitaries. Occasionally, however, a happier encounter affords the suspicious Greek ecclesiastic a glimpse of something which he can recognise as familiar amid the obscurity in which the west is veiled: which may even prompt him to inform his wondering flock, when he preaches to them the following Sunday, that in the mysterious providence of the *Pantocrator*, though all the territories of the patriarch of the west have fallen into heresy, some remnant of primitive orthodoxy has been preserved in those islands whence came Byron and Codrington and the *Kyrios* Churchill.

It was my custom when travelling in Greece to carry with me several copies of a Greek translation of the Scottish Communion Office. The recipients of this work included the abbot of a certain monastery, whose hospitality I had enjoyed: a rigorist who regarded all that lay beyond the pale of Orthodox Christendom as unrelieved darkness and heresy. It was some months before I stayed at the monastery again, and my visit coincided with a festival. After the liturgy the abbot invited several of those who had been present in church to the guest-chamber, where coffee and cognac were served by a deacon. The inevitable catechism ensued: 123 795 798

"The *Kyrios* is not a Greek?"

"No, he is a stranger."

"From what country?"

"He comes from England."

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

123 "Ah! from England."
795 "Yes, he is a *theologos* from Oxford."
798 "He is Orthodox?"

At this point another of the visitors, a high-school teacher from Cyprus, rashly asserted in a loud voice that the English were all Luthero-Calvinists. "It is evident, Sir Professor," said the abbot, "that you are ill-informed in regard to the belief of the English Christians. *I*, however, have closely studied the liturgy of the British nation which, it is beyond doubt, is no other than that of St. James, the Lord's brother. The Christians who have such a liturgy are evidently orthodox in faith, even though their canonical status, owing to their remoteness and isolation, is somewhat irregular."

795 It is perhaps only fair to add that other travellers have on occasion
798 met with a less encouraging response to their efforts to diffuse a more exact knowledge of our own liturgical life. Dr. Hunt, for example, who visited Mount Athos at the end of the eighteenth century, and who relates that: "In conversation with their prelates and well educated caloyers [from *kalogeros*—literally, 'good old man'—a common word for a monk], I so often found what I judged to be religious moderation, that I was once induced to show them a Greek version of the English liturgy; but when they saw that we kept Easter at the time fixed by the Gregorian or Romish calendar, and that we laid down no precise rules about the mode of fasting . . . I saw such a disposition for controversy arise, that I ever afterwards abstained from all allusion to similar subjects." Times have changed but little on the holy mountain, and the traveller may still encounter monks who, when topics such as fasting on Saturday are in question, will yield nothing in polemical ardour to the most celebrated patterns of orthodoxy who flourished in Byzantine days.

795 Now it is surely evident that the Greek Christian's conception of Christendom differs radically from any that prevails in the west: not least from that of the English churchman who, if he looks beyond the bounds of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, finds his view blocked by the leviathan of Old Rome on the one hand and Protestant Nonconformity on the other. All that the Greek has in mind when he speaks of the Church lies unseen and forgotten beneath the horizon of this shrunken world. Vanished is that more spacious Christendom wherein the one faith was confessed and the one eucharist offered from Malabar to the misty

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shores of Albion and the territories of the "pope of another world". 795 ●
For the Greek, as for the western Christian, the horizon has contracted, and it is only by a considerable effort of the imagination that we can hope to comprehend an outlook that is unfamiliar to the point of fantasy.

One is sometimes asked what are the main points of difference between eastern and western Christendom, in terms which make it quite clear that one's questioner is thinking of particular doctrinal propositions. It can hardly be too strongly emphasised, however, that the manifest cleavage which now exists between the Orthodox and other Christians is less a matter of disagreement on specific issues than of two widely divergent attitudes and approaches. This is not to deny the reality and importance of certain dogmatic questions (such as that concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, for example), but merely to assert that it is not there that the primary differences are to be sought. The truth of this contention is borne out by certain recent developments in western Europe, where the influence of what is commonly known as the liturgical movement has brought about in some very diverse quarters a radically changed attitude toward the Christian mystery: an attitude which—though there is nothing peculiarly *eastern* about it—has at times seemed to come very close to that which has ever been characteristic of the Orthodox world. Where this change of attitude has shown itself it has gone far towards creating a genuine *rapprochement* between theologians of east and west: much farther, I would add, than any amount of discussion of specific points of doctrine where no such common approach exists.

A generation of ecumenical conversation has revealed something of the difficulties of discussion amongst western Christians of different traditions: yet in the west, at least, most of the basic assumptions are held in common. Some affirm and some deny but all set out from the same premises—all speak what is virtually the same language. The crucial difficulty in relations between the Orthodox and western Christians lies in the decay of a common tongue. As the Russian lay theologian A. S. Khomiakov puts it: "All Protestants are crypto-papists . . . all the west knows but one datum *a*; whether it be preceded by the positive sign +, as with the Romanists, or with the negative — as with the Protestants, the *a* remains the same. . . . A passage to Orthodoxy is a rushing into a new and unknown world."

It is significant that it is the restoration of the liturgy to its rightful [788]

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place in the Church's life which, more than anything else, has brought about a partial reassertion of orthodoxy in the west during recent years, for orthodoxy is not so much a matter of 'right opinion' as of 'right worship'. The surest path to a real understanding of the Orthodox Church is through her liturgical life. There is, with all its naivety, much to be learned from the legend, which has come down to us in a mediaeval Russian chronicle, concerning the envoys of the Prince of Kiev. That monarch, so the story runs, wishing to make Christianity the religion of his people but doubtful as to which of its several forms was authentic, sent envoys to distant lands that they might judge for themselves. The envoys went first to the heretical Bulgars. They observed the way in which the people worshipped; how they bowed themselves to the ground and gazed hither and thither like men possessed. But, alas! "There is no joy among them," they reported upon their return to Kiev, "but only sadness and a frightful smell!" Next, they visited the Germans; but the worship of Latin Christendom left them unmoved. Thence, however, they journeyed to Byzantium, and were present at the divine liturgy of our father among the saints, John Chrysostom, in the great church of the holy wisdom; and there, they afterwards related, "we did not know if we were on earth or in heaven; for there is no such splendour to be found anywhere upon earth. Describe it we cannot: we know only that it is there that God dwells among men."

For the Greek Christian, as for the Russian, the humblest village church is always *heaven upon earth*: the place where men and women, according to their capacity and desire, are caught up into the adoring worship of the redeemed cosmos; where dogmas are no barren abstractions but hymns of exulting praise, and the saving acts of the divine compassion—the cross, the tomb, the resurrection on the third day and the ascension into the heavenly places—are made present and actual through the operation of the Holy Spirit who "ever was, and is and shall be; having neither beginning nor ending, but for ever joined to and numbered with the Father and the Son . . . through whom the Father is known, and the Son is glorified, and by all acknowledged, one power, one worship and one order of the Holy Trinity."

It is important to grasp this essentially liturgical approach, for it provides the key to much else; to the Greek Christian's understanding of scripture, to personal piety, and to the preservation of the faith during the centuries of oppression. Orthodox Christendom has never undergone

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an upheaval comparable to that which shattered the unity of the western world in the sixteenth century, not on account of the glacier of Turkish dominion which descended upon it a hundred years earlier, but because it had never known that separation of theology and mysticism, liturgy and personal devotion, which—when all is said as to the influence of political and economic factors—is required to explain the all-engulfing cataclysm of the Reformation.

In the next chapter I propose to consider certain features of the long history of the Greek Church in so far as they exercise a lively influence upon the contemporary scene; for in Greece it is peculiarly difficult to disentangle past and present, and historical memory is remarkably tenacious. In the remotest mountain villages of Epirus or the Peloponnese one may meet with small children who do not merely know far more about Lord Byron than one can reasonably expect of the majority of his countrymen—*that*, after a little time in Greece, one takes for granted—but who can sometimes relate strange apocryphal stories of Admiral Codrington or Sir Richard Church; and, in the imagination of the monks of Athos, Pope Innocent III occupies a position similar to that which Oliver Cromwell holds amongst the peasant farmers of Ireland.

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THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught.

ST. PAUL to the church in Thessalonica

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178 IT IS no use beginning one's study of that in many ways anachronistic, yet persistently lively institution, the Church of England, at the sixteenth century: not so can one hope to comprehend the anomalies of her parochial organisation and system of patronage, or to fathom the element of uncertainty that attaches to every archdeacon's prospects
[793] of eternal felicity. No more can the student of the Greek Church expect to enter into the spirit of this venerable institution if he looks no farther than the reading of the *Synodical Tome* whereby, in the year 1850, her autocephalous status was first accorded official recognition.

795 One cannot spend many hours in Greece without being struck by the
178 extraordinary continuity of her history. The girl who shepherds one through the customs at the airport may well rejoice in the name of
551 Andromache or Ismene; it is startling to hear a ragged stevedore, one of "that unpolished plebeian race always employed in the hardest labours of the ports and which in every country represents the least noble aspect of a people", being hailed by a passing boatman at the Piraeus as Menelaus or Agamemnon. The traveller arriving at nightfall in a mountain village of Thessaly or the Peloponnese is questioned in terms which have scarcely altered since the prince of swineherds examined the re urned Odysseus: "Who are you and whence do you come? What is your city and your family? Aboard what vessel came you to Ithaca?" New Demetrius often proves to be but old Demeter, and in the country dioceses there linger on observances of immemorial antiquity: local rites connected with birth and death which carry one back to an age infinitely remote from the Lord's coming in human flesh.

178 Though the Greek that is heard to-day in the streets of Athens is
197 scarcely that of Aristotle or Pericles, the continuity of language is

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nevertheless sufficiently striking. A Russian professor, a theologian of the diaspora, once described to me the overwhelming impression that this had made upon him when he first visited Greece in the 'twenties. He had travelled by train from Paris, and at the Greek frontier a *douanier* boarded the train to greet him and his companion with the very salutation wherewith the risen Lord had greeted His wondering disciples on the first Easter morning. Two days later the Metropolitan of Salonica had turned to him during the course of a conference with the invitation: "The *logos* is with the *kyrios!*" 178 197

The present Metropolitan of Salonica, the Lord Panteleimon, like his brethren at Corinth, Verroia and elsewhere, traces his succession in an unbroken line to the first *episkopos* of the church founded by the apostle of the Gentiles. Though the ancient Neapolis is now Cavalla, and Philippi has dwindled to a straggling line of cottages clinging to the hillside above the ruins of the Roman city, the local bishop retains the style of 'Metropolitan of Philippi and Neapolis'. There, as at Corinth, at Verroia and at Salonica, St. Paul's letters have been read in the churches for 1,900 years in their original Greek. To this day the Greek schoolboy hears the Gospels read at the liturgy in the language in which they were written. 178 793 795 178 788 795 198

The liturgy itself has undergone but little change for the best part of 1,500 years: the present Metropolitan of Salonica calls upon God to change the bread and wine at the eucharist in the very words used by his fifth-century predecessors in this apostolic see. The deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation in the basilica of St. Demetrius, and summons the catechumens to withdraw before the solemn recitation of the creed, employs formulas which were already traditional long before this great church was first erected.

The Greek Christian still stands to pray, and the ancient canons expressly prohibiting kneeling on the Lord's day (which is the day of the resurrection) and during the period from Easter to Pentecost are carefully observed (witness the controversy recently provoked by the custom, which has grown up within the new movements, of the laity kneeling at the invocation of the Holy Spirit). He still brings his bread and wine to church for the eucharistic offering. To this very day, between Easter and Pentecost, all other greetings give place to the triumphant *Christos anesti!* Christ is risen! and the reply, *Verily He is risen!* As recently as Dr. Covel's day this salutation was accompanied by a mutual embrace: "on meeting another," says the Doctor, "they 178 788 795 178 795 576

THE WATERS OF MARAH

178 795 576 Embrace one another, and join mutually the side of the Mouth or Cheek to the other . . . and since the Resurrection of Christ is the Miracle of Miracles, and the main Pillar of our Christian Faith and Hope, I am much perswaded that this might be the very manner and way of giving the Holy Kiss amongst the Primitive Christians."

178 795 788 [771] Nor is all this a matter of mere outward forms. Through all the vicissitudes of her history the Greek Church has been enabled to preserve something of the very spirit of the first age of Christianity. Her liturgy still enshrines that element of sheer joy in the resurrection of the Lord that we find in so many of the early Christian writings. The spirit of the ancient fathers of the Church lives on in the liturgy and in the piety of the ordinary Greek Christian. To enter into the spirit of the eastern liturgies is to comprehend as is possible in no other way the characteristic notes of Orthodox spirituality.

This is true above all of the liturgy of Holy Week and Eastertide; here one is perhaps most acutely conscious of the revolution that has been wrought in post-mediaeval western piety. It is a far cry from the Byzantine liturgy of the holy passion to that preoccupation with the sufferings of Christ with which we are familiar. Even in the darkness of the holy and great Friday the note of joy is sounded; the narrative of the passion is interspersed with the divine praises: it is the record of the triumph of the King, and Christ the Victor reigns in royal purple from His throne on Calvary.

[539]

To-day is hanged upon the Tree
He who hanged the earth free in the midst of the waters.
A crown of thorns crowns Him who is King of the angels.
He who wraps the heavens in clouds
    is wrapt about with the purple of mockery;
He who freed Adam in Jordan
    is smote with hands;
He who is the Bridegroom of the Church
    is transfixed with nails;
He who is the Son of the Virgin
    is pierced with a spear.
We worship Thy Passion, O Christ;
Show us also Thy glorious Resurrection!

[771] It is because her life is rooted so completely in the liturgy that the

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Orthodox Church has been able to preserve in all its integrity the faith once delivered to the saints. Ecclesiastical organisation has never in eastern Christendom been looked upon as having an importance such as, at any rate from the eleventh century onwards, it assumed in the west. Provided only that he is free to participate fully in the liturgical life of his local church, the Greek or Russian Christian is prepared to sit curiously lightly to matters of jurisdiction and the machinery of ecclesiastical government and administration. Even when, as in the U.S.S.R. to-day, the Church is subject to every imaginable restriction save this bare permission to celebrate the divine mysteries, she can yet contrive to hold fast to her traditions with a tenacity which must often strike the western Christian as little short of miraculous: "the stable perseverance in these our days of the *Greek* Church", wrote Rycaut in the seventeenth century, "notwithstanding the Oppression and Contempt put upon it by the *Turk* . . . is a Confirmation no less convincing than the Miracles and Power which attended its first beginnings."

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So, throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Greek Church held fast the traditions which enshrined the saving truths of the divine economy. The Gospel was preached less by means of homilies and sermons than through the regular cycle of feast and fast; though Christian schools were maintained, often with great heroism in the face of overwhelming difficulties, the children of Hellas relied even more upon the visible catechism of the Church's liturgy. So it was that the faith was preserved as a royal treasure: the life of the mystical body burned on in secret, though the royal priesthood might be "expelled their Churches and those converted into Moschs; the Mysteries of the Altar conceal'd in secret and dark places . . ."

It is in remote townships like Kastoria that one can best enter into the spirit of the Greek Church under the Turkish yoke. To the traveller who approaches the ancient city of Diocletian from the southward there is little to suggest the presence of some seventy-two churches. Kastoria reveals its secrets only to those who are prepared to spend several days scrambling up and down the stony paths below the nineteenth-century metropolis, where tiny churches are set obscurely amidst the high, fortress-like domestic architecture of a later age. A great number of these churches date from Byzantine days, for from about the seventh century onwards this mountain township served as a place of exile for many whose presence at Constantinople was, for one reason or another, considered undesirable. Many more were built during the

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178 centuries of Turkish dominion. Outwardly they are scarcely dis-
795 tinguishable from the cottages which surround them: only the shallow
346 apse at the east end proclaims the church.

Within, however, one finds oneself in another world. Walls un-
[532] pierced by windows are covered with paintings which set forth the whole story of creation and redemption. Patriarchs and prophets mingle with the saints of the new dispensation; Elias is caught up to heaven in a chariot of fire and Jonah goes down to the bottoms of the mountains with the weeds wrapped about his head; those whose names are honoured throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, Athanasius, Basil and Gregory the Divine, rub shoulders with local saints like St. George of Iannina and the Neo-Martyrs; the Lord Christ is baptised in Jordan, He changes the water into wine and reigns in triumph from the tree of Calvary; the Holy Spirit descends in tongues of fire upon the apostles. Here in these little chapels—"rather like Vaults or Sepulchres than Churches, having their Roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgency of structure should be accused for triumph of Religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the *Mahometan* Moschs"—the mysterious life of the local church was nourished throughout the dark days of oppression; the saints which were in Kastoria, like their brethren at Thessalonica, obeyed the apostolic injunction to hold fast the traditions which they had been taught.

178 Not infrequently, it must be confessed, zeal for the preservation of
795 the faith in the midst of an alien environment gave rise to a certain
788 lack of discrimination. The pure gold of the apostolic tradition has not been handed down from generation to generation without gathering to
771 itself certain accretions of doubtful worth, and the simple Christian is not always able to distinguish the one from the other or prepared even to admit the possibility of such intermingling.

> This Reverence to the Church [observes one of the old writers] produces a firm belief and strict adherence to the Articles of it, and to all the Ceremonies and matters the most minute and indifferent, not suffering the least change or alteration in them. For although they are sensible (as many of their Priests have confessed to me) of the inconvenient length of their Liturgies . . . and of many superstitious Customs and Ceremonies derived to them from the times of *Gentilism*, which are now ingrafted into, and as it were grown up

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> with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

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The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaioemerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

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Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places?

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The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness (already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

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the effect of the Turkish dominion was to foster—perhaps to excess—an attitude which was already discernible in Byzantine days and which always made for a certain liveliness in ecclesiastical affairs.

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During the last few years it has been becoming increasingly clear that the episode which may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to as '1054 and all that' has gained a far more important place in our text-books of European history than it justly merits. No longer is it possible to regard the schism of Cerularius as marking the decisive breach between eastern Christendom and the west. A date which seemed to hold out to the struggling schoolboy a refuge no less secure than that of the Conqueror's triumph at Hastings has been swept away, to leave him floundering in the troubled waters of speculation and surmise. But whatever the immediate causes of the disastrous breach which was to divide Christendom into warring factions, and which underlies all our western divisions, there can be little question that far the greatest factor in the hardening of the schism was the invasion of the Levant by the crusading Franks, the sack of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. These unhappy events made an impression upon the Greek mind that the passing of eight centuries has not effaced.

The legend of Frankish aggression—unhistorical and confused though it be—lives on in our own day especially amongst the monks. Pope Innocent III, Michael Palaeologus, the Patriarch Bekkos, the Catalans who established themselves in the Kassandra peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Pope Eugenius IV, who flourished more than a century later, are all confounded in a wild farrago of monkish imagination and prejudice. The Pope, attended by Frankish soldiers and executioners, presides over the martyrdom of the twenty-six monks of Zographou, and terrible stories are still to be heard on the holy mountain of the gruesome fate that befell the renegade monks who took part in the Latin mass at the Lavra. In a painting at the Serbian convent of Chilandari the Pope appears in the company of Mahomet and the arch-heretic Arius, and the earth opens and swallows them up together.

The traveller in monastic Greece must not, therefore, be surprised to find that an unwary allusion to the Pope can still conjure up in the imagination of a Greek monk a nightmare figure far surpassing the inventions of the most rabid Protestant. I recall one such reference to

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the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism. 795 798 173 [797]

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate. 619 795 178

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles 619 795 722

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of valour, worthy of comparison with the greatest exploits of the heroes of antiquity, during that bitter winter when the Italian army was pushed steadily back towards the sea across the snowy heights of Albania. The war against the Communists partook of the nature of a conscious defence of a Christian civilisation against the "Accursed of God". Not least in the new movements, piety and patriotism are inseparably linked—even though I have never seen in a house of the Zoë Brotherhood paintings of the *Averoff* with her attendant ironclads steaming to the relief of the holy mountain, such as commonly adorn the guest-rooms of Greek monasteries.

This identity of Church and State has, it need hardly be said, certain weaknesses; the Church has not, for example, always enjoyed that measure of freedom in the election of her hierarchs that most people would consider desirable (there have been several deplorable examples of the intrusion of political considerations into episcopal appointments within the last generation). The decisions of the Holy Synod have to be ratified by the State, and a lay procurator sits with the bishops on the *hierarchia*. These, however, are but trifling disadvantages as compared with the opportunities afforded by the profound associations that bind the Church to every department of Greek life, and which give to the nation-wide revival of the last few years such boundless potentialities for good.

Though the Greek Church has held fast the traditions committed to her charge, the guardians of these traditions have been as men only dimly aware of the nature of the treasure entrusted to their keeping: conscious only of its infinite worth and of the duty of passing it on intact and undiminished to those who followed in their steps. Now, it seems, the guardians are beginning to realise something of the true character of the royal treasure that they have watched over so faithfully these many centuries. The younger Greek theologians, like their brethren of the diaspora, are rediscovering their proper tradition and are filled with wonder at its richness and splendour. The possibilities latent in this reawakening are infinite. As yet (so far as Greece is concerned), it has scarcely begun. There can, however, be little question that the growing self-awareness found to-day amongst Orthodox theologians, the first fruits of which have already been gathered in Paris, is of incalculable importance not for the Orthodox world alone, but for Christendom as a whole.

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369 Thus, despite a certain drift from the villages to the towns during the last few years, the average Greek is still a countryman. Even the Athenian, if one delves into his personal history, is generally found to have his roots in some mountain village of the Peloponnese or in one of the islands. The generality of the Greek bishops are charged with the pastoral care of a flock dispersed in village communities among the mountains; a single market town or *comopolis* forming the centre of the ecclesiastical as of the civil administration.

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The Church of Greece, from the point of view of outward organisation, consists of sixty-seven dioceses: thirty-four belonging to Old Greece and the remainder to the territories annexed to the Greek kingdom after the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the first world war. These latter dioceses, though formally subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, are at present placed under that of the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy, which is presided over by the Archbishop of Athens and of all Greece. This body, which is made up of the metropolitans of the sixty-seven dioceses, assembles every three years and may be summoned on other occasions if need arise. Extraordinary business apart, however, the affairs of the Church are administered by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, which is composed of twelve bishops under the presidency of the Archbishop. All the bishops are called in turn to serve on this body, and during the greater part of their year as *synodikoi* (which normally recurs about once every five years), they reside in Athens, going home to their dioceses only during the heat of the summer and for the great festivals.

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In Greece the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church has not been replaced by 'the Churches'. According to the figures of the 1940 census, out of a total population of 7,344,860 persons, no less than 7,090,192 were Orthodox, while the non-Orthodox Christians amounted to a bare 51,851. This small minority consists of Roman Catholics and a few so-called 'evangelicals' who came to Greece in the early 'twenties from Asia Minor and owe their origin to the proselytising zeal of American missionaries. All of them are confined to the islands and to a few towns on the mainland: in the country districts a Dissenter would be a curiosity indeed.

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The Greek diocese is, by English standards, very small and sparsely populated; in some respects more akin to a rural deanery than to our overgrown dioceses. Its average population—if we leave on one side the

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Athens-Piraeus region—is no more than about 85,000 souls. In terms of parishes there is considerable disparity between different dioceses: that of Ioannina, in Epirus, one of the largest, includes 230 parishes—many of them mere hamlets of forty or fifty families—while that of Nevrokopi, on the frontier of eastern Macedonia, has only fifteen. The average number is rather less than 100. If we take the twenty-four dioceses of Macedonia and Thrace, for example, we find that the average works out at seventy-eight parishes to the diocese, while the metropolitans of Philippi and Neapolis, Xanthi, Nevrokopi, Eleftheroupolis, Nea Zichni, Alexandroupolis and Hierissos all have less than sixty communities committed to their care, and only five bishops—the metropolitans of Salonica, Drama, Kilkis, Serres and Florina—more than 100.

As against this comparatively low average population and number of parishes one has, of course, to set in the balance the extremely primitive nature of the communications which the Greek bishop can command. To this day the majority of the villages of northern Greece are inaccessible to wheeled transport, at any rate during the winter months; and while the truly remarkable achievements of the last few years—the repair of the shattered railways, and the construction of roads and air-strips—have given Greece a very fair system of long-distance communications, the facilities which most bishops enjoy for travel within their own dioceses remain much as they have been since apostolic days. The metropolitan of a country diocese will think nothing of long journeys by mule or mountain pony across appallingly difficult terrain, his episcopal vestments slung from the high wooden saddle; of fording torrents swollen by the melting snows, and negotiating precipitous slopes where the path seems scarcely to afford adequate foothold for a goat—much less for an elderly ecclesiastic. It is little wonder that many mountain villages saw their father in God but seldom, even in the days before the natural hazards which confronted the traveller had been supplemented by mines and wandering bands of *katsapliades*, as the Communists were styled in the villages.

When we turn to the internal organisation of the dioceses we find many features which cannot but seem strange to most western Christians. We have come to take for granted the fact that a bishop, charged with the pastoral care of a vast and unmanageable diocese, inevitably delegates most of his priestly functions to his parish clergy. In the small country dioceses of Greece, however, the bishop retains a far greater measure of

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793 direct personal responsibility, and delegates comparatively little to his
[795] curates. The ministry of the word, for example, is always the work of the bishop: the most that the parish priest is permitted to do is to read a homily sent him by his diocesan. In some dioceses the metropolitan alone preaches, and the country people hear sermons only when he is
793 able to visit their villages. As a rule, however, the bishop will be assisted by a *hierokryx* or 'sacred herald'—'preacher' seems a miserably inadequate
794 translation of such a splendid word—who is normally a priest-monk (though he may sometimes be a lay theologian), and lives in the metropolis. Often, too, the bishop and his *hierokryx* will be assisted by several lay preachers who go out into the villages Sunday by Sunday to preach at the liturgy.

Thus, at Siderokastro (the 'Iron Castle'), close to the Bulgarian frontier, the Metropolitan, the Lord Basil, finding himself, when the refugees began to return to their villages in the summer of 1949, with only one priest qualified to assist him in the ministry of the word, formed a little society of lay preachers known as the Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment, which included the headmaster of the local high school and one of his assistant masters, as well as the doctor and the dentist of the town and two or three other educated laymen, several of whom now go out to preach in the surrounding villages every Sunday.

A friend who visited the diocese of Chalkis during the 'thirties has told me of the ancient Fiat which used to leave the metropolis at daybreak every Sunday and scatter monkish theologians among the hamlets of Euboea. At Kozani, in western Macedonia, no sooner were the roads reasonably clear of mines in the summer of 1949 than the Metropolitan started to send out every Saturday afternoon an army truck laden with young catechists who would spend the week-end preaching and teaching in remote villages of the diocese and return to their work or their school on Monday morning.

793 What is true of preaching applies also to the sacrament of penance;
783 it is to the bishop, not to his parish priest, that the villager who is oppressed with the consciousness of grave sin will turn for the benefits of absolution and ghostly counsel. The Greek priest is not allowed to act as a confessor without the express authorisation of his bishop. "As for Confession", says Covel, "it is not to be made to every ordinary Priest, but only to such Confessors . . . who are chosen out of monasteries, and are solemnly appointed and authorised to this Office . . . so that a regular or secular Priest not thus qualified, durst not attempt to

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793 peasant farmer who cultivates his land like all his parishioners, and who
[463] exercises a ministry which is almost wholly liturgical in character. His ecclesiastical duties are limited in practice to administering the mysteries of baptism and the holy chrism; to marrying and burying, and offering week by week the unbloody sacrifice; to singing the divine office; to memorial services, blessings of homes and crops and sundry other objects, and to an occasional exorcism.

793 The parish priest *must* be married and at least thirty years of age, and the most that he can hope for in the way of preferment is a slight
465 increase in his basic stipend if he is able to spend a year or two at one
[874] of the seminaries (*phrontisteria*) for parish clergy. This basic wage—which is supplemented by fees and offerings in kind, as well as by the
[589] fruit of the country parson's agricultural and other labours—is miserable enough. It was only in 1949 raised to 250,000 drachmas (the equivalent of less than six pounds sterling) a month: a pair of boots then cost about 70,000 drachmas and a pig perhaps 300,000. In such circumstances the support of a large family leaves little margin for luxuries, even when harvests are good and life runs smoothly and securely. Unsatisfactory as the economic position of the village *papas* remains, it is considerably better than it was fifty years ago. Until 1909 the parish priest was entirely dependent upon the fees of his parishioners and the labour of
[659] his own hands. The provision of a regular stipend—inadequate as this may seem—was only made possible by the creation of a General
792 Ecclesiastical Fund deriving its income from confiscated monastic
[423] property and lands; and while the anti-monastic legislation of recent years has aroused considerable resentment among the monks themselves, there can be little doubt that the redistribution of wealth which it has involved has been of incalculable benefit to the Church as a whole.

793 Even in the towns the scope of the activities of the married clergy is strictly limited. There are a few married priests in Athens engaged in
[795] work of a type generally reserved for the monastic clergy; one of them, who presides over the press and information office of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* (the Home Mission of the Church of Greece) and has a son and a daughter who are both students of the theological faculty of the university, bears the title of *protopresbyter*—though this is rare in Greece.
[589] There are certain indications that the number of educated married clergy may before very long increase considerably; this has already happened among the Russians of the diaspora and elsewhere in the Orthodox world. It is, of course, from the celibate clergy that the bishops

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are chosen. Before presenting himself to a bishop the candidate for ordination must decide finally and irrevocably to what state of life he is called, since marriage is not permitted after ordination. This rule, as will appear when we come to consider the training of the Greek clergy, gives rise to many grave practical problems. 793 589

Such then, very briefly, is the framework of the diocesan and parochial organisation. The married clergy, "in parishes, residing on their cures", form a distinct class with well-defined duties and limitations peculiar to their condition; while the general administration of the diocese, the ministries of preaching and confessing, together with the organisation of the catechetical schools and Christian Unions which have become so important an element in the pattern of Greek church life within the last few years, are the immediate responsibility of the metropolitan assisted by his headquarters staff of monks and lay theologians. [794] [795]

The Greek bishop is still in a very real sense the *persona* of his diocese: the natural leader of the whole community in matters temporal as well as spiritual. Not for nothing is he commonly referred to as ὁ Δεσπότης, 'the Despot'. During the Turkish occupation the power of the bishop within his own diocese was all but unbounded, and as he had formerly mediated between his people and the Turkish authorities so, more recently, it was he who commonly bore the heaviest burden of responsibility during the occupation of Greece by the Axis troops. Archbishop Damaskinos was called to play, on a wider stage and before a larger audience, it is true, a part which was being sustained no less faithfully, albeit more obscurely, by many of his brethren in the provincial towns of Greece during the years from 1941 to 1945. Though times have changed since the day when the people of Salonica overthrew the minarets of the fleeing oppressor with such patriotic and religious ardour that many casualties were caused by the falling masonry, the Greek bishop still maintains a style befitting his position. The metropolis (where it has survived the destruction of the war years) is generally amongst the most impressive and substantial structures of a provincial town, and though the bishop is readily accessible to all and sundry, he nevertheless bears himself with considerable dignity. When he walks abroad, carrying a silver-headed staff and accompanied by a deacon, the people draw aside to let him pass, bowing their heads and putting off their caps. The faithful who come to the metropolis—whether they be peasants from some nearby hamlet or senior army officers from the 793 [554] [648] [722] [346] [293] [576]

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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

793
When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver- 788
headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral
church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that [346]
surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all [346]
who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's 262
cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of 785
the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. [485]
I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis.

The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a 796
quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel
in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of 793
Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After 795 ●
the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its 648
villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
[162] about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
722 whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
166 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward. When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away, which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become
[493] evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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727 foreign occupation and armed sedition, that it is possible to grasp the
794 full significance of the spiritual ferment which marked these ten years, or to understand the magnitude of the task which the Church faces at the present time. For this reason I make no apology for dwelling at some length on the extent of the all-engulfing catastrophe which overwhelmed the Greek nation from the time of the Italian invasion of 1940 down to the decisive defeat of the Communists in the campaigns of 1949.

722 Much has already been written concerning the sufferings of the
727 people of Greece during these terrible years: about the horrors of the occupation, the burning and pillage of undefended villages, the famine which carried off more than 300,000 men, women and children, and the multitude of the homeless approaching in number the population of Athens and the Piraeus. Long before the end of the struggle with the Communists was in sight the destruction had become so manifest, so universal, that after a time one no longer marvelled. One came to accept the long lines of shattered rolling-stock stretching westwards from the walls of Salonica across the plain towards the muddy waters of the Vardar; the rusting carriages which lay strewn around the fair shores of Salamis. It was impossible to travel for any distance without encountering a dynamited bridge, a recently filled mine-crater, or the blackened ruins of an abandoned village. Every town of northern Greece was crowded with refugees, and even the suburbs of Salonica were liable to nocturnal bombardment.

722 Little attention, however, has as yet been given to the effect of ten
727 years of all but unbroken warfare upon the life of the Church: to the breakdown of normal parochial organisation over large tracts of country
● 795 for two or three years at a stretch, in consequence of the flight of the
[793] clergy together with their people from the villages; to the slaughter of the country parsons, and the destruction and looting of countless churches and monasteries which were to create such insuperable problems when the time came for the refugees to return to their homes; to the fate of those dioceses which were occupied by the Bulgars, who attempted to eradicate every trace of 'Hellenism' from those areas of eastern Macedonia and Thrace which fell to their lot; where the Greek bishops and their clergy were supplanted by Bulgars, the Greek service-books burned; where the very saints were de-Hellenised and had their names repainted in Slavonic characters. All who were able to do so fled from this region and took refuge in Salonica or in other towns to the west of the river Strymon, though some 40,000 were massacred. In the

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diocese of Drama no less than forty of the 112 parish churches were burned down, as well as the monastery of Eikosiphoinisses. 722 727

Elsewhere in Greece, and particularly in those areas traversed by important lines of communication, the number of the homeless mounted steadily as guerilla activity drew savage reprisals upon the villages. One had only to spend a few days in the mountains which lie to the westward of the Thessalian township of Kalambaka, for example, to see something of the effect of these reprisal raids. Church after church was gutted: mere empty shells with fragments of ancient paintings clinging to the tottering walls. In this diocese of Trikka and Staghi alone, twenty-four village churches were completely destroyed during the occupation and many others more or less seriously damaged. Nor did the towns escape the flood of destruction: Edessa, for example, which was set on fire by the Germans on September 12th, 1944, and where five churches perished in the ensuing conflagration, or Iannitsa which suffered a like fate two days later; Larissa, which had scarcely recovered from an earthquake when it was bombed by the Italians, and Kerkyra where more than sixty per cent. of the buildings were destroyed or damaged. 795

After the occupying troops had withdrawn from Greece in the autumn of 1944 and the Communist sedition had met with its first reverse, there ensued a period of comparative tranquillity. The refugees returned to their villages and some progress was made in repairing the damage wrought during the years of occupation. But a greater trial was still to come. From the autumn of 1946 onwards the full violence of the armed sedition which had slowly been gathering its energies since its temporary set-back of December, 1944, was let loose upon the country dioceses. It was utterly out of question for the Greek army, even with the assistance of the gendarmerie and the local militia, to garrison hundreds of isolated hamlets lying in mountainous districts where communications were of the most rudimentary kind. The defence of the northern frontiers presented problems enough and to spare. It was not long, therefore, before the country people were forced to flee from their lands and homes and to seek refuge in those centres which possessed a garrison. Large areas of northern and central Greece were soon abandoned to the roving Communist bands. 722 727 669

Some of the refugees found their way to Athens and Salonica, but the majority crowded with their surviving animals and such few possessions as they had been able to carry with them in their flight into 722 362

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A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION 793

"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen." 798

But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands. 722 793

It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation. 722 727 795 669 [619]

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

727 By the summer of 1950 it had become possible to gain some notion
795 of the full extent of the material destruction which the Church had sustained since the beginning of the war; although with large tracts of northern Greece uninhabited until a few months before, the compiling of accurate statistics—never a simple matter—presented problems such as only one who had been in Greece during the last few years could hope to appreciate fully. I have already referred to the wholesale destruction of churches and monasteries. This, though serious enough, was perhaps most easily remedied. I remember one bishop who chuckled inordinately when I questioned him on this subject; "All that is necessary", he assured me, "is that I should go in person to the village with a spade and set to work, and then: *Panaghia!* in no time at all the whole village will turn out and a new church will be built before one can say a *kathisma* of psalms!"

More serious, perhaps, and not confined to those villages where the fabric of the church had been demolished, was the acute shortage of liturgical books, chalices, vestments, and other accessories of worship which could not be supplied from local resources. The dearth of
[213] service-books, in particular, was occasioning widespread difficulty. Old Venetian editions had been brought in from long-abandoned monasteries and remote hill-top chapels which had escaped pillage—though the antique characters in which many of them were printed, while intelligible enough to the experienced monk, made it difficult for the average *papas* (to say nothing of the village choir) to read the service with any facility.

727 I remarked in an earlier chapter that the metropolis is as a rule one
793 of the most impressive and substantial buildings of a provincial town. In 1950, however, several bishops were homeless. The Metropolitan
346 of Grevena was living in lodgings, having one room for his personal use and another which served as the diocesan office; the Lord Agathangellos of Nevrokopi was living in the most apostolic simplicity in two barely furnished rooms; nor, amongst the provincial 'saints', were such cases exceptional.

727 Faced by a catastrophe so complete and overwhelming, the first
794 concern of the Church was to try to meet the urgent demand for the bare necessities of life: for food, clothing and shelter. Everywhere the response was the same: orphanages, homes for refugee children, centres for the distribution of food and clothing, clinics and hospitals, were

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727 to permit the monks and nuns—who had taken refuge in the town of
794 Edessa—to return to their respective convents. A fourth orphanage
[792] was established a few miles away at Iannitsa.'

So, all over Greece, there was heroic improvisation in the face of overwhelming material need; and, as at Edessa and Siderokastro, so in many another provincial town from the Peloponnese to the remotest fringes of northern Epirus and Thrace, the courage and initiative of the local 'despot' were factors of incalculable importance.

727 And yet, as I emphasised at the beginning of this chapter, pre-
794 occupation with the material needs of her children did not cause the
793 Church to neglect their spiritual welfare. The feeding and clothing of the homeless and the destitute, the distribution of soup and the creation of hospitals and orphanages, went hand in hand with the preaching of the Gospel. The Metropolitan of Siderokastro was not content with his hospital, his P.I.K.P.A. centres and his school of housekeeping. Even while the issue of the long struggle with the Communists was yet in the balance—and the Bulgarian frontier lies barely ten miles to the northward of the town—the Lord Basil was organising his "Guardians of Spiritual Enlightenment" and pressing ahead with the construction of a *Christianiki Estia*: a building comprising a large hall, library, class-rooms and offices, which should serve as a centre for the already vigorous Christian youth movements of the diocese and for training catechists and preachers. He needed, as every bishop did, cassocks for his clergy, food and clothing and medical supplies for his stricken people; but he was anxious above all to obtain Greek New Testaments for his catechetical schools, and a duplicator which would enable him to send a weekly sermon to every village *papas* in the diocese.

795 So it was elsewhere. Nothing that I saw in Greece impressed me more deeply than the fact that it was so often in precisely those districts where suffering had been most acute, where destruction and devastation were most evident, that the life of the Church seemed to burn most brightly. Suffering and desolation, which in a people less profoundly Christian than the Greeks might have brought forth nothing more creative than despair, have in Greece borne precious fruit. Deprived of all worldly security and riches, the Church has been forced back upon the Rock whereon she is founded; has learned anew that there can be no resurrection apart from the cross—the instrument of shameful death which is yet the throne of the victor. Through prolonged suffering she has

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come to know in her own life the truth of the apostle's words: "as having nothing, and yet possessing all things".

The notion of the kingdom of Christ which conceives of its coming in terms of the progressive and manifest overthrow of the powers of evil within this present world, and in the establishment of an earthly paradise, finds little support either in the New Testament or in the experience of the Church. The mystery of the redemptive work of Christ in His members cannot be measured in terms of worldly progress or success. The restoration of man to paradise is through incorporation in the humanity of the second Adam, in whom mankind, shattered and disintegrated by the fall, finds a new unity. For fallen man glory and humiliation are inextricably mingled, and every road that leads back to paradise, no matter whence it come, must pass through Calvary. Death and corruption have themselves become the way towards eternal life and the glory of the heavenly Sion, for the King of kings has united to Himself that humanity which in Adam fell beneath the dominion of Satan, and through death has overthrown death. But as in His own ineffable humiliation the royal purple was also the vesture of the servant, so likewise in His life in the members of His body, the glory and the strength are veiled and hid from the world's eyes: are revealed only to those who have themselves been baptised into the life-giving death of the incarnate Son of God; who have undergone that initiation which is already the beginning of our resurrection—the way out from the labyrinth of death, to use the expression of one of the Greek fathers.

One of the plainest lessons which history can teach us is that the Church thrives not on what the world accounts success, but on persecution and affliction. It is in the fires of tribulation and when the powers of evil are most nakedly manifested that her true glory shines most brightly—though the world discern it not. So it was during the first centuries of our era. So too in Greece to-day, as in other lands and in former ages, for those who have eyes to see there is revealed, beneath the outward semblance of failure and weakness, the lineaments of that glorious Church *not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but holy and without blemish.*

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XI

THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF REVIVAL

000

> The people have indeed a lively sense of religion in their hearts, but because they have neither guides nor preachers, nor pastors to lead them to the saving and life-giving truth, they are sleeping the sleep of apathy and spiritual death.
>
> Letter of FATHER EUSEBIUS MATTHOPOULOS, dated 1879

> We live in an Age that hath more need of good examples than precepts.
>
> GEORGE HERBERT

I HAVE dwelt at some length upon the recent history of a single Macedonian diocese, for the *eparchia* of Grevena was as it were a microcosm of the Greek Church as a whole; the essential features of its history during the previous decade were writ large from the Peloponnese to the northern frontiers of the kingdom. It was not only amongst the overcrowded refugee *kalyvai* of Grevena that there sprang up within these last few years a flowering of evangelical Christianity such as tempted one to prophesy that the day might not be far distant when the Church of Greece—poor and naked though she were in the world's eyes—would again become a lamp whose bright beams would extend to every corner of Christendom. 794 797

This widespread kindling of the smouldering embers of the Church's life shone out the more brightly by reason of the unrelieved blackness of its setting. We must not on this account forget the all-important, though less spectacular, work of preparation that had been going on for a century and more. The remarkable developments of the last few years would have been unthinkable were it not for the devoted labours of all those who had worked and prayed for the quickening of this ancient Church during the course of three or four generations.

We do not lack abundant testimony to the wretched condition of the Church of Greece during the first half of the nineteenth century. 795 797

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

795 797 Though the traditions which enshrine the saving truths of the Gospel had been handed down from generation to generation throughout the centuries of Turkish dominion, the life of the Church was nevertheless gravely threatened by corruption and decay. The ministry of the word had fallen into almost complete neglect even in Athens, while in the country districts sermons were all but unknown. The ordinary people were for the most part "ill instructed, or rather not taught at all, sermons and catechising rare amongst them, Masses and Divine Service hudled and run over in a cursory and negligent manner . . ."

793 797 The higher clergy, with few exceptions, paid but scanty heed to their pastoral responsibilities. By the eighteen-forties (owing to the long delay in the recognition of the autocephalous status of the Church of Greece by the Oecumenical Patriarch) the number of the bishops had declined until only four remained, and those well advanced in years. As to the parish clergy, one may read accounts of their ignorance that differ but little from those which Covel had set down 200 years earlier: "Most priests have no books by them, but only their Church Offices; and . . . all their Study is only to get them by Heart, which takes up so much of their time as they cannot attend to read or Study other learned books if they had them. . . . Their ordinary prayers and liturgies, like Parrots they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and use them very imperfectly, with strange variety and confusion."

[792] As for the monasteries, though there remained many holy monks and learned even in the darkest days, all too many of the *kalogeroi* were worldly and ignorant; jealous of their privileges, content with a merely formal discharge of the duties belonging to their state; drowsing in sunny galleries, cultivating their vegetables and their pleasant vineyards.

794 797 It is against such a background that we have to view the labours of that little company of priests and laymen who laid the foundations of what, in our own time, has become a nation-wide movement. The initiative in the growing revival of evangelistic and missionary activity that has characterised the last 100 years of the history of the Greek Church has come, not from the hierarchy—though many bishops have been whole-hearted supporters of the new movements—but from individual churchmen: lay theologians, monks and clergy. It is only [793] very recently that an official 'Home Mission' has come into being, with the foundation of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* of the Church of Greece (not to be confounded with a far older movement of the same name which still flourishes in Salonica and the northern dioceses).

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women) afford a systematic course of instruction in Christian doctrine and practice for boys and girls between the ages of nine and twenty-two. These children have all, it must be borne in mind, been full communicant members of the Church since infancy. There are no confirmation classes in Greece, and, within the new movements at least, the period of adolescence, when so overwhelming a proportion of our own children lose all vital contact with the Church, is commonly that at which the young Greek Christian begins to play an active part in the life of his local community.

The size of the catechetical schools, even in the provincial towns of northern Greece (where such schools were not founded until the late 'thirties and had hardly established themselves when these districts were overwhelmed by foreign occupation and Communist sedition) is often quite staggering. The figures for the town of Kilkis—a few miles north of Salonica and the scene of some of the bloodiest massacres of the whole war—may serve as an illustration. During the year 1948–49, when the war with the Communists was at its height, membership of the catechetical schools was as follows:

	Boys	*Girls*
Junior schools	782	696
Middle schools	165	180
Senior schools	55	77
Young workers	123	293
	1125	1246

These are the figures for a Macedonian market town whose pre-war population scarcely exceeded 7,000. Even allowing for the fact that several hundreds of the children belonging to the catechetical schools in 1948–49 were refugees from the villages of the diocese, they show the astonishing development of these new Christian schools within a bare ten or eleven years.

Remarkable as these figures may seem they are by no means exceptional. All over Greece catechetical schools have sprung up as it were overnight and multiplied with incredible rapidity, despite the lack of trained leaders. At Kilkis the metropolitan had the assistance of one priest-theologian; in the adjoining diocese of Siderokastro, where the bishop had only a seminary-trained preacher to help him, and where

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XVI

EPILOGUE

000

THE WATERS OF MARAH

Thou only art more excellent than all the forests of cedars; whereon hung the Life of the world, whereon Christ triumphed and through death overcame death for evermore.

788
779
795

AMONGST the miscellaneous papers of Dr. Covel which now repose in the British Museum, there is a letter addressed to the Doctor from "The Coach Office" on December 21st, 1714, by one Humfrey Wanley. Covel—still industriously accumulating "Brick, Stone and Timber" for his book on the state of the Greek Church—had apparently asked this correspondent whether he had ever sounded Arsenius, Metropolitan of Thebais, with whom he had had some association since the latter's arrival in England, about his belief in the matter of transubstantiation.

Mr. Wanley replies, somewhat irritably, to the effect that on the previous Monday he had succeeded in extracting a highly unsatisfactory profession of faith, "craftily worded", from the Metropolitan and his archimandrite. "I told them", he goes on, "I believed it was taken from some book I had heretofore read: They replied it is taken from the Liturgies of Basil and Chrysostome. I told 'em roundly, the Question was not about what Chrysostome or Basil believed, but about what they themselves believed; They answered, They believe as those saints did."

Poor Arsenius! He must have had a trying time of it in this country, what with his constant financial difficulties (rendered all the greater by the necessity of providing for an oddly assorted following that included "Gennadius, a Cypriot and Archimandrite, and Kathegumenos of Alexandria, with four Deacons, an Anagnostes, a Cook and an Interpreter,"—who, says Wanley, "consume all") and his inability to enter into the subtle disputations of the English divines. Nobody seems to have known what to do with these jolly Easterlings; the universities would not be pestered with them and the Bishop of London tried to

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persuade them that they must quickly be gone. "The poor Archbishop", it is related, "cried out like a child when my Lord of London told him he must Depart." Clearly, the Metropolitan of Thebais was no theologian and felt himself quite out of his depth in controversies about the 'grand Dogma'. Nor was it otherwise with the majority of his contemporaries: "From a Native Greek or Easterling", writes Covel, "who never was out of his country, (though he was there a Man of some Dignity) I never could meet with any tolerable reasoning or answer towards the clearing of this point. Many of my acquaintance would avoid any set discourse about these matters, desiring rather to be quiet and not to embarrass themselves about these, φρικτὰ μυστήρια (as they called them) dreadfull or hidden mysteries."

For all his want of book-learning, however, the bishop's instincts were sound. In transcribing Chrysostom and Basil ("a copie . . . badly spelt and badly accented", says Humfrey Wanley) rather than hazarding a personal opinion, he and Gennadius were appealing not to the private views of two theologians, but to the common faith of all Orthodox Christians; Chrysostom and Basil did but bear witness to this common tradition.

From the day when darkness fell upon the empire of Constantine down to our own time, the Greek Christian has held fast with remarkable tenacity to the faith committed to his charge. He has, for the most part, been little capable of expounding this faith—certainly not in a manner likely to carry conviction with the western theologian. Nevertheless, throughout the dark night of Turkish dominion he has continued to cling at any rate to the outward forms of sound doctrine, and to live to the best of his power in the liturgical tradition inherited from an earlier and more creative epoch. This was no time for unprofitable speculation and the subtleties of the vanished schools, but for striving to preserve the royal treasure entrusted to his keeping.

Now, in our own day, the faithfulness with which through long centuries of oppression a host of unremembered parish priests and simple Christians held fast the traditions of the fathers is beginning to bear fruit. The Greek theologian, furnished once more with a scientific equipment not inferior to that of his western colleague, is rediscovering the marvellous riches of the incomparable treasure locked away these many centuries, and entering into his proper heritage. Unlike the Russian theologian of the diaspora—upon whom enforced contact with western ways of thought has already acted as a powerful stimulus—the

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795 Greek is as yet only beginning to awake to the full significance of the discovery, and it may well be some years before Athens and Salonica are in a position to make that contribution to the life and thought of Christendom as a whole of which they are potentially capable. Yet from out of the depths of suffering and desolation there has come the rebirth of a Christian nation. The Church of Greece has emerged from her fiery trial purified, and conscious, as perhaps never before, of her mission. What may be the ultimate consequences of such a regeneration none can say: the possibilities are infinite.

*

[214] [794] In June, 1948, on the festival of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece published a stencilled typescript of a draft entitled *Towards a Christian Civilisation*—since issued in book form by the Damascus Press. These pages, as the authors remarked in the original preface to the work, came from a country wherein the agitation, the uncertainty and sometimes the agony of the world had been concentrated; from a land often referred to by her friends as "this unhappy country". And yet, they went on, "we know that our happiness (or unhappiness) depends not on the outcome of external political events, but on whether the Christian and spiritual foundations of our life are firmly established or not". Their voice, they concluded, was not the despairing voice of a nation crying out to the world: *morituri te salutamus*; rather it was that of a people who, even from the depth of their present agony, sought to echo our Lord's words: "If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death." That is the spirit that is abroad in Greece to-day.

795 796 If I were asked for a single picture to epitomise the present state of the Greek Church, I would turn once more to the Macedonian township of Edessa, set amidst streams and cherry orchards on the summit of the cliff that bars the way from Salonica to the frontier metropolis of Florina. In the early hours of the morning of the feast of the Epiphany in the year 1949, while the Metropolitan of Edessa and Pella, the Lord Panteleimon, with his deacon, Father Gabriel, two or three refugee monks, his mother, the boys from the orphanage and a handful of lay people, were singing the long vigil-service in the chapel of the metropolis, this already battered town was attacked by a Communist force. By dawn the place was encircled.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

EPILOGUE

At the accustomed hour (despite the violence of the bombardment) the bells were rung and the Bishop went with his clergy to the ancient basilica, which stands on the very brink of the cliff, and began to celebrate the liturgy. Before the great blessing of the waters was reached, however, the din had become so appalling, the whole fabric of the church shook so violently, that it became necessary to move to the upper part of the town to the church of Saint Demetrius of Thessalonica. Here the service was resumed and at last the moment when the Bishop would plunge the cross into the waters drew near. Standing in the midst of his people and attended by his deacon, the Lord Panteleimon began to recite in a loud voice the Poem of Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Without, the bombardment raged; but above the clamour of the artillery and the rattle of small arms fire the voice of the Saint of Edessa rang out exultant:

To-day the offences of men are washed away in the waters of Jordan;
To-day Paradise is opened to men and the Son of Righteousness has shed on us His light;
To-day the bitter water of the people of Moses becomes most sweet from the presence of the Lord;
To-day are we released from our ancient lamenting, and as a new Israel we find salvation;
To-day are we redeemed from darkness, and illumined by the knowledge of God;
To-day the gloom of the world is done away in the Epiphany of our God. . . .
To-day we have been purchased for the Kingdom of Heaven, for of the Kingdom of the Lord there shall be no end.

/31 cont./

where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political leaders meet their followers. 275 517

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission. [208] [203]

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/ learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to special designated saints whom they think are able to help them. For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line. It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They take their religion seriously and believe in it completely. 794 869 872 [796] [796] 782 776 795 [771]

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the representative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God. Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places. 793 782 [776] 869

/77 cont./ 353
makes his prayer every evening and morning, occupies the eastern 778
corner of the house. The ikon of the Saint is well decorated 776
with the best handwork. In front of the ikon hangs an oil lantern
that burns day and night. The Saint guards the family, the ani- [354]
mals, and blesses the crops. Usually members of the family bear [553]
the name of the Saint.

Once a month the priest visits the home of every farmer and [793]
brings the blessing of the coming month by sprinkling holy water [788]
in all the corners of the house. He passes in front of the ikon [782]
and utters a prayer in the name of the Saint for the safeguard,
prosperity, and health of the family.

Religion for these people is a necessity of life. Without it 771
they cannot live. In every phase of /78/ their lives religion plays 776
an important part as in recreation, farming, traveling or even 182
in fighting they have their respective Saint through whom they
communicate with God.

When Paul entered the temple of the unknown God and 788
preached the known God to the Greeks, he must have forgotten 776
to mention to them the form of worship they should adopt. The
Greeks have accepted the theory of Christianity of one God but
have dressed up this new religion with their old forms of worship.
They have changed the names of ancient gods and given them new
names with the same duty as the old ones. Thus Saint Nicholas
replaced the god of the sea, Poseidon.

Since 1453, which marks the fall of Constantinople to the 175
Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Christian people 795
of the Near East have gone through the severest test in Christian
history. The continuous persecution, massacres, deportations,
and all kinds of inhuman methods could not desecrate it. In fact
the Christian faith got stronger and stronger and had become a
bond of uniting the Christians. The same strong ties in this re-
ligion strengthened them to overthrow the bonds of slavery, after
400 years. It /79/ was religion that kept the Greek letters, the [619]
language of the people, and it was their strong belief in the power

/79 cont./

of the Saints and Christ that made them often take extremely dangerous steps against their conquerors. The leaders of the churches became victims of the cruelty, but at last these very same persecuted priests started the revolt and gave freedom to the Greek people. Thus religion is a part of our nationalism, it is a part of our freedom and a part of our struggle for existence. I do not think any Christian people have undergone the test for Christianity that the Greek people did. If one goes back deep into the causes of the present Greek stubbornness in resisting the impossible and standing by their promise up to the end to help England, we will find it again in their religion. 175 795 [619]

As long as people live in the religion they have developed throughout centuries they cannot be conquered.

Faith in time of trouble. For every trouble there is a remedy and there is some source that will come to aid. Long dry seasons often lead the people to /80/ all day and night prayers to Saint Ilias for rain. When members of the family get sick, the priest offers prayer. The people strongly believe in the mercifulness and forgiveness of God. All occurrences, good or bad, come from God and He rewards and punishes people according to their deeds. Possibly for people who are not contaminated with the explanation that science gives to many phenomena, it is better for them to have blind faith and hope for the solution of their troubles. 771 [776] [782] [755]

The church. The church occupies the central part of the village and has a large yard around it. Its steeple is wooden and temporarily keeps the bells that call the people to the morning and evening church services. The bells also serve for a fire alarm as well as school time for the children. When the people left their countries they left behind livestock, furniture, and many valuable things, but they succeeded in bringing with them the ikons and the church bells. Some of the ikons date back to the 16th century. The lower parts of the ikons are worn out from the kisses received in the church. The people have great pride in their church and in the power of their ikons to perform miracles. Regardless of 346 778 [361] [202] [789]

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[212] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[217] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most
of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[779] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece
the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until
recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics,
well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or
city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where
two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the
Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as
the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two
armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers.
A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on
the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian
monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the
difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[314] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
scholarly standard.

RELIGION

771 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
● 795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity
among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
really Greeks since they do not conform to the tradition of
Greek [illegible]

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; 829 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre- [995] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the [854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem- 178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation- 577 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There [312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water [365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to build a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the
186 knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives,
823 only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (January 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the
823 blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering him-
[755] self fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism
[778] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of
[789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most per-
776 sistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of
539 Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
●796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their 221
caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered [796]
as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The
man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also [275]
go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly
the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder [241]
or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start prepar-
ing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do
not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To [462]
the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes;
they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few [275]
understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not
wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of
wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it
out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others
curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have
Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, [796]
then we enjoy ourselves in the houses. [535]

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help [462]
outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, [241]
beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When
some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes [342]
then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time
because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their [354]
games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a
fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and
get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then 221
onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our 796
work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do
something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church;
then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manli-
ness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass,
we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our 221
tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then
the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we 512
have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children [462]
return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by
themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many,
it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her
hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs
to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re- [275]

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 512 [275] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned ● 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that 221 of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 241 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we [432] start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we [273] press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot 82 south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare to, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Annual Village Festival

The annual village festival, held on the name day of the saint for whom the local church is named, although a community event, serves also as an occasion for absent family members to return for a visit.[3] On such days literally hundreds and sometimes more than a thousand outsiders visit the village to join in the local excitement. Many families have so many guests that they hardly know where to put them all; food and drink are plentiful, and dancing is the order of the day. The local shopkeepers count heavily on this occasion to bring them out of the red, even though traveling merchants also make their appearance to take care of the swollen number of clients. The local government sees to it that these outsiders or their transactions are taxed. A relatively few attend the masses being held in the church since the festival is more secular than religious. One is impressed in talking with villagers about these festivals how frequently they stress the fact that they all "put on the best clothes and new clothes if possible" in order to make a good impression upon the visitors and other villagers as well.

Throughout Greece one can see many well-known national dances on these festival days. Most of them are round dances, with the dancers holding on to hands or wrists of those next to them. The musicians stand in the center of the circle and strike up the tune. A slow "dragging-trailing" dance is called the *syrtos;* one calling for jumping or leaping steps is a *pidictos;* and others are mixed. Many of these dances have much in common with ancient dances depicted on friezes or described in the writings of classical times.

An example of the syrtos type is the *kalamatianos,* named for the town of Kalamata in the southern Peloponnesos. Here the dancers hold each other by the wrist. The leader of the dance may break away from the circle and go through gyrations which would do credit to a professional acrobat; throughout this performance he flutters his handkerchief (the symbol of leadership), and when ready he may throw the handkerchief to his neighbor or someone else who wishes to lead the dance. The *geranos,* another syrtos dance, is supposed to have been danced by Theseus and the youths and maidens with him on Delos when he returned there after slaying the Minotaur on Crete. The movements of the dance are said to imitate the twists and turns of the labyrinth which was the lair of the mythological monster.[4]

Another syrtos dance is the *zalongos,* which commemorates the dance of the Souliote women in Epirus who, upon the defeat of their men folk in December 1803 by Ali Pasha of Ioannina, took refuge on a high and inaccessible rock situated above the river Acheron, where they began to dance and, still dancing, threw themselves over the precipice into the gap-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Religious Holidays and Namedays

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surrounding Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, approximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial workers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager, closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout Greece.[8] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life, as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields, an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to participate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24. This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me."[7] Into the same fire the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb" or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the efforts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi*, key) to this particular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[a] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Eve and Epiphany (December 24–January 6). It is preceded by a week's fast, which formerly lasted forty days, ending on Christmas Eve. Throughout much of Greece it is traditional to kill a pig for Christmas, although in many villages of Thessaly people are satisfied with fowl. Indispensable is the *Christopsoma* (Bread of Christ), a large round loaf, with a cross formed of dough in the middle and with four chestnuts on each side and a fifth in the center. This is a leavened loaf but without any sugar, although in the cities it is so highly decorated with candied fruits that it resembles a sweet loaf. Special Christmas cakes as well as a number of other dishes are also prepared for the occasion.

Christmas Eve is a time for caroling, or the *kalenda*. The carols are about the birth of Christ, the joy that is spread all over the world, "so good master give us something so that we can enjoy with ease Christmas Day." In some parts of Greece adults as well as children go caroling. In addition to triangles which they play while singing, the children may carry little paper ships or houses and lighted lanterns. The carolers in the cities receive coins or sweets, but in the villages they are content with currants and nuts. They avoid homes that are in mourning, although earlier in the day many people have probably visited the cemeteries with offerings of food for the dead.

On Christmas Day itself the more devout go to the early communion service and then on to the home of the eldest relative (if he is very poor, then to the home of the richest relative). Here, in Thessaly at least, they drink *kokorozoumo*, a boullion made from boiled chicken, lamb, and beef, to which a lemon flavoring has been added. In Macedonia, a traditional dish is *dolmades*, or stuffed pickled cabbage leaves prepared on Christmas Eve and allowed to simmer in a sauce pan on a low fire all night. The men in particular drink a great deal of liquor throughout the day and generally end up inebriated, partly because they have been to call on those named Christos or Christina and been duly treated. Christmas Day, though not a time for exchanging gifts, is a special occasion to be celebrated.

Yet throughout this whole twelve-day period many of the peasants reveal an unusual anxiety, for they believe that the Evil Eye is unusually active at this time. Windows and doors must be kept shut so that bad spirits will not bring in illnesses of any kind; furthermore, these spirits — called *kallikantzari* — are usually mischievous as well. They are supposed to be little men with goats' feet, enormous heads, and big ears; they are black, for they come down the chimney which must be kept closed. To be on the safe side, it is well to put a little sugar and a glass of water by the fireplace for them to eat and drink and thus be less inclined to do harm. Every village literally teems with stories about the kallikantzari at this time of year and details differ greatly as to their appearance and pranks. Their presence is

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considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come true at this time.[9]

After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around caroling again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are careful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

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The second, third, and fourth of January are ordinary working days, but on January 5 people expect a half-day off since it is Epiphany Eve, at which time children also sing the kalenda about the baptism of "the child of God." There is a five o'clock service in the morning at which occurs the first blessing of the waters. Those in attendance have brought jugs or cups for the blessed water which they take home to use in curing the sick or preventing the Evil Eye during the year. But on Epiphany itself occurs the most spectacular second blessing of the water, done in front of everybody at the church or near some body of water into which the cross is thrown. Swimmers are ready to dive in after it and struggle for its possession. The one who succeeds in gaining it is not only assured of good luck during the year but he can pass throughout the crowd and even the community to collect money from those solicited.

[527] [533] [788] [755] [777]

On Epiphany the priest visits the homes of the parish to bless each room by sprinkling holy water there, thus guaranteeing that all kallikantzari[1] have been exorcised and chased back to their lairs beneath the earth until the next Twelve Days comes around.

[789]

Easter brings with it a wealth of customs, a blend of the pagan and the Christian, which are lightened by the coming of spring and the renewal of nature. Although they are "all of a piece" in the peasant mind, they can be best understood by the outsider in terms of Carnival, Lent, and Holy Week.

Carnival begins nine weeks before Easter and runs for three weeks. The second week is climaxed by Meat Sunday and the third week by Cheese Sunday. This is the time for weddings which otherwise could not take place until after Easter; this is the time for masquerades, although these are less pronounced in the villages than in the cities; this is also the time when family groups get together for little feasts before the Great Fast starts forty days before Easter. The last two Saturdays of Carnival and the first Saturday of Lent are *psychosabbata,* or memorial days for the dead. On the Thursday of the middle week of Carnival, members of the family, bringing their own food with them, gather in the home of the eldest relative to have a special meal, and on this occasion they allow some dish to scorch on the stove and smell up the house in the belief that this will bring good luck. This day is called *tsichnopempti,* since *tsichna* stands for the odor of burning flesh.

[585] [369] [785] [769] [777]

Meat Sunday is the eighth one before Easter (the villagers count Easter as one of the Sundays). On this day the people are supposed to start doing without meat products for the Lenten period. On the following Sunday, called Cheese Sunday, the forbidden foods are broadened to include milk products as well. This latter holiday is especially colorful in many parts of Greece, for on this day the village boys prepare piles of wood on various heights to be lit after dark. This is also the day for visiting older relatives

[785] [262] [372] [783]

1 [These are bad spirits – ANALYST]

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796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the Gospel and the cross is brought out to the center of the church where people can kiss it, place flowers before it, and show their sorrow over the crucifixion which has been called to their mind. Eggs are dyed red on this day, which is sometimes called Red Thursday, thus symbolizing the blood of Christ. 796 [262]

Good Friday is a holy day on which no one works. The women pick flowers with which to decorate the holy shroud (*Epitaphios*) or sacred icon. All day long the coffeehouses are closed and the people abstain from alcoholic drinks, olives, fish roe, or leavened bread. The evening church service lasts from eight to midnight. One of its features is the carrying of the flower-bedecked Epitaphios in a sacred funeral procession through the streets of the village. The priests in their rich robes, the altar boys, and the congregation walk solemnly as though they were actually burying their Lord. The procession goes around the church before the simulated bier is brought to rest before the church door at such a height that the worshippers can pass under it into the church, crossing themselves as they do so. [778] [275] [785] [788]

On Saturday members of the household prepare the Paschal lamb. A few attend the services from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., but almost everybody attends the evening service. The bells summon the people at 11 P.M. and by 11:30 the congregation has gathered. At midnight, when the sacred fire supposedly descends from heaven and the glorious Easter hymn *Christos Aneste* bursts forth in joy, people hurry to light their candles, shoot off the firecrackers they have brought for the purpose, and greet each other with *Christos aneste* (Christ is risen) and expect the answer *Alethos aneste* (Risen indeed). The service may continue to daybreak, but many of the people go home much earlier, each carrying his lighted taper with him. Upon arriving at the house, the worshipper uses the taper to smudge a black cross on the lintel. In some villages it is customary earlier in the day to make a cross on the door from the blood of the Paschal lamb. Once back home, the family ends the long Lenten fast by eating the red-dyed Easter eggs and *mageirites*, a highly seasoned stew made of the lamb's visceral organs. The lamb, which has not been sufficiently roasted on the spit, is eaten later in the day, not only by the members of the family but by the many guests and relatives who have come back to the village from their homes in the city. [262] [541] [778] [785] [262] [574]

All of Monday and the afternoon of Tuesday following Easter are considered national holidays. By Wednesday people can get back to their regular tasks. Religious ceremonies and festivals have added a meaningful dimension to their lives and have reminded them of the long continuity which links them with their ancestors who, as they see it, became the guardians and proponents of pristine Christianity, which lives on in their own Orthodox Church. [527] [771]

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marines, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

[114] 1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

[641] [702] [191]

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

[796]

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

[574] [609] [576] [262] [562] [291]

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

[584] [595]

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Vasilika

west but on the same side of the road is Vasilika's cemetery. It is a small square area outlined by tall cypresses standing just inside the low stone wall which encloses the graves and the small church of St. Nicholas. Mass is said in this church in celebration of the birthday of its patron saint on December 6th. Sunday afternoon Easter services and funeral ceremonies are also held there.

Past the cemetery the road turns east, runs through the village, and constitutes its main street. Almost all the buildings of Vasilika are ranged for about one-fifth of a mile on both sides of this dirt road. Most of the houses are on the ridge side of the road; a single row of structures lines the field side. As one continues east on the village street and looks to the right on the field side of the road, he first sees fields and then the old school building. The next structure is the main church of the village, the church of St. Athanasius. It is the largest building in the settlement, and, like most of the others, it is constructed of field stone. Regular Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter services, baptisms, weddings, as well as the majority of saint's day and other special liturgies are conducted here by the village priest. The bell in the campanile of St. Athanasius summons the villagers to church, the children to school, and the men to an impromptu public meeting on the rare occasions when one is called to discuss village affairs. And, inevitably, the tolling of the bell announces the death of one of the villagers.

Separated from St. Athanasius by a very narrow alley stands a one-room structure which serves as the office for the village government. It now has a telephone, the only one in the village. Near the village headquarters and still on the field side of the road lives the owner of a combined store and coffeehouse. A ground-floor room of his house contains merchandise such as matches, cigarettes, lemons, salt, sugar, canned vegetables and fish, aspirin and penicillin, thread, and miscellaneous small items, while the outside space in front of the store is reserved for chairs and tables. From this coffeehouse, on the field side of the village, the rest of the structures are homes and their outbuildings, roughly in a line near the road.

Starting now at the western end of the village, and looking east at the ridge side of the road, one sees houses and their outbuildings occupying the lower third of the ridge. The uppermost group of homes were, in 1955, reed huts in which some of the shepherd families lived. Other reed huts served as storage houses. By 1961, the dwelling-huts had all been replaced by new brick houses, already wired for electricity but otherwise in various stages of completion. On the ridge side of the road the only buildings which are not exclusively used as residences are, first, another combined store and coffeehouse, which stands on the street diagonally opposite the first and is also a room in the house of its owner, and second, a nearly completed stone reservoir.

Finally, some two hundred feet past the last house and slightly up the slope, stands the small church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, the patron saints of the village. Here the village celebrates its *paniyiri*, its patron saints' day festival, on the first of July. Mass is celebrated in the morning, and villagers from the surrounding countryside fill the small edifice to overflowing. Occasionally, other masses are said at this church in the course of the year. Except for the

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Vasilika

245 back, remarks that pruning is especially hard work because it is the first job in
221 spring after the winter's rest, and usually finishes by saying, "What can we do? Wine is good, but it takes hard work."

484 The movement of people in and out of Vasilika is not dependent on the agricultural cycle alone. I have already mentioned the visits of vendors, traders,
574 and government officials to the village. Each saint's day brings some visitors to
527 Vasilika, for the men and boys of the village celebrate the birthday of the saint
[553] after whom they were named, and not their own birthdays. On St. George's Day, for example, relatives who live in surrounding villages come to visit the George in Vasilika who is kin to them. The number of the visitors on these days is thus directly related to the number of men and boys in the village who have been baptized with the name of the saint being honored. On St. John's Day, St. George's Day, and St. Constantine's Day, for example, there are many visitors to Vasilika. There is no one named Spiros or Petros in the village, so that St. Spiridon's Day and St. Peter's Day bring no visitors at all.

484 The periods of greatest density of population in the village are the two
574 or three days of *paniyiri* (the patron saints' day festival), when relatives and strangers by the hundreds come to the village for the festivities, and Christmas
796 and Easter, when those who formerly lived in Vasilika return to their *patridha* for a few days. Vasilika is least fully populated in midsummer when individuals and families attend the *paniyiria* of other villages in the region. They usually choose those villages in which they have relatives, and stay for a few days. At
[361] this season, also, some families go to watering places for a week or two, or camp on Parnassos to avoid the heat of Vasilika.

481 The arhythmic quality of the movement of people, animals, and vehicles through the village has been described. It now remains to say that the pace of
[484] movement is always slow even when it is most purposeful. No one strides briskly along the road or paths of the village; only children are ever seen running. The pace seems to be set by the slow walk of a loaded horse or mule or donkey. The villagers take the long leisurely strides they need to accompany these pack animals, whenever they go from place to place, even when they walk without them.
[461] Slow action is characteristic also of the performance of any task. No one is ever in a hurry. Women cook and serve with efficiency but without speed; men load a horse equally efficiently but again without speed. Their movements are controlled, and the exercise of that control gives an impression of vitality, of a tenseness which makes the slowness a sign of power and deliberation, never of lassitude or indifference.

621 When a visitor returns to Vasilika, he may ask, *"Ti nea?"* "What's
178 new?" He often receives the quasi-rhyming response *"Isichia,"* "All quiet." The response means "The round of life is going on as usual. Besides, nothing much
[596] ever happens in this place, anyway." And in some sense, the villagers actually believe what they say. The village is the physical center of the lives of the inhabitants; in spite of their trips out of it, and the coming of visitors to the village, the people of Vasilika see and talk to their fellow villagers more frequently than they see and talk to nonvillagers. They even express considerable satisfaction with some of the obvious village-wide changes of the last few years

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Vasilika

into thread at home by the women. In each household the women weave the rugs that are a necessary part of a girl's trousseau with wool from their own sheep—at least as long as it lasts.

Goats are raised for their meat and, in households with young children, for their milk. Adults rarely drink the liquid milk. As a form of pasteurization, the villagers always bring the milk to a boil before serving it, and the children drink the milk while it is still warm. In the more prosperous households, the women use both sheep's and goat's milk as an ingredient for a kind of milk and egg custard pie and for a sweet milk and rice dish served with sugar and cinnamon. But these foods are in a class of special treats and are served mostly in spring and early summer when the milk supply is at its height. Goat meat, however, is often a less elegant substitute for lamb on special occasions. Kids are raised for the Christmas feast, and the measure of the success of a household's participation in the village's *paniyiri* (patron saints' day festival) is expressed by the number of animals (goats and sheep) slaughtered for the feast. The more visitors to the house, the more enjoyable the day is felt to be; the more visitors, of course, the more meat is eaten. When asked whether the *paniyiri* had been successful this year, one farmer answered, "Oh yes; we slaughtered three!"

Chickens are also an additional source of food and sometimes of income for the villagers. Families keep about a dozen fowl. They roam the house yards, (there is an effort made to keep them off the village street, and all hands join in shooing them out of the houses), and roost at night in the stone stables or in the ground-floor storeroom of the houses. The villagers like eggs, and eat them in various ways, but their production is also, of course, seasonal. The chicken is most significant for the part it plays in Greek village hospitality. The villagers will say, "Come to our house for a proper meal (*trapezi*). We'll kill a chicken for you." And that is quite literally what they do. Occasionally enough chicks survive to create a surplus from the household's point of view. Such poultry is sold to buyers who come around from the nearby towns. Chickens are rarely considered an extra source of food for ordinary household consumption.

A watchdog is a common addition to a household's collection of farm animals. The people of Vasilika believe that thievery is a constant danger to be guarded against and prefer, if possible, not to leave their household compounds totally unguarded. Whenever possible, some member of the household stays around the property even if it means sacrificing a visit to a feast at a neighboring village. If all the members of a household are out working in the fields, a dog is left at home. Ordinarily, however, dogs are tied up all day and the farmer, just before he goes to sleep, frees the dog to stand vigil through the night. Dogs are trained to bark at any unusual noise or at the approach of any person who is not a member of the household. The villagers, especially the women, are very much afraid of the dogs and consequently avoid going out at night. On one occasion, when the women and girls of the village had sat together in the church until long after dark, they set out for home with groups of neighbors clustered together, holding on to each other, walking fast, and shuddering and exclaiming with fear at the clamor made by the dogs. It should be added that in actuality, there are few thieves in the village and that the dogs rarely bite anyone.

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the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

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share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *paniyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic
[292] poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast
[541] of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

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793 been threatened with eviction but had not responded even to this. The priest
794 had called the men of the community together to try to get backing for his
626 decision to evict the man. The authority was granted him on that rainy Sunday,
537 but the shepherd finally agreed to go part way toward meeting the demand and
427 continued to live in the house.

Religious Feast Days

796 If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action
[621] or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year. The most conspicuous of these is the sequence of events by which the villagers celebrate Easter. The Sunday before Lent begins is the particular day which starts the holiday observances in Vasilika. After church services, children ran about in the morning trying to throw powdered soot at each other and at unsuspecting adults. Later in the day, the
796 children and unmarried men and women dressed in costumes in preparation for
292 the arrival of the musicians—this time there were a clarinetist, a violinist, and
534 the player of a *sanduri* (dulcimer). Some boys and girls dressed as animals and their trainers went around in groups trying to frighten the very small children or just laughing at their own antics. The young people dressed themselves as gypsies, and some of the boys put on women's clothes and walked around with mincing steps and female gestures, while some of the girls donned men's
[535] clothes and twirled false moustaches. Throughout the afternoon and early evening the musicians sat in the *aghora* and the young people and their elders danced in the space between the two coffeehouses, as virtually all the rest of the village population sat and watched. Some spectators sat at the coffeehouse tables
796 drinking beer or soda; others brought chairs from home to sit along the walls of
534 the houses near the *aghora*. Still others watched from second-story windows
535 overlooking the area. All the spectators sat quietly and without expression. Those who danced paid the musicians and occasionally the watchers would proffer a
[273] glass of *ouzo* (anise liqueur) to the male dancers and to the musicians.

The dances themselves were the most commonly known traditional round dances of the Greek countryside: the *kalamatyanos*, *sirtos*, and *tsamikos*, danced in Vasilika by both men and women, but usually not at the same time. Men danced the *zembekikos* and the *khasapikos* as solos.

[562] On this occasion, and on any other when musicians came to the village,
[275] the women of some of the more sophisticated families joined their male relatives sitting around the small coffeehouse tables.

796 In the evening, several families joined together for a meat-eating feast,
[574] after which bonfires were lit in different sections of the village; this time the adults joined in the carnival spirit of practical jokes and danced and sang in
[484] the security of their own neighborhoods until early morning. The next day is "Clean Monday." Many of the villagers visited Kifisokhori, which has a carnival
[541]

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Vasilika

with a float competition on this day. In 1956, the winning float was a huge replica of the Trojan horse. 796

The events of Holy Week, with their culmination in the feasting and dancing on Easter Sunday, are from the villagers' point of view the most important time of the year. They anticipate *to Paskha* all the rest of the year; the women in particular asked about how Americans celebrated Easter more frequently than they asked about any other American custom, and whenever any general discussion of different customs came up, the women would spontaneously start describing Holy Week. Not the least of the reasons for the anticipation of Easter is that it is a spring festival and the villagers wait impatiently for spring. They look forward to the warmth of the sun after the cold and rainy winter, and they speak with affection of the beauty of the wild flowers which cover the hillsides in early spring. [484] [541] [177]

During Holy Week in 1956, Maundy Thursday services began at 8:40 in the evening. Men and boys, as well as some women who rarely attended Sunday mass, appeared for the service, and on Good Friday and Easter Sunday virtually the entire village population, except for tiny infants and those who had to care for them, was present. By Thursday evening, relatives of the villagers from the surrounding villages and towns and from Athens had begun to arrive and to appear at the church. Just as on ordinary Sundays, the church filled gradually as the service progressed. Older men stood at the stalls up front, and several elderly women and pregnant women sat on chairs which were brought in for them and were placed in the back of the church in the woman's section. Women visitors were offered chairs; some accepted, some did not. Two of the village women got tired at one point and squatted on the floor, but as usual, the children, the younger men, and almost all the girls and women stood throughout. The service lasted until 11:00. In the course of it, there was considerable restlessness and low-voiced conversation among the men and giggling among the girls. But at the culmination of the service, when the image of Jesus on the Cross was brought from behind the screened altar and placed in the center of the church, there was complete quiet. 796 794 [574] [516] [778]

Many of the villagers can recite or chant the portions of the New Testament which are read as part of the Holy Week services, and do so under their breath—really only to themselves, since the priest and the chanters sing the chants aloud. Even among these villagers, however, very few have a literal understanding of the text, for it is in New Testament Greek, which is a generalized form of Eastern Mediterranean Greek developed in the last centuries of the pagan and early centuries of the Christian era. It is therefore about as different from the contemporary demotic Greek spoken in the village as Chaucerian English is from Modern English. Nevertheless, all the villagers know the main outlines of the New Testament depicting the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and know which portions are being sung and symbolically re-enacted at each of the Holy Week services. 788 198

The villagers say that on Good Friday no one should work either in the fields or in the house, but these prohibitions were not strictly adhered to. In the 796 [461]

[Good Friday]

796 morning, small boys went from house to house crying, *"Mavros in o uranos,"* [778] "The sky is black," and they were given money or eggs. Meanwhile, the girls [788] of the village worked inside the church covering with wild flowers the sedan-chairlike wooden frame in which an oil painting of Jesus on his bier was to be carried around the village that night. The frame and the icon together are called the *epitafios*. The girls seemed thoroughly to enjoy the morning's work, and they 796 laughed, giggled, jostled each other, and called out orders. Occasionally they 262 sang as they worked. It appeared also as if they were taking particular joy in being inside the church with no men to restrain them. They took turns sprawling over the stalls in which, as females, they rarely sat during a service. They also went up to the chanters' stand and recited some of the cantilations which were to be sung that night—the girls can follow the liturgy only silently during the course of the actual service. Some of the younger girls even dared each other [778] to go behind the panel to the altar, a place forbidden to females, but none actually did. They seemed uneasy and were even frightened at the suggestion.

796 The church bell rang at 2:20 that afternoon. The priest, with one of the 788 chanters and his son, performed the service in the course of which he brought the icon from behind the altar, covered it with a white cloth and placed it in its bower. In accordance with the symbolic re-enactment of the event, only the women and girls (and a few schoolboys) were in the church at the time. Once the icon was in place and strewn with flowers, the priest and then the children [764] went up to kiss it. The priest explained that it should be done slowly and deliberately, exactly as it was done for the dead in the village funeral rituals.

Good Friday services began that night at 9:00. At 11:00 the *epitafios* was carried out of the church by four boys. These marched in procession with the *epitafios* behind boys carrying the *lavara* (standards). Behind the *epitafios* walked the priest and the chanters. The rest of the villagers followed holding candles to light the way as the *epitafios* was carried around the entire village. As the bells of the three village churches pealed, and the children chanted *"Enas ine o theos"* and *"Panayia dhespina,"* "God is one" and "Our Lady, the All Holy One," the villagers picked their way carefully over the stones and ruts as they climbed the hillside, circled the whole settlement, and climbed down again on the other side. When the procession reached the church door once more, the boys held the bier high so that the returning congregation passed into the church under it. The service was over shortly after midnight.

796 On Holy Saturday, sweet Easter breads with red eggs inside were dis- [262] played, other eggs were dyed red, last minute finishing touches were given to Easter clothes and last house-cleaning chores were completed. Some people [461] slaughtered the Easter lamb on Saturday, others waited until Sunday. In the meantime, field chores went on as usual. Everyone rested for a few hours, from about 9:00 Saturday night until the Easter Sunday services began shortly after [788] midnight. These lasted until 4:00 in the morning, with two periods of climax. [787] The first occurred when all the lights in the church were put out and the priest kindled the new light. The boys rushed up to see who could be the first to light his own candle from that of the priest's. They said the winner would be the first of the boys to be married. The rest of the congregation then lit its

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *agbora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *agbora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

> If any Art or Polity can be said to have place over the affection of the People, none seems more efficacious than the strict observation of the Fasts and Feasts of their Church, by which the people are taught as in a visible *Catechism* . . . more (I dare say) than by their ill-composed Sermons, or repetition of the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue; for being severely imposed, and observed with much solemnity, they affect the Vulgar with an awe of something divine and extraordinary in them.
>
> PAUL RYCAUT

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A FEW years after the restoration of the house of Stuart to the English throne, the Archbishop of Larissa, in Thessaly, received an unexpected visitor: a certain Père Robert, *Capucin de Saint-Jaques à Paris, et Aumonier de l'Ambassadeur de France*. This reverend personage chancing to be in Larissa during Holy Week (according to the western reckoning), he attended a celebration of what, despite a certain confusedness in his account, was manifestly the liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. Describing this in the journal which was his constant travelling companion during the period 1665-69, he observes that the Archbishop, when he had delivered his sermon, "went in procession about the church, accompanied by nine bishops, his suffragans". To-day, though the traveller may but rarely and with great good fortune chance upon such a mitred assembly as that which Père Robert describes, the divine liturgy is still celebrated, even in the smallest and poorest village of the Greek mountain dioceses, with something of its traditional splendour, and in such fashion as to impress upon the mind of the least sensitive of worshippers that he is a participant in no work of man's devising but in the very worship of heaven; in the praises of those who sing without ceasing to the glory of the holy and consubstantial and life-giving and undivided Trinity.

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The festival which is observed on August 15th is described in the service-books as that of the Dormition, or Falling Asleep (*Koimesis*), "of our most holy, glorious Lady, the Mother of God and Ever-Virgin

A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

Mary". To the simple Greek, however, it is *the* feast of the *Panaghia*, which not the Marys only but also the men and boys named Panaghiotis keep as their name-day: a very much more important occasion in Greece than the mere commemoration of one's birth after the flesh. The importance of the festival is emphasised by a fast of two weeks' duration immediately preceding it.[1] The other liturgical commemorations of the *Theotokos* centre on particular events. March 25th, for example, apart from the national associations which have made it one of the greatest days of the year among Greeks, is essentially the memorial of the Annunciation: "To-day," runs the dismissal hymn, "is the chapter-head of our salvation and the revelation of the eternal mystery. The Son of God becomes the Son of the Virgin, and Gabriel brings the good news of grace". So with the other evangelical commemorations. The liturgy of August 15th, on the other hand, seems to sum up the whole work in the pattern of man's redemption of her who contained Him whom the heavens cannot contain, and who, through the mysterious operation of the life-giving Spirit, herself became the dwelling of the infinite Creator.

796 [527] [785]

All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured;
Both the assembly of the angels and the race of men.
O hallowed temple and logical paradise, the boast of virgins,
From whom God took flesh and became a little child,
Who is from all eternity our God.
For He made thy womb His throne
And fashioned thy body broader than the heavens.
All creation rejoices in thee, thou who art highly favoured:
Glory to thee!

*

494 [123]

On August 13th, 1949, furnished with a document wherein the officer commanding the Drama gendarmerie called upon all whom I should encounter in my travels to give me all conceivable manner of assistance, I embarked in the antique vehicle which then connected the village of Kato Nevrokopi with the rest of Christendom (it was blown up by a Communist mine a few months later). During the early stages of our somewhat wayward progress through the narrow streets of Drama it became evident, from the sounds which came from overhead that, in addition to the forty-four Greek passengers who occupied the

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[1] [ie before Aug. 15th41 - ANALYST]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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494 interior of the vehicle, there were others who had with less formality installed themselves amidst the multitudinous array of baggage, livestock and firearms which renders every Greek bus incapable of passing beneath what used, in England at least, to be described as 'a low
491 bridge'. To the north of Drama the road crosses a dusty plain for
[669] several kilometres and then turns sharply to the right between two high peaks and winds laboriously up a rocky defile. Every few hundred yards there was a bridge: either guarded by a block-house, manned by men of the mobile section of the home-guard, or else lying in ruins and necessitating a perilous descent into a dried-up water course. These occasional outposts apart, we saw no human habitation for the best part of another twenty kilometres, when we reached the head of the pass. Here we halted for a few minutes and refreshed ourselves with cold mountain water from a stream by the roadside. Shortly after three
[726] o'clock we began the descent into the well-watered plateau, within sight of the Bulgarian frontier, on the northern fringe of which lies the village of Kato Nevrokopi, and which had been the scene of bitter fighting when the Germans poured into Greece in April, 1941. A few
346 minutes later we were among the houses of Nevrokopi and my fellow-
727 passengers pointed out to me the cottage, in no way distinguishable
793 from its neighbours save by the board bearing the Byzantine eagles and the inscription *ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ* beside the door, which, *faute de mieux*, has served as the bishop's headquarters since 1945: the old metropolis having been destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of eastern Macedonia.

574 Half-past three on a warm August afternoon not being a discreet
[527] hour at which to call on a Greek bishop, I retired to the green shade of a vine beside the *plateia* to sip coffee and discuss such varied topics as the Bishop of Birmingham, Schiller and the Scottish liturgy (and, inevitably, the incredible folly of the British electorate in banishing Mr. Churchill to the opposition benches), with the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and other local celebrities. Meanwhile, a troop of small boys was despatched at regular intervals to reconnoitre in the vicinity of the metropolis. At half-past four it was reported that the windows were
[513] open (all true Greeks sleep with windows and shutters firmly closed), and I was thereupon escorted to the metropolis where I was warmly welcomed by the Bishop. We talked until a little after six o'clock,
● 796 when the *ephemerios*, or curate, of the parish arrived to lead the way to
788 church for evensong.

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A VILLAGE FESTIVAL

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When the Metropolitan was suitably attired he took his silver-headed stick and we set out in a little procession towards the cathedral church of St. Demetrius, which towers above the wretched cottages that surround it like some great vessel among her attendant tugs. The Metropolitan and myself were preceded by the parish priest, while well ahead there danced a certain Anargyri, whose daily joy and responsibility it is to remove straying cattle and goats from the Bishop's path, to wave to their feet the loungers on doorsteps, the coffee drinkers and those who play *trictrac* in their leafy retreats; finally, to silence the village's solitary gramophone and other profane noises. As our little procession hove in sight, the bell-ringer, stationed among his charges at the summit of the campanile, shattered the slumbers of all who had immoderately prolonged their siesta, and we made our way up the steps into the narthex of a surprisingly lofty church.

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After evensong we returned, somewhat less formally, to the Bishop's cottage for supper—a simple meal of potatoes and fruit (by reason of the fast) which was shared by his two nephews, both of them orphans. I slept that night at an inn adjoining the cottage-metropolis.

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The following morning, it being Sunday, we were in church from a quarter to seven until a little after ten. The liturgy ended, the colonel in charge of the local garrison drove us out in his jeep to the village of Granitsi, high on the wooded hills above the plateau, where we sat under a great oak while the villagers came to greet their father in God and brought little gifts of fruit and honey.

At evensong in the cathedral that evening, while the cantors sang of:

> Things creeping innumerable,
> Both small and great beasts,

a dormouse appeared from behind the cupboard where the liturgical books were stored, and sat most devoutly before the beautiful doors for a considerable space. The Bishop told me afterwards that it was the first mouse—the colloquial *pontikos*, with a twinkle at my use of the classical word—he had seen in the church during the four years that had elapsed since his consecration as Metropolitan of the smallest and poorest see of Greece.

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The old diocese of Nevrokopi had included 120 communities. After the first Balkan war, however, it had been partitioned, and ninety of its villages as well as the town of Nevrokopi now lie within Bulgarian

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795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
[162] about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
722 whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
166 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward. When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[736] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the
[346] great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

• 796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away, which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
[493] before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re-decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who had followed us up the stony path from the *mesochori*, or village-square, crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office (the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion, overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

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796 confidence in the familiar chants, had had a hand clapped precisely
794 to his mouth when he rashly ventured upon the uncharted depths of one
533 less familiar, and little by little had attained to his present mastery of his art. This is the universal method for training singers: the Greeks know nothing of the prolonged agony of choir-practices. As a boy gains confidence he will occasionally be permitted to sing the Epistle at the liturgy: it is by no means unusual, even in a big urban parish, to see such a 'reader'—perhaps not more than twelve or thirteen years of age.

796 The Gospel was sung from the throne—not from the pulpit—by the parish priest, and, as is customary, was followed immediately by the sermon. The men and boys parted to allow the Bishop to reach his throne, and then closed in solidly around him: a sea of intent faces stretching from the doors of the sanctuary out through the shadowed narthex into the fierce glare of sunlight beyond. The sermon, as befitted the occasion, was homely both in language and illustration. The Bishop took his text from the Gospel appointed for the feast: "Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it". He pictured the two sisters: Martha, "cumbered about much serving" (a pungent sipasng reference to certain absent members of his flock who were so preoccupied with their chaffering that they could ill spare an hour or two to come to church), and Mary, who "sat at Jesus' feet and heard His word". It was well that we should hearken to the divine word; that we should come to church and hear the holy Gospels read Sunday by Sunday. It was still more to the point, however, that we should be not mere hearers of the word but doers also; that we should not only *hear* the word of God but *keep* it. Therein lay the true holiness of that other Mary, the Mother of the Word. It was on account of her entire conformity to the divine will that we venerated her, the fiery chariot of the word, the bush burning and yet unconsumed, above every creature: above the bodiless powers and the choirs of archangels, above the cherubim and seraphim who veil their faces before the unapproachable glory.

"For us too, my children", the Bishop went on, "this is the sure way of salvation. There are no bounds to the creative energy of the word in the life of the Christian who surrenders himself in simplicity to its power". A series of illustrations followed: the eunuch of Queen Candace, hearing the divine word and straightway being baptised; the converting power of the word as revealed in the life of St. Augustine —a father who figures so infrequently in the discourses of Greek prelates

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as to lead me to suspect the offering of a discreet compliment to western Christendom; the fruits of the word, love, joy and peace, made manifest in the life and death of the blessed Polycarp. 796

"And you boys", said the Bishop, with 'a diligent and busy cast of his eye' toward certain of the more youthful of his auditors; "you who steal eggs and fruit and take other people's food out of the communal oven: there is no reason why you—if you keep the word of God faithfully—should not be as great as St. Peter or St. Paul, or why at the end of your lives you should not be able to echo those ever-memorable words of Polycarp: 'These eighty and six years have I been His servant' . . ."

Looking round that crowded church, my mind went to the Whitsuntide hymn: "Blessed art thou, O Christ our God, who hast made the fishermen wise by the sending down upon them of the Holy Spirit, and through them hast drawn the world into thy net."

The sermon ended, the singers took up the solemn chant of the Hymn of the Cherubim, and a hush fell upon the congregation as the ministers with their attendants emerged from the prothesis chapel and made their slow circuit of the church, the veiled oblations borne aloft, to the accompaniment of that all-embracing appeal: [533]

> May the Lord God be mindful of us all
> in His kingdom, always, now and for ever,
> and unto the ages of ages.

The holy gifts were carried up within the sanctuary and laid upon the altar. The singers resumed their interrupted hymn; the atmosphere was heavy with incense—which, say the commentators, is here an emblem of the mixture of myrrh and aloes which Nicodemus brought for the entombment of the Lord: [782]

> Lo, Christ is crucified, the Life is buried,
> the tomb is made fast, the stone is sealed.

Two shallow alms-baskets piled high with tattered notes were passed slowly round the church, while the sacristan sprinkled perfume from a pewter vessel into the outstretched hands of the more accessible among the male members of the congregation. [794]

The long drawn-out alleluias died away into silence as the parish [788]

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796 priest resumed his place before the doors and took up anew the litanies
788 which properly pertain to the deacon's liturgy:

> For the precious gifts which have been offered,
> For this holy temple, and for those who enter it in
> faith, reverence and the fear of God . . .

while the reiterated *Kyrie eleison* of the singers rose and fell and we commended "ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God".

At the cry: "The doors, the doors!" all became suddenly alert, and a young girl—one of those celebrating their name-day—pushed through the crowd of women and children who filled the space between the lectern of the singers and the eikonostasis on the north side of the church and, standing before the eikon of the Mother of God, read the Nicene Creed. The Bishop commenced the great eucharistic prayer and the climax of the liturgy drew near. After the loaves that remained over from
796 the consecrated bread had been blessed, the Bishop sent me, by the hand
778 of his assistant, a portion bearing the seal IC . XC . NI . KA: how many a
262 holy custom have we forfeited in exchanging the *artos* of scripture and
783 primitive tradition for the *azymes* which bear no evident relation to the common bread which one bakes and breaks at home, or to the daily toil of ordinary men and women. In Greece the bread and the wine
[793] that are brought to the altar are the very same as those which are eaten and drunk at home, and such loaves as remain over after the distribution of the blessed bread—the *antidoron* (literally, 'instead of the gift')—go to the parish priest; so, we may recall, the English Prayer Book requires that: "the Bread be such as is usual to be eaten. . . . And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated the Curate shall have it to his own use."

Came the solemn pronouncement of the Lord's words: "This is my body. . . . This is my blood", and the great cry "Thine of thine own we offer to thee . . ." and then the Bishop knelt before the holy table and called upon God to "send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts, and make this bread the precious body of thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit", while the singers softly intoned their hymn of adoring praise, and the holy people of God stood with bowed heads in the pools of sunlight, veiled by the slowly spiralling haze of incense.

796 In some parts of Greece where movements such as the Brotherhood
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of Life have been most active, there have, as we shall see in a later chapter, been certain changes in liturgical practice during recent years: very often now the celebrant reads in an audible voice the whole of the *anaphora*, or great eucharistic prayer, which the rubric directs him to say *mystikos*—mystically, or secretly—and the whole congregation kneels at the invocation of the Holy Spirit. None of these influences had as yet reached this remote corner of New Greece, however, and the liturgy was still celebrated at Dasoto after the fashion which caused Robert de Dreux, in the seventeenth century, to observe that "it is not easy to see all that they do when they say mass, because the celebrant is hidden by a screen which shuts off the altar, and only shows himself three or four times". This, however, is a topic to which we shall have occasion to return. 796 788 178

The Lord's Prayer (like the Creed) was recited by a girl, and there were some thirty communicants including several children borne in the arms of their mothers—a familiar sight this in every Greek parish church. When the liturgy was ended, and the Bishop had distributed the blessed bread to the whole congregation, I observed some twenty of those who had communicated kneel before the royal doors while their father in God read a brief prayer of absolution. I have referred elsewhere to contemporary Greek practice in regard to the use of the mystery of confession. In the country districts at least, where confessors are rare, this is by no means as uniform as some are apt to suppose, or as might be inferred from the customs which obtain among the Russians of the diaspora, in Paris and elsewhere, with whom the sacrament has tended in recent times to become an obligatory part of the preparation for holy communion. 796 782 852 788 783 796

When one has fasted as a Christian one feasts as a Christian—in Greece at least. 796 [785]

> Then for their Festivals [says Dr. Covel] . . . there is not one that appears there but will contribute something, as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at our old Whitsun-Ales, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival; and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the Virgin Mary, or any other

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796 peculiar Saint, especially those to whom they are particularly devoted. These jolly Easterlings, when they hear . . . that the Christians pretending to be Reformed in the West, do utterly hate and abjure all such Practices as *Heathenish* and *Prophane*, must think them all the vilest Miscreants living.

796 When the last of the *antidoron* had been distributed, Anargyri had
793 replaced the mitre in its brass box, and the Metropolitan had concluded
574 a long conversation with the churchwardens about the best method of shoring up the roof—a section of which was sagging ominously—we left the church and made our way to the dwelling of the parish priest where a vast table had been erected in the shade of a vine. There we feasted until it was high afternoon: the Lord Agathangellos, the president of the community, the *kapetanios* of the militia, the *papas*, the schoolmaster, Anargyri, the churchwardens, the singers and several officers from the garrison of Nevrokopi who had accompanied us to Dasoto that morning.

796 It was not by any means my first experience of a village festival: a
574 few months earlier I might well have been deceived into thinking that
262 the bowls of eggs, goat's milk cheese, olives, and finely-shredded
273 vegetables soaked in oil and lemon which appeared with the *ouzo* constituted the substance of the feast and not a mere *hors d'oeuvre*. Now I knew better, and I was not surprised when the clearing of the table by the *papadia* and her daughters after forty minutes proved to be no more than a prelude to a banquet of an altogether more serious character.

As the dishes came and went and the dark wine flowed freely, I recalled Dr. Covel's description of another such festival at the great Athonite house of Iveron: "The best monkish fare that could be gotten was provided, excellent fish (severall ways), oyl, salet, beanes, hortechockes, beets . . . chees, onions, garlick, olives, caveor, Pyes of herbs, φακαὶς, κτωπόδι; pepper, salt, saffron in all. At last conserved little oranges, most exquisite, good wine (a sort of small claret), and we alwayes drank most plentifully. . . . He is no Greek that cannot drink twenty or thirty plump glasses at a setting."

[535] After the feast there was dancing, and the sun was low in the west when we drove back to Nevrokopi. The day drew to a close amongst the eikons of those who had finished their course, with those yet in the way of salvation joining with one voice in the ancient canticle, *Hail! Gladdening Light*, to the praise and glory of the Holy Trinity.

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VI

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

> Let the Christian consider well when he enters the church that he is entering into another heaven. That same majesty of God which is in heaven is also in His church, and on this account the Christian must needs enter with reverence and fear.
>
> From a *Synopsis* printed at Venice in 1857

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DR. COVEL, it must be confessed, looked with a somewhat jaundiced eye upon the liturgical performances of the Greeks of Constantinople—the "jolly Easterlings," as he styles them. Not for him the wondering awe of the emissaries of the Prince of Kiev who, seven centuries before his advent as chaplain to King Charles' ambassador at the Sublime Porte, had been present at a celebration of the divine liturgy of our father among the saints, John Chrysostom, in the great church of the Emperor Justinian, and had not known whether they were yet on earth or in heaven by reason of its surpassing splendour.

"A miserable Jumble, or patcht Piece of Service", says Covel, "so confused and so tedious, as it takes away all Devotion"; not to be compared with the chaste dignity of that incomparable liturgy whose compilers "with wonderful Prudence and sound Judgment did distinguish, or rather . . . garble the Offices of Greeks and Latins: and retaining and adding only such things as might promote true Piety and primitive Devotion, did cast away all the rest."

The good Doctor was plainly subject to the prejudices which are characteristic of most Frankish divines and travellers of his generation; and yet, making due allowance for a certain lack of sympathy in the face of an unfamiliar liturgical tradition, we must admit the substantial truth of his assertion that "the greatest part of the Easterlings' Oeconomy and discipline, especially of the Greeks, consist first in their Pomp and amusing Ceremonies at their Liturgies and other Offices . . . and in celebrating their Fasts and Feasts."

Nobody who has lived and worshipped amongst Greek Christians 788
for any length of time but has sensed in some measure the extraordinary 796
hold which the recurring cycle of the Church's liturgy has upon the
piety of the common people. Nobody who has kept the great lent with [771]

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788 the Greek Church, who has shared in the fast which lies heavy upon
796 the whole nation for forty days; who had stood for long hours, one of an innumerable multitude who crowd the tiny Byzantine churches of Athens and overflow into the streets, while the familiar pattern of God's saving economy towards man is re-presented in psalm and prophecy, in lections from the Gospel, and the matchless poetry of the canons; who has known the desolation of the holy and great Friday, when every bell in Greece tolls its lament and the body of the Saviour lies shrouded in flowers in all the village churches throughout the land; who has been present at the kindling of the new fire and tasted of the joy of a world released from the bondage of sin and death—none can have lived through all this and not have realised that for the Greek Christian the Gospel is inseparably linked with the liturgy that is unfolded week by week in his parish church. Not among the Greeks only but throughout Orthodox Christendom the liturgy has remained at the very heart of the Church's life.

What the west knows as the liturgical movement bears witness to a very different state of affairs. Throughout western Christendom we can trace the growth of a spirit profoundly alien to that which characterises the Orthodox Christian's approach to the mysteries of the faith. The prayer of the Church no longer shapes and controls the piety of ordinary men and women as it did in former days. Liturgy has as it were become separated from dogma and then, inevitably, from spirituality also. The holy eucharist—the corporate action wherein every member of the organic body has its appropriate *liturgy* to perform—has become clericalised; has come to be thought of as the act of one member acting on behalf of the whole body.

Many who reverence the Bible as the word of God forget that the treasures of the divine scriptures are fully revealed only to the worshipping *ekklesia*, in whose liturgy they are embedded as in a precious frame. Every fragment of a shattered Christendom has its private *lex orandi*, born of isolation and bearing the marks of controversies which are in their turn the legacy of schism and partial vision; while personal devotion—no longer fully subject to the control of the liturgy—has brought forth strange fruit; and a theology divorced from worship and banished to the schools has come to be regarded as a barren science of the intellect: a necessary discipline for scholars and specialists, but utterly irrelevant to the life of the ordinary Christian doing daily battle against the threefold enemy.

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788 in western Christendom. The very limitations of this Greek 'liturgical
178 movement' illustrate the Roman Catholic historian's contention that the Orthodox Church has never lost her hold upon certain important truths which we in the west are only now, after long centuries of neglect, beginning to recover and make our own.

788 The word *leitourgia* had in classical Greek the meaning of a public
●796 service or duty—it might be building a wall or fitting out a hollow ship
[192] for a naval expedition. Despite the specifically religious associations which the word has acquired through later usage, it is still sometimes employed in this quite general sense. I remember, for example, being told on one occasion in a small provincial town of northern Greece that the municipal school was not *liturgising* that morning: was not performing its liturgy, or service.

For the Christian, likewise, the liturgy which he fulfils every Sunday in his parish church is a public service; an action performed on behalf not of any terrestrial *polis* but of that city which, as Augustine puts it, is Christ's body of which Christ is the head. The holy eucharist in particular, the service to which the Greek Christian commonly refers as 'the divine liturgy', and upon which the whole of the liturgy, in the wider sense of that word, centres, is supremely the characteristic act of the Church: a corporate action in which every member of the one body takes part. Nor is it those now on earth who alone participate in the eucharistic liturgy. It is not merely the bishop, priest, deacon and reader who, with the remainder of the *laos*—the holy people of God—have their peculiar service to offer within the setting of the one oblation. The saints and the angels, the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim, no less than the earthly ministers of Christ's body have each their several liturgy to perform; the whole company of the heavenly Sion is present and active in every village church or hilltop chapel where the holy and ineffable mysteries are fulfilled and where the King of kings and Lord of lords comes forth to be sacrificed and given for food to the faithful.

For many centuries now, so far as the west is concerned, this aspect of the eucharist as the characteristic action of the whole Christian community has tended to be obscured. The passing of the austere Latin of the ancient liturgies as a language "understanded of the people" and the banishing of theology to the schools gradually brought about the virtual exclusion of the laity from any active participation in the

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celebration of the divine mysteries. The liturgy was no longer thought of as a corporate action in which the whole congregation—the laity no less than the clerks—had an essential part to play. Slowly but surely the mass came to be regarded rather in the light of a marvellous rite, fraught indeed with inexpressible wonder and mystery, performed by the sacred ministers: as something *said* rather than *done*. The common people, capable no longer of entering into the full meaning of the prayer of the Church, came to church to hear the mass and to occupy themselves with 'private' devotions bearing little relation to the action which was taking place within the sanctuary, where the sacred ministers performed their liturgy on behalf of the whole body. The ceremonies which from about the thirteenth century onwards gathered about the elevation of the holy gifts belong to an age which had already acquiesced in the growth of a popular piety no longer effectively subject to the control of the prayer of the Church. 788 796

The English Prayer Book attempted to restore to the laity their rightful liturgy. The mass was again sung that the people might hear it and in a language which they could understand. But the reformers themselves were too much subject to mediaeval assumptions: the real roots of the trouble still lay hid. An emphasis on audibility was not enough and congregational worship was not necessarily *corporate* worship. For the common people the new vernacular mass was still something said rather than done; metrical psalms and the congregational hymns which gradually superseded them, had no more organic connexion with the eucharistic action than the older vernacular devotions wherewith our forefathers had occupied themselves while the priest, aloof and apart, performed his mysterious acts at God's board.

The expression 'to hear mass' has no parallel in Greek. The Greek Christian goes to his parish church not so much to *hear* a service as to play his part in a corporate action in which all the different orders of the Church are actively involved. The very arrangement of the church emphasises this fact; the sacred ministers are not, as is now usual in the west, separated from the people by a long quire or chancel. The holy table stands not against the east wall of the apse but clear in the midst of the *altar*, or sanctuary as we should say. The average Greek church, it should also be borne in mind, is by western standards very tiny—even the great basilicas of Salonica are dwarfed by the cathedrals of the gothic north—and since the space which separates the holy table from 788 796 346

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788 the eikonostasis is commonly no greater than suffices to permit of the
796 prostrations of the celebrant, and, in a parish church, the laity occupy
the greater part of the space beneath the dome, and press against the
346 great screen which bears the eikons, many of the congregation are thus
within two or three yards of the holy table itself.

But what, the reader may ask, of the eikonostasis? Does not this solid screen, pierced only by three doors, extending right across the whole width of the church, cut off the laity from all effective participation in the action taking place within the sanctuary quite as much as mere physical remoteness? Does it not tend, as has been asserted by Dom Gregory Dix, to force "upon the eastern liturgies the character of two simultaneous services, the one proceeding outside the screen for the people, conducted chiefly by the deacon; the other—the real liturgical action—proceeding inside the screen conducted by the celebrant"?

788 That there is an element of truth in such contentions may be ad-
mitted: witness a tendency which is steadily gaining ground in Greece
796 to-day. In many town churches (with the exception of a few provincial
346 cathedrals liturgical reform has as yet made little headway in the
178 country districts), the curtain which could be drawn across the space
above the double doors in the centre of the eikonostasis has now fallen into disuse—at any rate so far as the eucharistic liturgy is concerned. The doors themselves are as a rule only about three feet in height, and it has long been customary to draw these curtains (thus screening the sanctuary completely from the view of the people) at two points during the divine liturgy, at both of which there is much coming and going about the holy table; at the placing of the holy gifts upon the altar immediately after the Great Entrance; and again during the communion of the ministers. This custom has now been abandoned in many places. In a few churches the doors themselves have been removed as, for instance, at Aghia Katerini, Piraeus (where the liturgy is celebrated with a reverence and propriety unsurpassed in all Greece), and, I am told, in the chapel of the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople.

788 When all is said, however, the effects of the eikonostasis have been
grossly exaggerated by western writers, too many of whom have been
796 content to reiterate *ad nauseam* the strictures of their predecessors in the
346 field of controversy: strictures grounded not infrequently upon the
most superficial acquaintance with the liturgical practice of eastern Christendom. The divisive properties of the eikonostasis are most marked in a large church when the space before the royal doors normally

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occupied by the laity is railed off and reserved for the singers and distinguished visitors. Such an arrangement, so far as Greece is concerned, will be found only in certain churches of Athens and Salonica. It would, I fancy, be generally acknowledged by all who have worshipped among Greek Christians as well as in the churches of the Latins that as an instrument for creating a sense of separation between ministers and people the eikonostasis of the Easterlings is vastly inferior to the Frankish quire or chancel. An Orthodox priest who has celebrated the liturgy in more than 200 western churches (most of them Anglican) has remarked that he finds himself far more cut off from his congregation in an English parish church—without an eikonostasis of course, but with a long chancel, often having a screen at its *western* end—than in an Orthodox church where the screen is never further away than four feet from the altar.

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It needs also to be borne in mind how great a part of the eucharistic action is enacted *outside* the eikonostasis in the midst of the congregation. Thus the deacon, whose normal place is immediately beneath the eikon of the Pantocrator in the dome, acts as a constant link between all the various orders of the church. The bishop's throne, which forms part of the ordinary furnishing of every Greek church—a constant reminder that the parish priest 'liturgises' only as the deputy of the diocesan—also stands outside the screen, on the south side of the space beneath the dome, so that the bishop is often completely surrounded by his flock. At the solemn entries which occur during the course of the divine liturgy—the lesser, with the book of the Gospels, the greater, with the holy gifts veiled and borne aloft—the sacred ministers descend into the body of the church and make a slow circuit of the whole building. Outside the eucharistic liturgy itself, some of the most memorable events of the liturgical year—the great blessing of the waters at Epiphany (the Feast of Lights, as it is popularly known), the solemn kneeling at the second vespers of Whit-Sunday and the adoration of the holy cross on September 14th, as well as many of the profoundly moving ceremonies of Holy Week and Eastertide—are celebrated not within the sanctuary but in the midst of the congregation.

This would naturally be impossible if the Greek church were encumbered with chairs or pews. In fact, the only seating consists of a few stalls, with crutch-like supports for the arms, against the walls of the church. Standing—not kneeling—is, as it has always been, the normal attitude for prayer. At one of the great festivals the people will stand for hours wedged so tightly together that it is impossible even to cross

788 oneself. All other considerations apart, such a setting is hardly favourable to
• 796 the growth of certain individualistic types of piety which flourish amongst
[346] the Franks, who worship their Creator in strange and novel ways, each isolated from his fellow and entrenched within the citadel of his own pew.

In Greece there is but one celebration of the liturgy on a Sunday or holy day in any one church. This is a rule which is waived only in cases
[346] of extreme necessity and then only when a *parekklesion*, or side-chapel, is available so that it is not necessary to use the same altar twice (most
[793] Greek churches have only one altar). A priest may celebrate only once on any given day.

In Greece the times of services are never announced and questions on this score are invariably met with evasive if not actually misleading replies. Services commence earlier in summer than in winter. An hour or two after sunrise the bells will be rung and the priest and a couple of readers will begin to sing the morning offices—*mesonyktikon* (which should, as the name indicates, be read at midnight, as it is in the monastic use), and *ortbros*, or lauds, the office of the dawn. Towards the end of the latter service—perhaps an hour or more after the village's first awakening—the bells will be rung a second time. Still the church is comparatively empty. The holy eucharist follows *ortbros* without a break about nine o'clock, and by the time that the thrice-holy hymn is sung (when the bells summon the faithful for the third and last time) the congregation will have begun to swell, until, at the great entry with the holy gifts, the greater part of the village will be packed within the walls of the church, the men to the right, the women to the left, the air by this time heavy with incense.

788 The whole service is invariably sung. What the west knows as a low
533 mass, the 'early service' or 'eight o'clock', dear to so many English churchmen, is unknown to the Greeks. The traditional Byzantine chant is still more or less universal and is always sung without instrumental accompaniment; only in certain urban parishes has it been partially displaced of recent years by that bastard child of strangely-matched parents, the so-called European chant. In its pure form the traditional plainsong can be quite ravishing in its unearthly beauty. Never shall I forget the singing of the monks of Moni Petraki who gather morning by morning in their tiny church, while Athens lies in darkness and before the first tramcar has gone clanging down the tree-lined avenue of the *Basilissa* Sophia towards the outer suburbs.

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HEAVEN UPON EARTH

"Nowhere, either in Greece or the East," observes the Abbé de St. Michon, "do men sing as loud as we do. It is an usage that we owe to the barbarism of our fathers. The oriental psalmody is sweet, low and without effort." Alas! it is not always so. "Their singing", says Thomas Smith, "is very mean and pitifull, without figure and the relishes of art, and is at best but a kind of harsh Plain-song." "We heard the Greek Vespers", wrote Sir George Wheler in 1675, "worse sung than *Hopkins* Psalms used to be in some of our Country Churches." All too frequently the beauty of the traditional chant has been overlaid by accretions and adornment from alien sources; and its delivery, as the Abbé justly remarks, "with nasal sounds which weary European ears". Much of the "tedious and indiscreet length of liturgies" whereof so many Frankish travellers have complained, is due not to any inner necessity of the rite itself but solely to the elaboration of the chant. The restoration of the oriental plainchant to something of its earlier simplicity and directness has therefore become an imperative need in circles where the holy mysteries are celebrated frequently: one cannot expect the laity to spend the greater part of every morning in church. There are churches in Greece to-day where the liturgy is celebrated with great reverence in an hour and a quarter, even when many of the secret prayers are read aloud. 788 533

Concelebration—which has all but disappeared from the west—is still very much a reality in Greece, and is an important factor in enabling the Greek Church to retain the ancient rule of a single eucharist attended by the whole church in each several locality. On a Sunday morning at an important parish church, such as St. Panteleimon, Acharnon (in the suburbs of Athens), one may see five or six priests attended by a deacon concelebrating at the great square altar, often with a bishop (one of the suffragans of the Archbishop, or a provincial metropolitan serving his term of duty as a member of the synod) presiding over the whole assembly. The Greek bishop or priest who finds himself away from his own diocese on the Lord's day does not take his place amongst the laity in the body of the church but joins the other ministers gathered around the holy table and there fulfils his proper liturgy. 788 793

Now there are those who, while recognising that the Orthodox Church has in many respects faithfully preserved the liturgical tradition of the first centuries of our era, would yet ask whether the liturgy of the laity has not—within the bounds of the *oikoumene* no less than in the 788 796

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788 west—been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Is not the Greek
796 Christian for all practical purposes a mere passive onlooker at a gorgeous spectacle performed by the resplendent ministers: even though the sacred participants in the divine drama sometimes descend from their apron stage and mingle with the audience?

It must be admitted that the average Greek layman communicates very rarely, often only once or twice a year; outside the immediate sphere of influence of the movements, hardly ever more than four times. This reluctance of the laity to communicate frequently is a phenomenon which has been common to east and west from a very early period—though in the west (among Orthodox of the diaspora as well as amongst western Christians) there has been a widespread return to something more nearly approaching primitive practice. Its causes are complex and, to a great extent, a matter for speculation. One factor which is peculiar to the east is the place which the *antidoron* has come to occupy. It would be an over-simplification to say that the blessed bread which the Greek Christian is accustomed to receive at the end of every liturgy is consciously looked upon as a substitute for the holy communion; nevertheless, the *antidoron* has a deep significance for the Greek layman —more, perhaps, than in other parts of the Orthodox world.

The reluctance to communicate frequently does not, as we can see from the history of certain movements within western Christendom, necessarily spring from carelessness and sloth; often it is due to a sense of unworthiness which is none the less real though it be considered misguided. Even in reforming circles in Greece to-day one discovers great wariness on the part of the clergy in recommending frequent, let alone daily, communion to their people. This is not, it is held, a matter
[783] to be undertaken lightly, or without the advice and approval of an experienced confessor; and few priests will permit their penitents to communicate as often as once a month unless they are satisfied that the desire goes hand in hand with a real determination to follow Christ in their daily life. To communicate every Sunday is regarded as an inestimable privilege, but one which is hardly for all men.

[782] Then we must not ignore the part played by the ordinary Christian
[769] in the offertory. In the country districts of Greece the housewife who bakes her bread on Saturday will set aside one loaf upon which she has
[369] stamped with a wooden seal a traditional design wherein the words "Jesus Christ conquers"—abbreviated to I(HCOY)C . X(PICTO)C . NI . KA—constitute the most prominent feature. Early on Sunday

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morning she will set out for the parish church with her loaf, and arriving whilst the singers are still chanting the morning psalms, and taking it to the door of the chapel where the elements are prepared, she will hand it to the priest together with a vessel of wine, the family diptychs —or lists of relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated by name at the holy eucharist—and perhaps a flask of oil for the lamps and a few grains of incense. Even in an urban parish church the faithful may purchase a sealed loaf at the counter in the narthex where candles are sold, and send it to the celebrant with their diptychs.

It is frequently asserted that the offering of the people disappeared from the eastern liturgies at an early date. One can only marvel at the number of eminent scholars who have been led astray in this matter through failure to distinguish clearly between the offertory procession of the Roman rite and the offering itself. The procession never found a place in the Byzantine rite, which retained the older practice of presenting the bread and wine informally before the commencement of the eucharistic liturgy. So widely-used a liturgical handbook as the late Dr. Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy* asserts that "the offerings of the people, which consisted partly of bread and wine, out of which the elements of the eucharist were taken, and partly of alms . . . continued in the west longer than in the east".[1] In actual fact the offering of the people has never disappeared from the Byzantine liturgy and may still be witnessed in any Greek village church on the Lord's day.

But even though it be admitted that the offering of the bread and wine makes the ordinary people something more than mere passive spectators at a gorgeous pageant, it may yet be said that from very early times the rightful liturgy of the laity has in practice been transferred to the choir: the common people hardly open their mouths from one end of the eucharistic liturgy to the other. Now it is true that congregational singing as practised in the west is so rare among the Greeks as to be almost unknown. Only on one of the great festivals of the Church's year will the whole congregation take up the melody of some ancient hymn: the paschal anthem *Christ is risen from the dead*, for example, or the dismissal hymn at the Epiphany. Normally those parts of the liturgy which properly belong to the laity are in fact sung by the *psaltai* or trained singers —and this applies even to the responses to the petitions of the litanies.

[1] 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1949, p. 127. Dom Gregory Dix and Professor Burkitt have already been taken to task on this issue by the Archimandrite Alexis van der Mensbrugghe.

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788 What, on the other hand, is very common is for the laity to repeat,
796 almost inaudibly, the words of the prayers and hymns of the liturgy
533 as they are chanted by the singers. Not only is this practice very widespread among Greek Christians, it is also officially encouraged, while from very early times only the canonically appointed *psaltai* have been allowed to sing aloud in church. Thus, in a modern Greek catechism, the question:

"Does not the whole of the *laos* take part in public worship?" receives the following answer:

"Yes, it does and should take part; not only by standing reverently and following in spirit what is being done, but also by joining in and softly singing . . . thus to show that it is a lively member of the body of the Church."

In other words, the excellent practice commonly known to the western world as 'praying the mass' is one with which the ordinary
[782] Greek Christian is thoroughly familiar. He has never been accustomed to occupy the long hours that he spends in church with 'private' devotions—indeed the expression would be unintelligible to him. It is not only "pious Russians of the middle classes" who (in the words of John Mason Neale) "feel a repugnance to use any devotions but those of the Church".

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the separation between the Greek *psaltai* and the whole body of the faithful is much less marked than in western Christendom, with its surpliced choirs. The singers are quite plainly members of the congregation: the spokesmen of the whole body of the *laos* amongst whom they stand. They normally wear
[292] lay dress; only in an urban parish church will one normally see an
[369] *anagnostes*, or reader, wearing a simple black gown. The ordinary singers are indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Indeed, one of the
788 things which commonly strikes the visitor to Greece who finds his way
796 for the first time to a parish church is the unexpectedly prominent (some would say obtrusive) part played by the laity in the church services. Very often long stretches of incomprehensible offices seem to be conducted entirely by laymen; the parish priest only occasionally emerging from the sanctuary, and disappearing as quickly after a brief *ekphonesis*, to leave matters wholly in the hands of two middle-aged gentlemen in double-breasted suits, supported by a nondescript collection of young men and boys.

This, to the western mind, curiously prominent liturgical rôle of the lay-singers has occasioned comment in other ages than our own. On the
[175] feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the year of our Lord 1400, King Henry IV rode out to Blackheath at the head of an imposing array, to

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welcome to his dominions the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus with a following which included several Greek ecclesiastics, both bishops and priests.[1] These unwonted guests remained in London until the end of February following. The Greek services were celebrated daily, many English churchmen being present, and several contemporary accounts of the impression created by these unfamiliar rites have been preserved. More than one chronicler notes with surprise that laymen as well as clerks took an active part in the services which, to quote Adam of Usk, "were joined in as well by soldiers as by priests; for they chanted them without distinction in their native tongue".

One last word in connexion with the liturgy of the laity. A contemporary of King Henry IV relates that the Emperor's chaplains were catechised by certain English churchmen who had been present at the Greeks' services as to whether "the common people and the ignorant in their country did indeed understand the scriptures and the divine words which they recited together with the learned." Is the 'old school-Greek' whereof Covel and others speak, sufficiently understanded of the people?

Let us hear another voice from the fifteenth century: "The Grekis", says John Purvey, "wiche ben nobel men, han al this in ther owne langage. But yet adversaries of trewith seien, wane men rehersen that Grekis . . . han al in ther owne langage, the clerkis of hem speiken grammaticalliche and the puple understondith it not."

It should be remarked that the Orthodox Church has never opposed the translation of the scriptures or the liturgy into new tongues when such translation has been necessary for the furtherance of her missionary and pastoral work. On the contrary, the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is probably celebrated in more languages than any other of the historic rites of Christendom. I have myself been present at celebrations at which old Slavonic, Greek, English, French and Arabic have all been used during the course of the liturgy, and W. J. Birkbeck mentions a committee he encountered at St. Petersburg in 1889 which was engaged in translating the liturgy for a small tribe in the north-east of Siberia, numbering less than 5,000 souls and whose language contained scarcely

[1] The story of this Byzantine Emperor's fruitless expedition to the west in quest of military aid against the Turk, and of his sojourn in Paris and London—one of the most diverting episodes in fifteenth-century history—is related in some detail in Schlumberger's *Byzance et Croisades* (Paris, 1927), pp. 87-147: "Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres."

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more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

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consider the family prayers and personal devotions of the Greek laity. 788
These are made up wholly of prayers, psalms and hymns drawn from 796
the liturgy: scarcely ever (save in certain circles influenced by the new 198
movements) do they include vernacular prayers. The *Hiera Synopsis*— 782
the laity's manual of prayers—consists entirely of extracts from the [779]
Church's liturgy. The form of evening prayer commonly used in a Greek household is simply a shortened version of the Little Compline which closes the day in every monastery.

The 'liturgical' approach to the Bible has, it must be confessed, 788
certain limitations. If the laity were present at *all* the services of the 796
Church they would indeed acquire a working knowledge of the greater 779
part of the holy scriptures. In practice, however, they will normally hear only those portions of the Old and New Testaments which are read on Sundays and holy days at the eucharistic liturgy and (depending on the regularity of their attendance) at mattins and evensong. Since 'Bible-reading' is little practised outside the new movements (where, indeed, it is universal) this inevitably means that the majority of the Greek laity, being wholly dependent upon the lections which occur in the course of the regular liturgical cycle, are unfamiliar with considerable portions of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament.

It is, moreover, almost certainly true that the common people understand very imperfectly some of the elaborate 'canons' which recur only once every year (and then generally at mattins when few of the laity are present in church). But, as W. J. Birkbeck remarks not inappositely of the Russian muzhiks of his day: "I myself have heard a great many more quotations (and intelligent quotations too) made from the canons . . . of St. Cosmas and St. John Damascene than I have ever heard from the Norfolk peasantry, amongst whom I have lived all my life, from the Hebrew prophets, which are read, or ought to be read, in all our churches throughout the months of September and October!"

While many a Greek Christian's familiarity with the Bible will extend only to those passages which are read during the course of the liturgy, his *theological* understanding of the scriptures is commonly far deeper than that of the, often better-informed, English churchman. Unlike so many an earnest student of the Bible, he realises—however obscurely—that the divine history is related at every point to what goes on week by week in his parish church: that it is only to those who are baptised into Christ's saving death, who are living in the mystery revealed in the Church, that the full meaning of the scriptures is laid bare.

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346 *Autres temps, autres mœurs.* "Unhappily", said Father Callinicos, as
792 we waited at the foot of the precipice and Gregorios unsaddled the
pony, "there have been regrettable changes; formerly there was great
[406] security." The windlass, it appeared, was now used only for hauling
up firewood and victuals. We took a last look at the leeks, now
100 feet above our heads, and entered the dark passage which gives
access to the steps leading to the monastery. Agathangellos was awaiting
us outside the now disused refectory: a youngish monk, clad in a
tattered grey cassock and soft cap, who had come to the Meteora, we
subsequently discovered, in 1939. He carried us off to the guest-
chamber (little used in these days) and left us among the faded memorials
of former splendour while he went in search of refreshment. A few
[796] minutes later the insistent clamour of the *semandron* summoned us to
vespers in the fine *catholicon*, dating from the middle of the sixteenth
century, where Athanasius the Athonite, clad in the habit of a western
monk, looks down from the apse—a fragment of an earlier church on the
[262] same site, built by Ioasaph in 1388. A frugal supper of vegetables,
[352] goats' milk cheese and bread followed, and afterwards we sat on
wooden stools round a fire of brushwood and talked to the *Igoumenos*
[372] and the other members of his little family, while Agathangellos busied
himself in the kitchens, where cats as lean as the stylite saints depicted
792 in the frescoes of the narthex lurked in the shadows. Father Callinicos,
we discovered, had been at the Great Meteoron for nearly forty years.
There was one other priest in the community: a Father Theophylaktos
who had lived in the Athonite house of Xeropotamou for several years
as a simple monk before he was ordained and came to Thessaly in 1935.
Another monk—also named Callinicos—had been carried off by the
Italians and had died in exile. Apart from Father Agathangellos, the
only remaining member of the community was a very ancient personage
named Paul who appeared to lead the life of a solitary, and whom we
but dimly discerned amidst the shadows of the church. Gregorios, who
had accompanied us from Kalambaka, was no monk but a married man
with a wife and several children, lately returned to their village in the
mountains to the west of Trikkala. We encountered him again some
ten days later, breasting a snow-covered ridge among the foothills of
Pindos with a couple of heavily-laden pack-animals, and accompanied
by a little troop of refugees on their way home after three years in
Kalambaka.

Shortly after eight o'clock Father Agathangellos reappeared with a
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huge iron lantern, to lead the way along rickety galleries and past rows of long-abandoned cells to the church. We shivered in our stalls while compline was shrilly chanted, without book and by the light of a single guttering candle, in the narthex. "They are so expert and ready therein", says Rycaut, "that they can run from the beginning to the ending without stop or hesitation, and gallop it over at that rate, that one must have a good ear and some skill in the Greek language, to distinguish the different sound of the words which they utter." As the monastic day ended, the monks emerged from the shadows of the narthex, and, one by one, filed past the *Igoumenos* to ask his forgiveness and blessing, and he theirs:

"Your blessing, holy father, and forgive me, a sinner."

"May God forgive you, holy father."

At the Great Meteoron, despite the gloomy prophecies of those who had tried to dissuade us from staying at the monasteries, there were plenty of blankets, and we slept soundly till, long before the dawn, the *semandron* recalled us to church for mattins and lauds. We groped our way towards the door of the narthex, slipping and stumbling on the ice-bound rocks and mindful of Father Agathangellos' parting exhortation to "avoid the edge of the abyss". The whole world seemed wrapt in an unfathomable silence—infinitely remote there floated up out of the vast emptiness at our feet the faint clink of a chain, where a mule moved restlessly in the camp at Kalambaka. We crept into the church with the unearthly chant rising and falling in our ears. Agathangellos, a candle held between his fingers, swayed back and forth at his lectern, a solitary pool of yellow light in the universal blackness; an occasional movement from the remoter recesses of the darkened church betrayed the presence of other members of the community. With the first pale light of dawn mattins gave place to lauds, and as a shaft of dusty sunlight pierced the darkness, picking out the gold and crimson of antique frescoes and bringing new life to limbs rigid with the cold, Father Callinicos, from within the sanctuary, took up the ancient hymn: "Glory to Thee who hast shown us the light . . ."

When the office was ended and we had drunk a cup of coffee and a thimbleful of *ouzo*, we spent a little time exploring the monastery, now stripped of all its movable treasures. Then, after taking leave of our kind hosts, we made our way to Aghios Barlaam where we were welcomed by the Archimandrite Ambrose and a young deacon named Bessarion. The *Igoumenos* was below in Kalambaka but would be back

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792 monastery there arrived from Trikkala a certain Papa Iannis, an octogenarian with three married daughters. He had obtained his bishop's permission to come and share the life of the monks (there being no other priest in the community). Finally, there was Basil, a layman of sixty-five, who, after spending his boyhood in America, had returned to his native Thessaly to serve more than one monastery as a resourceful factotum; and there were the inevitable stylite cats. The *Igoumenos* was plainly a sick man—it was little wonder, considering what he had been through during the last few years and the rigours of the life at St. Stephen's—and the morning we left the monastery there was not a monk capable of getting to his place in church for *mesonyktikon* and *orthros*.

792 796 Life at the Meteora to-day is hard indeed, and under such conditions as prevail it is hardly astonishing that the liturgical life of the monasteries should exhibit but little of the dignity and splendour which one rightly looks for in a large and well-ordered community. We were none the less deeply impressed by the efforts which are made to maintain the regular course of the *opus Dei*. Night after night, while Kalambaka sleeps, the few remaining ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi gather in the dimly-lighted chapels among the high rocks to perform what for the monk must always be his primary liturgy; morning by morning as the sun touches the heights of Pindos with new fire and the flickering candles grow pale in the first light of dawn, the great trinitarian doxology banishes the shades of night and unites heaven and earth, angels and archangels, sinful men and those whose warfare is accomplished, in a single bond of adoration:

Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace, goodwill towards men.
We praise Thee,
We bless Thee,
We worship Thee,
We glorify Thee,
We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory.
O Lord King,
O God of Heaven,
Father Almighty;
O Lord, Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ,
And O Holy Spirit.

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dioceses, for it was not until 1936 that the Zoë Brotherhood established a centre in Salonica. The motto of this movement (which I have quoted at the head of this chapter), provides a key to much of the most notable work that is being done in Greece to-day; 'the victory of the width'—to give a literal translation of a phrase that cannot easily be put into English—ultimately depends upon the faithfulness and energy with which 'the battle of the depth' is waged. There can, in other words, be no fruitful outward activity that does not spring from a deepened interior life. It is only as the missioner himself is truly converted, only as he himself learns to dwell in Christ and as Christ is formed in him, that he can be used as an effective instrument for the conversion of others. Apart from this all his activity is in vain:

"As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. . . . If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned."

It augurs well for the future that the strenuous missionary activity now being undertaken in almost every town and diocese of Greece is so completely grounded in prayer and the study of the scriptures, finding its centre in the divine liturgy and the sacraments. The foundations are being well laid.

The full scope of the activity of the unofficial religious movements is perhaps most conveniently described if we consider in turn the chief instruments now being employed to bring about the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ. These include preaching, the mystery of confession, the organisation of catechetical schools, youth movements and study circles, the publication of Christian literature, and, finally, liturgical reform.

Preaching has from the outset been of primary importance. Cosmas Phlamiatos, Apostolos Makrakes and Eusebius Matthopoulos all relied upon the spoken *kerygma* as their most effective instrument. The theologian—whether cleric or layman—who serves on the staff of a provincial bishop is first and foremost the *hierokryx*, the sacred herald, whose duty it is to assist the bishop in the ministry of the word. In the course of the last two generations there has been a tremendous revival of preaching—at any rate in the towns. Every parish church in Athens and the Piraeus now has a sermon at the Sunday liturgy—normally an exposition of the Gospel which immediately precedes it—

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793 while in many churches and halls there are regular sermons at other
796 times during the week.

In the country dioceses, owing to the shortage of qualified preachers, sermons are still all too rarely to be heard outside the cathedral towns. The bishop and the diocesan preacher, with such other assistants as can be mustered from local resources, will visit one or two villages every Sunday, but in a diocese of perhaps 100 scattered communities it may well be that months will pass without the majority of the people having the opportunity to hear a sermon. I remember one Macedonian 'saint', who had taken advantage of the cessation of fighting in his diocese from the spring of 1949 onwards to undertake an intensive preaching campaign, telling me that in some villages it was more than ten years since a sermon had last been heard.

793 An energetic *hierokeryx* will often perform wonders; take for instance
796 this typical week-end itinerary of a lay theologian, a member of Zoë,
484 who used to be stationed at Kozani; on Saturday afternoon by army truck to Amyntaion (a distance of about fifty-five kilometres) and thence to the village of Lechovo, an hour's journey to the westward towards Kastoria. Here he gives an evening address in the church, the greater part of the community present. On Sunday morning a sermon at the liturgy is followed by an address to the young men and women. After a hurried meal he sets off on foot to the neighbouring village of Skydro for an address, not this time in the church but in the square. Thence he climbs to the village of Nymphaion, high on the mountainside, for two further addresses before nightfall—one in church, the other, for the young people, in the school. On Monday morning he proceeds by mule to Aetos and thence to Amyntaion and Kozani. The assistant *hierokeryx* of the diocese will in the meantime have set out for the *comopolis* of Servia to preach, from a cart standing in the midst of the square, to the crowds who have gathered there for the weekly market.

793 The Greek *hierokeryx* can in general assume in his hearers a knowledge
796 of the fundamentals of the Christian faith such as can no longer be
537 taken for granted in England, at any rate. He and they will speak a common language—even though many have forgotten the reality that lies behind the familiar phrases. The outward tokens of a Christian
[785] society have still survived to a remarkable degree—the fasts of the Church's year, for instance, are still observed as a matter of course by multitudes who would make no claim to piety above the average. In

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these circumstances it is understandable that contemporary preaching should (to accept the distinction now current in reforming circles) be practical rather than theoretical: should deal less with doctrine than with conduct. 793 796 537

Father Eusebius was wont to insist on the importance of ending every sermon with a clear and distinct conclusion, to bring home the particular moral and spiritual truth with which the preacher had been dealing to the conscience of his hearers, as well as on the need for preaching in a style suited to their condition. His example has been salutary, and in reforming circles to-day one never hears the type of homily still cultivated by a few eccentric saints who bewilder their silly sheep with florid discourses framed in the ornate periods of Psellos or Anna Comnena. I well recall a certain *hierokeryx*, a lovable if idiorrhythmic character, who modelled his festal homilies on the funeral orations of Bossuet (a much-thumbed volume that accompanied him everywhere). These triumphs of rhetoric, which must have left the Epirote peasantry groping in vain for any clear and distinct practical conclusion, would be composed months before the date of their delivery and constantly reworked and polished until they reached the requisite height of literary perfection. Such artistry would be frowned upon in the religious societies.

The work of the preacher is supplemented by that of the confessor. Although the mystery of confession has in practice fallen into sad neglect, owing to the shortage of qualified *pneumatikoi*, there has been no more effective instrument for the reawakening of the Greek Church; none that is more highly prized in reforming circles to-day. While east and west are at one as to the fundamental nature of this 'mystery', there is a certain difference of emphasis. Amongst the Greeks the element of 'ghostly counsel and advice' is far more prominent than is commonly the case amongst western Christians. So marked is this difference of emphasis that Dr. Covel—who is as immoderate in his assaults upon the Romish doctrine of auricular confession as upon any other of the 'seven pretended sacraments'—is yet moved to applaud the Greek practice as a pious and laudable institution: such a confession, he remarks, or rather (lest there should be any misunderstanding) "serious Conference or Discourse as this with a Ghostly Father, or discreet Minister, is justly observed and commended by our own Church". 783 793

In these circumstances it is natural that considerably more importance should be attached to the personal character and qualifications of the

Of liturgical reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary object is to enable the laity to participate more fully and intelligently in the eucharistic action, through more frequent communion (Father Eusebius was himself in the habit of celebrating daily), and through a greater 'openness' in the manner of celebrating the holy mysteries. In Athens and Salonica many people now follow the services in the little manual of the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas—the popularity of which may be judged by the fact that it had reached its fifth edition by 1950. In general, where the new movements have exercised an effective influence, a high standard of liturgical propriety prevails, though it must be confessed that certain musical innovations of recent years have been unfortunate, to say the least.

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All the movements of which I have been speaking have remained quite unofficial in character, though they have always carried out their work with the blessing of the ecclesiastical authorities and under the general supervision of the local bishop. There has of late, however, been a development of a rather different nature, so important as to demand brief consideration. This is what amounts to the refounding of a body known as the 'Apostolic Diaconate of the Church of Greece', which came into being as long ago as 1930. I do not propose to dwell upon its fortunes prior to its virtual reconstitution: suffice it to say that although great potentialities were latent in this organisation from the outset, its actual activity during the first fifteen years of its life was on a very small scale. It is directed by a council of members of the Holy Synod and professors of the theological faculty of the University of Athens under the presidency of the Archbishop, with Professor Basil Vellas as general director.

The aim of this official organisation is to systematise and co-ordinate the many-sided missionary activity now being undertaken throughout the length and breadth of Greece. In addition to its headquarters at Moni Petraki in Athens it has a local office in every diocese, and is assured of a basis of material resources by a system of annual diocesan contributions.

The possibilities inherent in such a venture are without question very great, and already much has been accomplished. A theological hostel and a school for preachers and confessors have been established at Moni Petraki: the latter promises to be of the greatest service in the

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students from places as far distant as Drama and Katerini. A candidate for the two-year course which the seminary provided must have reached the fourth class of his elementary school: an event which in the case of certain of the more venerable amongst these bewhiskered scholars must have been more than a generation remote from their reappearance *in statu pupillari*. 793 874

The programme of studies, as at all these lower seminaries, was eminently practical and was related at every point to the peculiar circumstances within which the Greek country parson exercises his priestly ministry. It was grounded, as is fitting, "in the Book of books, the store-house and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures," and, in particular, in the study of the text of the Gospels. The director was assisted by another lay theologian, the preacher of the diocese. Their lectures on the Bible, doctrine, catechising, the holy canons and liturgical matters, were supplemented by instruction in the ecclesiastical chant (given by the chief singer of the metropolis), and by talks on the rudiments of first-aid from a local doctor: for the country parson does not merely "condescend to the knowledge of tillage and pasturage"; he desires to be all to his parish, and "not only a pastor but also a physician". A little medical knowledge does indeed constitute an invaluable addition to the skills of a country priest in a region where the only known medicaments are aspirins and ouzo, and doctors are as rare as dissenters. [759] [757] [273]

The seminary at Kozani was housed in a rambling, somewhat dilapidated building adjoining the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Its furnishing and equipment were simple in the extreme. Twice a day the lecture-room was transformed into a refectory. The students slept seven or eight to a room on straw mattresses laid on the bare boards, and St. Benedict's maxim: *stramenta . . . sufficiant matta, sagum et lena et capitale*, was observed by all alike. 874 346

The liturgical life of the seminary was centred in the church which lies on the other side of the courtyard. The whole community assembled twice daily to sing the divine office, and on Sundays and holy days the liturgy was celebrated. Those amongst the students who lived within easy distance of Kozani used to go home every Saturday and return on Monday morning after celebrating the holy mysteries in their own parish churches. They used also to go to their villages for the great festivals. In other cases some temporary provision would be made for the parishes concerned: the late Metropolitan of Grevena, for example, would allow 793 796 874 793 874

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XIV

THE HISTORY OF A COUNTRY PARSON

> So great was his sanctity while a shepherd, that he was thought worthy of being made a pastor of men: and having been assigned the bishopric of one of the cities in Cyprus . . . on account of his extreme humility he continued to feed his sheep during his incumbency of the bishopric.
>
> SOCRATES
> *Ecclesiastical History*, I, xii

IN 1892, scarcely more than a decade since the day when the blue and white ensign of the Kingdom of the Hellenes had replaced the crescent of the infidel over the citadel at Trikkala, the wife of the village carpenter in an obscure hamlet amongst the mountains to the westward of Kalambaka gave birth to a son. The carpenter and his family dwelt in a substantial stone house a few paces beyond the village square, where a great plane tree overshadowed the church, dedicated in honour of the Egyptian anchorite Bessarion. Like many families in northern Pindos they spoke not only Greek but also the language of the Tsintsars, the Koutso-Vlachs who come down from the high pastures every autumn with their flocks and herds to winter in the Thessalian plain.

Like their neighbours at Palaiochori the Photis family (for so the carpenter was named) was virtually independent of the world that lay beyond the mountains. They owned a few sheep and goats; the *Kyria* Photis and her daughters spun their own yarn and wove the strong indigo cloth which was made up into *sarka* and *palto* for men and women alike. There was home-baked bread, goats' milk cheese and *yiaourti*, and an occasional lamb roasted on a spit to celebrate a festival; an abundance of rough red wine and the fiery ouzo which gladdens the heart of the traveller when the snow lies deep in Pindos. From time to time the carpenter would saddle his pack-animals and make an expedition to Trikkala, returning with an axe or a set of chisels, and dried figs for the children.

Constantinos, as the carpenter's son was duly christened, began to go to the village school when he was seven. Long before this time,

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however, he was familiar with the mysterious drama which was enacted week by week in the little church of St. Bessarion. Sunday by Sunday, festival by festival, the people of Palaiochori—the carpenter (who had a fine voice and was also the chief *psaltes*); his wife and daughters; Makroiannis, who presided over the tavern; the *Kyria* Andromache, who always stood before the royal doors when Papa Athanasi read the gospel of the resurrection at the end of mattins; Papa Demosthenes, who had fought in the old wars and had seen innumerable wonders, had been to America and visited the holy mountain of Athos—all were caught up for a brief space into the life of the heavenly Jerusalem and joined their praises to those of the saints who looked down on them from wall and eikonostasis. 159 793 796

The carpenter's son learned by heart many of the great psalms and hymns of the Church: long passages from the Gospels and from the Old Testament prophecies which were read on the eves of great festivals and during Holy Week. As he grew older and learned to read he would stand among the singers who crowded round the two lecterns every Sunday, and sometimes the parish priest would allow him to climb up the steps of the bishop's throne that stood on the south side of the church and sing the Epistle from a tattered volume printed at Venice towards the end of the eighteenth century. On the eve of a festival he would come running from the saw-mill or his father's workshop when Papa Athanasi clanged the two bells which hung in the branches of the plane tree beside the church, to take his place among the singers. He learned to find his way about the complicated service-books and to sing the ecclesiastical chant with a confidence which rivalled that of the chief *psaltes* himself.

When Costas left school he went to work with his father. He was already well versed in the rudiments of his trade, and by the time he was called to the colours in 1913 he was a proficient craftsman. He served in the army for three years and had two further spells of soldiering—from 1917 to 1919, and again, in the disastrous campaign in Asia Minor, from 1921 to 1923—before, released from the army at last, he came home to Palaiochori and married a girl from the neighbouring village of Krania. The marriage was blessed with three children: two boys, born in 1924 and 1934, who were christened Leonidas and Athanasius respectively, and a daughter born in 1931. 159 793

Meanwhile there was work enough for the village carpenter besides begetting children; even when he was not at his bench there was ground

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torrent bed, and we followed while Papa Costas and Spyridon Oikonomides, the *epitropos*, stood beneath the great tree in the village square and waved farewell: 123 484

"*Kalo taxidi; o Theos mazi sas!*"

A good journey; may God go with you.

At dusk we rode into Chrysomelia—a large village lying at 900 metres—after a journey which will long linger in my memory. For the best part of an hour Antony the Zealot (our guide) had questioned me relentlessly as to the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the jurisdiction of the *metropolites* of Canterbury, whilst the mules floundered in deep snow as we climbed laboriously towards the village, the buildings of an abandoned monastery far below among the pines. We had been delayed at the cottage of Papa Nicolas, the *geros*, till it was close on three o'clock. There had been a misunderstanding as to the rendezvous, arising, apparently, from the fact that the curate of the neighbouring hamlet of Aidona was also a Papa Costas.

It was the eve of the feast of St. Antony, and the Zealot was preparing to celebrate his name-day. In a tiny chapel on the outskirts of the shattered village vespers was drawing to a close. The village church, dating from 1580 and dedicated to St. George, was a total ruin. We stayed for the liturgy next morning and all the men and boys of the village accompanied us to church. After a distribution of the blessed bread Papa Athanasius Tsergoulas, the pastor of this mountain flock, took us to see his dwelling—a tiny cell of mud bricks set amidst the ruins of the house which he had built some thirty years earlier—and there we sat around a table in the pale sunlight outside the newly-opened tavern and sipped ouzo with the village elders, while crowds of wild, ragged children played amongst the ruins of the church—there were nearly 300 of them and it was eight years since the school had ceased to perform its liturgy. 727 796 346 [342]

Chrysomelia had been one of the most important villages of this region, with a population of 1,050. It had suffered at the hands of the Germans at the same time as Palaiochori. The people had begun to return in October. Scarcely a house in the whole village had escaped destruction. 727 722

The devastation was no less widespread at the hamlet of Kato Perlangion, where we slept the following night, wrapped in rugs on the 727 346 123

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727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I
had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community
gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great,
[796] in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a
793 time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos*.

346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

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795 Greek is as yet only beginning to awake to the full significance of the discovery, and it may well be some years before Athens and Salonica are in a position to make that contribution to the life and thought of Christendom as a whole of which they are potentially capable. Yet from out of the depths of suffering and desolation there has come the rebirth of a Christian nation. The Church of Greece has emerged from her fiery trial purified, and conscious, as perhaps never before, of her mission. What may be the ultimate consequences of such a regeneration none can say: the possibilities are infinite.

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[214 794] In June, 1948, on the festival of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece published a stencilled typescript of a draft entitled *Towards a Christian Civilisation*—since issued in book form by the Damascus Press. These pages, as the authors remarked in the original preface to the work, came from a country wherein the agitation, the uncertainty and sometimes the agony of the world had been concentrated; from a land often referred to by her friends as "this unhappy country". And yet, they went on, "we know that our happiness (or unhappiness) depends not on the outcome of external political events, but on whether the Christian and spiritual foundations of our life are firmly established or not". Their voice, they concluded, was not the despairing voice of a nation crying out to the world: *morituri te salutamus*; rather it was that of a people who, even from the depth of their present agony, sought to echo our Lord's words: "If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death." That is the spirit that is abroad in Greece to-day.

795 796 If I were asked for a single picture to epitomise the present state of the Greek Church, I would turn once more to the Macedonian township of Edessa, set amidst streams and cherry orchards on the summit of the cliff that bars the way from Salonica to the frontier metropolis of Florina. In the early hours of the morning of the feast of the Epiphany in the year 1949, while the Metropolitan of Edessa and Pella, the Lord Panteleimon, with his deacon, Father Gabriel, two or three refugee monks, his mother, the boys from the orphanage and a handful of lay people, were singing the long vigil-service in the chapel of the metropolis, this already battered town was attacked by a Communist force. By dawn the place was encircled.

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EPILOGUE

At the accustomed hour (despite the violence of the bombardment) the bells were rung and the Bishop went with his clergy to the ancient basilica, which stands on the very brink of the cliff, and began to celebrate the liturgy. Before the great blessing of the waters was reached, however, the din had become so appalling, the whole fabric of the church shook so violently, that it became necessary to move to the upper part of the town to the church of Saint Demetrius of Thessalonica. Here the service was resumed and at last the moment when the Bishop would plunge the cross into the waters drew near. Standing in the midst of his people and attended by his deacon, the Lord Panteleimon began to recite in a loud voice the Poem of Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Without, the bombardment raged; but above the clamour of the artillery and the rattle of small arms fire the voice of the Saint of Edessa rang out exultant:

To-day the offences of men are washed away in the waters of Jordan;
To-day Paradise is opened to men and the Son of Righteousness has shed on us His light;
To-day the bitter water of the people of Moses becomes most sweet from the presence of the Lord;
To-day are we released from our ancient lamenting, and as a new Israel we find salvation;
To-day are we redeemed from darkness, and illumined by the knowledge of God;
To-day the gloom of the world is done away in the Epiphany of our God. . . .
To-day we have been purchased for the Kingdom of Heaven, for of the Kingdom of the Lord there shall be no end.

/31 cont./ 275
where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political 517
leaders meet their followers.

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government [208]
employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house [203]
where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission.

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people 794
directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, 869
and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole 872
family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child
follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through [796]
its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings
up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/
learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or
that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its
religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend
church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such [796]
holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance
of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their 782
Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other 776
sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as 795
his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to
special designated saints whom they think are able to help them.
For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage
and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For
travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to
St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line.
It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as [771]
Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They
take their religion seriously and believe in it completely.

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop 793
is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the 782
priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the repre- [776]
sentative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God.
Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters 869
as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places.

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation, which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional customs handed down from generation to generation provide both group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the ceremonial feast. When a member of the family gets married the whole village participated with their musical instruments. The marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male person is observed more than the female name day.

517 [526] [846] [851] [585] [527] [562]

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the United States. After the church service the people gather around the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

796 628 574 [535]

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place. This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry. The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

796 574 [735] [252]

/34 cont./

wishers. People are formed into groups and visit every house where the table is set in the center of the main room with different drinks, colored eggs and good food. The groups crack /p. 35 skipped in original numbering/ /36/ an egg and wish the hostess saying, "Christ is risen", and the house owner answers, "Truly he is risen". 796 574

Children run through the streets dressed in their new clothes and carry colored eggs and candies. These are the days when the houses are open to every one. The recreation that these three days offer to these people is far greater than all the rest of the holidays of the year. For the Orthodox church the birth of Christ does not have so much importance as the resurrection of Christ which shows the Athanasia of the spirit. [779]

At this time of the year everything takes life in nature, too. The almond trees, the cherry trees, the pear trees are in blossom. The fields are green and nature takes the appearance of living again. All these combined leave an unresistable influence upon every person. Through such recreation which is a part of their religion, the people forgive each other and old hatreds give way to renewed friendship and forgiveness. It is surprising to note how much influence these holidays have in the lives of the people that live together. The spirit of hospitality, the spirit of giving to those that do not have, the spirit of taking active part in village movements and the blind obedience to the orders of the higher rank, are a result of these traditionally influenced holidays that are represented by different Saints. Recreation is thus closely associated with the /37/religious holidays. 796 571 182 517

Play of Children. Whether at school or outside of school the children do not have organized recreation. At the school the weekly exercises which are more or less military are given by the teacher. The children have two recess periods of ten minutes each from 8-12. At these periods they devise their own play. At home the child has no time for play. He or she will graze the oxen or weed the garden and fields, sweep the yard and help in housework. While very young the children are taught to work and 857 [872]

/37 cont./
help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times 857
of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the [526]
neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek.
When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom [834]
play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard
time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the [872]
children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active
days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is 533
there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance [535]
singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no
books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players
never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the [461]
fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups
returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses,
at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles
and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through [796]
the church services from beginning to the end and when the women [585]
dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any
song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to
generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them
or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part
of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of
nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition
and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of
their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture.
There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that
move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest
songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their
ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced
their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among [765]
the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed
during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the
war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

/80 cont./ 346
their humble houses and subsistence level of living the people like 778
to build beautiful churches with high steeples and decorate them
/81/ with as many ikons and church bells they can. The people [316]
of Megali Vrisi not being satisfied with the structure of the present
church have already quarried stone from the nearby hills for their
future church structure. When the farmers were notified to offer [794]
personal work for the church they did it without complaint.

The people look up to the church as an institution which gives 771
them hope and courage in times of disappointment and discourage-
ment. Once a year a confession is made in the church in front [783]
of the ikons and the priest. People tell of their bad acts and
forgive those that caused them trouble. All wedding ceremonies, [796]
baptisms and name day celebrations take place in the church.

Attendance. Women and children attend the church regular- 794
ly. The men are rather irregular in their attendance. This is not 796
due to their negligence nor to their failure to respect the church,
but is due to the long church services that last for three hours.
The people get tired of going to the church. Most attend the last
part of the services. In spite of the variety of music and cere-
monial activities, the church is losing /82/ attendance. Men
like to know what they hear in the church, and since it is all
abstract to them they prefer to stay out and send their wives and
children.

With the increase of modern scientific beliefs by the farmers,
the church will be forced to change its course and adopt itself
to the new social changes.

The membership is obligatory. Every one born in the village 794
becomes a member. It is not necessary to keep in books the
names of the members since the whole population of the village
naturally belongs to the church.

Contributions. Every family has to contribute for the support
of the priest and for the upkeep of the church. This contribution
is paid in kind. Besides this the church has voluntary donations [769]
by people whose prayers are answered, and by others for the

/96 cont./

Local Holidays. The Greek Orthodox Church has more saint days than the calendar of the year could take care of. The church calendar used to provide more than half of the days of the year as observable holidays which naturally provided more leisure time for the people. More leisure time meant more churches, more spending and more monasteries. With the advance of the materialistic civilization these holidays have been greatly reduced, but still there are 94 church holidays for the farmer to observe besides Sundays and the national holidays. These holidays provide ample leisure time /97/ for the farmers to drink and dance. The village musicians get out on the village square and call out those that celebrate their name days. One by one the big circle is formed in the village square. If the Greek Orthodox Church has nothing to serve to the people by building up their religious beliefs, it has enough holidays to relieve the people from life's struggle. Megali Vrisi celebrates St. Nicholas day as its village holiday. This is the day when every corner of every house is scrubbed and cleaned. The village yards are well cleaned. The church committee prepares a special program featuring certain events. Prizes are given to the best wrestlers and to the best dancers. These events draw a large crowd from the neighboring villages. On this special day the livestock of the church is sold in auction. People donate to the church either poultry, calves, sheep, lambs, or goats for the dreams they dreamed about the saint of the church or the help they received from the church when they prayed. These can be considered as sacrifices which people make to the church. The church committee sells the livestock on this occasion. This custom is very similar to that of the primitive peoples of worshiping their gods by sacrifices.

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796 794 [356] [526] [535] [437] [787] [782]

/98/ The holiday has the following effects on the peoples:

1. Gives them a chance to clean up their houses.
2. Makes them hospitable for they have to take care of the visitors.
3. The day they forgive each other and forget the old grievances.

796 571

/98 cont./ 796 571

4. The spirit of benevolence reaches its zenith. Donations to the church and to the poor.
5. Exchange of ideas with other villagers and thus benefit from each other's experience.
6. It is a day when everybody feels alike with no class distinction.

How local services are paid. There are three coffee houses in the village and they all work on a credit system to be collected in the summer. During the harvest season it is surprising to find more outside people with sacks and scales who come around to collect the debts than farmers. 452 [275]

/99/ The horseshoer, the herdsman, the barber, the priest, the school-committee, the tailor, the local hospital committee, the coffee house men, the local grocery merchant, the town merchants, the blacksmith, the tin man, the carpenter, the doctor, the drug man, the mid-wife, the guard of the fields, the vegetable man, the wagon builder, the cheese man and the tax collector. Usually at the harvest season the coffee houses are filled with collectors. They get information from each other to the quality of wheat collected from different farmers. Most of the agreements are based on an amount of wheat and not on money as a basis. For example, the barber for hair cutting and shaving gets 12 okes of wheat (33.60 lbs) for one year. The herdsman charges 3 okes of wheat per head for the year. The doctor gets 10 okes of wheat per family for the year. It is surprising here to find how much of the business transaction are carried out on commodity bases rather than with money. [463] [275] 452 436 465 437

Cast of Personalities. In the social interaction which takes place in a community, certain personalities emerge which develop into the community's cast of actors. These are the people who provide the /100/ foci of attention, about whom gossip circulates more than others, and who give to the community its really human qualities. Among these characters are both the heroes and the villains. They are outstanding, however, not so much because 156 554 [521]

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter 855 practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular 852 liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [096] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father [527] leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness.

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

262 369 much below that of the provinces, even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depravations of the civil war.

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly. Where olive-oil is not 262 785 allowed, olives are; where fish is not allowed, fish roe is. In the provinces, not much meat is eaten, even before Lent; in the cities many 796 of the people fast only on a few of the important days of Lent. However, now that mothers have been taught the importance of giving their children daily milk, Lent does have an effect in this area; milk is forbidden during Lent, and children have to fast at least during the [197] latter part. Unicef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to give their children milk during this period. It achieved this with the co-operation of bishops who drank milk during Lent to show mothers that, if the cause was good, it was not a sin to drink milk; only one archimandrite refused to do so, afraid to take on the responsibility of possibly leading the people astray.

262 511 Greek holidays each have their appropriate food. It is essential for the welfare, the religion, for the Greekness of the people, to have this food at that time. At a time when the Bureau of Welfare was set [196] up to function only during emergency, it offered funds for the indigent at holidays for the purchase of the indispensable festive foods. If Greeks have any money to spend at such a time, these foods have a priority over everything else.

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

178 185 Greeks do not place a value on unlimited progress; what they want is the better than the present, or than the known. Modern Greek has [196] lost the superlative of ancient Greek. To express *the best*, one now says, *the better of all the others*. And this expresses what is actually wanted. The American says, "the sky's the limit", but the Greek wants to reach the ceiling instead, something that he can touch and know ahead of time. The rest is a dream; he speculates about it as he speculates about what he would do if he were President of the United States; and he uses the subjunctive, not the future.

In this way, the attitude toward change is related to the place of the plan in Greek life. On the one hand, that which is a plan to an American, organizing and inciting to action, is a dream to the Greek, leading to quiescence or to oratory. The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans, in the future tense, what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream. Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign-trained technicians who say: "When I get to be . . . I shall do . . ." for people who say: "If I were . . . I would do"; there is a chasm between these two views of life.

On the other hand, the plan based on the non-experienced, on

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[For information on the evangelistic and missionary activities of the Brotherhood of Zoë and other similar movements, see category 794.]

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the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism. 795 798 173 [797]

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate. 619 795 178

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles 619 795 722

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369 Thus, despite a certain drift from the villages to the towns during the last few years, the average Greek is still a countryman. Even the Athenian, if one delves into his personal history, is generally found to have his roots in some mountain village of the Peloponnese or in one of the islands. The generality of the Greek bishops are charged with the pastoral care of a flock dispersed in village communities among the mountains; a single market town or *comopolis* forming the centre of the ecclesiastical as of the civil administration.

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The Church of Greece, from the point of view of outward organisation, consists of sixty-seven dioceses: thirty-four belonging to Old Greece and the remainder to the territories annexed to the Greek kingdom after the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the first world war. These latter dioceses, though formally subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, are at present placed under that of the Holy Synod of the Hierarchy, which is presided over by the Archbishop of Athens and of all Greece. This body, which is made up of the metropolitans of the sixty-seven dioceses, assembles every three years and may be summoned on other occasions if need arise. Extraordinary business apart, however, the affairs of the Church are administered by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, which is composed of twelve bishops under the presidency of the Archbishop. All the bishops are called in turn to serve on this body, and during the greater part of their year as *synodikoi* (which normally recurs about once every five years), they reside in Athens, going home to their dioceses only during the heat of the summer and for the great festivals.

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In Greece the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church has not been replaced by 'the Churches'. According to the figures of the 1940 census, out of a total population of 7,344,860 persons, no less than 7,090,192 were Orthodox, while the non-Orthodox Christians amounted to a bare 51,851. This small minority consists of Roman Catholics and a few so-called 'evangelicals' who came to Greece in the early 'twenties from Asia Minor and owe their origin to the proselytising zeal of American missionaries. All of them are confined to the islands and to a few towns on the mainland: in the country districts a Dissenter would be a curiosity indeed.

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[793] The Greek diocese is, by English standards, very small and sparsely populated; in some respects more akin to a rural deanery than to our overgrown dioceses. Its average population—if we leave on one side the

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welcome to his dominions the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus with a following which included several Greek ecclesiastics, both bishops and priests.[1] These unwonted guests remained in London until the end of February following. The Greek services were celebrated daily, many English churchmen being present, and several contemporary accounts of the impression created by these unfamiliar rites have been preserved. More than one chronicler notes with surprise that laymen as well as clerks took an active part in the services which, to quote Adam of Usk, "were joined in as well by soldiers as by priests; for they chanted them without distinction in their native tongue". 788 796 [175]

One last word in connexion with the liturgy of the laity. A contemporary of King Henry IV relates that the Emperor's chaplains were catechised by certain English churchmen who had been present at the Greeks' services as to whether "the common people and the ignorant in their country did indeed understand the scriptures and the divine words which they recited together with the learned." Is the 'old school-Greek' whereof Covel and others speak, sufficiently understanded of the people? 788 796 198

Let us hear another voice from the fifteenth century: "The Grekis", says John Purvey, "wiche ben nobel men, han al this in ther owne langage. But yet adversaries of trewith seien, wane men rehersen that Grekis . . . han al in ther owne langage, the clerkis of hem speiken grammaticalliche and the puple understondith it not."

It should be remarked that the Orthodox Church has never opposed the translation of the scriptures or the liturgy into new tongues when such translation has been necessary for the furtherance of her missionary and pastoral work. On the contrary, the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is probably celebrated in more languages than any other of the historic rites of Christendom. I have myself been present at celebrations at which old Slavonic, Greek, English, French and Arabic have all been used during the course of the liturgy, and W. J. Birkbeck mentions a committee he encountered at St. Petersburg in 1889 which was engaged in translating the liturgy for a small tribe in the north-east of Siberia, numbering less than 5,000 souls and whose language contained scarcely 788 797 198

[1] The story of this Byzantine Emperor's fruitless expedition to the west in quest of military aid against the Turk, and of his sojourn in Paris and London—one of the most diverting episodes in fifteenth-century history—is related in some detail in Schlumberger's *Byzance et Croisades* (Paris, 1927), pp. 87-147: "Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres."

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more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

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XI

THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF REVIVAL

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> The people have indeed a lively sense of religion in their hearts, but because they have neither guides nor preachers, nor pastors to lead them to the saving and life-giving truth, they are sleeping the sleep of apathy and spiritual death.
>
> Letter of FATHER EUSEBIUS MATTHOPOULOS, dated 1879

> We live in an Age that hath more need of good examples than precepts.
>
> GEORGE HERBERT

I HAVE dwelt at some length upon the recent history of a single Macedonian diocese, for the *eparchia* of Grevena was as it were a microcosm of the Greek Church as a whole; the essential features of its history during the previous decade were writ large from the Peloponnese to the northern frontiers of the kingdom. It was not only amongst the overcrowded refugee *kalyvai* of Grevena that there sprang up within these last few years a flowering of evangelical Christianity such as tempted one to prophesy that the day might not be far distant when the Church of Greece—poor and naked though she were in the world's eyes—would again become a lamp whose bright beams would extend to every corner of Christendom. 794 797

This widespread kindling of the smouldering embers of the Church's life shone out the more brightly by reason of the unrelieved blackness of its setting. We must not on this account forget the all-important, though less spectacular, work of preparation that had been going on for a century and more. The remarkable developments of the last few years would have been unthinkable were it not for the devoted labours of all those who had worked and prayed for the quickening of this ancient Church during the course of three or four generations.

We do not lack abundant testimony to the wretched condition of the Church of Greece during the first half of the nineteenth century. 795 797

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

795 797 Though the traditions which enshrine the saving truths of the Gospel had been handed down from generation to generation throughout the centuries of Turkish dominion, the life of the Church was nevertheless gravely threatened by corruption and decay. The ministry of the word had fallen into almost complete neglect even in Athens, while in the country districts sermons were all but unknown. The ordinary people were for the most part "ill instructed, or rather not taught at all, sermons and catechising rare amongst them, Masses and Divine Service hudled and run over in a cursory and negligent manner . . ."

793 797 The higher clergy, with few exceptions, paid but scanty heed to their pastoral responsibilities. By the eighteen-forties (owing to the long delay in the recognition of the autocephalous status of the Church of Greece by the Oecumenical Patriarch) the number of the bishops had declined until only four remained, and those well advanced in years. As to the parish clergy, one may read accounts of their ignorance that differ but little from those which Covel had set down 200 years earlier: "Most priests have no books by them, but only their Church Offices; and . . . all their Study is only to get them by Heart, which takes up so much of their time as they cannot attend to read or Study other learned books if they had them. . . . Their ordinary prayers and liturgies, like Parrots they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and use them very imperfectly, with strange variety and confusion."

[792] As for the monasteries, though there remained many holy monks and learned even in the darkest days, all too many of the *kalogeroi* were worldly and ignorant; jealous of their privileges, content with a merely formal discharge of the duties belonging to their state; drowsing in sunny galleries, cultivating their vegetables and their pleasant vineyards.

794 797 It is against such a background that we have to view the labours of that little company of priests and laymen who laid the foundations of what, in our own time, has become a nation-wide movement. The initiative in the growing revival of evangelistic and missionary activity that has characterised the last 100 years of the history of the Greek Church has come, not from the hierarchy—though many bishops have been whole-hearted supporters of the new movements—but from individual churchmen: lay theologians, monks and clergy. It is only [793] very recently that an official 'Home Mission' has come into being, with the foundation of the *Apostoliki Diakonia* of the Church of Greece (not to be confounded with a far older movement of the same name which still flourishes in Salonica and the northern dioceses).

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THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF REVIVAL

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The history of the revival begins in 1839 and for a generation centres upon the convent of Megaspelaion in the valley of Kalavryta: the greatest monastery of Old Greece. The initial impulse, however, came from elsewhere. In that year there arrived at Patras a certain Cosmas Phlamiatos: a layman who had been banished from the Ionian Protectorate on account of his reckless denunciations of Masonic propaganda. He began to travel about the Peloponnese, preaching in the towns and villages and rekindling the fires that had burned low for generations past. Before long a hermit from the vicinity of Kalavryta, Christophoros Panaghiotopoulos by name, was inspired by the example of this lay theologian to abandon his cell and to devote himself to similar apostolic labours. The biographer of Father Eusebius Matthopoulos justly observes of this hermit-evangelist that "throughout the Peloponnese tradition has preserved, even to the present day, the memory of the celebrated and most profitable activity of this unlettered but zealous missionary".

But the times were evil and neither of these two itinerant evangelists was able to resist the temptation to denounce the established régime. Their activities came to an abrupt termination: Phlamiatos died in prison in 1850 (after a renewed attack on the Masons) and the former hermit disappeared into exile, never to return. In the meantime, however, Phlamiatos had gained a further disciple in the person of a monk of Megaspelaion named Ignatius Lambropoulos, who now became the leader of the movement.

Father Ignatius, who was born in a village near Megalopolis in 1814, entered the famous monastery (then inhabited by some 200 monks) while scarcely more than a boy. He was ordained deacon at the age of twenty-five, and then priest. In 1842 he met Phlamiatos at Aigion and was greatly moved by the ardour and enthusiasm of the lay evangelist. For the next seven years Ignatius Lambropoulos laboured incessantly throughout the whole length and breadth of the Peloponnese, preaching and confessing the people. Like Phlamiatos, he also exercised a most fruitful ministry through the medium of correspondence (it is related of the lay theologian that it was his custom to divide the night into three equal portions: one for rest, one for prayer, and one for writing the hundreds of letters by means of which he kept in touch with those whom he had encountered during the course of his missionary journeys).

Unlike his fellow-evangelists, Father Ignatius never succumbed to

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797 175 the temptation to mingle the pure milk of the Gospel with denunciation of current abuses; but, in spite of his restraint, he was imprisoned for several months at the time of Phlamiatos' arrest and was afterwards confined to his monastery. He remained at Megaspelaion for twelve years, and, despite the curtailment of his missionary journeys, continued to exercise a most effectual ministry through correspondence; while, as the fame of his holiness and wisdom went abroad, there came to the monastery a constant stream of visitors. Father Ignatius continued to preach and to hear confessions, and at last, when H.M.S. *Scylla* had borne away to Venice the unfortunate Otho and his consort, he was free once more to resume his itinerant work. The story of the last seven years of his life is a record of strenuous missionary activity amongst the towns and villages of the Peloponnese. His work received the blessing of the hierarchy, and he gathered about him a little group of disciples which included both clergy and laymen, prominent amongst them the deacon Hierotheos Metropoulos, uncle of Eusebius Matthopoulos, himself a monk of Megaspelaion and a future Archbishop of Patras. In 1866 Father Ignatius declined the offer of the bishopric of Triphylia on the plea of ill-health, and three years later he died.

The life of this zealous monk had already exercised a most potent influence throughout the Peloponnese, and through the little company of disciples that gathered about him at Megaspelaion his labours were destined to bear fruit over a far wider field than that covered by his own missionary journeys. Until the advent of Cosmas Phlamiatos there had been but little preaching in the towns and villages of Old Greece, and the labours of this lay theologian had inaugurated a new era of missionary activity.

797 794 175 The pattern of the first phase of the revival—from the arrival in the Peloponnese of Phlamiatos down to the death of Father Ignatius—bears a curious resemblance to that of the period which ensues, and which culminates in the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zöe. Again the original stimulus is provided by a layman whose effective ministry is terminated by a clash with authority, and again a monk of Megaspelaion is left to build upon another's foundation and to consolidate his work.

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In 1866, three years before the death of Ignatius Lambropoulos,

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there came to Athens a certain Apostolos Makrakes, a lay philosopher from the Cyclades, who had studied in Constantinople and in Paris, and had already won a considerable renown through his writings against the Franks and on the true nature of the Church. Makrakes electrified the Athenians by his preaching in Omonoia Square and other public places in the city. To all who heard this Christian philosopher it was evident that a new spirit was abroad in Greece. Shortly before the death of Father Ignatius, Makrakes visited Megaspelaion and there encountered a young monk from Melissopetra named Eusebius Matthopoulos. This meeting marks the beginning of a long association between the two men which, clouded though it was by the eccentricities of the layman's later years, was to prove of incalculable importance for the Greek Church.

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Father Eusebius (who, with Apostolos Makrakes, dominates the history of the revival of missionary activity for the next half-century and more) seems to have been set apart for the monastic life almost from his cradle. Despite recurrent bouts of fever (which left him with a thorn in his flesh for the remainder of a long life of strenuous activity), his uncle, Hierotheos Metropoulos, secured his admission to his own convent at the age of fourteen, and during the next few years he became the closest and most ardent disciple of Father Ignatius. It was he who took up the mantle of the great preacher and confessor at the latter's death.

Early in the 'seventies we find Eusebius Matthopoulos (now a deacon) studying the holy scriptures and the ancient philosophers and divines in the Athens schools, and already launched upon his long and most fruitful ministry as a *hierokeryx*. The year 1876 is memorable for two events: the ordination of Father Eusebius to the priesthood, and the foundation of the School of the Logos.

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Hitherto the missionary revival inaugurated by the preaching of Phlamiatos had been quite unorganised. Though the monastery of Megaspelaion had afforded a base for the labours of Ignatius Lambropoulos and his fellow workers, there had been no question of any formal association or 'movement'. These itinerant preachers and confessors had but restored and extended that "pious and laudable institution" (so Dr. Covel) whereby certain monkish theologians—"Grave and Reverend Persons that had been bred up in their Monasteries to a strict and mortified life"—would be appointed by the bishops "to go to their respective Cities and Towns . . . to advise, direct and assist all

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797 good People . . . for the encouraging and encreasing of their Devotion, and for the better management of their Lives and Conversations". The foundation of the School of the Logos constitutes an important 794 797 landmark; it inaugurates the era of the voluntary movements and establishes the essential features of a pattern of missionary activity 175 which has held the field until our own day, and from which the foundation of an official Home Mission marks the first radical departure.

In September, 1876, Makrakes and his associates founded the School of the Logos which combined the functions of a private *gymnasium* with those of an evening school for adults. Father Eusebius (who had been ordained priest a month before) was appointed chaplain and *pneumatikos* of this remarkable institution—he also made himself responsible for the cleaning of the school (especially, it is related, "of its vilest places", *τῶν εὐτελεστέρων τόπων αὐτῆς*: a phrase charged with sinister meaning for anyone acquainted with the lamentable decline in the standards of Hellenic plumbing since the far-off days when King Minos flourished in his Cretan palace!) The outstanding qualities of this young priest were quickly discerned by those about him, and not a few who were many years his senior in age and experience came to rely upon him as counsellor and spiritual father. It was during this period that Father Eusebius began his experiments with the small groups (*omades*) which were to become so important a feature of the brotherhood which he founded some thirty years later.

But the School of the Logos was not destined to enjoy a long career. Scarcely two years had elapsed from its foundation when Makrakes and his associates became involved in a violent controversy with the authorities, which brought their educational and spiritual work in Athens to an abrupt conclusion and scattered the leaders of the movement to remote islands and monasteries. In 1875, as the result of a scandalous 793 transaction involving payments to certain ministers of the State, three 797 men succeeded in obtaining the vacant bishoprics of Patras, Messenia 662 and Kephallenia. The facts became widely known and public opinion 175 was deeply aroused. Makrakes and certain of his fellow-workers published fiery articles denouncing this flagrant violation of the holy canons. A trial ensued; the guilty ministers were imprisoned and fined, while the three simoniacal bishops were committed to the Holy Synod, which should then, according to the canons, have proceeded to a sentence of deposition.

793 The Synod, however, declined to take this step. Makrakes thereupon

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extended his attacks from the simoniacal bishops themselves to those whom he now accused of being their accomplices—the members of the Holy Synod and the Archbishop of Athens. A bitter controversy ensued. Makrakes (whose language had never been characterised by moderation) threw discretion to the winds and attacked the bishops, the prime minister, the government and the theological faculty of the university without discrimination and in the most violent terms. The Metropolitan of Athens and of all Greece he denounced as "Simon Magus: *Archegos* of the hateful-to-God heresy and Metropolitan of evil courses!" The national university was no longer the *panepistemion*, the home of all the sciences, but the *panskotisterion*, the abode of universal darkness.

The clergy who were associated with Makrakes were more restrained in their denunciations of the hierarchy. They felt bound, nevertheless, to cease to commemorate their diocesan at the divine liturgy. The Synod retaliated by publishing unfounded charges of heresy and false teaching, and warned the faithful to have nothing to do with the theologians associated with the School of the Logos. The school itself was suppressed in the autumn of 1878, though Makrakes continued to publish his journal. In February, 1879, six of the 'Makrakist' clergy (including the archimandrites Hierotheos Metropoulos and Elias Vlachopoulos, as well as Father Eusebius) were brought before the Synod and tried on charges of heresy and *kakodoxia*. Despite the accused clergy's profession of orthodoxy and the absence of any shred of evidence in support of the charges, all were found guilty and sentenced to periods of exile, ranging from eight to ten years, in isolated monasteries dispersed amongst the islands of the Aegean and Ionian seas.

Father Eusebius was sent to the monastery of Palaiokastriotissa in Corfu—a small convent inhabited by ten monks, five hours' journey from the town of Kerkyra—where, cheerfully accepting this enforced interruption of his apostolic labours amongst the Athenians, he gave himself unreservedly to prayer and self-examination, and to the study of the scriptures. It was not long before the abbot of the monastery realised that the character of the exiled priest had been grossly misrepresented by the ecclesiastical authorities, and, with the consent of the local bishop, Father Eusebius began to preach in the villages of the diocese and to confess the people. Hierotheos Metropoulos was meanwhile turning his banishment to good account by reorganising the monastery of Longovardas in the isle of Paros, where his influence has endured to the present day.

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The scandal occasioned by the simoniacal bishops had not been silenced by the banishment of the 'Makrakist' clergy. On the contrary, there was a widespread feeling that a grave injustice had been committed; petitions were organised, the subject was raised again and again in parliament, and at last, after three years, the exiles were recalled and the case of the guilty prelates reopened before the Holy Synod. Father Eusebius had so endeared himself to the people of Kerkyra that they refused to let him go immediately and he continued his work of spiritual regeneration amongst them for a year longer. In 1883 the Synod suspended the simoniacs for three years, and shortly afterwards the director of the Rizareion School, the then Bishop of Platamon, was charged with the re-examination of the case of the clergy formerly associated with the School of the Logos. He reported that the accusations of heresy and *kakodoxia* were utterly without foundation, the six priests and deacons admitted their fault in ceasing to commemorate their diocesan at the liturgy, and a formal reconciliation was effected.

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Makrakes, however, refused to admit that the action of the Synod of 1879 constituted not a heresy (which might be held to justify separation from the local bishop) but a crime (ἔγκλημα) which certainly did not, and continued obstinately in schism. The story of the later years of this gifted but unbalanced man makes melancholy reading. In 1879 he had founded the 'Panhellenic Society of Constantine the Great' and announced the approaching overthrow of Constantinople and the end of the 'Kingdom of the Antichrist Mohamed'. From this time onward oracles and prophetic visions occupy a prominent place in his writings. The Apocalypse and the dreams of an eccentric lawyer from Patras (much given to threatening his unbelieving fellow-townsmen with earthquakes) are pressed into service for his shrill polemics.

Father Eusebius and the other clergy who had formerly collaborated with this Christian philosopher tried hard to convince him of the folly of his ways, but without avail, and in 1884 they regretfully dissociated themselves from their old teacher. Three years later Makrakes was abandoned by most of his remaining supporters, two of whom, Constantine Dialesmas and a lawyer named Michael Galanos (who was subsequently to exercise a memorable ministry as a lay preacher in one of the churches of Athens) were responsible for the foundation of the movement known as *Anaplasis* (Regeneration) which continued the work of Makrakes while renouncing the eccentric ways into which he himself had fallen. Makrakes lived till 1905 and, despite the violence

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of his attacks on those who had formerly been his associates, never wholly forfeited their love and affection. Father Eusebius and his fellow-workers were well aware how great was the debt that they and the whole Church owed to this unhappy man.

The ending of the controversy about the simoniacal bishops opened up a new field of activity for Father Eusebius and those associated with him. He was appointed *hierokeryx* first of Missolonghi and then of Attica (where his uncle, Hierotheos Metropoulos, collaborated with him for a time) and in 1895 the Holy Synod commissioned him to extend his field of activity to include the whole of Greece. From 1884 till 1906 Eusebius Matthopoulos gave himself wholly to the preaching of the Gospel and the ministry of the itinerant confessor, while, like his spiritual father Ignatius Lambropoulos, he shepherded and guided hundreds of Christians drawn from every walk of life by means of correspondence.

And what a ministry it was! For twenty-two years Eusebius Matthopoulos preached Christ crucified in every town of Greece: preached with a fervour and a simplicity that was wholly new. He spoke of the divine truths with the conviction of one who lived from day to day in their power. Never free from bodily ailments and often in acute pain, he gloried, like the apostle of the Gentiles, in his infirmities that the power of Christ might rest upon him.

As a confessor and spiritual father he was unsurpassed. He was one who (as Archbishop Chrysostom wrote of him) "had confronted sin in all its nakedness and virtue in its resplendent brightness, who had witnessed man's falling into evil and his resurrection, who had plumbed both the manifest motives of sin and also its hidden springs"; one who led countless men and women to God through the mystery of confession and, above all, through the potent example of a life which spoke of the beauty of holiness more eloquently than any sermon.

In 1893 Hierotheos Metropoulos was elected to the see of Patras and Eleia, and his brief but memorable episcopate has left an indelible mark upon the life of the church in those regions. The metropolis became a notable centre of spiritual energy and enlightenment. The Bishop, aided by his nephew and his old colleague, the Archimandrite Elias Vlachopoulos, and by a staff of zealous preachers and *pneumatikoi* —both priests and laymen—showed how potent could be the example of a true pastor and father in God. Father Eusebius was often at

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797 175 Patras during these years, and when his uncle died in 1902 there was a great and widespread desire that he should succeed him. On this occasion, however, as on every other, Father Eusebius declined all offers of ecclesiastical preferment. With the example of Hierotheos Metropoulos before his eyes he was in no danger of underestimating the influence that could be exercised by a bishop who was a saint in deed as well as in name; but he shrank from the heavy burden of administrative cares which would inevitably hinder the free exercise of that ministry of preaching and reconciliation to which God had called him.

794 797 175 After the death of Hierotheos Metropoulos, Father Eusebius spent a further five years in missionary journeys to every part of liberated Greece, and then, in 1907, came the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë: a society organised on monastic lines which should, if God so willed, serve as a fit instrument for the continued regeneration of the Greek Church and for the extension of the work begun nearly seventy years before by Cosmas Phlamiatos and Ignatius Lambropoulos. A small house in an Athens suburb served as the headquarters of the new brotherhood; and here Father Eusebius gathered about him a little group of young theologians consisting of two priests and two laymen. [204] In 1911 they commenced the publication of the journal *Zoë*, which was destined before long to extend the teaching of the movement to every diocese of the newly-liberated provinces of northern Greece.

From these modest beginnings there has sprung a movement which in the course of a little more than a generation has exercised a most powerful influence upon the life of the Greek Church. Through the preaching of the Zoë brothers and the many-sided activity of the movements which have grown up under their supervision, the religious life of many a town and village has been transformed beyond all recognition since the days when Apostolos Makrakes first preached in the public places of Athens, and the youthful Eusebius Matthopoulos pondered the writings of the ancient divines and swept the classrooms and corridors of the School of the Logos.

783 Of liturgical
796 reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary
object is to enable the laity to participate more fully and intelligently
794 in the eucharistic action, through more frequent communion (Father
[783] Eusebius was himself in the habit of celebrating daily), and through a greater 'openness' in the manner of celebrating the holy mysteries.
[214] In Athens and Salonica many people now follow the services in the little manual of the Archimandrite Seraphim Papakostas—the popularity of which may be judged by the fact that it had reached its fifth edition by 1950. In general, where the new movements have exercised an effective influence, a high standard of liturgical propriety prevails, though it must be confessed that certain musical innovations of recent years have been unfortunate, to say the least.

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793 All the movements of which I have been speaking have remained
797 quite unofficial in character, though they have always carried out their
[794] work with the blessing of the ecclesiastical authorities and under the general supervision of the local bishop. There has of late, however, been a development of a rather different nature, so important as to demand brief consideration. This is what amounts to the refounding of a body known as the 'Apostolic Diaconate of the Church of Greece', which came into being as long ago as 1930. I do not propose to dwell upon its fortunes prior to its virtual reconstitution: suffice it to say that although great potentialities were latent in this organisation from the outset, its actual activity during the first fifteen years of its life was on a very small scale. It is directed by a council of members of the Holy Synod and professors of the theological faculty of the University of Athens under the presidency of the Archbishop, with Professor Basil Vellas as general director.

The aim of this official organisation is to systematise and co-ordinate the many-sided missionary activity now being undertaken throughout the length and breadth of Greece. In addition to its headquarters at Moni Petraki in Athens it has a local office in every diocese, and is assured of a basis of material resources by a system of annual diocesan contributions.

The possibilities inherent in such a venture are without question very great, and already much has been accomplished. A theological
[874] hostel and a school for preachers and confessors have been established at Moni Petraki: the latter promises to be of the greatest service in the

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training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken 793
up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by 797
the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been [874]
particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up
of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The [213]
official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for [204]
the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press.

Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry [874]
out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just
outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses, [794]
a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university,
and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model
schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary move-
ments, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in
the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems [794]
probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish
in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home
Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material re-
sources.

In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, 794
the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now
has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the
movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of
the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and
tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood
could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and
its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary
people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still
young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the
growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed
with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder;
in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a
spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrákes rather than Father Eusebius.

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed [177]
somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of [532]
eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful tradi-
tions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of
feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin
Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most

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courageous example and one can only hope that the work of Photis Kontoglou, somewhat mannered though it is, may mark the beginnings of return to a tradition that had not wholly perished in the remoter provinces of Greece when the dominion of the Turk was overthrown. 794 [532] [177]

When all is said, however, the fact remains that the Zoë Brotherhood has, under God, been the most potent factor in the spiritual awakening of the Greek people during the last two generations, and the traveller who would form a just estimate of the present situation will, if he is wise, take the trouble to gain a first-hand acquaintance with the labours of this remarkable movement and to enter into its spirit before he pays heed to the strictures of its critics.

One can readily understand the desire of the ecclesiastical authorities to systematise and co-ordinate the evangelistic activity of the voluntary associations: even in reforming circles to-day one is frequently reminded of the saying 'every Greek a *kapetanios*!' It is, however, no less important to remember that the marvellous work of these unofficial bodies has sprung from the consecrated life and example of a handful of men who had given themselves wholly to God that His power might be manifested in them, and it may well be that the new Home Mission will have to learn by bitter experience the lesson that 'the victory of the width' is given only to those who have fought 'the battle of the depth' and have prevailed: the regeneration of the Greek people in Christ will not be brought about through legislation and centralised planning alone. 794 797

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jewelled mitres and vestments of gold, assisted by priests and deacons whose "Garments and Accoutrements", in the words of a seventeenth-century divine, "are very Glorious and different"; of richly decorated churches where lamps burn day and night before the eikons of the saints. But let him go also to a house which stands beside the great basilica of St. Demetrius at Salonica and he will find himself in a gathering of students and professional men, the atmosphere of which recalls a nonconformist prayer-meeting; and to the adjoining hall where children shout the vernacular hymns of the catechetical schools, or where a young woman expounds a chapter of the Greek New Testament to an audience of housewives.

Christendom and the course of church history take on a very different aspect when one's vantage point lies to the eastward of the Adriatic: whether it be Constantinople or Jerusalem, Mount Athos or Alexandria. For the Greek Christian the visible fold of the Church is made up of the four ancient patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople, together with the patriarchate of Moscow and certain autocephalous churches. Beyond the frontiers of the Orthodox Church all is obscure and uncertain: to be committed to the boundless mercy of God, and approached (when circumstances require it) with wariness and circumspection. "As for the English Liturgy", runs the *Answer of the Orthodox of the East to the proposals sent from Britain for an union and agreement with the Oriental Church*, "we are unacquainted with it, having never either seen or read it; but we have some suspicion of it, because many and various Heresies, Schisms and Sects have arisen up in those parts, lest the hereticks should have introduced into it any corruption or deviation from the right Faith. Upon this account it is necessary we should both see and read it. . . ."

Within this outer darkness of heresy and schism the Greek is not given to nice distinctions, and strange confusions, baffling to the western mind, are common. A friend of mine was catechised at some length as to who it was who commemorated the Pope in the liturgy, by an old monk of Athos who was equally prepared to attribute this weighty offence to the Lutherans or to the Methodists! The persisting error of the patriarch of the west is seen in the same light as those of the reformers, as a hankering after innovation and new-fangled ways:

> Some time since [write the eastern patriarchs to "the Remnant of Primitive Piety"] the Pope of Rome, being deceived by the

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malice of the Devil and falling into strange novel doctrines, revolted from the unity of the Holy Church, and was cut off; and is now like a tattered rag of the sail of the spiritual vessel of the Church, which formerly consisted and was made up of five parts, four of which continue in the same state of unity and concord, and by these we easily and calmly sail through the ocean of this life, and without difficulty pass over the waves of heresy till we arrive within the haven of salvation. But he who is the fifth part, being separated from the entire sail . . . is unable to perform his voyage, and therefore we behold him at a distance, tossed with constant waves and tempest till he return to our catholic, apostolic, oriental and immaculate faith, and be reinstated in the sail from whence he was torn off: for this will make him secure and able to weather the spiritual storms and tempests that beset him. . . .

Gregory, by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Oecumenical Patriarch, writes on September 26th, 1869, to "the most holy Archbishop, the Metropolitan of Canterbury, and Exarch of the Christians of the Anglican Confession in Great Britain, the Lord Archibald Campbell," to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the English Book of Common Prayer which that dignitary had caused to be sent him. After having examined the said book to "ascertain how far it inclines to or diverges from genuine evangelical and catholic teaching" the Patriarch reluctantly confesses that it contains statements which appear "to savour too much of novelty"; these statements, he concludes, "throw us into suspense, so that we doubt what we are to judge of the rule of Anglican orthodoxy".

These passages are characteristic of the Greek view of Christendom. While the Orthodox Church faithfully preserves the tradition of the undivided Church—"neither adding anything, or taking anything from it"—the western world, encouraged by the evil example of its chief bishop, has confounded the faith once delivered to the saints with "strange, novel doctrines", the fruit of human reasoning; and when holy tradition has once been set at naught there can be no certainty and no "right worship": the saving truth of God is henceforth mingled with the vain imaginings of sinful men.

[123] In the spring of 1950 I made an expedition to the westward of Siatista with a small escort of local militia. The leader of the party questioned me as to the state of Christianity in England.

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"The English," he demanded, "are Catholics?" 795

"No," said I, "though there is in England a Catholic minority far larger than in Greece." 798

"The English are *diamartyromenoi* (Protestants), then?"

"Indeed, no," said I, knowing something of the associations of the term for the Greek mind; "the English are not Protestants."

The *kapetanios* was perplexed; and then, after a moment's reflection he suddenly exclaimed with enormous satisfaction:

"So, then, the English are simple Christians!"

Needless to say, where the prevailing ignorance is so abysmal much can depend—for good or ill—upon chance encounters and odd scraps of information. There are those whose knowledge of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* would seem to be limited to the fact that she is divided as irrevocably as Caesar's Gaul into three parts, high, low and broad: though the significance of these mysterious divisions eludes their comprehension. Others know her only through the widely publicised activities of certain of the more idiorrhythmic of her dignitaries. Occasionally, however, a happier encounter affords the suspicious Greek ecclesiastic a glimpse of something which he can recognise as familiar amid the obscurity in which the west is veiled: which may even prompt him to inform his wondering flock, when he preaches to them the following Sunday, that in the mysterious providence of the *Pantocrator*, though all the territories of the patriarch of the west have fallen into heresy, some remnant of primitive orthodoxy has been preserved in those islands whence came Byron and Codrington and the *Kyrios* Churchill.

It was my custom when travelling in Greece to carry with me several copies of a Greek translation of the Scottish Communion Office. The recipients of this work included the abbot of a certain monastery, whose hospitality I had enjoyed: a rigorist who regarded all that lay beyond the pale of Orthodox Christendom as unrelieved darkness and heresy. It was some months before I stayed at the monastery again, and my visit coincided with a festival. After the liturgy the abbot invited several of those who had been present in church to the guest-chamber, where coffee and cognac were served by a deacon. The inevitable catechism ensued: 123 795 798

"The *Kyrios* is not a Greek?"

"No, he is a stranger."

"From what country?"

"He comes from England."

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123 "Ah! from England."
795 "Yes, he is a *theologos* from Oxford."
798 "He is Orthodox?"

At this point another of the visitors, a high-school teacher from Cyprus, rashly asserted in a loud voice that the English were all Luthero-Calvinists. "It is evident, Sir Professor," said the abbot, "that you are ill-informed in regard to the belief of the English Christians. *I*, however, have closely studied the liturgy of the British nation which, it is beyond doubt, is no other than that of St. James, the Lord's brother. The Christians who have such a liturgy are evidently orthodox in faith, even though their canonical status, owing to their remoteness and isolation, is somewhat irregular."

795 798 It is perhaps only fair to add that other travellers have on occasion met with a less encouraging response to their efforts to diffuse a more exact knowledge of our own liturgical life. Dr. Hunt, for example, who visited Mount Athos at the end of the eighteenth century, and who relates that: "In conversation with their prelates and well educated caloyers [from *kalogeros*—literally, 'good old man'—a common word for a monk], I so often found what I judged to be religious moderation, that I was once induced to show them a Greek version of the English liturgy; but when they saw that we kept Easter at the time fixed by the Gregorian or Romish calendar, and that we laid down no precise rules about the mode of fasting . . . I saw such a disposition for controversy arise, that I ever afterwards abstained from all allusion to similar subjects." Times have changed but little on the holy mountain, and the traveller may still encounter monks who, when topics such as fasting on Saturday are in question, will yield nothing in polemical ardour to the most celebrated patterns of orthodoxy who flourished in Byzantine days.

795 Now it is surely evident that the Greek Christian's conception of Christendom differs radically from any that prevails in the west: not least from that of the English churchman who, if he looks beyond the bounds of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, finds his view blocked by the leviathan of Old Rome on the one hand and Protestant Nonconformity on the other. All that the Greek has in mind when he speaks of the Church lies unseen and forgotten beneath the horizon of this shrunken world. Vanished is that more spacious Christendom wherein the one faith was confessed and the one eucharist offered from Malabar to the misty

178 THE WATERS OF MARAH

795 the effect of the Turkish dominion was to foster—perhaps to excess—
788 an attitude which was already discernible in Byzantine days and which
771 always made for a certain liveliness in ecclesiastical affairs.

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795 During the last few years it has been becoming increasingly clear
798 that the episode which may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to as
173 '1054 and all that' has gained a far more important place in our text-books of European history than it justly merits. No longer is it possible to regard the schism of Cerularius as marking the decisive breach between eastern Christendom and the west. A date which seemed to hold out to the struggling schoolboy a refuge no less secure than that of the Conqueror's triumph at Hastings has been swept away, to leave him floundering in the troubled waters of speculation and surmise. But whatever the immediate causes of the disastrous breach which was to divide Christendom into warring factions, and which underlies all our western divisions, there can be little question that far the greatest factor in the hardening of the schism was the invasion of the Levant by the crusading Franks, the sack of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin hierarchy. These unhappy events made an impression upon the Greek mind that the passing of eight centuries has not effaced.

The legend of Frankish aggression—unhistorical and confused though it be—lives on in our own day especially amongst the monks. Pope Innocent III, Michael Palaeologus, the Patriarch Bekkos, the Catalans who established themselves in the Kassandra peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Pope Eugenius IV, who flourished more than a century later, are all confounded in a wild farrago of monkish imagination and prejudice. The Pope, attended by Frankish soldiers and executioners, presides over the martyrdom of the twenty-six monks of Zographou, and terrible stories are still to be heard on the holy mountain of the gruesome fate that befell the renegade monks who took part in the Latin mass at the Lavra. In a painting at the Serbian convent of Chilandari the Pope appears in the company of Mahomet and the arch-heretic Arius, and the earth opens and swallows them up together.

The traveller in monastic Greece must not, therefore, be surprised to find that an unwary allusion to the Pope can still conjure up in the imagination of a Greek monk a nightmare figure far surpassing the inventions of the most rabid Protestant. I recall one such reference to

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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the servant of the servants of God which drew from a gentle old monk of the Great Meteoron the question: "The Pope is very *fanatikos*, is he not?" It is no light task to break down so vast a barrier of prejudice, especially when suspicion of the Frankish unbelievers (*apistoi*) has been confirmed by generations of bitterly resented proselytism.

Amongst the theologians, needless to say, more enlightened notions now prevail. One may indeed rejoice at the spread of a truly irenical outlook within the last few years, fostered, on the one hand, by the discovery of the recognisably 'evangelical' and patristic tendencies so richly manifest in recent French theology; and, on the other, by the conduct of the small Catholic minority during the fiery trial of the occupation, when many clergy and laity showed that (contrary to popular belief), it was possible to be an ardent patriot as well as a Catholic. To the great mass of Greek Christians outside Athens and the islands of the Aegean, nevertheless, the Church of Rome is still essentially a foreign body: a Frankish mission dimly associated with all manner of mediaeval atrocities: 'the Pope' is held responsible not only for the expulsion of the monks of Daphni by the Frankish Dukes of Athens and the excesses of the crusaders, but also for the errors of the *methodistai*, the Christian Scientists and other western 'innovators'.

The persistence of Greek national sentiment throughout the centuries of Turkish rule has been justly described as one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern history. It is from this epoch that there springs that identification of Church and nation which, despite certain fairly obvious dangers, is still an incomparable source of strength to the Greek people. During the dark days of oppression every national aspiration was fostered and preserved by the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople was not merely chief hierarch of the Greek Church but also the recognised head of the whole Greek community, and as such he stood between his people and their overlords. In thousands of rural communities the parish priest and the schoolmaster kept alive the traditions of Christian Hellas, and when the day of liberation dawned it was an Archbishop of Patras who raised the standard of revolt: the national martyr, the Patriarch Gregory V, who was hanged by the Turks from the gateway of the patriarchate.

Religion and patriotism are still inextricably mingled in Greece. Hellas, when all is said as to the spread of secularism and indifference, remains a Christian nation in a sense of which we in the west can have but little conception. It was a Christian nation that performed miracles

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

722 the small country towns which serve as centres for the ecclesiastical
362 administration. Here many of them remained for three years. Some, and those the most fortunate, were able to build themselves wooden houses or *kalyvai*; others were lodged in huts; multitudes, especially in Macedonia, lived (often twenty or twenty-five families together) in old Turkish houses; those who fared worst of all had to be content with hastily improvised shelters of mud and thatch, or even to pass the bitter months of winter in tents. By the end of 1948 the number of the refugees exceeded 700,000: for the second time within ten years a tenth part of the whole nation was homeless. The country towns were packed with refugees: not a ruined cottage or a stable but sheltered two or three families. Some words from Thomas Alcock's *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece in 1828-29* might well have been written 120 years later: "Nothing in Greece", says this traveller, "can more forcibly give an idea of the war that has been carried on, than finding on inquiry that not a third of the residents in any place are natives of it, but only sojourners there, till security is afforded them in their own birth-places."

727 The parish clergy fled with their people to the comparative security
793 of the towns, but the priest was a marked man and many failed to make good their escape. No less than 239 priests and monks were done to
[792] death by the Communists alone, and seventy-seven by the Germans,
[798] while a further forty-seven died at the hands of Bulgars, Italians or Albanian moslems. Of the total number of 363 the majority (297 to be precise) were parish priests: no single category of the population sustained heavier casualties in the slaughter of these years than the village *papades*.

793 "I triumphed", says De Quincey, "but infer not, reader, a condition
798 of joy or exultation." Not all of those who died were men of the quality of the heroic parish priest of the village of Megarchis, Papa George Skrekas, who was crucified by the Communists on Good Friday, 1947. Nor, needless to add, did every Christian who suffered for the faith during the first three centuries of our era embrace death with the ardour of an Ignatius or the serenity of a Polycarp. The Church of Greece has ever been rich in martyrs, and there are not a few names—unknown though they be to Christendom at large—which have been added during the last ten years to the roll of those who will be remembered in the mountain dioceses whenever the Church gathers for the eucharist:

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION 793

"Thy Church, O Christ our God, in all the world is adorned with the blood of thy martyrs as with purple and fine linen." 798

But for every village *papas* who died, a dozen fled to the shelter of the nearest fortified post. Some went further afield, to live with relatives in Athens or the Piraeus, and in 1949 many bishops had, in addition to their catalogue of refugee clergy, a further list of those who were 'missing'—whose fate and whereabouts were unknown. Often a very large proportion of the clergy of a diocese were homeless: seventy-five of the ninety-three parish priests of the diocese of Grevena, for example, had been forced to abandon their parishes by the winter of 1948-49; while in the neighbouring see of Trikka and Staghi there were at that time no less than ninety-nine refugee clergy. The Lord Nikephoros, Metropolitan of Kastoria, told me that his sixty-three homeless *papades* included eighteen men, recently ordained after completing their training at the Kozani seminary, who had had no parochial experience under normal conditions. The economic situation of the refugee clergy was peculiarly difficult, deprived as they were of their fees as well as their lands. 722 793

It is doubtful whether anything—not even the carrying off of Greek children to territories beyond the iron curtain—did more to deprive the Communists of any vestige of sympathy in the country districts of Greece than their barbarous treatment of churches and clergy. The impassioned harangues of the Communist schoolmaster could avail but little, in the face of this desecration of holy things, to commend his cause to a people whose deepest loyalties had been outraged. What could be expected of men who burned down churches and defaced the eikons of the saints; who laid their infernal engines within the very sanctuary before the holy table; who crucified priests, and pillaged the monasteries where prayer had been offered for the whole state of Christ's Church from time immemorial? What could words avail the unhappy perpetrators of such terrible deeds? The 'Accursed of God' might burn and pillage and make fervent protestation of the surpassing excellence of their aims, they could not wipe out the impression created by their manifest hatred of the Church. As after the disclosure of the atrocities committed during the battle for Athens and the Piraeus in December, 1944, so in the face of these new horrors, there was a widespread reluctance to admit that Greeks could perpetrate such deeds. The men who did such things must be Slavs or Bulgars—no Greek could be capable of such crimes against God and against his own nation. 722 727 795 669 [619]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

491 snows, westwards towards Metsovo and Epirus. To the southward a few paths—impassable save on foot during the winter months—gave access to Kalambaka and the plains of Thessaly.

793 After paying my respects to the colonel in command of the garrison I plunged afresh into the inland sea and struck out for the metropolis: a simple cottage where the Bishop rented a couple of rooms. The Lord Theokletos—a monumental figure in an ungirt robe of indigo—looked strangely out of place in such a setting. The Friday fast was waived out of regard to the presence of a traveller, and when we had eaten the Metropolitan told me something of the state of his diocese. It was a gloomy picture that he outlined.

[785] [574]

722 Owing to the remoteness of the district and its poor communications almost every village had been abandoned by its inhabitants from 1947 till the summer of 1949. Grevena itself, a comopolis with a pre-war population in the region of 3,500, had, for more than two years, sheltered five times that number of refugees. During the past six months it had been possible for the people to return to certain villages situated in the northern part of the diocese, but there were reputed to be more than 2,000 families still living in the great refugee camp on the southern fringes of the town, and sixty-four of the diocese's ninety-six villages were still, after three years, uninhabited. Many of the fugitives had fled southwards to Kalambaka, Trikkala and Larissa; others had sought refuge in Kozani.

793 727

The refugees had included seventy-five parish priests, only sixteen of whom had as yet been able to return to their villages. Two priests had been done to death by the Germans; three others, as well as three monks, murdered by the Communists. As recently as October, 1949, the solitary occupant of the monastery of St. Athanasius, close to the village of Trikomon, had returned home after two years' exile, despite the advice of the Bishop and others who counselled him to wait two or three months longer, only to be brutally murdered within the space of a few days. It was when matters were at their worst that the Bishop formed his clerical militia and drilled his venerable warriors in the square where stands the monument to his predecessor in the see of Grevena, the Metropolitan Aimilianos, who had suffered death at the hands of the Turks in 1911 and is revered in this region as a martyr. This redoubtable force had never been called upon to take the field against the Accursed of God, but, said the Lord Theokletos, it had served as an example.

[798]

As to the destruction of churches, it seemed that some months must

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

To worship without incense is commonly regarded as one of the innovations of the Catholics. There is a story of an English churchman who was catechised by some Orthodox monks (I fancy that they were Serbs) as to the practice of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

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"Do you, in your divine worship", they demanded, "invariably offer incense?"

The Englishman confessed that this evangelical custom was not observed at every service within the territories of the Metropolitan of Canterbury.

"Ah!" said the monks, shaking their heads at this irrefutable testimony to the spread of popery: "We knew that you were tainted with Catholicism!"

Let not the western Protestant be dismayed if his refusal to burn incense in his churches is interpreted by the Orthodox not as a sign of his adherence to evangelical tradition but, on the contrary, as a badge of popery. I have always suspected that my Greek friends must find it extraordinarily difficult to enter into the history of the 'ritualistic' controversies of the latter part of the nineteenth century, since the issues at stake are so remote from their own experience. What *can* one make of muddle-headed *barbaroi* who are so perverse as to regard the observance of evangelical customs as evidence of the continuing influence of the Arch-Protestant?

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

443 Now and then we find mention of a shop grossing over $5000 a year, but
[434] this is exceptional and means that the proprietor has to extend a great
[452] deal of credit to take in that amount. Mention could be made here of the
[438] yardgoods shops which have come into existence because of the women's
[294] desire for the factory-made cotton goods, often of inferior quality. Often they sell beautiful handmade woolen fabrics at ridiculously low prices just to buy the cotton goods which they take to a local dressmaker in order to have a frock in the modern style.

463 The artisans ply their crafts in small shops, often in full view of those
445 passing on the street. By working near the door or window they take advantage of the daylight and thus use less electricity in their dim ateliers. The list of these artisans for a village in Central Greece reveals much about them and about the Greek village itself:

Two saddlemakers — who are also part-time farmers.

Two blacksmiths — both well-trained skilled laborers owning their own shops.

[294] Two shoemakers — one only repairs shoes, while the other also makes new shoes.

Three tailors — one is exceptionally good, but the others are considered poor in their work.

Four butchers — all have out-of-door shops and kill animals only as needed. Usually one or two sheep are butchered each week. The owners cook the intestines which they sell very readily.

[294] Ten seamstresses — some farm in addition.

[305] Three barbers — one popular, the other two fair. All are located in the coffeehouses.

[804] One horseshoe maker — owns twenty-five stremmas of land, which he farms. (One stremma is one fourth of an acre.)

[533] Four masons — one owns eight stremmas of land which he farms, while the rest own no land. Two of these men are in the small village musical group
[494] which plays at all weddings and festivals.

Five cart owners — who earn a living by transporting products.

This random presentation of the services found in eight Greek villages scattered over Central and Northern Greece provides a quick introduction to, rather than any conclusive statement about, the business activity going on around the village square.

377 Telephone and electric poles indicate whether these two utilities are
178 available locally. There is usually only one telephone, either in the office of the gendarmerie, the local community council, or a centrally located café.
[206] Should the village be one of those favored with electricity, the peasants proudly inform the visitor of that fact. When we asked what the advantages of electricity are, we got various replies: "Electricity brings cleanliness. We used to have smelly kerosene lamps." "Now we can light the streets and see where we walk in the evening." "We can have radios and learn what

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

491 457 At times, one comes across an unusually good road system in what would at first seem to be an isolated area and learns, as in the case of the area south of Volos, that emigrants from these communities, who went to Egypt, sent back large sums of money for the construction of these roads, which were built at heavy cost per kilometer because of the great amount of masonry work needed. Near Xourichti, in this same area, we 443 came across a small unpadlocked building on the main road connected by a path with the village seen in the distance. We learned that this was the place where villagers left their money and orders for purchases desired from Volos. When a truck driver passed that way he would stop, pick up the money and the orders, and do the necessary shopping in Volos. When he came back he would leave the purchases in the little house, perhaps toot his horn or flash his lights, and people from the village would come to get [577] their new possessions. There were no thefts, no shortchanging, in this area of mutual trust where, before World War II, it was safe for a young woman to walk anywhere through the mountains at night unattended.

491 178 In Epirus, across Greece from this Volos area, life is lived in a different historical and physical setting. In order to learn what effect a new road had upon village people there, we went to the village of Tsepelovo. On August 20, 1952 — only a few months prior to our visit — the first automobile had arrived at the village, using the road that had been built to open up a large forest to be exploited for the people's benefit. As we sat in the office of the community council and talked to the village secretary, we learned what the road had already accomplished for this village. The [494] first advantage mentioned was the lowered transportation costs, for the [804] hauling charges per oka (2.8 pounds) by truck are only one fifth or one fourth of those by donkey. When pressed to give other results, the secretary put it this way:

[342] Now we can build homes with sand and cement; formerly it was too expensive to carry these in by animals. Formerly we built our stone houses with lime and mud as mortar, and that is why they tend to crumble so quickly. [438] Here we produce about 14,000 okas (about 20 tons) of walnuts each year. We received little for them because of the transportation charges; now the merchant comes here in a truck and pays us cash and gives a higher price. Today we can also sell our lumber because, before the road came, we couldn't very well strap long boards to the donkeys.

[484] We used to spend twelve-and-a-half hours going by animal to Ioannina, the only large city nearby. Now we do it in two-and-a-half hours by car. The grocer [735] can sell fresh goods, whereas formerly he had only staples. Although we had great riches here, we also had great poverty so that beggars would go from house to house. The road reduces this inequality. Many of our men who had no other income earned much money working on the construction.

[758] In case we get sick we can be carried down by car and not have to ride a donkey.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 83 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two *stremata* (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

period of at least two months. Women are again hired to do the job. But this 248
time, the women from Vasilika and from the neighboring villages who had 221
been free to do the hoeing are not necessarily free to spend away from home the 464
prolonged period required for picking. The local women can and do hire out when they are free, but they can be free only sporadically, for their own fields also need some attention every day, even if their cotton production is not extensive. Therefore, the intermittent wage labor of the neighborhood women is augmented by labor from more distant regions where no cotton is grown, and where the early fall is therefore a slack season in the agricultural cycle. In 1955, six Vasilika farmers took the train to Trikala (near Larissa) and brought back with them thirty women who then worked in Vasilika for almost two months. Each of the farmers took responsibility for five or six women; he paid their round trip fare, put them up in his home, and furnished them with food. As a [465]
net wage, he paid them for picking the cotton in his fields one to two drachmas [804]
per *oka* (one *oka* equals two and eight-tenths pounds) of cotton picked. A [461]
serious, mature worker can regularly pick about forty *okadhes* a day.

In the picking season the farmer's main concern is to finish the job before 248
the winter rains set in. If prolonged rains come early, the value of the cotton [435]
is lowered, and the processing of it involves additional expense. If the cotton has to be picked while it is still damp, it must be picked with the pod, and [465]
later must be separated from the pod by hand. The farmers paid hired workers a drachma per *oka* for the job.

While the women are picking cotton, the men of the household weigh [451]
the filled bags, keep records of the amount each woman picks, and use the [462]
horses, donkeys, or mules to haul the cotton from the fields. It is stored in the [492]
stone barns, in the lower storage rooms of the houses, and, as a matter of fact, when other space is no longer available, in any room in the house. Trucks from the cotton gins in Levadhia come through the village and collect the cotton. Farmers keep track of the weight of cotton they send to be ginned but do not [451]
identify their own sacks. The ginning costs six percent of the original weight of [465]
the cotton, a percentage which the gin owner keeps for himself. The farmers use the seed returned to them for the next year's planting, and also have some of it [231]
pressed into cakes for use as supplementary fodder for the ewes at lambing time. [443]
The cotton itself is again stored in sacks to await sale to merchants who visit the villages. During the season, the cotton is also used as a medium of exchange. [437]
Itinerant vendors selling fish or oranges, for example, are willing to take raw cotton instead of cash in payment.

The price at which the farmers sell the cotton to the merchants is never 248
high enough to satisfy the farmers, who feel they get a disproportionately small 435
share of the ultimate value of the cotton. We were once host to some urban visitors and to some of the village's leading men. In the course of the afternoon [521]
a heated and eloquent discussion on cotton prices developed. The farmers contended that by the time they paid the costs for machinery, fuel, hired labor, and [434]
calculated, in addition, the value of the labor of the members of their households, they made scarcely any profit at all on the cotton. The visitors, on the other hand, insisted that it was wrong to include the labor of their households as part of the

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end.

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act.

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!"

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure.

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[9]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reath them. Trucks come to 494
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen 512
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads 484
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 512
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 621
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any 512
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 241
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 805
part of the main street at the east side of the *agbora*, one sees, first, a man going by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaioemerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places?

The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness (already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

in characteristically Greek fashion, more human-centered than science-centered. They went along with the human necessities of the patients, allowing these necessities to overshadow, for a time at least, what they regarded as the strict requirements of scientific hospital management. 743 759 [181]

Moreover, conversations with the doctors indicated that, although they were far more sophisticated than their village patients, they were nevertheless participants in the same basic culture, and shared many attitudes and expectations with their patients. For example, the lack of regular time scheduling for consultation, rounds of the wards, nursing routines, and the like, is not likely to be as personally irritating to a Greek doctor as it might be to his American counterpart. Greeks actively dislike regularity, and, unlike many Americans, do not derive comfort and security from routines. The Greek doctors are also less likely to be disturbed by the presence of the large numbers of visitors and their, to Americans, relatively boisterous conversations. Long and animated consultations before any decisions are made form a part of Greek life to a greater or lesser degree at all social levels, and conversation for its own sake is a favorite recreation. The fact is that illness and quiet are not inextricably linked concepts in Greek culture. 743 759 805 758 743 759 521 758

What the Greek doctors are apparently unaware of, however, is the extent to which their, to them, makeshift hospital practices conform to the social scientists' recent recommendations for flexibility and for adaptation to traditional methods of handling illness. What careful analysis has pointed out as a desirable method for conscious, planned, and gradual change, 743 758

[p. 27 (A)]

introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. 178 177 [1251]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. 184 177 369 [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coastwise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed. 184 186 [487]

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not 184 369 805

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
[BCS] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
[199] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
579 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
[643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal. This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work, are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
186 and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
579 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago. A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as: "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo:* his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and, second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
195 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
579 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended. Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture, feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents

461 183 They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

● 805 Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although [369] city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

805 The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get 512 up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the 461 peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to [369] the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

805 It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is [796] set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks [574] who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the [369] dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom [574] now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

[252] The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and [46] women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end. 805 461

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act. 805 269 252

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!" 805 195 [369] [855]

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure. 805 [405] [301] [353] [855] [804]

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other [202]

805 person is also just arriving, or, if they find him gone, they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration.

STANDARD OF LIVING

511 The standard of living is set, not by a scheme, but by the needs of the person, shaped and channelled by family role, as well as by [177] disdain for softness and love of simplicity. Greeks do not budget, except for a very few who like to follow American ways. They spend not according to what they have, but according to the order of what [577] they want, and, on principle, they should want little. Simplicity and frugality are expressions of fortitude and self-discipline, and they are also really enjoyed as dimensions of living. Greeks are not motivated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits; however, since the family is central to all planning, and since it extends into the future, Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter, or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They have no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself. So, as a rule, they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

[426] Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries, or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities, then any rise in income is sheer surplus. It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio, and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life; [262] he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *commatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day. Such things belong to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family, or given in beneficence.

511 The wealthy Greek "of good family", that is, who has been properly 556 brought up, is not distinguished by luxurious living, since luxury is 457 soft and ostentatious. He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village, by the battleship or stadium that bears his name, the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigrated sons for these purposes, as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives, by people whose wives do their own housework. Greece has counted on these sums as an important source of income, and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted emigration, since American-born Greeks lose contact with their parents' country, and fewer such sums are now being sent back.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Attitudes and Beliefs about Nature

82 ●

The Greek people, as one would expect of individuals everywhere, vary considerably in their attitude toward the physical environment.[3] Some, completely oblivious to the beauty about them, nevertheless try to read the weather signs in order to know when they should plow or sow. Some, at the other extreme, show a deep sensitivity to the changing moods of nature, as, for example, the illiterate shepherd in the Boeotian village of Schematari who would take pencil and paper and lovingly draw a tree-filled landscape or the rising sun. Most of the Greek villagers, however, seem to fall between these two extremes; from time to time they, in the words of one peasant, "gain an optimism in life when they see the beauty of a nice slope of the mountain or a lovely dawn." On the whole, the world seems a friendly place and there are few things to fear at the hands of nature.

More than this, the world is in God's hands. The frequent reference to God in popular speech may be a cultural trait handed down from generation to generation, but some of the oft-repeated, time-honored phrases are said with such animation and with such a light in the eye that they must express the individual feeling of those using them. There is no counterpart in English to the common phrase *Chara Theou* (Joy of God), which combines not only rapture and active enjoyment but the sense of the sparkling light God sheds on the earth. During the spectacular Greek spring, this phrase is a most appropriate way of describing one's feeling. 82 771 776 [195]

Even those who are not very conscious of their natural surroundings from day to day miss them deeply when distant from them. Over and over again, returned emigrants in Greek villages gave as the reason for their departure from America their need to see the mountains or plains or the sea on which their eyes had rested while they grew up. 82 [167]

Much of this feeling toward nature is based on the sense of intimacy with her.[4] Indeed, one of the first requirements in trying to understand the life of any people is to learn their reaction and adjustment to the natural world. The Greek farmer studies nature for important signs which tell him whether to bring the flock in from the high hillside, whether to start or delay a journey, whether to put out his tobacco plants. Those signs directly relating weather to agriculture are obvious and easily understood by the Westerner, if not always accepted as scientifically valid. But the signs which natural objects and events provide of the supernatural — illness and death, the appearance of ghosts, or even the way the universe was made and is run — all of these stretch the imagination of the scientifically trained specialist, who may be inclined to dismiss them as superstition and therefore unimportant. Nevertheless, they continue to be important to many Greek villagers, young and old alike. 82 787

In listening to folk interpretations of nature, one also learns much about

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk story:

> Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panagias to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sta matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[9] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day. 825 787 [777]

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there. [777] [776] [422]

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder. 825 773 [788] 771 [521]

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates. 82 ●

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in 821 127

1:Sanders Z-5X (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 512 [275] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

[241] *Summer.* As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that 221 of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever 241 else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we [432] start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it [273] and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot 82 south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare 4o, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.[1]

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Yannes Needs a Horse; Alekos Buys a Tractor

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

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[291]

Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

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We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

[369]

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
369 better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
665 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
829 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some countries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
178 peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
●82 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
184 growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
156 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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Human Relations[1]

Attitudes Toward Man and Nature

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If it were necessary to describe the nature of the villagers' feelings with respect to each other and the world in one word, that word would be "tension." Indeed, in the first chapter, the metaphor of Vasilika as a setting for a series of family dramas was used. The metaphor has a special aptness because it hints at the essential quality of drama—tension created by some kind of struggle. John Peristiany speaks of the agonistic quality of relationships among the Cypriot villagers he knows—agonistic in the sense of the ancient Greek word *agon* (match or struggle). This word is equally useful for Vasilika, although the contests do not appear to have quite the intensity of those described for Cyprus. Nevertheless, in Vasilika, when one walks through the fields and asks how the work is going, the common response is *"Palevume,"* "We are wrestling." Such an answer is not a cliché in which the literal meaning is lost. The villagers can amplify with further comments on their perpetual contest with soil, weather, and machinery. Man does not always win, in their view, but he is obligated to do his best and to use skill in the struggle. In contemporary Vasilika, the skill involves knowledge of naturally efficient means, and anyone who does not do his best in this sense is unintelligent and deserves to lose the battle. Those who try may still fail, and then the villagers turn to fate or to God's will as an explanation. But an appeal to fate or to God is never an excuse for neglecting actions which are humanly possible, and sometimes this is overtly expressed. For example, one farmer, at a time of unseasonable drought, remarked as he looked at his tobacco fields, "I won't make the sign of the cross, I'll bring my pump over here and irrigate the field." His intent was not blasphemous; he was not an irreligious man from the standpoint of village beliefs and practices. Rather, the farmer was expressing an explicit attitude in

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[1] Lee (1953) is especially relevant to this chapter, and is strongly recommended for further discussion.

village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksebazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[1] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

821 one of the high schools in Athens. T. K. Papaspyropoulos has written of
[127] his native settlement near Kalavryta in the Peloponnesos.[8] A literal translation has been used in order to retain some of the flavor of the village informants.

The sky. Our mother told us that the sky was a big dome which covers the earth like a lid of a cauldron. This dome has for ornaments the sun, the moon,
[772] and the stars. High up in this dome God has his throne and sits with Christ, the Virgin, with all the saints and the angels. Near the throne of God is Paradise with the souls of the good people and the saints. Hell is down below in the deepest part of the earth, together with the devils and the sinners. May God protect us!

The sun. The sun is the god of the day. He throws light on the earth and warms the people. The sun brings cereals and all the goods which are upon the earth. Without him we would be dead from cold. The sun does not only warm us but tours the whole world and brings greetings to all those who are away
[533] from their home. He also tells us what he sees. We have many songs for the sun, such as those which begin "My sun, three times my sun, and my world-roamer." "The working people watch for him."

[271] Everybody is afraid of the sun. We do not drink water while facing him, neither do we look straight into him because we get blind. In summer time the sun either burns our cereals or our heads. But in winter we beg him to come out and warm us up. We sit there by the sunny spot and he bakes our bodies. We
[533] also sing him a song: "Come on out, my sun. Just come out a little bit so that we can take a walk near the threshing floor." Sometimes it rains heavily and the sun is out at the same time. Then we sing to him: "Sun, sun and rain, when the poor get married. Sun, sun and moon, when the donkeys get married. Sun, sun and drizzle, when the female teacher gets married."

The moon. Just as the day has for a king the sun, the night has the moon as its king. The moon is a more agile king than the sun. It takes a walk on the sky shining and chasing the clouds and makes people come out of their homes.
[512] With the moon the women spin at night; the children play on the threshing floors; the men water their fields; the muleteers can see and go to their work; and the shepherds enjoy the slopes together with their sheep while playing the flute. But the moon can also harm. The biggest harm is done to the thieves because it throws its light and does not allow them to rob for they can be seen. "The thief enjoys darkness and the wolf the upheaval" [distracting disturbance]. When the moon comes out for the first time we say: "Welcome to the new moon. We are happy to see you. Bring us good." Many seek to find money. They get hold of it and say: "As the moon gets full may my purse get full of coins." When the moon disappears those who are in the mountain and see it set say: "May you fare well and return better and achieve better things." "My moon, my shining moon, and beautifully adorned, did you by any chance see Andrew and his ship?" . . .

[539] *The milky way* (the priest's straw). Do you see those stars that divide the sky into two? We call them the priest's straw. Once upon a time a priest went to stay for a couple of days in a monastery. When he left, because he couldn't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

take anything else with him, he took off his cloak and filled it with straw. As he hurried away in his rush and fright the straw bit by bit fell on the road and became stars. When he got to his house his robe was empty and behind him followed the monks. Since then we call these stars the priest's straw. 821 [539]

Rain. When summer has come to an end and fall is there we pick our grapes and harvest our maize and are waiting for God to send rain so that we can sow our wheat. The first rains start in mid-October. . . . They start either with a slow modest rain or sometimes with a strong one. The strong rain starts abruptly and all hell lets loose. The sky meets with the earth. Lightning, thunder, wind, hell. We all run with our hoes to hold the water back from entering our homes; others run to pull their animals out of ravines so that the water does not carry them away. Others gather the things that have remained outside, and others shelter themselves in their homes and gaze at the storm from their windows. When the weather turns good again it is the joy of God. Then we get ready our agricultural equipment for the field; it is time to sow. Rain is our life. Without it nothing grows; we are lost. But the rain can also do harm. When it rains suddenly the rivers come down with a rush carrying things and destroying our fields. It carries many rocks and stones onto the plain; when it rains and blows, it's hell. It throws down the wheat and it does a lot of damage. A good rain is a slow one. . . . [245] [243] [132]

But nature is more than a collection of stars or plants or animals. It represents the forces against which man must contend as he seeks to wrest his living from the soil; nature brings disasters to which man must adjust even though he does not completely reconcile himself to his misfortune. 731

One type of catastrophe that visits Greece at frequent intervals is the earthquake, which comes usually in the late spring and summer. Wherever a person travels in Central Greece, Thessaly, or the Peloponnesos, he hears of the damage done by tremors. There is today an Old Corinth and a New Corinth, the latter being built after the old city was destroyed in 1858. New Corinth was once more destroyed in 1928 and rebuilt. In one village people still talk with sadness of a quake which occurred in 1875, killing forty-seven women and children inside the church. One of the most damaging earthquakes of recent memory was the August 1953 series of tremors in the Ionian Islands which destroyed so much of Cephalonia, Zante, and Ithaca. In April and May of 1954, more than thirty persons were killed in the quakes of Thessaly, three hundred injured, and thirty-two thousand made homeless. 731 133 [361]

Nature shows its unkindness in other ways. Sudden hailstorms, drought, and insect pests take their annual toll in many parts of Greece. While on a trip with the inspector of agriculture from Larissa, Thessaly, through some fields recently damaged by a storm, I asked him what the peasants thought of such a devastating rain. He said that they did not feel any enmity against the elements but do say in all seriousness to them "na se pare ho diavolos!" (may the devil take you!) 731 821 [123]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock
[357] owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[a] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

156 hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and
828 some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but
771 God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes
867 affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God
[776] has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physi-
[821] cal phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

855 Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There
854 are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

855 Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

[865] In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government
[654] agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against New-
[232] castle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

793 the stripes of red and white which adorn an episcopal *mandyas* and are
292 called *pomata and potama*, may with great profit refer to the delightful
[113] engravings which illuminate that learned writer's discussion of these matters in his work on *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*.

I will but refer briefly to the vestment known as the *phelonion*, which is of primary importance so far as the ordinary parish church is concerned. It is always worn by the celebrant at the liturgy and in its general appearance somewhat resembles the western cope, being of far more ample cut than the chasuble to which it in fact corresponds.

Dr. Covel (who has some diverting observations on this topic) connects it with the 'cloke' (*phailones*) which the Apostle asks Timothy to bring him from Troas (II Timothy, iv. 13), and with the ancient *penula* which was made in such fashion that "when the Head is put through the Top, all the rest hangs down round on all Sides, sloping like the Top of a round Tower or the Roof of a house . . . *Penula* was worn both by Men and Women in Winter upon their Journeys . . . purely to fence off Rain or cold Winter-like Weather. . . . *Tully* takes notice that it was a *peaceable* Garment (and so much more becoming *St. Paul* and a *Greek* Priest), for he was excuseth *Milo* from being guilty of Murder from having it on: *cum Penula irretitus, when he was wrapt up in his winter Peticoat, what could be less prepared or fit for fighting?* For a man cannot handle a Sword or any Weapon under it, either to assault another or to defend himself." The *phelonion*, he continues, is "something like a Woman's Petticoat, with only a hole at the top to put their Heads through, and the rest of it hangs down round about their thighs to their ankles. It is richly wrought with Gold and Silver; and the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one, though of a meaner making".

So much for the *phelonion*. Of the other vestures worn by the clergy at their various offices I will only observe that in former days every church would normally possess a complete set, while a large urban parish where several clergy might concelebrate on a Sunday or a festival would as a rule be suitably furnished with the appropriate vestments.
• [822] The Greek Church has no scheme of liturgical colours: if a church possesses more than one vestment, the best will be brought out on high days without any regard to colour. The *kalymmafchion* is worn in church, as well as forming part of the outdoor attire of the clergy.

[727] To-day, alas, it can no longer be affirmed with any confidence of the *phelonion* that "the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one"—of however

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Peloponnesos. Many villages[1] are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages. [185] [251] [659]

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks. [137] [526]

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea. 823 181 [722] [175]

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun. 823 776 [346]

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains. 823 539

Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

●823 361 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages 241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos. 433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with [233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the [312] water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one [423] stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! [487] Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the [312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

marine. As of November 1957, the Greek merchant fleet numbered 541 vessels, whose tonnage totaled 1,510,535 tons. By 1961 its 1,110 ships amounted to 5,893,652 tons. 505

In addition to being a potential economic asset, the sea makes its influence felt in a psychological sense. "The Romans built roads but the Greeks always used the sea" was an observation made to me by a retired Greek admiral. The more one thinks about this simple statement of difference between two great nations of antiquity, the clearer become the varied bases for their greatness. Rome, the conqueror of the European continent and much of the Mediterranean world, held on to her territorial conquests for centuries, but the lasting conquests of ancient Greece were not those of territory, which she also conquered from time to time, but the victory of a superior culture. The Romans were administrators of subject lands; the Greeks became traders and merchants who colonized along the coasts of the whole known world, accumulated their wealth in cities, and maintained a competitive individualism much in evidence even today. 174 823 [157]

From this tradition of the sea the Greek has gained an outward look, sometimes carried to extremes. "He knows about every country but his own" commented a Westerner who had spent many years in Greece. 181 186

An old, old peasant put the way he felt toward the sea and what it meant to him in these words: 823

"Look over the sea," he said, pointing to the shining water in the distance. "Do you know anything farther than that? Going over the sea means going over to America. In the olden days, under the pressure of need, one stole from the other and the other fought back and killed and so got out of the country. Only the goat thieves and the peasants were left. For us village people, 'farther than the sea' means not just emigrating but also means bringing in. We can use it to improve life. Here near our village we have a waterfall and big water supply; we can have electricity and irrigation but we need scientists from across the sea to tell us how to use what we have. Then more people can live on the land and will not need to emigrate."

There are many Greeks, especially women, in isolated villages who have never seen the sea. Even for them it seems to have a deep emotional meaning, for, as one Greek folklorist explained to me, there is an unconscious worship of water all over Greece. A twenty-one-year-old peasant girl on her way to relatives in Athens rode with us from her village in the heart of the Peloponnesos. This was her first trip away from home. We stopped on the brow of a mountain while she had her first view of the sea. She who had ridden with us for many miles, shy and silent, looked out to the wide indigo horizon and cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" (The sea! the sea!), and then subsided, wide-eyed. It was obvious to all of us that she was deeply

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 186 823 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives, only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 823 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (January 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering himself fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism [755] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — [778] supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of [789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 776 539 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most persistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> [195] "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns."

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea.

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her.

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents. 342 [178]

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls. 333 [514] 351

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the 361 [342] [823] [343] [351] 363 361

824

824 ETHNOBOTANY--notions about plants in general; ideas about particular plants (e.g., mistletoe); cultural uses of plants; native terms for plants; knowledge of poisonous plants; associated behavior patterns; etc.

See also:

Agriculture 24
Textile uses of plant fibers 28
Native flora 137
Collecting 222
Fish poisons 226
Food taboos 262
Materia medica and pharmacology 278
Lumbering and forestry science 313
Forest products 314
Arrow poisons 411
Development of scientific botany. 815

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 787 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

[777]

824 [787] Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 777 539 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk story:

> Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 [844] If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panaglas to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sta matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[789] [754]

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[9] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

82

825 787 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Harvesting Olives in Southern Greece

During my travels in Greece I have passed countless olive trees, for they hug the coasts, crowd the islands, and thrive inland where the climate is mild enough. But I never really understood the significance of the olive tree until I visited an estate in Southern Greece where three thousand trees of about seven varieties provided the only income. 245

I had already learned that over 12 percent of the caloric intake of the Greek people came from olives or olive oil; that Greece produced in 1948–1950 an annual average of 47,000 metric tons of table olives, chiefly in Thessaly and Central Greece; that the smaller oil olives, grown elsewhere in the country, accounted for 103,000 metric tons annually of this precious oil, which was bought and stored as a financial reserve whenever the currency became the least bit shaky. The oil olives also produced another 12,000 tons of residue oil. Friends had said that olive growing was a story of "from rags to riches," since one year might bring an outstanding crop and the next a disastrously poor one,* but that this was one of the accepted features of growing olives. [146] [454] [458]

Some inquiring students think the olive was in Greece before the goddess Athena, with whom it is so closely associated in myth, and was originally associated with the cult of Erechtheus. Be that as it may, the olive — the "All-Dewy One" — has held a special place in the tradition of the Greek people. They have also come to know that olive growing is much more than storytelling or the writing of descriptive poetry; it is hard work. In Thessaly, around the Gulf of Volos, it was interesting to watch men plow underneath the trees and fertilize the soil to increase the olive crop; to see on the western coast of Greece and in the Peloponnesos how the peasants irrigated the fifteen to twenty trees that each might own, thereby adding to the quality and the size of the fruit. In Attica one could watch the men expertly trimming the tree so that it would bunch as it grew, making harvesting a simpler task. In the Ionian Islands, where the air is humid and growth more lush, the trees reached much higher, causing the people there to wait for the olives to fall after ripening rather than pick them directly from the tree. "A lazy man's way," said a mainland peasant. [824]

Like many things of importance, the olive harvest has a slow beginning. In October, walking through the olive groves of this estate, one could see the table varieties beginning to ripen. The Kalamata olive was one. At first, the few workers on the estate gather the olives falling to the ground, but within a week's time they begin to gather some from the trees. It is then that the girls from the surrounding villages make their gay appearance. Not many are married, for this would show that their husbands were [464]

* Compared to the 1959–60 figure of 156,000 tons of oil, 1960–61 showed 75,000 tons.

1:Sanders Z-5N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the
[591] bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
606
607

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[776] considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both
[784] a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of
[296] clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a
[241] neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come
true at this time.[8]

[426] After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and
[787] the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the
[262] traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given to the baking of the *vasilopita*, a special cake named in honor of Saint Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and almonds are used for decorations.

[533] On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around carol-
[824] ing again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is
[777] St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the
[431] sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

[431] If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event
[524] on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say, "If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be lucky."

[796] The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the
[788] liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are care-
[574] ful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. During the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to
[524] their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the card games are taken up again.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Throughout Greece, even in the cities, people never go to their own home or a friend's home from a funeral without first stopping somewhere for a sweet. In many villages it is the custom to wash one's hands before entering the house. 765

The official period of mourning lasts for two years. Part of the complex of traits connected with mourning is the Feasts of the Dead held at fixed periods, such as the eighth and the fortieth day after burial. Similarly, on the anniversary of the death a feast of remembrance is held. On such occasions the grave is decorated with flowers, a mass is sung, and offerings of *kollyva* are made in the church. Kollyva is "parboiled wheat mixed with pounded walnuts, raisins and parsley, and covered over with a coating of sugar, with the sign of the cross, and sometimes the initials of the deceased worked on it in raisins. The wheat is interpreted as a symbol of the resurrection: as the grain is buried in the earth, rots, and rises again in the shape of a blooming plant, so will the soul rise from the tomb. . . ." [24] 765 775 782 262 [769] [824]

In addition to these ceremonies for deceased individual members of a family, the Greek villagers also have collective feasts for the dead known as Souls' Sabbath (*psychosavvata*), which correspond roughly with spring and harvest, or the life and death cycle of the year. Relatives visit the graves where they leave sweetmeats, parboiled grain, and cakes, and where they kneel and cry beside the tombs as the priests read prayers over them. It is a memorable experience for a foreigner to come unexpectedly upon a graveyard where as many as one hundred and fifty people are wailing over different graves and to see the priests in their colorful robes and with their swinging censers move from one small group to the next. 769 782 152

Priests when they die are treated differently. With an ordinary person the bowl used when the dead are washed for burial is broken and thrown away; but with the priest (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed by another priest in a *peritrachelion*, or stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions. Also, the first book from which the priest read after becoming a priest is put in the coffin with him. There is another difference, too. At the end of three years after burial, it is customary to dig up the bones of the deceased and wash them in wine and water, but the bones of a priest are washed with oil. When the bones are disinterred, they are put in a basket and taken home to be put under a table on which there is boiled wheat. The priest reads a prayer; the people kiss the skull, put it in the box with the other bones, and this is put in a vault in the cemetery. 766 764 [292] [783] 766 765

Much is made of the condition of the bones. If they are yellowish-brown, this means that the person lived a good life; if they are black, he lived badly. It is also considered a bad omen if the body has not disintegrated. [787]

An excellent summary of the way the peasant fits death into the general scheme of things comes from a study by V. T. Valassis: 764

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is
787 lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at
[777] least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

824 Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of
[787] the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed
777 clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk
539 story:

Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony
[844] known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panaglas to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the
[789] midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward
[754] off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sia matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[9] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old
82 people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

825 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild
787 animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

horsefly, he will put it in his wallet for good luck. Or if he is returning from the field and sees two crows quarreling while flying high over a house, he will be reminded of the belief that either the husband or the wife in that house will die soon. If he sees a crow pass in front of him from right to left, he will consider it a good omen; but if from left to right, he will expect bad luck. Should a rabbit or snake be in the path ahead, the peasant knows he must walk on in a straight line; should the road turn to the right or left, then the individual had better return home and start the journey the following day.

A spider walking on you will bring good luck, but if you come upon two snakes fighting and eating each other, a close relation of yours will die. Should you be a shepherd in the Vardousia Mountains of Central Greece, you would probably believe that the wild goats which graze in herds are guarded by the devil and that is why one can hear them make a whistling noise. Furthermore, these wild goats have the same notches cut in their ears as the tame ones kept by the shepherds, which to these mountaineers is proof positive that the devil must be the one who puts the markings there.

Seeing some insect or animal may bring to mind a story learned when a child. The bee, for instance, was once as white as cotton. When Adam and Eve met the devil in the Garden of Eden, it was the bee that saw them first and flew immediately to tell God the news. The devil, who was then holding a burning torch in his hand, ran and tried to catch the bee to keep her from her mission. He could not reach her, but as she was nearing God the devil from afar threw the flaming torch at her. The fire singed her so that she became black. God, who saw all of this, ordered the human beings to burn in the churches only the candles made from beeswax since the bee had proven to be the purest creature of all. I am often asked if these folk beliefs (cited here and in later sections of this book) are widely held or are only the relic in the mind of some aged person. It is safe to say that almost all of them are very much alive at the conversational level. People are aware of them, talk about them. Obviously, many act on them, while others do not. But they are a part of the general atmosphere, as is the belief common in America that a person should not walk under a ladder.

Such beliefs, stories, and personal experiences with many kinds of plants and animals reinforce the rural Greek's sense of intimacy with nature, which develops because of his constant exposure to the elements in the course of his daily life. The Greek peasant, like many farmers elsewhere, moves through a living landscape with which he communicates.

The same holds true for his view of the cosmos and the movement of the heavenly bodies.[7] One of the simplest and clearest descriptions of the latter is taken from an account of a village prepared by a singing master in

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312

As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628

A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.

Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.

A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods. 136 [825] [787]

Mountains versus Plains

Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter. 184 361

K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote: 184 433

This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which 511 722 [464]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

342 "Are most of the houses in this village like this one?"

"Yes, only the priest and the teacher have two rooms in their homes, but people here are beginning to think about building bigger houses."

"How do you go about building a house such as this?"

"Oh, we get all the materials together and then call one of the builders who [463] lives here in the village. It may take us quite a while to collect the material, [465] depending upon the prices we get paid for our crops. We have to pay the master builder fifty drachmas a day; it usually takes him about fifteen days, since members of the family help him. We need him because he knows best how to place the stone in the walls so they will be firm."

The woman showed little interest in the actual details of construction, but quickly passed to the ceremonies connected with a new house. She [825] pointed out that when the cornerstone was laid the family and relatives came together, cut the throat of a cock, and let the blood spill on the [788] four corners of the house, selecting the eastern corner first. Just prior to this ceremony, money was thrown out to the workers. Customs vary, as we [778] discovered, as to just what was buried in the cornerstone, but in this Peloponnesian village the family buried earth from a sacred place near the village where they had found a treasured ikon; they also included a small wooden cross and an ikon of the Holy Virgin. If the house is built as a dowry for the daughter, then some of her personal possessions such as a dress or a shoe are also included in the cornerstone. Usually a big dinner [574] of roast lamb follows the laying of the cornerstone.

A second ceremony occurs when the topmost beam of the house is in place. The roof has not yet been laid, but this is the time for the family to bring presents to the workmen, who upon receiving a gift call out the name of the donor and wish him many years and a happy life. Later on, [793] when the house is finished, the priest is called. He must be the first person [788] to enter, after which he blesses the house and departs. Thereupon, for good [777] luck, a young boy must be the first to step in.

Now the furniture can be installed and the family can settle down. The [352] dowry chests, containing valuables saved up for the unmarried daughter, [583] will be placed along a wall and the dowry blankets piled on top. "And unmarried girls must never sit on this chest or they will never get married," declared our informant.

Other furniture includes a small table along the wall over which is hung [352] a large mirror. The family photographs are stuck into the edges of the [353] mirror frame. Pictures also decorate the walls, as do pots and pans and other cooking utensils. Two or three chairs complete the roll call of furniture.

351 In other visits to village homes our attention was directed more to the court than to the interior. The weather would be warm and balmy and the [513] vines in leaf. The family had in reality moved out of doors for the season,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Thessaly

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful,"
[177] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are
[825] back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

423 "We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being anti-religious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the
[685] point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever."
[521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

423 Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land reform — land re-
241 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant became about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the
[311] entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

796 and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal
[783] begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

796 Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people
785 kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that
262 the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

796 Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*),
[783] which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look
[356] like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their fami-
[574] lies on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

[533] Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young
[574] girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and re-
[535] ceive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

[778] On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form
[787] of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some vil-
[751] lagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

[356] Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in
[825] the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for
[788] Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural
[252] areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

/70 cont./

Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

To cure terrific abdominal pains, or "twisting the navel": 755

The constant pains and vomiting are said to be due to the untwisting of the navel. If the patient is to recover, his navel must be retwisted. Only a few people know how to do this. The one effecting the cure presses the navel with the index finger of his right hand, holds it firmly and starts walking around the patient. As he turns around he halts — at the head, at the feet, and at each side. He goes around like this seven or eight times and the patient recovers. (Aetolia and Arcadia) [753] [826]

Only special women can do this. The one who helps puts a rag around her finger, twists the navel several times until she feels it catch. Then she withdraws her finger and puts a compress on the navel: This compress is composed of blue paper into which some incense melted in *mastica* has been placed. (Spetsai)

Even though some of these practices are restricted to particular regions of Greece, and are carried out by only a few people in a given village, they do constitute a folk approach to healing. But there is one important belief, general throughout Greece, which is associated with illness: the Evil Eye. In one family, in a village near the town of Thebes, some of the members wore amulets which the priest had blessed and into which communion bread had been sewed. Elsewhere in Greece I saw amulets containing splinters of holy wood or earth from Jerusalem, worn around the neck. The women in explaining the Evil Eye said that one cannot always tell who casts the Evil Eye, but that there are some people in the village suspected of doing this and that they are to be avoided or else watched carefully. 751 754 [753]

If a child is believed to be under the spell (that is, shivers and does not feel well), the person suspected can be brought before the child and asked to spit three times to get rid of the curse, or the child can be taken to the priest who reads a blessing. Perhaps the cure thought most efficacious is a secret formula which an older woman passes on to a younger one with the instructions that it is never to be improperly revealed. Not all village women know the formula but only those who have been particularly selected by the wise women, or an older relative, for this purpose. In this village home, the women after much whispered discussion, decided details of the formula would do no harm since we were outsiders and would be leaving soon. Here are the basic elements: 755 [753] [793] [124]

Christ and the Virgin Mary
Passed through a crossroad;
They spread their golden apron
And ate. Crumbs fell on the apron.
They took those crumbs
And tossed them into the sea.
The sea waters were stirred up
And man was cured.

1:Sanders Z-5,t (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to
755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry- [751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and [827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
751
152

IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader. 195 826 156 828 577

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold." 533

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen." 195 826 828 854 855

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart." 195 828

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that 152 828 577

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

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1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to 755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry- [751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and [827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict. [577] [578]

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion. [571]

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard. 521 571 867 868 [825] [865]

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the 521 571 867 [851]

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is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

854 [177] [856]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

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In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

291 [854] [515] [593] [828]

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

The Village and the Central Government

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[10] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serral in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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for enemy sympathizers, thus presenting a wonderful chance for the unscrupulous person to denounce a fellow villager with whom he wants to even an old score. In the choice of sides in the Communist-inspired guerrilla war, for example, definite factions came into existence and their lines have not been altogether obliterated today.

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Despite factionalism and the lack of idyllic harmony, it is correct to say that most villagers feel a sense of community. It may seem entirely absent whenever people are trying to persuade the villagers to carry out community improvements from which they can see no immediate benefit, but it is there to be reckoned with whenever the reputation or the safety of the community is threatened. To try to explain the basis for this sense of community is to review much of what has already been said, but perhaps it can be understood in terms of four divergent strands: *philotimo*, or ultrasensitive self-esteem; a common living space; shared institutions; and an accepted system of social control.

Philotimo. Social phenomena in Greece must be seen first in terms of individuals, who in turn cannot be understood without recognizing the national trait of philotimo. Dorothy Lee has clearly explained this complex character trait:

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> Everyone has his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement. On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior nor inferior. . . . This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or interpersonal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work are not cast in the mold of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*. . . . The inner core of the Greek must never be exposed; and *entrope*, the Greek word for shame, modesty, decency, propriety, self-consciousness, embarrassment, means: "turning inward." This is a concept both positive and negative: you have done something shameful only because you have failed in the positive aspect, in modesty and decency. Out of *entrope* a Greek avoids saying things and doing things which would reflect on the *philotimo* of himself, his family, his country. For example, the self-made man in Greece does not boast of his rags-to-riches progress. This would expose the poverty of his village, the inability of his family to help him, the fact that his uncle or his godfather could not or did not do his duty by him; it would expose much that should remain decently covered, and would further prove him to be lacking in *philotimo*.[8]

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Dr. Lee then goes on to explain that the essence of philotimo is inviolability and freedom and that the sense of inviolability makes a Greek extremely "touchy." An offended philotimo leads to retaliation, not self-reproach. She writes:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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To suggest to a Greek that he needs aid in raising his standard of living because his ways are backward is to violate his *philotimo* as a person and as a Greek. There is need for aid now because of acts of God, not because of personal failure or Greek inadequacy. . . .

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One may well ask how this trait of self-esteem is related to a sense of community. The connection is twofold: first, the adult member of the community participates as a free agent and as an expression of his own individuality; he can cooperate because he feels free, and by the same token he can refuse to cooperate. But the second connection makes him think seriously before refusing to cooperate, for he would be shaming himself and others if he let his village down. Yet the sense of community need not be limited to formal cooperation; it can be a state of mind as well, a feeling of loyalty one carries about, and a deep psychological identification with the village where one was born and in which one grew up.

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A common living space. One writer attributes the unity of the Greek village to the residents' dependence upon their physical environment:

[423]

First, the people are directly dependent on the land, hence their interests are all one. Second, the village owns grazing lands and meadows used in common by the farmers. Third, the people are highly interdependent in respect to water supply. Thus a sense of cooperation pervades the village. Fourth, the people of the village are limited in their actions by the very village's physical structure; the width of the streets, the pavement or lack of pavements, and degree of crookedness of same. Lastly, the whole physical lay-out is such that ceremonials and rituals as repeated year-in and year-out by slow processions, must change even if the ceremonials were to become mechanized.[6]

An earlier chapter on the village setting has discussed this factor, which must be taken into account in considering the identification people feel with their village. People develop a "sense of belonging" with those who walk the same village lanes, send their animals to the same community pastures, draw water from the same wells or fountains, and share the same living space. This propinquity does not necessarily produce a liking for everyone frequently encountered, but it calls for the recognition that these neighbors or fellow villagers must be dealt with in solving many of the ordinary affairs of life.

Shared institutions. Partly related to the physical pattern of the village are the church, the school, and the office of the local government, whose very structures are visible and concrete signs of the institutional complex which they embody. But these institutions are more than a material expression; they are also the focal points of the values which the people inherit and pass on to their children. On the basis of these, people ascribe rank to each other; on the basis of these, people make decisions relative to what activities are most worthy and which are least worthy. Community

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fond of flowers. In 1961 their comments of satisfaction about the impending innovation of piped water frequently included some mention of how they would be able to plant flower and herb gardens more profusely once the process of watering them became so much less tedious. They value plants and flowers both for their colors and for their scents. A sprig of fresh basil is a common offering to a guest, with the admonition, necessary only for non-Greeks, to rub a bit of it between the fingers to release its aroma. Indeed, the sense of smell is a far more frequently functioning mode of perception in Vasilika than in America. The villagers investigate unrecognized substances by smelling them, the quality and freshness of food is tested partly by smell, the decision as to when food is properly seasoned or as to when it is cooked sufficiently is partially determined in the same way. A more active use of the olfactory sense by the people of Vasilika, then, provides a source of information, of data to be interpreted, and also makes for added pleasure through the enjoyment of aromatic substances. The converse of this situation, however, is that the villagers are equally sensitive to what to them are unpleasant odors. For example, the odor of kerosene burners disturbs them greatly and they were reluctant to use such burners for cooking, and certainly for heating.

A little more than one-third of Vasilika's houses conform in all major respects to the type I have just described. These represent an ideal for the settlement to which those who do not yet have such houses can aspire. The people of the village have watched four families move into new houses of this type since 1950 and have seen several other families, since that time, renovate their old houses to conform. The aspirations are by no means unrealistic.

In the meantime, the other families in Vasilika live in houses of various types. A few live in the one-room stone houses with earth floors and no windows, in which animals occupy the corner of the room farthest from the entrance. Several live in the new one- or two-room brick houses. But the majority of the village's families dwell in one-story stone houses. Here, one plank-floored room is the *saloni*. There may be a second room serving as bedroom, and still a third, an earthen-floored room in which some cooking is done over an open fire. One end of this may also [illegible] storage-room or stable. In these houses, the *saloni* has the same furn[illegible] in the others, but it is usually smaller and, since it is the only room with a fireplace, it serves also as the winter room of the house. It cannot be saved for guests or for special occasions.

Every house in Vasilika, regardless of the economic level of its inhabitants, has a corner of one room just under the ceiling set aside for religious objects. The central object is an icon of a saint of the Greek Orthodox Church. Often included are the framed wedding crowns of the married couples living in the house. A small lamp, arranged so that the light swings between the icon and the crowns, hangs from the ceiling.

The lamp was formerly lit by the wife or daughter of the household on the eve of every sabbath and of every feast day of the church. Since the advent of electricity, the small oil lamp has been replaced by a red electric light bulb which is kept lit at all times. This sacred corner is most frequently next to the bed that the husband and wife of the household use as their own.

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village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksehazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

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committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

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hered to Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

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Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts. 571 867 521

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone. [868] [196]

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity. 521 571 156 828 [748]

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kuvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other. 521 156 828 571

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha*," "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their

521 156 828 571 methods is to ask the same questions in different ways at different times, and an outsider is often struck by the persistence with which such questioning on the same issue is carried on over many months. Not to succeed in gathering a choice bit of knowledge is no disgrace—the villagers keep trying and every man stays on the alert to guard his secrets.

521 156 571 There are some kinds of verbal communication that are outside the realm of agonistic relationships and in a sense provide a respite from them. These are the ritual phrases, which constitute proper responses to frequently recurring common life situations.

576 Village manners require the use of a wide variety of greetings at meeting and at parting. In addition to these, there are a large number of appropriate set phrases for life crisis situations, large and small. For example, one says *"Kali eleftherya,"* "Good deliverance," to a pregnant woman, "May they live for you" to a parent showing you a picture of his children, "May it pass for you" to an ill person or to any member of his family, "To your health" to a person wearing new clothes, and so on. "Many years" is the wish expressed to everyone on saints' days. This list is far from complete, but illustrates the point that although the phrases are formulaic and are most often used without conscious awareness of their literal meanings, they are apotropaic in feeling. In other words, the villagers have a vague sense that the phrases, which are good wishes, may succeed in warding off evil. Certainly the formulas also serve as an immediate expression of the good intentions of the speaker toward another in a potentially stressful situation.

Transmission of Values

156 828 867 Some of the weapons used in agonistic relationships in the village and some of the processes by which children acquire the necessary skills to use them have been considered. It remains to complete the discussion of the kinds of values and attitudes inculcated in children and to show the relationship of all the foregoing to the question: Who are the actors in the contests of Vasilika, and what are the social alignments which form the structural base of these human relationships in the village?

156 828 867 858 152 If, as we have seen, obedience to elders is not a virtue which parents stress to regulate the behavior of children, and if affection is interspersed with ridicule so that children cannot depend completely on the parents' support, by what mechanism do the villagers' children acquire the prevailing standards of behavior? It has already been suggested that the villagers act as if they believed that human beings, by virtue of their humanity, have brains. It may now be added that they also believe that inherent in every child is a sense of integrity which, in English, is best translated as shame. Parents do not feel that they have to implant these traits in their children but expect to bring them to the surface and to put to use qualities which the child already has within himself.[2] Each child is believed to have rudimentary intelligence which will develop into rational

[2] I am indebted to Popie Mohring for this phrasing.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say. 828 867 [858]

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children. [609] [834] [562] [574] [369]

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them. *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself. [865]

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch [861]

152 156 828 867 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

[875 861] When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 828 867 577 [562 574] Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 828 577 777 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 828 574 571 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms. 156 828 574 571

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece. 156 828 577

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction. 156 828 571

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground, although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo* 156 828 571 594 [867] [577]

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is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Gligbora!, gligbora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

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000 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and
562 women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in
521 the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves,
829 women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the
[834] village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the
[576] kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi-
[594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of
[577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear,
[828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but
[834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working
[594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in
593 the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

wife must overcome overt cultural attitudes of deference and covert attitudes of sexual mistrust as well as what are undoubtedly unconscious conflicts about sexuality. 562 593

If there is tension between men and women in Vasilika, why is it possible to say that agonistic relationships do not exist between them? It is because the cultural differentiation and separation of the sexes makes them unequal and therefore not in a position for the direct, overt competition of which agonistic relations consist. The maintenance of this differentiation in the qualities and characteristics of women acts as a foil for the men—once again the contrast gives meaning to the self. For women, also, the contrast serves as a means of self-identification. 571 578 [567 156 828]

If age and sex are not the lines along which agonistic relations occur in Vasilika, then what is the structure of these relationships? Essentially, agonistic relations occur among those who, from the standpoint of village culture, are both separate and equal, and among men of the same age categories and women of the same age categories who are not members of the same elementary family and are in the same or adjacent social positions. This includes brothers in their relationships with each other and sisters in theirs, once these have married and have elementary families of their own. I have already suggested that brothers are rivals, and sisters also compete for the greater success of their husbands and children. Within the village, people who are not related to each other compete also, as do the people of Vasilika with the inhabitants of neighboring villages. [593] [621]

It is now possible to understand why, from the villagers' point of view, their cooperative arrangements with each other and with their urban connections tend to be impermanent (see the end of Chapter 4). Each request for help and each response to the request becomes part of the competitive struggle. The value of what is given and what is received must be judged at each encounter, and the potentialities for imbalance are always present and are frequently realized. [476]

The alignments of kin and non-kin which lead outside the village and the quality of human relationships, both among the people of Vasilika and with those outside the village, have bearing on the nature of the village as a solidary community. This matter is the subject of the last chapter. [621]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

621
Evidence suggests that 186
an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609
they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574
thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577]
petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828]
expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always [685]
raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at [521]
a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually [522]
in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers [183]
began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621
identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it 186
must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156
reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride 828
in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 476
and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594]
family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464]
daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663]
official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554]
his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he [185]
does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619
for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829
as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is [621]
profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they
wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181]
with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

[p. 26(A)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come [593]
to be associated with low social position and low income,
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major [511]
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of [583]
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of 828
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion.
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet 152
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo*
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, 156
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader. 195 826 [156] [828] [577]

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold." [533]

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen." 195 826 828 [854] [855

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart." 195 828

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that 152 828 577

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

WORK

183 491 [828]

Attitudes towards work, time, planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Work is life for the Greek. It is the person in function. Things like sports, weekends and vacations, or like "leisure" in the Western sense, are the recent introductions of foreigners. There are times when work or certain kinds of work are interdicted, but this is part of religion, not a claim to leisure time or idleness. And leisure is an attitude, a dimension of all work, and in fact, of all life; it is not confined to a time of day but is the constant expression of internal freedom while at work or at rest. [177] [517]

Diligence is part of the image of the self; it is a personal quality, warmly admired. To call a girl *procommene*, diligent, is to say something about her attractiveness. A poem which school children used to memorize spoke of the joyous little housewife, the little girl who got up early to set the house in order. There was nothing of the repellent goody-goody about her, and nothing strange about calling industriousness joyous. The Greek folk songs, often sung as accompaniments to the dance, picture such work situations: a group of young girls laundering at the beach, spreading the clothes and playing in the sand; or the woman singing at her loom. Folk tales make cruel fun of the lazy wife who comes to grief. Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy, happy life, of the girls and women gossiping at the fountain in the village square as they wait their turn; of the mother weaving in the shade of the grape arbor while she watches the food cooking on the outdoor brazier, of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands; of husband and wife walking to the fields an hour or so away, the little children running by their side, the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother's hip, swinging with every step. They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life, as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth. [828] [538] [533] [538]

Diligence is an internal attitude; it rests on self-discipline and free incentive, it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake; it is the personal quality of diligence, not work itself, which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work; and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom; all work under pressure, such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer, means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value. Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters' dowries, or for land needed by the family, worked incredibly long hours, but neither through external nor through inner compulsion. [167]

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

175 size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But
[131] Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about
[161] 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period
[311] has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

101 Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy
184 location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks?
[156] Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into
[181] three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[3] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

175 Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the
369 city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two
[167] thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take
• [829] up farming.[4] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.[5]

175 177 186 369 [793]

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

369 186

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

184 186 369 565 571

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.[6] His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

369 521 [275] [201]

> Greek hands are tongues,
> They are tails of dogs;
> They are also Plato's
> Dialogues.[7]

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.[8] An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

369 829 [195]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

369 nians. According to the story, a man reading his newspaper at a café table
829 was studying the battle plans and maps of the Russian command. The more
195 he studied the newspaper details of the Russian army lines, the more excited he became, until he finally called out a warning to the Russian general half a world away in these classic words, "More to the right, Koropotkin! More to the right!" This phrase is repeated with a smile by one Athenian to another when he wants to imply that the other is passing judgment on something a little — but only a little — out of his field of competence. As
369 a matter of fact, a multitude of anecdotes told by city Greeks about them-
829 selves swarm into memory. One way of gaining an insight into the Greek mind is to listen to these stories.

The Greek shows pride in his intellectual curiosity by relating the tale of the Greek walking along a Paris street with a French friend. The Greek in the excitement of a discussion of nationality traits boasted that he could identify any Greek who came down the street. To the Frenchman this seemed impossible in such a cosmopolitan city as Paris.

"Let us wait here for a few minutes and I will find the Greeks for you," said the Athenian, who thereupon began to twist his cane into a nearby wall as though he were boring a hole. Many people passed by without paying any attention, when all of a sudden one man stopped to observe this strange behavior. He looked at the cane, the small hole, and at the man turning the cane as though trying to figure out the reason for the procedure. The Greek with the cane asked, "Are you Greek?" "Yes, I am," said the inquisitive passerby. "What are you doing with that cane?" The performance with the cane was repeated and after an interval a second man — of course, another Greek — stopped to observe. This was enough to convince the Frenchman of his Greek friend's ability to discover his fellow countrymen by tickling their curiosity.

This intellectual curiosity has its other side, too. One Greek social worker with an objective view of herself and her associates said, "When we Greeks face a crucial problem in social welfare or elsewhere, we are inclined to examine it from all sides. We look at it from so many points of view that we finally convince ourselves that it is not a very serious problem and practically explain it away, with the result that we do not feel the need to take any action about it at all."

369 It must be obvious by now that city Greeks are never dull. Conversations
521 with them do not merely flow; they roar along. They always have some prin-
[275] ciples to defend, some causes or organizations to promote, or some absorb-
[829] ing hobbies to share. The mark of the true urbanite, as previously implied, is the regular visit to a favorite café, the modern version of the ancient agora, to transact business or to discuss with friends every conceivable facet of the happenings of the past twenty-four hours, not only in his own social group but in the world at large. It is only fair to point out that a few of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive. 369 521 829

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away. 369 663

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside. 369 [181] [157]

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to 184 [133] [186]

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[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the wide world.

[186] The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural [463] pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these [702] island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

184 An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible universe. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of 829 Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable 186 servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.[12] For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

184 Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from 511 and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

184 Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life [829] common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

123 To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their 184 long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

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II

Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

13 In a literal sense, the rainbow in the rock is the magical coloring of the Greek landscape, the crystal-clear air, and the intensely blue sea. Anyone who paints the Greek sea as it actually looks runs the risk of skepticism from critics abroad who might well say, "no sea could be so blue, in so many shades," particularly if all they have for comparison is the gray Atlantic. An artist friend told of a young Swedish painter who came to Greece after considerable success in landscape painting in Italy and France.[1] For six weeks he tried to paint, but nothing looked right. It was only after he developed new techniques that he began to catch the spectrum of opalescent colors, the strong variations in light and shadow, and the sharp delicacy of forms visible at a considerable distance. Anywhere in Greece the physical environment is impressive, not as a backdrop to be taken for granted, but as a sensation to be enjoyed in its own right.[2]

182 Perhaps this is why so many Greeks are ready to accept geographic de-
[829] terminism as an explanation of their difficulties. There, spread out for all
[13] to see, are the effects of climate, of differences in terrain, of dwindling or unprotected resources. And the temptation is strong to assume that all troubles would pass away if only the earth were more fertile or if heaven shed its rain more plentifully. But the explanation is not quite so simple. Those turning to the philosophy of history for an answer might be told by

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them now and begin to live in their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can." 184 433 511

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains. [722]

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are: 184 157 829

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it." 184 511

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna- 184 157 829 [166] [722]

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184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

[434] There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
[439] World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
50 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

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is going on in the world." "A few of us get small cooking stoves and others electric irons." Some also add, with a twinkle in their eyes, that since they can see after dark they do not have to go to bed so early and that the birth rate will probably drop.

Where there is no electricity there may be radio sets run by batteries. In one mountain village we found that five of the eight coffeehouses had battery receiving sets which they always turned on to the newscasts. "Why," we wanted to know, "are you villagers so interested in newscasts?" "Oh, we like to hear farm prices over the radio, but most of all we like news about what is going on in foreign countries because that is what enlightens us." In some of the most out-of-the-way villages we found receiving sets run by gas motors supplied by the United States Mission. Thus the air waves are reaching the village plateia and the villagers' sense of isolation gives way to a growing demand for more of the benefits enjoyed outside the village.

The water supply in the village is quickly identified by the procession of people to and from the springs, artesian well, or street faucets. A local gendarme in his trim gray uniform, who joins our group, and a field guard on his way to leave the rifle slung over his shoulder at the community-council office are expressions of services from the national or local government, as is the mailman who comes from the next largest center once a day, or perhaps three times a week.

Our observations of the people, public buildings, and available utilities are constantly interrupted by the liveliness of the eager conversation around the café table. Although the American visitor is not directly engaged, the topics sound so interesting and so close to the facts he is trying to collect that he cannot remain entirely aloof. For instance, the young officer in charge of some people recently resettled in the Greek-Albanian border area under his control says that the peasants are complaining because their land allotment is too small and the soil too sandy, so they go into the forbidden no-man's-land to cultivate even if they do place their lives in jeopardy; a man who prides himself on knowing local history affects a learned air when he tells the history of the local church, built on the site of an ancient pagan shrine; a child, bolder than the rest, comes up to ask the woman interpreter, who is wearing slacks, whether she is a man or a woman.

Again, in a low voice, a local official inquires politely: "Who is this American professor? What is he doing in our village?" When he is told that the professor is interested in understanding the Greek people, and in telling Americans about them, he finds it hard to believe. "You mean," someone asks, "that he has come all the way from America to visit our village? Please tell the professor that we are greatly honored." One man adds, "I've lived here sixty-seven years and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us." A woman related to the coffee-

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562 reveal only some of the traits of the husband-wife relationship in rural Greece. It is equally important to see how this partnership operates day by 593 day, season by season, year by year, for it is in the sharing of a common life, with its hardships and flashing joys, that this companionship based on mutual respect is fashioned. Great is the wife's satisfaction if her husband [581] is considered a good provider. If he is, people say: "Tes dinei tou pouliou to gala" (He brings the bird's milk to her), or "Kai tou pouliou to gala echei" (She even has the milk of the bird). Such phrases go back to the [758] practice of serving eggs beaten in milk to the sick, thereby showing that [262] good care is being taken.

The wife, in addition to watching her own behavior toward her husband, 593 is also responsible for seeing that the children are respectful. The lessons 576 learned in the younger years tends to persist through adolescence into adulthood. Once while sitting at a meal in a Greek home I noticed the young 276 man leave the table. Curious about his exit, I asked: "Where is Petros going?" The father, with a pleased look on his face, said: "He is going out to smoke a cigarette. He does not smoke in front of me." And wherever I [124] went I asked young men singly or in groups whether or not they smoked in the presence of their fathers and found only a small fraction that broke this taboo. To be sure, in some villages and in some homes the young man [178] no longer takes a trek outside if he wants a smoke, but he knows he is going against an old established custom. In one group of nineteen young men, for instance, only three said they would smoke in front of their fathers; in another group of twenty-eight, again only three said they would do so.

The son also shows respect for his father by not going to the same coffee- 593 house where his father is or is apt to go, but there are regional variations. In villages of the Pelion (near Volos, Thessaly) a man may take his son or 576 even his wife to the coffeehouse, but in the words of the commandant of 275 gendarmerie there "they may act this way near Volos but in my village in 562 Boeotia it would be a great shame if the father and his son were in the same coffeehouse, and no woman would think of entering." As a general rule, even fewer of the young men would accompany their fathers to a coffeehouse than would smoke in their presence. In some of the smaller villages the people say that they do not have enough cafés and so the possibility of the two generations staying apart is not very great.

But on every hand there are signs that the formal etiquette governing 178 respect is breaking down. One well-informed official near Salonica said, 593 "The basic Greek tradition of showing respect for elders is weakening. Now 576 you see boys teaching their fathers how to play backgammon and cards. In the United States you would think this fine but over here our system is [524] patriarchal, and the young American starts life outside the home at an earlier age." A folklorist pointed out that in the past the reverence for Greek [829] customs was looked on as necessary for national survival, especially under the Turks and when people were isolated.

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535 ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye
[773] springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.[8] Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the
[186] zalongos, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereo-
[829] typed image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers'
[522] guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has
535 been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the
177 folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

527 Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances
574 old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism.
[521] Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

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XII

Local Government

829 154 If the Greek villager did not have a government to curse, he would be in a bad way indeed. Somewhere he has to find a scapegoat for the hard life that he leads. He could berate his wife or beat his children, but that would give only limited relief, since he knows they are not responsible for his difficulties; he could raise his clenched fist to the heavens and curse the Almighty, and he does this in some of the most colorful language known to man, but that too has its possible dangers, since the Almighty in a less genial mood might give him his comeuppance. What better object for his scorn could he find than the government, which is always wanting taxes, [666] takes him off to military service, asks him innumerable questions every time he seeks a loan, and stages a periodic election prior to which "lying" politicians come to seek his vote.

829 619 At the same time, the peasant is shrewd enough to distinguish between Greece as a nation, to which he can be tremendously loyal should anyone cast aspersions upon it, and whatever national government is in power. He also draws a distinction between the local government of his village and the central government in Athens, with his views of the former going up and down, but his regard for the latter seldom going up. There is no mer- [666] curial quality, therefore, to peasant politics. If the peasant does shift his

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vote, it is in sullen protest and not because of any wildly enthusiastic support for some new leaders seeking the reins of government. He does not think of government in abstract terms; he feels more comfortable talking about specific persons and events. He will know, for instance, that his country is a monarchy and that King Paul and Queen Frederika visited his village last year and drank coffee with the community president and that the queen went into one of his neighbor's homes to see how the housewife was weaving a particular pattern; he will know that there is such a thing as a national parliament, for his wife's second cousin, a representative there, regales them on occasional visits with all the smart things he does when he is in Athens.

Or, as happened in Phokia, a coastal village between Athens and Sounion, the community president interrupted our conversation on a cool September evening (in 1959) to show us pictures taken of himself with the shipping magnate, Onassis, and the Greek premier, Konstandinos Karamanlis. The former had anchored his luxury yacht off the shore near Phokia a few months previously and had invited the premier to come to Phokia, from which a small launch would take him out to the yacht for dinner. True to tradition, these personages received the greetings of the community president, posed for their photographs with him in a village taverna, and listened to his requests for funds to extend the village dock out to deeper water.

I often wondered whether the Greek villager was as interested in politics as the Athenian thought that he was, for I found many villagers almost totally ignorant of governmental affairs, a fact which could be duplicated among the least educated in almost every country. Indeed, many people who knew village life well said that the peasants were much more interested in talking about agriculture than national politics.

Greek Traditions of Local Government

The strongest governmental tradition in rural Greece is that of government by elders, who represent the accumulated wisdom and authority of the village. One would expect this in a family-centered society, but, in the case of Greece, it has been further reinforced by historical developments.

These influences are primarily Byzantine in character. True enough, one can go back to the city-state, or *polis*, of the ancient Greeks and show how even the settlements outside the fortified town, which were a part of the polis, had their representatives on its central council and played their part in raising military and financial levies in case of war; or one can trace the decline of the polis under Macedonian and Roman rule between 350 B.C. and 330 A.D. and assume that many of its earlier functions must have persisted. But it is not until the flowering of Byzantium that a transformation of local government took place. As Harold F. Alderfer has stated:

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and receive fewer material rewards than to be dealt with impersonally and receive more material goods. Efficiency, then, whether in administration or in farm work, is something he does not initially value; he must be taught to value it if it is to assume any importance in his life. 571 461

As many observers have pointed out, the Greek — be he peasant or city dweller — is not loyal to an abstract political principle, nor is he loyal to a political organization as such.[14] He is loyal to a political leader but only so long as following that leader does not mean that he must become disloyal to himself and go against his own cherished opinions of what ought to be done. Therefore, he can switch from one political leader to another without any sense of betrayal and sees no inconsistency in contradictory political behavior because he does not behave by the principles by which contradictions are gauged. Each situation is a separate case to be judged by itself and precedents have little relevance. 665 829

The peasant, sitting in his smoke-filled coffeehouse, is interested in hearing what others say about politics in Athens, not because he feels very closely identified with one party or the other, but because he tries to figure out what the meaning of each event is for his own particular existence. Few villagers are truly partisan in their political allegiance, which explains why it is almost impossible to maintain even a semblance of a party organization in a village. The parties do not even try. When elections are coming up, the candidates know the names of local people who have been sympathetic in the past and, through their help, try to work up a little political rally at which they can state why they should be supported for office. Around election time I chanced to be in several villages when these candidates made their appearance. On the whole, they drew small crowds, and even those who had decided to vote for them did not bother to go take a look at their chosen man. If this office seeker is to be "used" later on, one would think that here would be an excellent opportunity for the villager to establish the personal contact he might later exploit. But the peasant does not think this far ahead and, furthermore, probably assumes that the need for the politician's help might not arise. 666 665 829

When I listened to the peasants criticize their politicians, even those for whom they had voted and still supported, I realized that a foreigner might be tempted to read too much disapproval in comments which were made primarily to build up the ego of the critic. For, when I turned to such a critic after he had devastatingly, in his opinion, torn some program or political position to shreds, and asked "what do you suggest that the political leaders do instead?", the only reply given was: "I don't know because I'm not a politician." 665 829 156

I was also interested to note that there was relatively little disruptive political factionalism in a Greek village. Forty percent of the people may tend to support one party or leader, and they are not apt to switch to back 665 578 666

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665 578 666 the rival party the other sixty percent support. However, should occasion seem opportune, a great number of them might switch to the support of a third party simply as a means of expressing disapproval of the performance of the ones they have been supporting. But let the men of a village find some common denominator, such as the erection of a school or a church building, and they will forget their political differences.

829 66 369 In conclusion, the best way to characterize "the peasant and politics" is in terms of indifference. This is especially true if one looks on politics as an organized way of bringing certain measures to pass through the election of officials committed to carrying them out. This has never worked for the Greek peasant in the past, and he is dubious about its merits in the future. If one means by politics the utilization of personal and family contacts with politicians and officials to get some gain for oneself, then the peasant can understand its significance and see its value. For, after all, politics and politicians are associated with the city and especially with Athens. Villagers are caught up in the backwash and, in their view of the world, have little importance as active agents. Political phenomena, like the weather, have to be endured, although now and then some useful protection from each might be sought in personal initiative, but not by group effort.

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intimately, agreed with many of the points that the Athens gymnasium director had made, as the following summary of his comment shows:

> About thirty or forty years ago the community was independent. It was something solid; it elected the best people to office. Why? They elected their own teacher, their own priest, and the field guards. Three main points of their life — education, religion, and security — were all in their own hands. The central government wanted to take into its own control all of these functions in order to put in its own appointees who would influence the people. The peasants lost their ability to manage their own affairs, and became hostile to the government and to the teacher. The teacher is no longer responsible to the farmer but to the government. Nowadays, because of this and because of the anti-government attitude brought in by the refugees from Turkey, the peasant has separated himself from his government and asks everything from it.
>
> The teacher has no obligation toward the village, no sense of community relations. He stays in the coffeehouse and aims to move to a town or city. Formerly a village would give some bright boy a chance to go outside for an education and then he would come back and live in the village where he had his own home. He was one of the best teachers.

When one begins to sift from many conversations the findings about the village teacher and to read the village accounts which include him in their pages, a few matters stand out. First of all, it is true that the allegiance of the teacher is to the national government and to the bureaucracy upon which his advancement depends. He thinks of himself as a representative of the national ideal, which he is supposed to instill in every child studying under him. His loyalty is therefore to Greece, and one of his major purposes is to help the village child feel a close identification with the national state. Second, he tries, often like a drillmaster, to get the pupils to master the course content worked out in Athens. The brighter ones need encouragement to go on to the gymnasium and must receive the preparation that will serve them in good stead there. Third, the teacher must train children to participate through song, recitation, and national dance in the various holiday celebrations and festivals that come along and at which the school makes an appearance. This serves a village purpose in that it encourages local traditions and provides some diversion in what many would consider the humdrum life of the villager. But there are few teachers in the national school system, unless they are in one of the specialized schools set up for the purpose, who undertake any adult education or even try to make the younger scholars look around at their village environment for ways in which it can be improved. Very often I got the impression that many teachers were even trying to make the villagers forget the present and its problems by focusing their attention on the past and its glories as a substitute for action today.

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increased economic activity and not become a disturbing political force. A further fact is the peasant's chronic tendency to assume that he is not getting a square deal, or everything that is due him, because throughout his memory and that of his forebears he has been used to what he considers exploitation by a government or those from the city who would take advantage of him. No aid program can ever create a contented peasantry. Yet it is fair to ask what is being done in Greece today to help the individual villager solve the problems of immediate interest to him. The brightest hope, and one recognized by Munkman, is the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service, so organized as to take advantage of the long American experience in this field, the lessons learned by the Near East Foundation in Greece, and the application by dedicated Greeks of these lessons to contemporary conditions. A comparison between what is now available to the farmer and what was available before the war shows a tremendous gain in his behalf. To be sure, the peasant does not apply all that he is taught by the extension worker, and now and then administrative decrees (such as cutting from the budget the transportation item) limit the effectiveness of the extension worker. But in every part of Greece trained personnel are visiting the villagers and, as never before, showing an interest in their welfare and helping them think through their economic problems. Home-economics workers, working with the farm women, are also making considerable headway.

When I investigated social changes occurring between 1952-53 and 1959, those whose knowledge of Greek village life I have found to be most accurate said, "Certainly the greatest change you will find is the development of the agricultural-extension program and the service it is rendering." In other words, the central government is sending "change agents" [10] throughout Greece to help initiate improvements in farming and homemaking, and it is not waiting for the peasants to journey to Athens for answers to their problems. There are limits to what any professional staff can do, but to the extent that these extension workers, both men and women, receive necessary support, to that extent one will find rapid change in the countryside.

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 15, of the organizations being set up in Greek villages by the extension service as well as by the Queen's Fund. This fund concentrates primarily upon Northern Greece and through its village welfare centers seeks to raise the educational, cultural, and economic level of the villages. The King's Fund is interested in the villager. In September 1959 I visited near Athens the handsome Community Development Training Center, financed by this fund, where I met with a group of about fifty teachers who had been invited there, with all expenses paid, to study how teachers can be agents of community improvement. When I joined the group, they were listening to a lecture on scientific beekeeping so that they could talk intelligently on this subject to their pupils and the pupils' parents.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor requirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine owner looking for a larger area to farm. 178 241 184 [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips almost indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets in the town. 178 184 369 [445]

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have formerly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living, and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the income from the farm. [291] [511]

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened exposure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his distance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down. 178 184 369 [20]

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- [665] [829]

1:Sanders Z-5A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 cal life. Traditionally, the peasant was interested in visible benefits from
184 the government: a bridge, an all-weather road, a new school building, a
369 better priest, or a drainage project. But the farmer moves in his thinking
665 from concentration on single projects to the more confused level of gov-
829 ernmental policies. He has learned that such policies affect him just as definitely as some local measure, and he reacts accordingly. In some countries, peasant parties arise, chiefly under the instigation and leadership of urban intellectuals who see a discontented segment to weld into a political force. Such movements help transform the apolitical peasant into a partisan, a condition which increases his acceptance of the traits of the modern farmer.

184 One could continue the listing of these traits, one set characterizing the
178 peasant at one extreme and the commercial farmer at the other extreme.
82 Perhaps it will suffice to conclude with a brief examination of some of the less tangible and noneconomic consequences of shifting from a peasant to a farmer.

The first of these is a new attitude toward nature. The peasant, depending upon the philosophical tradition of which he is a part, may submit and resign himself to the vagaries of nature, or he may actively adjust, fighting flood and drought as best he can. With the technology available to him, however, he is at a great disadvantage. The farmer, on the other hand, has moved toward an attitude of mastery over nature, although he never completely approaches this. It is more than a partnership since the farmer is constantly trying to do something to nature: fertilize the soil, put up trees as shelter belts, tile a field to give proper drainage, spray crops to kill insects and eliminate plant disease, and apply contour plowing.

178 A second subtle, though no less real, attitudinal change deals with the
184 growth of individualism. This occurs as the young people tend to liberate
156 themselves, in some ways at least, from the authority of their parents. They begin to express their own personalities, to stand on their own feet, not as a reflection of a family group but as individuals in their own right. It also means that a farmer, in determining a new course of action, is much less inclined than the peasant to wonder what the neighbors would think; instead, he tries to calculate the economic return, the saving in labor, or the greater productivity. Peasants know that if they depart too far from the accepted practice, they are considered disruptive and may wake up one morning to find their haystack burned down as a sign that they had better conform. The open-field system and communal nature of much of peasant life leaves little room for too many exceptions to the general rule. On the other hand, when local villagers have been persuaded that a new practice is desirable, it can be carried out much more quickly and effectively than if every family head had to be contacted as a separate individual. The informal channels of communication in a village are amazingly fast and,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

completely replaced any Hellenic stock. His *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea Während des Mittelalters* (History of the Peninsula of Morea in the Middle Ages) (1830) is one of his important works. This has been refuted by Karl Hopf, who claimed that Fallmerayer used documentary evidence which was proven false. 000 [114]

Other works dealing with this question are those by George Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, 7 vols. (London, 1877); Rodd, *Customs and Lore;* and J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910).

A detailed analysis of the problems would involve two separate investigations: (1) that from the standpoint of physical anthropology to determine the biological resemblances of the modern Greeks to those living in classic times; and (2) the survival of the cultural traditions, including the Greek language, from the days of early Grecian greatness to the present. After these investigations have been made there remains the even more difficult — and perhaps impossible — task of relating point one — the biological — to point two — the cultural. But the reader is entitled to the interpretation given by educated Greeks to the presence in Greece of different-language-speaking groups. According to Ph. Annino Cavalierato, former Counsellor of the Royal Greek Embassy in Washington and now in the Foreign Office in Athens: 829 197

"The Albanian and the Vlach dialects, spoken in some areas, denote a foreign influence on a segment of the Greek people rather than the existence of a racial minority. The same could be said about the Heptanesian dialect, a blend of Greek and Venetian Italian. These dialects, Albanian, Vlach, Heptanesian, tend to disappear, and this is another proof of their superficial character: had they been truly the national feature of a minority, they would be perpetuated by education and culture. Being, instead, a passing historical accident, people care little about them and allow them slowly to disappear.

"As for the 'Macedonian' dialect, it should be noted that a 'Macedonian' dialect and a 'Macedonian' nation are both a fairly recent political invention. According to most linguists, 'Macedonian' is just a Bulgarian patois. During the days of the Ottoman Empire, the province of Macedonia was inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, the three latter ethnic elements being denser in areas closer to the respective countries. At the outcome of the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and of World War I (1914–18), this province was distributed among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A wide exchange of populations followed, as a result of which each individual was free to resettle in the country he considered his own. It is reasonable to assume, then, that those who remained in each country consider themselves as nationals of that particular country. There is only one explanation for the fact that Bulgarian is still spoken by some Greeks of Western Macedonia, while Greek, that was widely spoken in Southern Bulgaria, for example, has completely disappeared from that area. The reader will easily find explanation for this. [167]

"Turkish is the only foreign language spoken in Greece by a minority in the true sense of the word. This Muslim minority, living mainly in Western Thrace, was not exchanged in 1923, as were other Turks living in Greece, because the Greek minority of Constantinople was also allowed to remain in their homes." [167]

Chapter II. Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

1. The artist is Mrs. Maria Alexandrakes, who has also been connected with the Local Government Division of the American Mission. She helped us gain many revealing insights into Greek Life. 000 [115]

2. For two Greek sources on the habitat, see George Megas, *Geographia tes Ellados* (Geography of Greece) (Athens, 1958); and George Kolias, *Historike Geographia tou Hellenikou Chorou* (Historical Geography of the Greek People) (Athens, 1948). For especially useful sources in English, see *A Handbook of Greece* (London,

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 163 EH1 Greece EH1
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291 schoolgirls. Since the same clothing is usually worn indoors and out during the
511 winter, small boys and girls wear cotton pinafores over their outer coats in order
[286] to prevent too fast soiling. Some mothers knit sweaters for their children, but gloves are not worn for warmth either by children or by adults. Uncomfortably cold hands are expected throughout the winter, and during this season, as they enter a house, people frequently walk directly to the front of the fire and extend their hands towards the flame. Some of the young girls wear thin gloves, for show rather than for warmth, when they go to church. Children, like their parents, are now expected to have new clothes at Easter, and, if possible, for other holidays as well. They must be neatly dressed for school. A few of Vasilika's children wear torn, patched, faded clothing out of economic necessity.

Urbanity vs. Convenience

369 The urban acquisitions relieve some of the work load and add to the
511 variety of life, and the villagers frequently express satisfaction at having the
312 new conveniences and the new relief from boredom. But convenience seems to
406 be welcomed less for its own sake than as a by-product of goods and practices that are primarily valued for their air of urban sophistication, of "progress." For example, most of the wells in the village have no windlasses to ease the labor of bringing up the pails full of water. Women simply keep a rope attached to a pail, lower the pail into the well, and use the rope to lift it out again, hand over hand. The water level in many of the wells is low, so that drawing a pail of water is hard physical labor which must be done at least twice a day, but the women did not agitate for windlasses in the way they did for cement basins, for obviously, windlasses have no urban cachet about them. They do want running water in the homes—an urbanism—and it will, incidentally, relieve them of the drudgery of drawing so much well-water, but for a generation, the presence of a few windlasses in the village did not inspire other families to acquire them.

369 The overt recognition on the part of the villagers that they admire and
354 accept the new items because they stand for progress and sophistication and not
511 entirely for whatever utility they may have is exemplified by the comment of one of Vasilika's less prosperous inhabitants whose living conditions were among the least favorable in the village. His house did, in 1959, have electricity, however, and he had one naked bulb hanging in the center of his one small upstairs room. This man described for us his feelings about a recent visit he had made to the *paniyiri* of a mountain village which had no electricity. "I couldn't stay there
[529] more than a day," he said. "They had no electric light, and I cannot live like
[177] that any more. I have become a European," he concluded, with a smile, using the term that Greeks use for the inhabitants of Europe west of the Adriatic.

369 A second reason for the acceptance of new uses for cash is simply the rivalry
511 among Vasilika's families. If one family with urban connections has something new, other families make an effort to get the same thing. One of the effects of
556 the process is that some families whose incomes barely enable them to subsist

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

871 sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are
594 undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing
[428] the income of his family and of raising its social position.
[554] Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

[166] The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few
[369] exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

167 A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the his-
594 tory of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually
[457] sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who
[829] had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word
[123] "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However, emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

166 Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inherit-
369 ance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social
428 movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown
511 up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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000 562 521 829 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves, women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 [834] [576] The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi- [594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of [577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear, male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with [828] emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but [834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working [594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 593 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

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623 responsibility. The collection of its monies is undertaken by the central government's financial officers directed from Amphiklia, and the expenditure of its monies is supervised and controlled by the officers of the *nomarchia* centered in Levadhia. Moreover, the council has neither responsibility nor power over other village-wide activities. Law enforcement and the operation of the village school and of the village churches are administered separately both from the council and each from the others. Before turning to these activities, some mention of the council's role in Vasilika apart from the formal expectations is appropriate.

[829] [622] It is indicative of the village attitude toward the council, in contrast with that toward the president, that at no time during our stay in the village was any man pointed out to us as having the status of council member or as having had it in the past. When, accompanied by several villagers, we visited the former schoolteacher of Vasilika, he asked us who was currently the president but did not ask about the council members. The president has an important role to play 622 in the minds of the villagers. He is expected to act as liaison between them and 829 other governmental units and to further the interests of Vasilika in whatever situations may develop. For example, there was some criticism of the president for not arranging more rapidly for the bus to come through the village. In 731 early April 1956, an unexpected and heavy rain flooded the fields and threatened 312 to destroy the wheat if the waters did not drain off quickly. Most of the vil- 208 lagers (not all, however) were agitated, and in the early morning groups of men 521 climbed the hill and looked out over the fields shaking their heads and lamenting, "*Katastrofes*!" "Catastrophy!" Then came the discussion of why the fields were not draining properly. All day, in the coffeehouse, the men inveighed against the English company which had owned the former Lake Copais land for setting up a drainage system that did not go beyond those lands; against the Greeks who took over the company for continuing a system that, the men insisted, not only did not drain the lands of Vasilika, but even made it subject to flooding; against the government for not having built a proposed dam that would have protected the region; and against the village president for not immediately calling on the nomarch's engineers to suggest remedies for the present situation. For days after, there were rumors that the nomarch's technical staff would meet with the president and councils of Parori and Vasilika to arrange a public works program of low dams to protect the area from possible future disasters from the same cause. The meeting never took place. Some villagers 731 blamed the situation on the unwillingness of the farmers to work together to 312 build their own small dams. One man had earlier tried to protect his own 208 fields by building low earthen dikes around them, but his work was wasted because the surrounding fields were not so protected. The morning after the storm some of the men had quickly built up a two-foot dam at an obviously vulnerable spot near the cemetery. But a villager pointed out that if the water had risen just a little further, the placement of the dam would have made the situation worse rather than better. There was no more rain; the waters gradually receded; each man watched for his own fields to dry out. Those who were left with one or two small plots that were so badly flooded as to be useless for

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621
Evidence suggests that 186
an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if 609
they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such 574
thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some [577]
petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have [828]
expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of con- [685]
versation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always 521
raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at 522
a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually 183
in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, 621
identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha,* and it 186
must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities 156
reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride 828
in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, 476
and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary [594]
family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and [464]
daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an [663]
official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing [554]
his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he [185]
does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty 619
for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation 829
as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is [621]
profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities [181]
with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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Vasilika

619 to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient
829 Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the
181 refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the [776] family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities [173] and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classi- [185] cal Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete, [173] the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proōdhos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin 369
or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his 464
relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make 166
the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received 602
back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, 369
however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has 829
no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, 186
most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and 423
more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, 369
while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of 437
relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell 609
every day, and the market relationship is shot through with an- 571
tagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one [602]
party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining – typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street – expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are [602]
merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178× 829 669 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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[Hill Villages]

various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hopefully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but because the villagers failed to look after them.

Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land – the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a forest preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical – pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, including the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establishment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, despise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on the land.

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guerrilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the government did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confusion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on the present and past population of the village. The main reason for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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668 and then destroy the parliamentary machinery and civil liberty in favor of Communist dictatorship.

668 In 1956 these things were not apparent. Communism was not an issue; Cyprus had replaced it, and the Communist party had 648 officially endorsed the Cyprus struggle over the radio. No one admitted to being a Communist, since to do so would have been a short way to jail. The people seemed quite genuinely glad to be relieved of the long preoccupation with the Communist question, and to find a cause upon which everyone could unite. This was, indeed, one of the reasons why Cyprus was such a heart-warming cause for the Greeks. Everyone, no matter what his opinions on domestic issues, was behind the Cypriotes. The Greeks had not known what it was to be united on an important public issue since the time of the Albanian war in 1940. Yet if Communists and nationalists were to quarrel in Cyprus, a possibility of which there were already some convincing signs in the summer of 1956, then the Communist question would emerge again in Greece with new bitterness, as each side sought to blame the other for the disruption of the Cypriote struggle.

66 In any analysis such as this it is easy to overemphasize the instability and insecurity of Greek political affairs. Certainly Greek politics are unstable, and the parliamentary regime in Greece is insecure. But it is well to remember that these conditions are not new. Exactly the same could be said of the political scene at any time since 1909, when the current phase of modern Greek political life began. The Greeks have learned to [829] live with such conditions, and even manage to derive lively ex- [521] hilaration from the perpetual uncertainty of their politics. Without politics, what would there be to talk about in the cafés?

647 The things that are new in Greek public life attract little pub- 829 lic attention. The man in the street and in the village coffee

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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house still takes pleasure in denouncing the inefficiency and stupidity of officialdom, and understands little if anything of the calculations and plans of the small group of civil servants who are busily trying to build a new future for the country. Their success is certainly not assured, but the fact that such men exist in the government opens the best prospect Greece has seen in more than a generation for the eventual attainment of social stability and secure economic progress. In the last chapter some observations will be made upon the probability of such an outcome.

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[pp 204-240 not processed]

are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
[312] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
[317] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
[779] which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
[521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics, well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers. A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level. Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satisfaction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
[314] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
204 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and scholarly standard.

RELIGION

779 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
[illegible] since they do not conform to the tradition of Greek [illegible]

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; 829 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre- [195] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the [854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem- 178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation- 577 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There [312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water [365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece. There is pride in the many co-operatives, spread throughout the country; there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there, and there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means, that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village, to be prevented from destroying its resources, and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare. There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government. All this is true. According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units, the Greeks were, and to some extent are now completely co-operative. Families and villages were responsible for their own indigent; a prominent peasant would impoverish himself to build a village school or improve the water system. They made their own decisions and carried them out; they chose their own leaders. The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century. But later, the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern, taking no account of the existing units of co-operation, or of the existing patterns of self-participation. The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact, in co-operating. The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair. Actually the rate, which was eight per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928, and is now as high as 18 per cent, with incidental fees, which peasants get from the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set with the welfare of the farmers in view, or according to their decision. In 1936, more than 3,000 of the 3,761 were credit co-operatives under the central supervision of the state. The others, such as the producers' co-operatives, were mainly compulsory. Such were the citrus growers' associations in Crete, the wine growers' association in Samos, Levkas, Attica, and Chalkis. There are now marketing co-operatives and machine-owning co-operatives, as well as a growing number of processing co-operatives. In general, the co-operatives are firmly controlled by the central government and the farmers are not even allowed to co-operate to the extent of electing their own officers. As a result, the attitude toward external authority has been evoked, and, in most cases, co-operation has to be compulsory as all government legislation has to be compulsory, and the so-called co-operative decisions are circumvented like all government decisions. Another attitude has also been evoked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed the dictatorship; deprived of responsible decision and participation, these people fell into the pattern of accepted dependency; such people, unaware that they are "co-operating", say: "The government is

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
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taking good care of us." The government itself, aware of this shifting of responsibility and lack of participation, urges the people, in its organ, *The Battle for Survival*, to work for their own welfare and to turn to the State only for guidance, or when they can do no more for themselves. It tries to put this co-operation on a par with war, both in the title of its bi-weekly publication, and in the phrasing of its admonition. But the disrupting centralization, the hated interference, remains. "Compulsory free labour" is demanded of the farmers, and there is a whole class of compulsory co-operatives for the betterment of the villages. These are circumvented with the ingenuity born of long experience. However we also have a recent report of a village where everyone gets up when the church bell rings at four in the morning, to work, without compulsion, on some village project, with pride and enthusiasm. The work is done under the leadership of a villager respected for his ability and disinterestedness. It appears that when the co-operative pattern which is already present is utilized, the villagers will work together for the common welfare.

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1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

[584] Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
[861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

[654] Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the
[511] children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

[578] These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good
[831] analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited dis-
593 cussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 156]

[VIII]

Courtship and Marriage

177 A young woman, who had grown up in the traditionally sheltered way
834 in a Greek village, after spending several months in an American university,
581 made these comments:

593 The father here in America is like a brother instead of a father.

I like the way the American mother reasons with the children and doesn't order them around.

In Greece you never tell anybody about your boy friend — not even your parents. Over here people talk about private matters. If you should do so in Greece, your parents would throw you out of the house.

In Greece we marry for love; in America you love without marrying.

831 One may question the last statement as far as the Greek villager's marry-
834 ing for love is concerned; but there is no question about the Greeks' stress
593 upon keeping the boys and girls apart until they are married. The honor,
[581] or chastity, of the bride is a value of great importance, and any breach of the sex mores may have dire social consequences. To be sure, there are violations of this taboo and in many areas a gradual erosion of the rigid enforcement, but in rural Greece one can count upon parents and brothers
[577] actively to try to safeguard a young woman's honor. This is even institutionalized in what is called *e time tou adelphou* (the honor of the brother),

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyme, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[3]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[3] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Syros (island): I will not marry if my parents object.

Central Peloponnesos: In my village the young people pick their own mates. Twenty years ago the parents picked the mates but we still have to get parental consent as a matter of courtesy. We have no matchmaker in our village. You find these near the cities where people make money in such matters. 584 184 178

Macedonia: I would marry whom I picked out for I am going to have to live with her. I don't see why my parents will object, for I am going to pick out someone who is respectable. [Second speaker:] I have loved a girl from an early age and, if my father objects, I will marry her anyway since I am the one who has to live with my wife and my father can live with his old woman. "But what if your father disinherits you?" I will marry and do without his fields.

Northern Peloponnesos: If I see a girl whom I want to marry I will go directly to the girl's parents. If the girl accepts me, then my parents will go to arrange for the marriage. "What do you say when you talk to her parents?" I have seen your daughter and would like her for a wife. Could you find out if she likes me and if so would you accept me? By doing it this way, the rest of the village does not know that a boy has been turned down. But boys are always accepted unless they have done something very bad.

These comments from the young men themselves illustrate that one could divide the villages of Greece, and the families within the villages, according to the way mate selection is carried out. First, there are still villages where the young people have almost nothing to say about whom they are to marry and leave the matter up to the parents entirely. For example, in another group interview of nineteen young men, five said that they would expect their fathers to select their wives. One young man said, "I'll follow my father's selection since no father would want bad for his son." Villages where such views predominate are becoming fewer all of the time and tend to be found where the economy is based upon livestock production, including the nomadic shepherd tribes. Second, there are villages where parental consent is essential but where the young men are expected to take the initiative, suggest to their parents the names of the prospective bride, and let them carry on the negotiations from there. Almost nowhere does the girl have the right of initiative, although in some villages she would not be forced to marry anyone to whom she had strong objection, unless there were overriding family or economic considerations. Third, there are villages where the young people make the decision almost entirely on their own but expect their parents to agree, nevertheless being ready to strike out on their own should the parents prove "unreasonable" and try to prevent the marriage.

The peasants look at the changing marriage scene in terms of "marriage for love" and "arranged marriages." What they really mean by the first term is active participation of the young people in mate selection, but they 584 581 178 831

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 do not mean that the young people subscribe to the romance of the Holly-
581 wood movies where love is glorified as an end unto itself. By "arranged
178 marriages" is meant the lack of initiative on the part of the young and the willingness on the part of the boy or girl to give up a preferred mate if the
[831] parents strongly object.

It is safe to say that the pendulum is swinging from the arranged to the marriage for love. But in most Greek villages the parents still play an active role in negotiating with each other on behalf of their children and in trying to forestall what they would consider an unfortunate selection. Where par-
[626] ents and children disagree in such cases the situation becomes known to the village at large, and public opinion sometimes supports the young people. The father may be told at the coffeehouse, "Why don't you let your daughter marry Theodore? He is not such a bad boy after all." And the neighboring women take the mother to task, reminding her that her husband was not such a wonderful catch when they first married but that he had worked hard, had done well, and had earned everybody's respect.

The Dowry

581 What are the criteria of a fortunate and an unfortunate selection? Young
583 people were very explicit about this, although by no means unanimous in their answers. Looming large throughout most of Greece is the dowry, or economic resources which the girl brings to the new union.[7] One father from a village near Thebes summarized the situation as follows: "If you
[162] have gold sovereigns, you marry off your daughter; if not, you don't." In the villages the surplus of girls, existing since World War I, has been increasing. This came to light when we asked where the men sought their mates — in the home village or elsewhere. Often the reply would be: "Wherever the men can get the best *proika* [dowry]." But there were those who disagreed with this emphasis on money: "If you marry just for money, all day long the wife will hold the purse strings and then where will you be?" In the case of the girl, honor or chastity ranks high as does good health, without which the wife cannot be a good worker. Beauty and good looks are also most welcome, although now and then one would say that "beauty is not too important if the girl has a good heart." As for the man, wealth, education, and position make him a proper risk as a husband if he has a good reputation as well.

These traits which prospective mates should possess have much meaning because in Greece marriage unites two families, and dowry arrangements are contracts between families and not just between two individuals. One keen observer of village life pointed out that "in a village one always hears people speak of families as 'good family' or 'not a good family.'" The standard of *good* is largely in terms of money. The individual from a good family has a big head start in life in a country where financial resources are

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 World War II and the guerrilla war which followed constituted another
727 major social upheaval. Whereas the Nazi forces often wreaked vengeance
669 for sabotage upon settlements close to the main thoroughfares, the Com-
166 munist forces stayed away from the main highways and brought disaster to mountain villages, such as Valtetsi in the Peloponnesos (Chapter 6). All countries occupied by an enemy suffer social as well as economic disorganization, but the case of Greece was aggravated by the nature of the guerrilla war. In order to protect the exposed rural people and to curb the unwilling (and sometimes willing) support of the Communist forces by the villagers upon whom the guerrillas descended for food and supplies, the central government in Athens removed a number of villagers, estimated at from 700,000 to 750,000, from their homes to quarters near some town
[657] or city. Because this was a temporary resettlement, most of the villagers did not become incorporated into the local economy, which was not able to utilize such a volume of labor; instead, these migrants were supported by government subsidy which provided a bare minimum of services. But, as
[369] earlier chapters have shown, this exposure of from one to two years to the city had a profound psychological impact upon the women and young people. The women learned that there was an "easier" life; the young people got many new ideas about dress and beauty aids, entertainment, types of indoor jobs, and patterns of greater independence from their parents. One girl who had worked in a factory in Salonica felt ashamed to carry water when she went back to her village, and moreover she wanted a regular income.

[831] According to a prominent Greek child-welfare worker, the changes follow-
[302] ing the guerrilla war ranged from shifts in such basic values as virginity, with this being less highly esteemed than before the war, to the presence of bobbed hair and permanents in villagers where they had never been seen before. Before the war, such changes had been gradual; now they came suddenly. George Sakellopoulos, the inspector of agriculture in Ioannina, summarized very clearly the impact of this population displacement for his area:

> [515] During the guerrilla war the people had to go to the towns. They lived in homes much better than they had known before. They learned to wash themselves, which many had not done before. When they were persuaded to go back to their villages, they took back the changes they had seen. Many of them went back reluctantly. While they were refugees they had a subsidy. When that was
> [657] cut off, they could no longer remain in the town house, for they could not pay the owner, who could kick them out. A free distribution of flour was made in the village, and not in the town, so they had to go back to the village to receive it. Then the tractor operators said they would plow only the fields of those who were actually in the village; even the army helped with the plowing. At first, there were some who stayed behind in the towns because their children were in school, but eventually the families were brought together again in the village.

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

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The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed 164
gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors 759
in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village 562
image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much 554
freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. [831]
There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many
women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance
of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the
reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, 732
blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even
jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is
therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete.
Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability
to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from [551]
marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect,
and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people
are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA
one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he
could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted
on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the
Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through 178
lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the 744
energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT 164
campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware [513]
of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer
nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds
were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and
has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes,
since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and 751
health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a 515
matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is
a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing
underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face
and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the 514
situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported
that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a com- 264
munion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special 594

The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested; at any rate, it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts. For example, a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies, but to the Greeks, she is, naturally, inveighing against engaging a wet-nurse. 178

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly, and printed in the newspaper, without offence. The government calls artificial insemination "artificial reproduction". An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term "insemination" from recently and previously emigrated Greeks, met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonica) had not heard of the programme, and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands; they obviously felt that the investigator, as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions. 178 203 831

There is a recognized variety among Greeks; and the differences are a matter of pride to them. They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same. There is also a difference in the attitude toward change. The intellectuals, the men high in the administration, do believe that the main part of the Greek population is backward, and are often ready for drastic and iconoclastic changes. For example, late in 1950, when Attica was suffering from drought, the government considered having the clouds seeded. But the peasants have always had a solution for drought: the priest and the villagers walk in a rain litany around the place. Different regions also vary in their acceptance of the new: the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are, as a whole, more ready for the new; they are more enterprising, more ready to take a chance on the future. 178 184 [789]

One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length, since it is basic to many of the proposed changes; this is the phrasing of co-operative undertakings. 178 476

The suggestions for changes in agriculture, industrial developments, for the introduction of sanitary measures, demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes. The conception of co-operation as developed in the urban, scientific cultures of Europe and North America, is not usual in the rest of the world. This conception involves a collective working towards an impersonal, abstract end; the joining of a group created with a view towards a future end; and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act according to abstract, impersonal honesty, as, for example, to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound, and are not coloured by personal considerations.

The traditional Greek pattern, however, is that individuals work not collectively but within an intricate web of interdependencies and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
So. Greece
[Harvesting Olives]

245 not supporting them. But for the unmarried this is a rare opportunity to [464] earn some money for the family budget, or even more important, to get money for the dowry that each would-be bride must accumulate.

245 To follow the workers through their daily round of labor, one gets up long before sunrise and walks with them in the darkness from their village 461 homes to the grove. Each girl carried a little bundle of food with her to [264] last her through the day. Later repasts showed that the bundles contained a variety of foods, such as fried *marida* (small fish), cheese, bread, an onion, or brined olives. A very few had meat balls, but only once a week. A donkey brayed as it heard the people going by; the air was chilly and bracing, and birds were beginning to wake up in a nervous twitter. Once at the grove, the mild-mannered foreman assigned the girls to their tasks for the day. They put their bundles down in a place where inquisitive dogs would not molest them and set off in twos either to gather the olives that had fallen during the night or else to pick them from the tree. When they could reach no higher in "cleaning the tree," as they called it, they took long-handled [412] rakes and "combed" the tree.

"Why do you use rakes instead of the reeds such as people in other villages use? Aren't the reeds much lighter?" The foreman explained that those who used reeds really beat down the olives, and in doing so broke many more twigs than those who used the rakes. This would endanger the next year's crop, since the new olives would grow on the sprig which extended beyond the olives formed for harvesting this year.

The girls all wore bags around their waists which they filled and left for the men to collect that day. From time to time, as the young men came to [832] collect the sacks, they would banter good-naturedly with the girls. One could trace the path of the boys by hearing the interruption they caused in the girls' singing and the self-conscious giggles that took the place of the songs. Under many of the trees burlap cloth placed there facilitated the gathering and kept the olives which fell from getting dusty and lowering the quality of the oil.

About 9:30 the whistle from the olive mill announced that time had come [264] for a break. During this half-hour rest period, the harvesters ate a small snack from their bundles, usually staying together in partners as they had [466] been assigned. Apparently the foreman knew the girls very well, since he was able to assign a slow picker to work with a fast picker; he also took into account the way the girls got along with each other, but gave efficiency in [264] picking the first consideration. After another two hours of work, between ten o'clock and noon, the hour-long lunch period began. At this time, each [521] girl gathered with her closest friends in intimate groups to exchange gossip about family affairs, to tell about their dreams, or to express an opinion about some eligible bachelor in the village.

Lunch out of the way, the original work partners got busy again. Fast

/23 cont./

more economical. It distributes the work among all members of the family. The cost of living is low and the depreciation on machinery and working animal is low. The difficulties that usually arise here are as follows: 596 [241]

1. One leader in the family who has the right to command all.

2. Mother-in-law has the complete house work organization. She tells the rest what each has to do. In case she has a special inclination to favor one, the rest have to bear the burden of the work without objection. This usually creates hard feelings and starts the division of the family.

3. Usually the older son has more children than the younger son, and in case one of the sons does not have any, he has to work just as hard for the support of his /24/ brother's children. Things of this sort usually create hard feelings and lead to the disorganization of the family.

4. Often the father of the family, taking advantage of the good cooperation of his sons, spends money for his own good time, like drinking, dressing better and traveling. With the increase of modern facilities and modern customs the compound family is disappearing. [178]

Marriage and Courtship.

It was the custom for many years for the parents to hunt and find a suitable wife for their son. Usually the girl had to satisfy the parents' desires. The son had to consent whether he wanted her or not. That was the accepted custom. This is still true with only 40% of the marriages and is rapidly disappearing. The young men are looking ahead of the time for their future partner. In dancing squares, during holiday celebrations and at wedding ceremonies they have a chance to express to each other their admiration and their preference. Nothing is done publicly so as to avoid gossip since the old customs still prevail. The young men very often form a group and sing by the window of their girl friend. If the father suspects anything the punishment is heavy. 584 178 [626] [832]

/24 cont./

Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work together and when returning home late in the evening both boys and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away with it is to decide to run away with the girl.

584 178 [241] [476] [533] [832] [583] [369]

The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to the village and the influence of city life. Another important factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor. These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard to drive them away but all in vain.

178 464 [249] [291] [535] [623]

The younger generation found a better way to give a solution to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young men will help each other in running away with their girls. A group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple. Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

178 583

/75 cont./ 873
to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given [544]
to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter [242]
months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. [793]
A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village
on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and in-
ventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance
to get whatever they could from these different agencies.

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous 789
activities of an educational character that have been established [178]
there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside
old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain
people in the village have power to command the spirits and per-
form miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does [832]
not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and
their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of [484]
the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are
asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman [843]
desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians
to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role [791]
of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same [759]
women may act as mid-wives, too.

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are 777
believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a
bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think
the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean
somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the [763]
eyelid moves fast some good news is coming.

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom 353
he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 778
776

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

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1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the 851
baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of god- 608
parents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free [662]
to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, still- [842]
birth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume [845]
that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty-
four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her [782]
desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the [833]
morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People standing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and [777]
several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church [574]
for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to [123]
be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the [846]
child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does [783]
not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 787 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 834 576 593 [492] [626] Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings. Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

[312] [482] [626] It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war. [522]

562 593 521 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only occasionally with her husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,A (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[P. 156]

VIII

Courtship and Marriage

177 A young woman, who had grown up in the traditionally sheltered way
834 in a Greek village, after spending several months in an American university,
581 made these comments:

593 The father here in America is like a brother instead of a father.

I like the way the American mother reasons with the children and doesn't order them around.

In Greece you never tell anybody about your boy friend — not even your parents. Over here people talk about private matters. If you should do so in Greece, your parents would throw you out of the house.

In Greece we marry for love; in America you love without marrying.

831 One may question the last statement as far as the Greek villager's marry-
834 ing for love is concerned; but there is no question about the Greeks' stress
593 upon keeping the boys and girls apart until they are married. The honor,
[581] or chastity, of the bride is a value of great importance, and any breach of the sex mores may have dire social consequences. To be sure, there are violations of this taboo and in many areas a gradual erosion of the rigid enforcement, but in rural Greece one can count upon parents and brothers
[577] actively to try to safeguard a young woman's honor. This is even institutionalized in what is called *e time tou adelphou* (the honor of the brother),

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

for the brother is supposed either to avenge any violator of his sister's honor or, if she is to blame, to punish her. Whereas formerly he was supposed to act swiftly, today he tries to get the man to marry his sister; if the man does not, then the brother, "if he wants to rinse the honor of the family," beats or kills the man. He may kill his sister if she is thought responsible. Nowadays matters seldom come to such an extreme point, but the tradition of protection is still very strong. The folksongs reinforce it, as shown by these summaries of two from the island of Euboea.[1]

The Betrayal

A bad young girl dressed herself in European clothes, got her lover and went to the coffeehouse. She ordered the proprietor to bring coffee and the hubble-bubble (narghile, or pipe whose smoke passes through water). Two friends of her brother betrayed her. They said to the brother: "Why do you sit there, Vangeles, and do not go to the coffeehouse to see your sister who 'drinks' the hubble-bubble?"

Vangeles got up and went to the coffeehouse and found the bad sister who was "drinking" the narghile. "Get up, Eurydice, to see your shame. You, who have put me and all our family to shame."

He thrust his knife in her twice in the right side, striking the liver and half of the heart. Two words the poor thing was able to say before she dropped and was dead: "The friends of my brother were my death because I had the courage to have a boy friend." The friends of the brother took her up, carried her home, and handed her over to her mother.

Soussa

Soussa, the willowy, the pride of Kyme, loved Saribeys, the handsomest boy of the village. He loved her and she loved him for fifteen years. She had a brother who was away with the consuls; every morning she would sit on her bed, take her little handkerchief and fill it with tears. Her master [lover] asks her, "What is wrong with our Soussaki? Why does she sit and cry?" and her mother tells her, "Hush, my Soussa, don't cry and don't torment yourself. For your sake your brother is roaming in foreign countries."

At night, at midnight, they heard bang after bang on the door. Her mother shouted to her and her master told her, "Get up, my Soussa, open and see who is outside." Soussa got up, opened, and saw her brother. Immediately she thought and she became faint [her eyesight became shorter]. Her brother said, "You turned the house into a brothel. I cannot stand it." He pulled his little knife out of the golden sheath, thrust it in her heart like a worthy *pallekari* [handsome young man, brave fighter for freedom].

"Soussa, mine, who killed you? May he be cursed. May he wear my curse forever as an amulet."

There are conflicting stories about what actually occurs in villages throughout Greece. From the Peloponnesos I received the reply: "In our village there is very strict control between unmarried boys and girls. Not

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

even 'good morning' is exchanged." From near Arta: "In this village there are no premarital relations among the young people, and very few cases of illicit relations even among the adults." From a Macedonian village: "There are illicit relations among the young people but they are kept secret." There are cases of young people living together after engagement, for three stated reasons: (1) to save the cost of wedding at the present time; (2) to wait until the girl has her dowry completed; and (3) to avoid the boy's entry into the army. As long as he remains single, he can be exempted on the grounds of being the financial support of his family, but if he married he would not be exempt, unless he is the son of a widow. In a village near Grammos Mountain any illegal relations are legalized by force, whereas in a village near Serrai the young people are said to lead very restricted lives and to engage in no premarital relations. At the same time, a double standard does exist, with the men not feeling bound to the restricted code imposed upon the women.[2]

The age of marriage has some connection with the emphasis upon the girl's chastity. One informant half-seriously said the girls are married off between twelve and eighteen years of age before they have gotten "into trouble." Over fifty years ago, William Miller reported that the church did not permit men to marry before the age of fourteen or women before that of twelve. Ordinarily, a peasant father would begin to look for a husband for his daughter when she was fifteen, although in some parts of the country eighteen or nineteen was considered the usual age.[3] But in Greece today the age at which girls marry has risen, probably due to the difficulty many face in acquiring a dowry. National statistics for 1957 show that 13 percent of brides marry before 20, 41 percent between 20–24, and 30 percent between 25–29. This means that 84 percent of all brides marry before 30 years of age. For the grooms, the marriage-age is somewhat higher: 2.5 percent before 20; 17.5 percent, 20–24 years; 39 percent, 25–29; 21 percent, 30–34. These figures account for 80 percent of all grooms. Further detailed information about the rural population comes from ten village studies as shown in Table 4.

In the villages of Attica, such as Malakassa or Pentele, the girls marry at eighteen or over and the boys at about twenty-five after they have completed their military service — a practice which Table 4 shows to be quite general throughout Greece.[4]

Selecting a Mate

In such a society as rural Greece, how do the boys and girls become acquainted? One method, common but by no means universal, is the "bride's walk," as people often refer to the Sunday afternoon promenade.[5] Boys stroll together and eye the girls who pass them in groups of three or four. Even in those villages where there is no such promenade, the young

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

626 others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one
[577] holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life.
627 Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal
[685] the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter
[834] mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you." [8]

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

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581 over his daughter-in-law's land or money.) From the groom's point of view, an
583 industrious young girl also has high value, and if she is healthy, good-looking, modest, virtuous, and amiable as well, she is of still additional worth. Therefore, an ugly older girl with a bad reputation would have to bring a large dowry to compensate for her personal deficiencies. Conversely, an attractive, healthy, virtuous young girl might be able to marry a slightly wealthier man than her dowry
[533] would normally be expected to command. Greek folk songs often lament the story of a young girl who attracted a wealthy older suitor to whom her family married her because he was willing to take a smaller dowry. The songs, in this instance, reflect actual situations known on the Boeotian countryside, although they do not occur with any great frequency.

Negotiations, Courtship, and Marriage

584 For the families involved, the marriage negotiations have the quality of participation in a kind of ritualized contest. A young man may have been recommended to a girl's father; the father sends an intermediary with information as to how much dowry he is willing to give; the intermediary then goes off to the groom and his father, to whom he exaggerates the size of the dowry and the qualities of the girl. The villagers assume he will also exaggerate the qualities of the groom to the girl's family. The enjoyment of the game lies in each group's efforts indirectly to get accurate information about the other side. This is done by making inquiries among one's own relatives living in the prospective spouse's village and by asking questions of others who know the family. Secrecy about the very existence of the negotiations is helpful at this point, because the villagers do not believe they can get accurate information if anyone knows they have a direct interest in the matter. Many times a sister in another village will act as informal intermediary for her brother and try to find out how much of a dowry some of the better young men are asking for. Tentative questions of this sort may be asked for years before a serious negotiation is finally fully launched. These tentative steps may be terminated at any time without loss of honor on either side if the young man informs the intermediary that the dowry is not quite enough, or if the girl's father uses the excuse that his daughter is not yet
[583] ready to marry because she has not accumulated sufficient *rukha*. In fact, the grooms are not interested in the *rukha*. As one villager phrased it, "It is land and money they burn for around here."

In Vasilika, both in the previous generations and at present, it has been possible for a young man and woman never to have seen each other until the first formal occasion for meeting. However, a young man may have seen an attractive girl at a *paniyiri* or other festival, and may have asked his father to
[834] investigate her situation. But, since unmarried village boys and girls do not talk to each other in public unless they are related, the chances are that he has never talked to her. A young girl may, in her turn, know a great deal about the young men in the surrounding villages and may also have had opportunities to see them at the local festivities, but may never have talked to any of them. In any case, it

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

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A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them, *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

[865]

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

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000 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and
562 women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in
521 the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves,
829 women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the
[834] village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the
[576] kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi-
[594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of
[577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear,
[828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but
[834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working
[594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in
593 the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

/21 cont./ The

one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they get live poultry and eggs. 443 437 433

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing together. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is, "God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of preventing birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then. 834 [872] [602] 582 883 583 286 294 [581] 842 [521] [867] [165]

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3 members in the family. The compound family makes farming 596 [178] [241]

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Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626] [834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538] [702]

/37 cont./
help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times 857
of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the [526]
neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek.
When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom [834]
play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard
time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the [872]
children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active
days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is 533
there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance [535]
singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no
books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players
never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the [461]
fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups
returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses,
at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles
and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through [796]
the church services from beginning to the end and when the women [585]
dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any
song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to
generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them
or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part
of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of
nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition
and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of
their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture.
There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that
move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest
songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their
ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced
their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among [765]
the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed
during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the
war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
835 the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings.
[789] The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The god-
608 parent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[262] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
[553] fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

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is village custom for both boy and girl to act as if they know nothing about the discussions going on. At the first formal meeting, both the boy and girl have the right to express any personal antipathy they may have for the prospective spouse. But if the marriage is otherwise an advantageous one, they are likely to be persuaded to overcome any but the most extreme feelings of repugnance. The villagers are not callous about the matter of personal compatibility between spouses; they assume, however, that if the marriage conditions are right, a harmonious relationship will develop, and if it does not, the successful economic or prestige conditions of the marriage will help to allay sufferings arising from the lack of personal contentment. 584 [581]

Once the major provisions of the marriage contract are agreed upon, the machinery for the formal engagement gets under way. This involves, first, a visit by the groom, his father, and several of his other relatives, but not his mother, to the home of the bride. Here the men again check on the agreements, the father of the groom pins a single *lira* on the bride, the bride's mother pins a *lira* on the groom; there is food and drink, and the bride gives gifts of small items such as socks, stockings, pillow cases, or towels to the groom and his entire group. For the women, this process is important; what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, is discussed by the women on both sides with great zest and frequent criticism. If this affair raises no issues which lead to the dissolution of the agreements, about ten days later, the bride's father invites his own relatives and those of the groom from wherever they are in Greece to a large engagement party which lasts from a Saturday night through to Sunday. The bride's neighbors and the groom's friends also come. [574]

From the time of the ceremonial exchange of the *lires*, the young couple are considered formally engaged. They are now free not only to see each other but to travel anywhere together, and the groom may even come and stay at the girl's home for some time. In the villagers' view, if the young couple have proper respect for both sets of parents they will refrain from sex relations during this period. Certainly if the girl becomes pregnant before the wedding there is disapproval not only because of the moral stigma, but also because it requires an immediate wedding at a time when the accumulation of the agreed-upon dowry property may not yet have been completed. A premature ceremony is therefore not advantageous to the groom. Engagements lasting a year or more are frequent, and the villagers speak of unfortunate situations in which this status has been protracted for as long as ten years. [836] [626]

Weddings in Vasilika in recent years, the villagers say, have become less elaborate and less of a village event than they once were. As later sections will show, many of the village girls marry men in the towns, and this frequently results in having the wedding in the town church rather than in Vasilika. Moreover, the villagers say, this system obviates the necessity of inviting large numbers of villagers to the wedding feast and so cuts down on the cost to the bride's father. 178 585 [621]

At weddings held in the village between children of farmers, however, much of the tradition is maintained. For example, the groom's male relatives come to the house of the bride on the Saturday afternoon before the Sunday 583 585

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[8] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[8] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

583 marriage and affairs, so that there is less danger that they will allow themselves
593 to be compromised and less need to claim male protection.

Yet, with all the difficulties and sacrifices required by the dowry and
[182] arranged marriage system in Vasilika, there have been very few young people
[836] who have "gone to the mountains," as the villagers phrase elopements of
[577] couples who have fallen in love. One or two such affairs seem to occur in each generation, at a time when the girl's male relatives are dead or not in the village; and among young people each of whose families have relatively few economic
[558] resources. The subsequent standard of living of the couples has been among the lowest in the village, and the men never fully recover from the stigma of such senseless behavior, from the villagers' view. Observable examples reinforce the villagers' argument that there is no hope for a decent life without a dowry, and reinforce their admonitions to their sons to wait for properly arranged marriages and not to be *trelos* (crazy) and run off to the mountains with a girl. The admonition gains force from the further observation that if the eloping young couples have little, their children will have still less. Any man who accepts a girl without a dowry is thought to be cheating his children of their rightful inheritance from their mother.

[183] Yet, as we have had occasion to remark in other connections, the structure of marriage arrangements in Vasilika is not quite as rigid and as precise as the foregoing generalized description might imply. One Vasilika brother, in speaking of a sister who had become his responsibility after their father's death, remarked "Glory be to God (and he crossed himself) she met a man who liked her and was willing to take her with nothing but the *rukha* and what we had
[533] in the house." The unexpected can happen in Vasilika, and infant girls are still dandled with songs about how their beauty will some day attract a husband without a dowry.

Family and Kin Structure

59
583 The foregoing discussion of family activities and of the forms of
182 property inheritance and circulation has by implication involved questions of family structure. By giving a newly married couple property of its own to manage, the dowry serves as a mechanism to separate the newly married couple structurally from either of their two sets of parents. This is true even when the farmers bring their brides back to their fathers' households. Such patrilocal residence produces the temporary situation of a functioning, cooperative, extended, patrilineal kin group, but one that is continually aware of its distinct component elementary families. We have said temporary because there is no contemplation that the several elementary family groups concerned will live out their lives in a joint, cooperative household.

601 The kinship terminology used in the village is congruent with the struc-
171 ture underlying the realities and expectations of the situation just described. Greek terms of reference for mother, father, grandfather, grandchildren, cousin,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521]

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 843 787

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the 851
baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of god- 608
parents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those
who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which
issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently
it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free [662]
to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as god-
father, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if
the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited,
it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these
takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, still- [842]
birth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume [845]
that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula,
the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty-
four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her [782]
desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex.
If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but
will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the [833]
morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had inter-
course with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As
soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the
porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would
discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People stand-
ing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and [777]
several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw
a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother
watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church [574]
for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the
baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for
the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts
of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their
godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to [123]
be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my
case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women
of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and pre-
pare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the [846]
child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does [783]
not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the
priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility suppos-
edly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
[843] child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[835] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[582] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
788 the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings. The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times
[789] to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The god-
608 parent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[262] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
[553] fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

rillas. A total of 225 children, between the ages of two and 669
twelve, had been taken north in the early stages of the war, and 728
only three had returned. A few letters had come from some of 621
them, originating in places as remote as Turkestan, Poland and 161
Czechoslovakia; but most had not been heard from, and no one in the village knew whether they were alive or dead.

The evacuation of the village children may well have been conceived by the guerrilla authorities as a humanitarian measure. Considering the state of the village as I saw it in 1947, such an interpretation seems quite plausible. This was not the way the bereft parents viewed the matter, however. They gave no very coherent explanation of why the children were taken, but the abduction was remembered in 1956 as the greatest crime the guerrillas committed. Not a few parents have been left [842] childless, and this, by traditional village standards, is a bitter disaster. Who will look after them in their old age?

Still another factor in the drastic depopulation of Kotta has 621
been emigration. As soon as communications with the outside 161
world became possible again, relatives rallied round in Toronto 167
and Sydney, and helped a total of fifty-six persons to emigrate. 457
The process is still going on. When I visited the village in 1956, a young man and his mother were on the verge of departure for Australia, where they would join cousins who were financing the voyage.

Yet in spite of the sorrows which have visited every family in 727
the village, and in spite of the terrible suffering all have been 621
through, the spirit of the village in 1956 seemed amazingly re- 511
laxed and calm – almost happy. The survivors gave the impression of being profoundly surprised to find themselves still alive. But what is more important, everyone now has enough to eat. [457]
The village land can feed the population; there is now no need to look for work outside; and remittances from abroad permit some families to indulge in small luxuries – kerosene lamps, for example.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kotta
[Hill Villages]

limits of the hill valleys. In times past, Balkan hillsmen then had to seek sustenance from the plains, either by peaceful labor or by armed forays. 621 161 433

As far as Kotta and villages like it are concerned, it now seems to me an open question whether the old cycle will repeat itself again or whether new standards of expectation and conduct will make sufficient inroads upon the traditional peasant family system to check early marriage and rapid multiplication of numbers. Through overseas emigration, the modern city has made its mark on Kotta. All but a few young people want to leave, and many have done so. At the same time, the handful who remain appear to be conforming to the old ways. Perhaps the critical turn will come as their children grow up; for if the rising generation elects to look beyond the confines of the village – and if the possibilities of migration, either within Greece or overseas, exist – then, perhaps, as the population of the village begins to press once again upon the limits of local production, the young people may decline to continue the old, economically suicidal pattern, and will instead seek their fortunes far afield, and refuse to marry into hopeless poverty at home. It depends more than anything else, perhaps, upon the degree of communication that may come to exist between the outside world and the villagers. In 1956 these contacts were limited. Newspapers came seldom; vehicles rarely. But the village did possess a radio that brought daily news from Athens; and emigrants' letters were perhaps the most important of all the channels of contact with the great world beyond the valley in which Kotta nestles. 621 161 167 [20]

Survivors of the older generation – those who have lost their children to the guerrillas – seem to have no doubts or reservations in wishing to see more and more children about again. The priest complained of how empty and joyless the village was without the throngs of children he knew before. He deeply 621 161 842

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
[433] the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migra-
[233] tory life, spending the summer months high up the mountain where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

x 178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842●
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/65 cont./

Medical care. The only village in the area that has the best medical service is Megali Vrisi. The efforts of the nurse and the doctor slowly are gaining ground and more and more the people follow their principles of caring for the sick. The newly-erected hospital in the nearby city of Kilkis provides care for the inhabitants of the area free of charge. If the patient is very sick he usually is taken there, where he can find specialized doctors. 758 759 [178] [743]

The construction of the living houses is so poorly done in the village that the care of the sick under such conditions is hard. The windows are small and the mud floor with severe cold winds of the winter and no proper fuel to warm the house makes it harder yet to care for the sick. 758 362

The mutual assistance of relatives in sickness as well as of neighbors is great. People at times of /66/ great difficulties help each other, not only through labor but by giving each other food and even money. Especially is this characteristic of this people to share alike each other's burdens and partake actively in their grief and sorrow. 758 476 621

The Faith Healer. People of experience and cleverness perform certain magical performances that convince the people of their ability to command the spirits. Most of the inhabitants of Megali Vrisi believe them and spend money and time to visit them. People suffering from chronic diseases, or if born with defects of the body, or if unable to bear any child, find as the answer to their discouraged condition the faith healers. 755 [842]

Some Saints who perform miracles for donating to them; a lamb, a hen, a goat, or a cow, may, in return, act favorably for the patient. Priests praying for the sick or for the crippled are not uncommon. On special holidays, certain churches fill up with such sick and crippled people. Some sleep in the church for weeks without food and pray continuously to the Saint. Stories circulate that some one saw the Saint riding on the horse, are very common. Sometimes these saints actually do heal indirectly local pains, even of the partly crippled. Even doctors 755 782 776 [793] [787]

584 increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in
882 Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so widespread that the family, in effect, has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

842 The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred; traditionally, sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters, it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity, and the woman is held responsible. People say "the poor man", pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept "maternity difficulties" without asking for medical help, lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book
581 on maternal and child care, *For the Mother*, urges that before marriage, both family histories be examined for possible sterility.

For the Mother urges young people to choose mates with a view to progeny. As a sanction, it mentions that the ancient Greeks urged eugenic marriages; and that the term "eugenics" was invented by Xenophon. Young people are advised to see a doctor before making the final decision. They are further advised to choose according to firmness of flesh and orderliness of features and limbs, for seriousness tempered with cheerfulness, for optimism implemented by effective energy. Marriage with kin, and with people having family histories of tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, psychasthenia, is to be avoided.

843 According to this manual, a young woman beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indisposition, accompanied by the non-appearance of the menses: this the husband diagnoses for her with great joy. Next come the food whims and the nausea, and this is the time to go for obstetrical advice. The first two months are the critical ones for the life of the embryo; therefore, a mother is urged to take a vacation in the second month. After that she may resume her normal activities, taking care only to avoid over-exertion and jerky movements
[515] In the last month she should not immerse herself in bathing, because of the danger of infection; for the same reason, she should avoid sexual intercourse in the last three weeks. In the last two weeks she
[513] should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy, never more, lest she become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings, she should not play cards, she should drink nothing stronger than light wine, she should eat meals as balanced as is consistent with her means and her

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Greece EH1

 S CM 165

with their fatalistic creed. The infant mortality among the Albanian families investigated was not found to be statistically different from that among Slavs.

The maternal mortality was calculated on all Slavs (irrespective of religion) of *Groups A* and *B* in villages and towns, and was found to be 3·3 per thousand live and still-births, or 4·4 if the doubtful cases were included. (The total number of births was respectively 4884 and 1525, twins and triplets being counted as one birth.) The figure for all Slavs of *Group C* in villages and towns was 2·7, or 3·4 including the doubtful cases (based on a total of 4775 and 1116 births respectively). These maternal-mortality figures are very low, especially when the rough-and-ready circumstances of childbirth are recollected. Yet this would be expected for a hardy, virile, and intelligent people who have a hard environment to contend with, and, in villages at any rate, none of the modern aids of the social services; and among whom the death rate of infants is comparatively high.[2] S CM 842

There seems to be little artificial restriction of families; and the use of contraceptives is rarely practised in villages. Sometimes simple methods of birth control are now employed—more often in towns than in villages. I have come across the following. To prevent conception, the women wash out the vagina with strong pure vinegar made from wine, considering it very sure, because of its strength and acidity. The men sometimes use sheaths, which are expensive. Pessaries can also be bought by the women, but frequently husbands will not permit their use, beating their wives if they discover them. Greek women round Salonika use boric powder (*aršit* or *aršik*), with which they dust out the vagina as far up as possible. They told some Serbian women that this was very effective, as well as being very cheap. G [842] S CM

Abortion is legally forbidden, but, on occasions, it is performed by midwives and doctors. Women themselves when wishing to induce abortion drink a mixture of very strong *rakija* and a quantity of cartridge-shot boiled up together. This concoction must be drunk as hot as possible. At the same time hot bottles or bricks must be applied to the waist and abdomen. This is considered very effective, although one woman told me that she had tried it repeatedly after her fourth conception, but found it quite useless, and at nine months gave birth to a perfectly healthy normal child. Another woman from Serbian Macedonia said that she did not want another child because she had become infected with syphilis by her husband. (She had borne two live children, one of them infected.) She tried drinking a decoction of boiled oleander leaves, and sometimes also one of the boiled leaves of the basil plant: this latter was very bitter. She drank them repeatedly from the first month onwards; and applied hot bricks back and front. Not until the fourth month did she induce abortion, when she was very ill 847

[2] The maternal mortality in England and Wales in 1933 was 4·5 per thousand, and in 1930 was 5·4. The infant mortality in 1933 was 64; but as recently as 1900 and 1910 the death rate of infants in England and Wales was 154 and 165 respectively —not so vastly different from these Jugoslav villages and towns. It may also be of interest to note that in a 1940 book of reference, in the list of infant mortality for various countries, that for Jugoslavia as a whole was 137 per thousand births, and for England and Wales 58.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521] 843

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 787

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

843 787 you put an orange seed in the fire and name a pregnant woman. If the seed jumps high, it will be a boy; if low, a girl. Much is made of the size and shape of the child in the womb. If the expectant mother "has a small belly," she will have a boy. Another method is to wrap a knife in a handkerchief and put it in a chair. If a pregnant woman sits in the chair, feels the object, and identifies it as a knife, then she will bear a boy. The same will hold true if by chance she uses her right foot every time she steps into a house. Or one can take the half-moon bone from the head of a fish, throw it on the head of an expectant mother without her knowledge. If she starts looking down, she will deliver a girl; if she feels in her hair to see what hit her, she will have a boy. Thus, from his earliest days, a son is given a sense of importance, a feeling which tends to be accentuated as he grows older.

562 834 576 593 [492] [626] Women, by observing the formal proprieties, show their deference to men and seemingly manifest to all about them their status as inferior beings. Foreigners in Greece are deceived, however, if they mistake this *form* for the *essence* of family life, since the Greek mother is a key figure in the home, even though she stands up when her husband comes into the room or walks if there is only one donkey. Village men, when asked about this last practice, often reply, "Why, my wife would be ashamed to be seen riding if I were walking. The other women would laugh her out of the village." Younger men, whose ideas on these matters differ from those of the previous generation, proudly assert that they make their wives ride if tired. Yet the women who may be walking behind their mounted husbands do not feel inferior, for they are observing an accepted custom. According to some observers, a woman who lets her husband enter first or have the best chair feels no more inferior than would a man in the West who holds the door open for a woman or gives her his seat on a crowded subway.

[312] [482] [626] It is hard to know what goes on in a woman's mind when she is at the fountain filling two five-gallon tins to carry back home and suddenly is joined by her husband who has just returned from town by bus with a small twine bag of groceries. He offers the bag to her and says that he will carry the heavy tins, but she refuses. Does she say to herself: "He has his work and I have my work"; "I don't want the other men to laugh at him carrying water, which is woman's work"; "I don't want the women laughing at me for letting my husband do my work when I'm capable of doing it"; "He probably offers to do this for me so he can ask me to do something else much more disagreeable"? Nevertheless, the upshot is that she carries the tins. To be sure, the women refuse to smile when they hear the men in the [522] home joking about the way some husband in Northern Greece, at the end of the Communist guerrilla war, supposedly made his wife walk in front in order to protect him from any undetected land mines left over from the war.

562 593 521 If the wife has worries, she discusses them with other women and only occasionally with her husband.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koum-
608 bara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the
child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of
[843] the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two
[835] of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be con-
[582] sidered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in
determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest
608 comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling
the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings.
788 The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times
[789] to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters
four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the
child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question
from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the
priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed
the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it
into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion
has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its
body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next
dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds
a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony
concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words
of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the god-
parent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of
851 the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which
574 is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The god-
608 parent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility
[262] of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

[553] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and
fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not
only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of
wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing,
[535] spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and
sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end
up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general
merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter,
[842] are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing chil-
dren, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry
because this promise has been fulfilled.

/75 cont./

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. 873 [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

584 increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in
882 Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so widespread that the family, in effect, has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

842 The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred; traditionally, sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters, it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity, and the woman is held responsible. People say "the poor man", pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept "maternity difficulties" without asking for medical help, lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book
581 on maternal and child care, *For the Mother*, urges that before marriage, both family histories be examined for possible sterility.

For the Mother urges young people to choose mates with a view to progeny. As a sanction, it mentions that the ancient Greeks urged eugenic marriages; and that the term "eugenics" was invented by Xenophon. Young people are advised to see a doctor before making the final decision. They are further advised to choose according to firmness of flesh and orderliness of features and limbs, for seriousness tempered with cheerfulness, for optimism implemented by effective energy. Marriage with kin, and with people having family histories of tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, psychasthenia, is to be avoided.

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[513] should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy, never more, lest she become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings, she should not play cards, she should drink nothing stronger than light wine, she should eat meals as balanced as is consistent with her means and her

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843
and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained [743]
by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 844
in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. 759
In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369]
many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844
something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged.
Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846
regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854
pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856
suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is
at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369]
there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
[856] the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however,
[369] to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
[862] easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
[862] period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
[843] be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

82 787 the people's attitudes. One must not venture under trees when there is lightning or go to sleep during the day under a walnut tree with its thick foliage (in Central and Southern Greece) or under a fig tree (farther south). A young woman from the Peloponnesos explained that Christ was sitting under a fig tree when he was taken, thus accounting, in her mind at [777] least, for this taboo. As we shall soon see, the idea of fate, destiny, or necessity is strong today, as it was in classical Greece. Natural phenomena are important in helping one learn what is to come or in helping to ward off some impending evil or difficulty.

824 [787] Plants to some extent aid in knowing what lies ahead. However, most of the blossoms, fragile and fragrant, appear for such a short period in the spring that they are enjoyed primarily for their beauty. Fruit trees in bloom are looked upon as a glorious miracle of color, and one is urged to go out of the way just to see a particularly beautiful tree, especially an almond tree in January. But there are some plants that are appreciated for more than their beauty.

824 777 539 In many parts of Greece belief in the good luck brought by a four-leafed clover is strong. No bullet can affect it, as shown by the following folk story:

> Once there was a man who had a silver tobacco case on which he had stuck a four-leafed clover. They put it up as a target and shot bullet after bullet but could not hit it. Afterwards they took away the clover and the case was easily pierced.

824 [844] If a peasant from Northern Greece comes upon a form of the peony known as "The Holy Virgin's Hand" (*Tes Panaglas to cheri*), he may remember that sprigs of it are thrown into the jug from which the water is poured for a woman in travail.[8] The name just as much as the properties of the herb is supposed to relieve the pains of labor. After the birth, the [789] midwife is apt to hang cloves of garlic on the mother and the baby to ward [754] off the Evil Eye. Garlic is so powerful against evil that, when one fears that an envious person will cast a spell upon the animal or baby or any other object of envy, one should say *skortha sta matia sou* (garlic in your eyes).

[538] Anemones, hyacinths, basil, and thyme,[9] as well as the olive tree, the laurel, or the cypress, have stories associated with them which the old 82 people tell to the children. Thus, nature seems intimate since so much of its handiwork carries deep and traditional meaning for the villager.

825 787 Animals have an even more special meaning. Both the occasional wild animal and the domestic animals reveal what to expect in the way of catastrophe or changing weather. For example, a man plowing in Central Greece may see a horsefly rest on someone and read into that simple occurrence the coming of a guest. If a person from the island of Spetsai catches a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

1:Sanders Z-5,f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere, there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want
754 to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path
[778] of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or have a little icon."

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 571 796 the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

369 461 A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work [594] hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but [554] do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

163 842 511 178 Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some [844] prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is [554] recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most pres- [743] tige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and [759] is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are [855] born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names regis-
[745] tered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people officially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war. A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers reckon that their own local production supplies food for only
[432] two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 are supposed to be, but are not always in fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of
[844] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth — a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

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[178]
[844]
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Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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1. This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

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2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250.

[113]

3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim*; Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 241.

[p. 24(A)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

or nurse) has been taught how to give injections and can be called upon to do so. If the doctor who travels on horseback through the countryside should come into the village on a day when anyone is ill, he may or may not be asked to look at the patient. A case of measles in a young child, for example, would be diagnosed by the family and they would feel no need for the services of a doctor. In the meantime, members of the family who live in the village and the neighbors will visit with the patient while his household continues in its usual activities. However, the patient is never left alone, and is often surrounded by a crowd of noisily talking visitors, including children. The visitors all give advice as to proper treatment, recommend doctors in the neighboring towns, and recall the history and development of similar symptoms in themselves or in their relatives. The proper phrase of good cheer is *perástiká sas* which means "may it pass for you" and is addressed not only to the patient himself but to his entire household. Nor is the patient isolated even at night. If the household is one in which the parents and children sleep in the same room (some on beds and some on pallets on the floor) this custom is not changed because of illness. Food for the patient is prepared by whatever member of the household customarily does the cooking.

757 758 [759] 758 574 [576] 758 [513]

If an illness lasts beyond expectations, or if it takes acute or violent form such as a heart attack or a bleeding ulcer, several alternatives are possible. Some member of the household may go for a doctor, or the patient may be taken to a hospital in a provincial town. Going for the doctor may involve a walk of several miles to the nearest town where there is one, or it may involve a walk to the nearest town or village that has a taxi, and the taxi may be hired to go on for the doctor. The taxi may also be hired to call for the patient and to take him to the hospital. Ordinarily, the patient is accompanied by at least one member of his household and frequently by several. In one case in which a woman in labor went to the hospital, she was accompanied by her mother-in-law, her husband, her sister-in-law, and her brother.

757 758 [494] [844]

One of the provincial towns in Boeotia is slowly developing into a small medical center for the surrounding region. The hospitals there are actually small proprietary institutions with ten to twenty-five beds. Each hospital is owned and operated by a doctor who ordinarily has a specialty. There are several maternity hospitals, one or two for major surgery, one for tonsilectomies, one for internal medicine, and so on. The number of these small private hospitals has increased sharply since the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. They are staffed by local women and young girls, who ordinarily have no special nurses' training except for what training the doctor can give them. The physicians themselves, however, are graduates of the medical school of the University of Athens, and many have had additional training outside of Greece.[7] The qualifications of the physicians lead one to expect normal American hospital routines, perhaps somewhat modified by the limitations of space and of an untrained staff.

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But consider the scene in the room of a small private hospital. One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads

7. Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of An Under-Developed Area*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 156-157.

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it. 743 758 [513]

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words. [846] [844]

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women. [422] [583]

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in 758 571 156 743 [574]

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital. [744]

[p 25(B)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
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which relatives can sleep. Even so, however, since private rooms are apparently unknown, there are always other patients to talk to. 758 743

The family has especially important social and psychological functions in Greece. Therefore, the presence day and night of family members in the hospital fulfills the latent function of emotional support. Such support is essential for Greek patients, because they feel useless and unwanted whenever an illness prevents them from fulfilling their customary roles in the household. When the family members can also care for a patient in the hospitals much as they can at home (e.g., bring and cook food for him and, if necessary, even feed him) his sense of isolation and strangeness is further lessened. 571 156

A characteristic attitude of the Greek villager is a suspicion of other people's motives and actions.[9] He believes that people are not trustworthy and are more likely to cheat one than not. The opportunity for constant family conferences to check on the doctor's treatment of one's illness is considered a necessity. Once again, the presence of at least one relative at all times during a hospital stay assures the patient that he has someone nearby watching out for his interests and keeping an eye on the possible chicaneries of the doctors and nurses. A physician we interviewed mentioned as one of the reasons for permitting a relative to stay with a woman throughout an entire confinement, the fact that the visitor could then act as a witness. She would be able to testify to the new mother and to the other members of the family that the doctor had done his job properly. The doctor himself did not seem to feel that such a point of view reflected in any way on his integrity, but simply took it for granted. 757 759 828 743 156

Pros and Cons of Hospitalization

What, then, are considered the special advantages of hospital care which impel the Greek villagers to incur the great expense and inconvenience of hospitalization? There is, of course, recognition of the fact that the doctor is almost continually on call in the hospital and the added sense of security this brings. For childbirth, there is no question but that the villagers believe that the doctor will do a better job. He knows more than the midwife and professional knowledge and skill is highly valued. But, I believe, what is of commensurate importance is the latent function hospitalization fulfills in the perpetual rivalry for prestige among village families. Hospital care is believed to be the sophisticated, urban way of caring for serious illness and childbirth. Hospitalization therefore can enhance family prestige. It is not uncommon for one or two sons of a village family to be educated sufficiently to obtain a white-collar job in a provincial town, in Athens, or even to be educated for and to practice one of the professions. The village girls, whose fathers can provide large enough dowries, marry a city or a town man whenever they can and so acquire husbands who are not village farmers. Since, in Greece, the family continues to act as a unit for some purposes even though its members are scattered over the city and several towns and villages, the 743 554 369 844 759 593

9. Harry L. Levy, "Property Distribution by Lot in Present-Day Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 87, 45-46 (1956). [113]

[p. 26(A)]

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. 743
They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban 554
ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors 369
over the doctors who travel through the countryside on 844
horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are 759
to be consulted during an illness and their care is then
needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that
childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come [593]
to be associated with low social position and low income,
hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete 743
without some more detailed discussion of the specific disad- 152
vantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major
element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization [511]
may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of
land. It has importance also just because the payments are
made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers [583]
for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's
economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the
marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety
and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient,
and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the
family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of
hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on
those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the
one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity 743
for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of
role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. 828
The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet
another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* 152
(the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance,
they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel 156
do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these 759
disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case,
but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-produc- 743
ing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed
by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its ad-
vantages. However, I believe that without the compensating
sense of familiarity and continued participation in family
relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the
disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors 743
to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of 759
the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards
they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of [369]
our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions.
They complained about the inability to keep regular consult-
ing hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly
overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there
was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly
manage to get into town at any regular times. They also [758]
complained about the many relatives in attendance on their
patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They
pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated
villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under [181]
any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843
and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained [743]
by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 844
in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. 759
In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369]
many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844
something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged.
Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846
regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854
pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856
suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is
at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369]
there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the 851
baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of god- 608
parents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those
who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which
issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently
it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free [662]
to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as god-
father, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if
the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited,
it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these
takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, still- [842]
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The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for
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1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the 851
baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of god- 608
parents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those
who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which
issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently
it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free [662]
to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as god-
father, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if
the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited,
it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these
takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, still- [842]
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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions, such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally, the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily.

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient.[8] Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, but lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter, and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it. 743 758 [513]

If we were in a maternity hospital, the scene would be much the same, except that several infants would be sleeping in wooden cradles in the rooms with their mothers. If cradles had not been brought from home, the infants would be lying in the beds with their mothers. A female relative of the mother will have been present during the birth of the baby. She will have held the mother's hand, sponged her off during the worst of the pains (no anaesthetic is used), and will have comforted her with soothing words. [846] [844]

These hospital scenes and the patterns of hospital care they represent suggest a remarkable similarity between the treatment of illness at home and its treatment in a hospital. The same values and attitudes of Greek culture are demonstrated in both situations, and their reinforcement in a time of stress is not impeded by hospitalization.

Influence of Greek Culture

Greek villagers take great pride in showing-off household possessions. Bed-linens and coverings are of special importance, because they are a part of the dowry which the woman of the household provided at marriage, and she probably wove them herself. Sleeping on bedclothes from home, therefore, not only lessens the unfamiliarity of the hospital surroundings, but also may give the patient and his family a chance to show off the handiwork of the women. [422] [583]

Let us now turn to the crowded conditions of the hospital room. Human companionship is believed by the Greek villagers to be an absolute good. Solitude is considered very unpleasant and is avoided even when people are perfectly well. When someone is in the vulnerable state of illness, it is especially important that he not be left alone. In the hospitals the members of the patient's family take turns staying with him, and neighbors who happen to be in town come and visit. Some of the hospitals, to be sure, provide a special room in 758 571 156 743 [574]

8. A DDT campaign after the Second World War successfully eliminated vermin from the Greek countryside. There is, therefore, little danger that the bedding from home will bring vermin into the hospital. 748

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation, which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional customs handed down from generation to generation provide both group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the ceremonial feast. When a member of the family gets married the whole village participated with their musical instruments. The marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male person is observed more than the female name day.

517 [526] [846] [851] [585] [527] [562]

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the United States. After the church service the people gather around the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

796 628 574 [535]

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place. This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry. The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

796 574 [735] [252]

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843
and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained [943]
by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 844
in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. 759
In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369]
many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844
something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged.
Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846
regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854
pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856
suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is
at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369]
there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The Bishop of Messenia and His Good Works

793 794 [346] The contrast between an ordinary priest's home and the bishop's palace in Kalamata is quite marked, for the latter was once the ornate building housing the local branch of the Bank of Greece. But the bishop's interest in the people of his diocese, both the city dwellers in Kalamata and the farmers in the surrounding villages, equaled that of any priest for his parishioners. The bishop, when visited in 1953, proved a friendly, jovial person, with an iron-gray beard, a dignified though rotund figure, and a very forward-looking social philosophy. It was this latter quality in particular that had made me seek him out after hearing from friends in Athens of his unusual achievements in the welfare field.

He began to talk about what he had done and hoped to do for his people: "I became interested when I saw their great needs, for, as a church leader, I am responsible for the welfare of whatever people are under me." But before he started on any specific projects after his arrival in this diocese, he had thought it best, as he phrased it, "to put myself at the disposal of the people." He gradually gained the confidence of the members of his diocese by making available to them for local use all of the church's funds derived from festivals. The people began to realize that this bishop was interested in them. Later on, when he began asking them to support the various projects which he started, they gladly cooperated.

793 747 His first project was a day nursery, which takes care of one hundred and twenty children whose mothers are at work, started in 1947. Visiting this nursery in the afternoon when all of the children had gone home, we noted the cleanliness and the simple but adequate facilities. The success of this nursery prompted the bishop to start another one in Mycenae for one hundred children in 1948.

736 793 848 [597] [847] One perplexing problem was that of illegitimate children. In many cases the mother would kill such a child or leave it with people who exploited it unmercifully. So he started a home for these children in 1947. Since then, two hundred and fifty children have gone through the home, sixty of them have been adopted and fifty were there then. The equipment was simple and bare, but everything was spotless. When we entered, the children came up to the bishop with great pleasure, for he is a favorite with the young children. One of the nurses told us: "When we have a child that is lonesome, who won't eat, we ask the bishop to come feed the child. When he comes, the child always eats."

793 736 [597] [657] The bishop noticed, however, that many of the boy foundlings, but relatively few of the girl foundlings, would be adopted. The boys who were not taken by foster parents by their fifth or sixth year would go into the National Boys' Orphanage of Kalamata, largely supported by the state, which had one hundred and fifty boys in 1953. Something had to be done for the girls.

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/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626 834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538 702]

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

A Village Baptism

One ceremony which has deep meaning for the family members is the baptism of a recently arrived infant. First of all comes the selection of godparents, although this is usually determined by the custom of having those who were sponsors at the wedding also be godparents of the children which issue from that marriage. But if many children have come subsequently it is only fitting that the honor be given to someone else. The father is free to invite some notable, say a political figure from the area, to serve as godfather, an opportunity which few politicians pass up. On the other hand, if the couple is dissatisfied with the godparent who would normally be invited, it may follow traditional procedures to select another. An inquiry into these takes one deeply into folklore and belief in magic. When childlessness, stillbirth, or infant mortality is blamed upon the godparent, villagers assume that a new godparent might lead to better success. According to Chrysoula, the wise woman of Spetsai, her sister bore a child who died within twenty-four hours after birth, and later on she had a pseudo-pregnancy. In her desperation she prayed to the Virgin: "Please give me a child of either sex. If it is a girl I'll give her your name; if it is a boy I'll dedicate it to you but will have to give it the name of its paternal grandparent." This was on the morning of March 25 (Evangelismos Day); that afternoon she had intercourse with her husband and on Christmas Day a little girl was born. As soon as she was able, the mother picked up the baby, put the baby on the porch of the church dedicated to the Virgin, and waited to see who would discover the baby and, by so doing, be designated godparent. People standing around consider it lucky to be a godparent on such an occasion, and several may be inclined to volunteer. An especially eager person may throw a handkerchief ahead of a rival and thus stake out a claim. The mother watches from a distance. When the child has been taken into the church for the ceremony, she goes home to prepare sweets and other food for the baptismal feast.

The same procedure for gaining a new godparent as a replacement for the one who sponsored the wedding of the couple is followed in most parts of Greece but occurs only infrequently, since people reluctantly change their godparent ties. Once the godparents have been selected, the guests have to be invited — relatives and very close friends or, as was fortunate in my case, an interested foreigner who happens to be in the vicinity. The women of the household allow themselves a few days in advance to plan and prepare for the festive occasion. The church ceremony is a lively affair. If the child is baptized within forty days of birth, as it usually is, the mother does not attend, for she is still unclean. The principals in the ceremony are the priest, the infant, and the godparent, with the latter's responsibility supposedly extending to the spiritual oversight of the godchild, today a matter of

1:Sanders Z-5 ½ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

851 608 [843] [835] [582] little importance. (A pregnant woman is not supposed to serve as a koumbara, for people say that something bad will happen either to her or the child being baptized. A person is also supposed to baptize only children of the same sex, for if he serves as a koumbaros of both boys and girls, two of these with the same godparent might fall in love, which would be considered incest since spiritual bonds count as much as biological kinship in determining marriage prohibitions.)

851 608 788 [789] After the small group of friends and relatives has gathered, the priest comes out from behind the altar. He usually displays great skill in handling the infant, even if the baby starts to howl his displeasure at the proceedings. The priest first turns the baby toward the east, blows into its face three times to chase away the evil spirits, seals it with the sign of the cross, and utters four exorcisms against temptation. Then the godparent renounces for the child "the devil and all his works" in answer to a thrice-repeated question from the priest, after which he recites the Apostles' Creed.[1]

[778] The tepid water standing in a large copper basin is next blessed by the priest, who pours consecrated oil on it. Then the godparent, who has rubbed the baby all over with oil, hands it to the priest who three times plunges it into the font while he recites the appropriate formula. Once the immersion has been completed, the priest anoints the baby in different parts of its body and holds it up to the altar three times if it is a boy. The baby is next dressed and carried around the font three times by the godparent who holds a candle in one hand; the priest also joins in this procession. The ceremony concludes with additional words from the New Testament and a few words of admonition to the child, whereupon those present congratulate the godparent with the wish, "may it live." Then everyone goes to the home of the parents for a tremendous dinner, usually featuring roast lamb, which is just as important a part of the affair as the church ceremony. The godparent is given a place of high honor. (He also has had the responsibility of choosing the name for the child, usually that of a grandparent.[2])

851 574 608 [262] [553] Although I have attended many social functions in Greece, the joy and fun which characterize the baptismal feasts stand out in my memory. Not only is the food delicious and plentiful, but there is invariably plenty of wine and good-natured bantering. Most of the time, too, there is dancing, spirited and informal. Children of the guests as well as the brothers and sisters of the newly baptized infant are often present, and manage to end up in the dance or very much in its way, thereby adding to the general merriment. Weddings, such as the one described in the previous chapter, are occasions for merriment because they give promise of providing children, especially boys, to continue the family line; the baptism is merry because this promise has been fulfilled.

[535] [842]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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792

17. A monk on the ageless journey to Salamis with casks from his monastery to be filled or to sell.

18. Godparents hold the child before the priest for a controlled moment in the exuberance of a baptism, Macedonia.

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291
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793

[p. 272-K]

601 There is a reciprocal term equivalent in meaning, but not at all as technical in its connotation as the English word "spouse," whereby husbands and wives refer to each other: *sizighos*. Apart from this, there are no Greek words with the specific and exclusive significance of English "husband" and "wife." For husband, *andras* (man) is used; for wife, *yineka* (woman) or *kira* (lady).

601 608 585 The remaining terms in the Greek system that are related to marriage are those which refer reciprocally to a couple's marriage sponsor and the latter's spouse: *kumbaros* and *kumbara*. Moreover, the terms are extended on both sides to refer to the parents, brothers and sisters, and children of the original sponsors and their spouses when they marry.

Marriage sponsors may, but need not be chosen (and in the majority of instances in Vasilika are not chosen) from among one's biological kin. The term [582] *kumbaros* is, however, properly considered part of the system of kinship terms because of a very weighty customary prohibition which the status of *kumbaros* imposes: the prohibition against marriage in the same degrees as those appropriate to blood relatives.

601 608 851 The same reciprocal terms, *kumbaros* and *kumbara*, with the same extensions to the kindred of each of the original parties and the same marriage prohibitions, are established between the parents of a child and his baptismal godparent (*nonos* or *nona*). Here again, parents may choose those with whom they wish to enter into this relationship, and individuals may or may not accept the request to sponsor a godchild (*vaftistikos* or *vaftistikya*).

602 608 557 [581] Vasilika's inhabitants make use of the possibilities of the *kumbari* system in such a way as to parallel their search for affinal kin (in-laws). Just as the people of Vasilika select marriage partners for themselves and their children with an eye to the augmentation of material resources and social prestige, so they try to find *kumbari* whose wealth and position will be a source of potential help for themselves and their children. The similarity in functions of the two types of relationships is paralleled by their similarity in structural effects. Just as affinal [582] connections preclude the possibility of marriage between any of the relatives of the two elementary families involved, so do *kumbari* connections. Moreover, since [612] the people of the village apparently prefer to select *kumbari* from non-kin (they must do so with affinals), they succeed in augmenting their network of associations with what, from the standpoint of kin connections, is a random collection of elementary families and their bilateral kindred. Non-kin are more likely to be [369] in other villages, and people of greater prestige in the towns and cities. Here again *kumbari* associations tend to lead out of the village, and there is frequently a disparity in the economic and social positions between villagers and their *kumbari*. On the one hand, some prosperous village farmers serve as godparents for shepherd families, and on the other, the aspiring farming families choose an urban merchant, or a professional man, as *kumbaros*. The parallel with relatives by marriage is most striking between *kumbari* through godparenthood, and the mutual obligations involved are larger in number, last longer, and are more likely to be fulfilled than those with marriage sponsors.

602 608 612 Still another parallel between in-laws and *kumbari* is that the individuals who fill these statuses are freely chosen, in contrast with consanguineal (blood)

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict. [577] [578]

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion. [571]

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard. 521 571 867 868 [827] [865]

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the [851] 521 571 867

521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before,
461 is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
512 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
521 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations
571 possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala,*" "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

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candles from the priest's, or from each other's if they got impatient waiting to reach the priest. The second climax was, of course, the moment when, with the entire congregation standing outside the church, the priest announced, *"Khristos anesti,"* "Christ is risen," and the boys set off firecrackers.

After the service, people took a short nap, because by 6:00 in the morning, final preparations for Easter dinner would start. As has already been indicated, families joined with neighbors or relatives to eat the spit-roasted Easter lamb. Visiting relatives moved about to greet the villagers they knew. Baptisms, which had been arranged for the afternoon because prospective godparents enjoyed visiting the village at Easter, took place in the church, and the white baptismal clothes of the babies added sparkle to all the Easter finery. After an afternoon service in the church of St. Nicholas, the musicians came, settled in the *agbora,* and dancing began. But fewer villagers participated in either the dancing or the watching than at Carnival, because people preferred to spend more time at home with their visiting relatives. Nevertheless, a good crowd kept the *agbora* musicians occupied until eight in the evening, after which singing could be heard here and there about the village. The next day some of the young boys claimed to have been up singing half the night.

The description just given is only a brief outline of the main events and lacks many details of the village's celebration of Easter. My purpose in including it here is to illustrate the point that Carnival and Holy Week are times at which the Greek Orthodox rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika. Even under these circumstances, however, the visiting relatives act as a countervailing centrifugal force, pulling each family in the direction of its extra-village interests, as they use the holiday visit as an opportunity for family consultations on the problems of the coming year, and as the visitors tell of their lives in other villages, in towns, and in the cities.

Vasilika's *paniyiri,* the feast day of its patron saints, St. Cosmos and St. Damian, on the 1st of July, is another occasion when a religious event is celebrated by the entire village and draws visitors to the community. Other holy days and Sunday masses do not draw all the villagers together in the same way. School children are the most faithful communicants for regular Sunday mass; a small proportion of women and girls attend regularly, but the rest of the inhabitants appear to attend sporadically, as they please. During periods of heavy agricultural work, mass may be omitted on a Sunday. For the most part, individuals and families, rather than the village, are the units for participation in the formal religious activity of the settlement.

The Villagers as Greeks

To summarize the situation, the formal organization of the village community, the *kinotis,* provides neither autonomy in village affairs nor a unified structure. Decisions made by the village leaders are subject to approval by outside political authorities. Governmental, commercial, religious, and educa-

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation, which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional customs handed down from generation to generation provide both group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the ceremonial feast. When a member of the family gets married the whole village participated with their musical instruments. The marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male person is observed more than the female name day.

517 [526] [846] [851] [585] [527] [562]

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the United States. After the church service the people gather around the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

796 628 574 [535]

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place. This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry. The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

796 574 [735] [252]

/66 cont./ 782
are so affected by the circulating stories that they send their [755]
patients to /67/ the Saints as their last resort. [776]

Crosses and certain signs are carried by strong believers. [778]
The evil eye is strongly believed in and special written prayers [751]
wrapped up in waterproof cloth hang around their necks. [754]

Cleanliness is an asset of the Caucasians and they take weekly 515
baths and change their clothes. The Thracians, who live more 184
the primitive type of life, never bathe their bodies but only their [851]
heads. They still believe that the holy oil which the priest put [178]
on them at their baptism is on their body and bathing may wash [164]
it away. The influence of this belief is less among the younger
generation and in the near future it may disappear. One would
naturally expect more disease and sickness among the filthy
Thracians, but just the opposite is proved by the figures of a survey.
These people do not cooperate so strongly with the doctor and [165]
the nurse and still they have the healthiest children, the least
disease and the lowest death rate. The diet of the Thracians is 262
poorer than that of the Caucasians. They seldom cook and eat
mostly raw vegetables, poorly-baked whole wheat bread, but more
/68/ dairy products, such as cheese, milk, and sour milk
(gioghourt).

Their clothing is made out of wool. Men, women, and 291
children, even in the hot summers, wear woolen clothes.

Washing the teeth is unknown among these people, except 515
among those who have had a chance to go to high school or worked [369]
in cities. There was one dentist in the nearby city and the area 759
and the city included had a population of 130,000. He could not
make his living in this population and was planning to move to a
larger city and visit the area once a week.

People often think it is a crazy idea to put tooth paste in the 164
mouth and shine the teeth. Their diet of vegetables, and black [515]
whole wheat bread keeps the teeth shining and healthy. This does [752]
not mean that there are no people with bad teeth, but they are [759]
very scarce and the local experienced dentists do the job without
reward

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[14]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
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committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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and his mitre in its brass box, were borne away to the church on a flood 796
of ragged boys, and we followed rather more sedately while the bells [793]
jangled in the tower. The Metropolitan went straight to his throne on
the south side of the church after vesting in the open narthex, and I [798]
was led to the stall on his right, immediately beneath the great eikon
of the Pantocrator in the dome. The church had been recently re- [782]
decorated and a gay diaper pattern now covered every part of the
interior that was not frescoed. Not for the first time I was struck by the [531]
contrast between the comeliness and colour of the village church and the
squalid dwellings which surrounded it. The little groups of people who [361]
had followed us up the stony path from the *mesokhori*, or village-square,
crowded into the church, setting up their candles before the eikons of [782]
our Lord and His Mother, bringing loaves bearing the seal "Jesus Christ
conquers" and wine for the offering, oil for the lamps and lists of [769]
relatives and friends, both living and departed, to be commemorated
at the liturgy that morning. The parish priest came with the singers 796
and the verger to ask the Bishop's blessing, and the morning office 788
(the first part of which had been sung before our arrival) was taken up again.

While the Magnificat was being sung, the parish priest went all about the building censing the holy things and the holy people with a proper indiscrimination, and when the great doxology was reached the sacristan ran down the church and set the three chandeliers swinging in alarming fashion while the belfry again resounded to the clash of metal. Mattins gave place to the divine liturgy; the church became more and more crowded till the people filled the narthex and overflowed down the steps into the path outside. The scouts arrived; the
chandeliers swung more slowly, scattering drops of molten wax upon [782]
the heads of the congregation and splashing the strip of brightly coloured
carpet which extended from the holy table down into the midst of the [852]
church; the incense and the venerable prayers rose to heaven, and the children scrambled up the stair leading to the high pulpit or balanced on the backs of the stalls occupied by their grandfathers.

The Epistle (from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians), was read by 796
the chief singer, or *psaltes*, a soldier from the garrison at Nevrokopi who 794
had learned the traditional chant in some village church on Pangaion,
overlooking the ruined basilica where "the saints in Christ Jesus which 533
were in Philippi" celebrated in their day that same holy offering in which we at Dasoto were taking part. There, like the ragged boys who now pressed upon him from all sides, he had joined with slowly growing

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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of Life have been most active, there have, as we shall see in a later chapter, been certain changes in liturgical practice during recent years: very often now the celebrant reads in an audible voice the whole of the *anaphora*, or great eucharistic prayer, which the rubric directs him to say *mystikos*—mystically, or secretly—and the whole congregation kneels at the invocation of the Holy Spirit. None of these influences had as yet reached this remote corner of New Greece, however, and the liturgy was still celebrated at Dasoto after the fashion which caused Robert de Dreux, in the seventeenth century, to observe that "it is not easy to see all that they do when they say mass, because the celebrant is hidden by a screen which shuts off the altar, and only shows himself three or four times". This, however, is a topic to which we shall have occasion to return. 796 788 178

The Lord's Prayer (like the Creed) was recited by a girl, and there were some thirty communicants including several children borne in the arms of their mothers—a familiar sight this in every Greek parish church. When the liturgy was ended, and the Bishop had distributed the blessed bread to the whole congregation, I observed some twenty of those who had communicated kneel before the royal doors while their father in God read a brief prayer of absolution. I have referred elsewhere to contemporary Greek practice in regard to the use of the mystery of confession. In the country districts at least, where confessors are rare, this is by no means as uniform as some are apt to suppose, or as might be inferred from the customs which obtain among the Russians of the diaspora, in Paris and elsewhere, with whom the sacrament has tended in recent times to become an obligatory part of the preparation for holy communion. 796 782 852 788 783 796

When one has fasted as a Christian one feasts as a Christian—in Greece at least. 796 [785]

Then for their Festivals [says Dr. Covel] . . . there is not one that appears there but will contribute something, as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at our old Whitsun-Ales, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival; and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the Virgin Mary, or any other

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter 855 practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular 852 liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [996] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father [527] leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A
861 mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the
[884] presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older rela-
tives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The dis-
[865] obedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child
553 is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with
[608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]
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[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness. 000

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought. 791 788 [182] [241] 782 [346] [793]

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, however, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction. 796 [794] [852]

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter, nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin. 771 [793] [95]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Hellenic Greece EH5
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 782 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this case evidently he did so.

G 302 852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M 852 582 608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A 852 [174] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests [illegible] suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock con[illegible] quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A 852 608 In North Albania the "kumpare i floksh" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

854 [177] [856]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

853 [854]

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

291 [854] [515] [593] [828]

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

861 594

of them. Like the eyes, they lead astray not through making false promises, but by engendering love. Speech is of extreme importance to the Greeks, since it establishes and fosters the all-important personal relationships. Almost everyone creates songs; love songs at the village festival, dirges, lullabies, songs of the way of life, songs of work, songs of one's village and of nature. It is important to find the graphic word in the most ordinary speech, and to turn a spicy phrase. Utterance will take the form of a small oration without creating self-consciousness; an answer is often incisive repartee. There are orations in the coffee house, and wherever a few people gather together. Even learned papers or scientific journals, when not under foreign influence, are often couched in oratory. *Couvenda*, conversation, is a recognized form of "passing the time", of entertainment, perhaps on a par with *syryani*. *Couvenda* is rarely desultory, or the mere exchange of information. It is usually contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud; and loudness is such a familiar quality of conversation that radios are turned on much too loud for the ears of foreigners. A statement or a question is countered by a challenging question. Tact and gentleness have no part here, insults are hurled, attacks are made, within the appropriate limits. A discussion is a battle of personal opinion, and its end is neither to reach the truth nor to reach a conclusion; its end is sheer enjoyment of vigorous speech.

The hair is a focus of erotic attraction. In the folk songs there is often the picture of a girl letting her hair down as a ladder hung for her lover. For the man, the moustache is a symbol of his manhood and attractiveness. The beard is not important, and in a folk song, a priest's wife calls her husband a bearded goat. A man without face hair is called a *Spanos*, and is a figure of derision in the folklore, and sometimes of fear.

Beyond the features of the head, very little of the body is mentioned in the personal folk songs. Genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them. Out of over 400 love couplets analysed, only one mentions the breast, "your breast is like Paradise". Formally, as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely. In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned. Its functional term, however, the nursing-breast, *vyzi*, is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing, there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling.

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks. In the personal folk poems, there is much mention of sweet-smelling flowers, herbs, trees: "musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is" says a rhyming game. An unexpected guest will be offered a "smell" of whatever the housewife is cooking, or the family is eating. And it

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
[856] the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

● 853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however,
[369] to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
[362] easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
[362] period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
[843] be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings. The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude, and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions; and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
174 objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is [191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak [197] Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock; [854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

from a distant island or an isolated mainland village. On the other hand, almost every village home contains photographs of relatives who have taken on the habits of the city. All islanders are not seafarers, for the majority of those in the larger islands live from the soil as do the peasants of the mainland. There is thus a lively interdependence among the urbanite, the seafarer, and the villager. 184 369 [854]

This interdependence, not always recognized by the Greeks themselves, has a fascination for the Western observer who is curious about the working of a society other than his own. For him the panorama of Greece is a source of enchantment. Now brilliant, now shadowy, through it the thread of tradition runs. Who are the carriers of this continuity? What has insulated the thread against time? It is doubtful whether the answers can be found in the clear, cold, statistical analysis of the social scientist. But an observer trained in the scientific method, with a background of Greek history and literature and an acquaintance with modern Greece that began with a first visit there thirty years ago, may be able to give interpretations and insights helpful to those interested in contemporary Greece.

Such interpretations may even have a broader implication. The Greeks differ in innumerable ways from Asian peoples and from those of the Middle East and Africa. Nevertheless, most Greeks on the mainland live in villages which are much closer in tempo and quality of life to villages on other continents than to anything one can find in the United States. They work small plots of land, scattered in strips around their villages, as do many rural people throughout the world, in sharp contrast to the mechanized American farm of several hundred acres; they know the meaning of hunger, of poverty, of the catastrophe of war and violence, which most Americans fortunately have not had to experience, but which is all too common in the newly developing countries; they also face many of the same problems of relationship to the central government and its services, of accepting or rejecting national programs of rural change. 171 184 369

To know the rural Greek, therefore, is to know more about rural humanity, most of which lives in a different social world from our own city-dominated society. Village people want to be seen not as cannon fodder, potential customers, religious or political converts, but as parents hoping for a better life for their children, as farmers wishing better yields to feed the family until next harvest, as new citizens — not yet secure in their franchise — learning the rudiments of the political process. Even more important, they want to be seen as individuals, with all the rich color this word conveys.

1:Sanders Z-5.9 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor. 241 178

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be enployed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the governnent is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when sonebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world. 758 [462] [574] [511] [369]

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it: 753

The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are [755] [757] [776]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

133
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854
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11. At the oven for Sunday afternoon lamb and rice, Attica.

[p. 272-G]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959): EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader. 195 826 [156] [828] [579]

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold." [533]

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen." 195 826 828 [854] [855

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart." 195 828

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that 152 828 579

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843
and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained [843]
by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 844
in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. 759
In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369]
many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844
something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged.
Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846
regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854
pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856
suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369]
there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
856 the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however,
369 to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
362 easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
362 period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
343 be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings.
The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of
firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude,
and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving
the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment.
Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at
five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come
until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk
rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and
walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding.
Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation
of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from
irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854 ●
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with
her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided
attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place
of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions;
and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the
swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies,
the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of
the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells
of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands.
She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making
appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs
have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a
special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She
calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love";
she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A
861 mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the
[784] presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older rela-
[865] tives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The disobedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child
553 is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with
[608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]
543

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 871
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; 829 and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a pre- [195] cedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the [854] manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

177 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remem- 178 bered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relation- 577 ships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There [312] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water [365] to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.

1:Sanders Z-5,+ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

village. We hired a caique, with both sails and motor, to take us on the three-hour trip to Neos Marmaras, a picturesque refugee village. Hardly were we aboard when a group of excited peasants came to ask if they could go with us. Our one crewman seemed to have no objection so we told them to join us. 243 124 [501]

Almost at once these lively individuals explained that they were from the village of Parthenon. They had been spending the past twenty-five days helping the peasants around Niketas harvest their grain and were no longer needed now that threshing had begun. Before talking about their work, however, we had to exchange the rites of hospitality. We had spread out a blanket on which we placed a large piece of bread bought just before departure and a portion of white cheese given me by the teacher in the village. Although the peasants looked thin and hungry, they refused our food. One man, carefully eyeing our bread, said, "Here, take some of my bread; yours isn't well done." [464] [574]

Six or seven of the people of Parthenon, sprawled around the blanket while we ate, tried politely to hide their curiosity. Our lunch finished and the purpose of our trip explained to them several times, it became our turn to ask them questions. We started with a woman in her thirties, a widow. She was dressed in a poor cotton dress, was barefoot, wore a kerchief on her head, but her proud look and direct answers were those of an independent spirit. She was obviously very anxious to get back to Parthenon and several times expressed her gratitude for the lift. "Thank you very much. You have saved us four or five hours of walking on this warm day." She had had to leave her four children at home twenty-five days ago and had had no word from them since then, even though her village was only a relatively few kilometers away. Apparently she had gone on working in the harvest fields for winter bread, clinging to the belief that "no news was good news," but her drawn face showed her long concern: "I left them with only a piece of bread to eat. I don't know how they made out." 243 855

"How old are your children?"

"My eldest child is fifteen, the next is eleven, and the other two quite young."

"Does the fifteen-year-old take care of the rest while you are away?"

"He would if he could, but he must look after the cows of my brother who is a soldier, and so the eleven-year-old takes care of the younger two." [857]

We learned that there were some relatives living in the village who probably kept an eye on the youngsters but did not assume full responsibility for them.

We were told that these villagers did not look forward to this trip. It is a trial, an ordeal that must be endured if they are to have any bread, for the men cannot find work in Parthenon that will provide them with money to buy bread. 243 464

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
184 receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by per-
184 sonal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than
[146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[8]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he
[146] leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

462 241 178

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

Keeping the Family Well

758

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

[462] [574] [511] [369]

753

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

[755] [757] [776]

Many observers have assumed that the practice of drawing the kerchief in front of the face to cover the mouth has the same meaning as the Muslim practice of veiling their women. It may be that the style of draping the kerchiefs was taken up during the Turkish occupation, but in contemporary Vasilika it has none of the connotation of modesty, it rather signifies work—specifically labor in the fields. The women explain the use of the outer kerchief in entirely utilitarian terms. They say it keeps the dust out of their mouths. 291 171

Women and girls under forty have a different style of dress. In winter, on ordinary days both indoors and out, they wear cotton flannel, printed kimono-like garments with long sleeves. They wear lisle stockings and cloth slippers with the kimonos. The girls prefer bright colors, with red often the favorite. In summer, the younger women wear cotton or rayon summer dresses which are of generalized European style. The younger women never wear the helmet-like brown inner kerchief, though they wear the outer kerchief, in the fields. Their hair is cut short. The last of the younger generation of girls over sixteen still wearing braids in 1955 cut her hair in 1956 in time for Easter. The kimono, the short hair, the discarding of the inner kerchief, are all recognized as signs of progress in the village. Many of these younger women are eager to have permanent waves when a traveling beautician comes through the settlement. 291 [177] [302] [178] [305] [445]

The oldest women and the least prosperous among the younger women of the village dress on holidays as they do every other day—they own no dress clothes, as it were, but the unmarried girls of all income levels try to manage something new, including, if possible, a pair of nylon stockings. What it will be is kept a secret, and Easter outfits are often sewed late at night, or tried on in real seclusion, so that other families will not see what the girls will wear until the day itself. 292 511

Except for the winter kimonos, clothes are acquired only for holidays, and then, after a few months, become everyday clothes to wear when working around the house or in the fields. In consequence, wool dresses or rayon clothes lose their shapes; the seams split and tear, because these garments were not originally designed to withstand the strenuous work the women do in them. Both men's and women's clothes get badly soiled from the fields, and they are washed in hot water and often pounded with a paddle as well, to loosen all the dirt. The homespun fabrics of the older women withstand such treatment well, but the wools and rayons of the younger women and the men's suits rather quickly reach the condition of old rags, as the villagers call them, and thereby become suitable for work in the fields and around the house. 291 511 296

Children's clothing has become important for the villagers because the standard of what is expected has changed within the last two decades. One farmer and his wife explained their desire not to have more than the two children they already had by saying that, among other things, their children now had to have shoes all the time, a requirement which did not exist when they themselves were children. In the winter, some children wear rubbers over heavy stockings but without shoes. Boys wear short pants until late adolescence, but otherwise their clothes are like those of their elders. Girls wear dresses like those of the younger women. Kimonos, however, are not considered appropriate for 291 511 [178] [855]

369 571 796 the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

369 461 A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work [594] hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but [554] do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

163 842 511 178 Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some [844] prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is [554] recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most pres- [743] tige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and [759] is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are ex- [855] pected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

2. Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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56 hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and
828 some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but
771 God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes
867 affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an
omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God
776 has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does
the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physi-
[821] cal phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual
protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to
adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

856 Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There
854 are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika.
Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other
peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In
addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human
beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start
to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself
away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as
she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has
exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling
bands.

855 Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents
in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other
matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the
sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his
father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth
and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon
away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets
the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

[865] In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen en-
couraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight
with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made
them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children
were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough
earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and
then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed
them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government
654 agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against New-
232 castle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned
him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the child that he would have the agent inject him just as if he were a chicken. The child started to cry, and after two or three minutes, his father righted the child and comforted him.

Sometimes adults use similar methods to discipline a child. On one occasion, a group of women were discussing the coming Easter festivities, and the two-year-old niece of one of them kept climbing on and off her aunt's lap. The child was told several times to sit still but ignored the request. Finally, her aunt laid the child on its back across her knees and laughingly told her they would kill her like the Easter lamb. The woman ran the edge of her hand over the child's throat to demonstrate the slitting of the lamb's throat. The others laughed and added vivid details. The child's eyes showed panic; she struggled up out of her aunt's lap and sat quietly on a stool for about fifteen minutes until they both left. We heard the aunt speaking gently and endearingly to the child as they departed.

As the foregoing examples indicate, when adults deliberately frighten children or even stimulate milder forms of distress, they do not abandon the child to his misery but try to relieve the anxiety by physical affection and soothing words. In spite of this, however, a three-year-old child will often try to hit a parent or elder brother or sister who is causing distress. He is laughed at for his futile efforts by those watching the scene. Four- and five-year-old children respond to the teasing by walking away or by maintaining stolid expressions. Once they do this, the severity and frequency of the teasing by elders decreases, and the pattern continues mostly among the children themselves in their relations with each other. Practical jokes continue on into adolescence. From the adults' point of view, the teasing is no longer amusing or valuable for discipline because the child has gained enough knowledge, enough intelligence to know that the process is a kind of game and has acquired the skill with which to handle his side of it. Mentally retarded individuals never learn, and they are baited and teased for the amusement of the watchers all their lives. From the child's point of view, the constant reassurance he receives after the pain may teach him that there is no real or permanent danger in the adult actions except that of ridicule, and that is what he learns to try to avoid.

Just as the teasing leads to a recognition that other people's actions and words should not be taken at face value, so does another common pattern of dealing with children—the pattern of deliberately lying to them. Usually, parents or older brothers and sisters lie to a child to get him to do what he does not want to do. For example, a three-year-old child may be asked to go into another room to fetch something. The child does not respond to several requests; his mother then tells him his father is in the other room and will give him candy if he goes. The child thinks he remembers that his father left for the fields early in the morning, and therefore is not likely to be in the next room; he makes a comment to this effect; his mother seriously reassures him that his father is really in the next room; he becomes uncertain and, finally, cautiously goes to the door, opens it slowly and looks inside. At this point his mother and anyone else around laugh at his look of chagrin.

855 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways
865 as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders.
867 However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and
[593] when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

577 Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and
867 falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies, *psemata,* is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a
156 milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end
[578] of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"ponyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly
577 one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village.
578 An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
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IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader. 195 826 [156] [828] [577]

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold." [533]

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen." 195 826 828 [85all] [855

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart." 195 828

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that 152 828 577

he grew straight and hard, and because he knows himself to be a Greek. A current book on child care warns parents not to take many toys to a sick child, not to clown for his amusement, lest this spoil him. Going to bed also is a sign of weakness except for recognized disease. A man cannot seek solace in bed for fatigue or indisposition, lest he appear to be giving in to a desire for pampering. Even to fall asleep is to give in; the term is "sleep caught me".

It is difficult to give this picture attractively, to show how there is warmth within this firmness, exuberance within the austerity, and within the discipline. Yet discipline is a positive, liberating, guiding element in the Greek personality: the simple life is a joy and is also freeing, since it creates few demands, few dependencies on the external. Self-discipline and self-control are not prohibiting; they are incentive. They are not the application of discipline to the self, but rather a way of behaving. There is nothing inconsistent with these traits when, in voting on an important issue by roll call, a member of parliament answers, "Five thousand times, yes", or when white pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party. This is appropriate exuberance, just as the fiery reaction to a violation of the *philotimo* is appropriate and within the channel of discipline. There is joy and dignity in hard work, not compulsiveness; there is joy in walking an hour and a half to and from the field twice a day over difficult ground. American visitors are taken for a walk by a young Greek village girl or even a child, and return exhausted. There is a revelling in sheer exertion, in sheer fortitude. There is nothing grim about it, neither is there boasting. Greeks may boast about their achievements, but not of their character, which they take for granted as Greek.

The organs of highest significance are the eyes. They are the seat of the person. With them, lovers and friends communicate, and they are the pre-eminent medium of enjoyment. Love comes through the eyes, and the eyes are mentioned the most frequently in the personal poems. "We have not seen you" means "We missed you."

In the folk songs, a beloved's eyes shoot arrows, strike with a poisoned sword, catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or break it into pieces; they lead astray, they bewitch, they destroy. Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the love dystichs. Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one is apprehensive if they are blue, the colour of the evil eye. It is difficult to overestimate the joy of sheer vision. The folk songs are full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams, of the sea with its fleet of sailboats, of the blue of the sky. In villages and towns, the people go strolling after work is done, calling this not a promenade, but *syryani*, "enjoyable viewing." When a long-absent loved one is returning, people congratulate, saying: "Light for your eyes."

Next to the eyes come the lips, but, red and sweet though they be, they are primarily important because of the words which come out

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end.

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act.

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!"

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure.

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, 594 by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter [855] practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular [852] liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious [796] ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs [527] have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. [177] What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, 594 and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects 855 her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are [264] the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father [527] leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The 594 children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their [521] conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, [342] so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is [156] prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings.
The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of
firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude,
and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving
the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment.
Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at
five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come
until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk
rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and
walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding.
Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation
of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from
irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with
her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided
attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place
of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions;
and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the
swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies,
the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of
the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells
of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands.
She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making
appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs
have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a
special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She
calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love";
she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older relatives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The disobedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal. [461] [369]

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 261 855 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread. [369]

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

844 difficult. More and more, expectant mothers are going to the provincial
[178] hospitals, but even there a family atmosphere seems to reign because family
[743] members are welcome in the patient's room. In rural Greece, as elsewhere, there are many measures which can be taken supposedly to ease the agony
[755] of childbirth. They vary from the practice in the village of Derikovo in Central Greece, where some of the women advise the one in labor to drink a glass of water into which the tail of her eldest brother's coat has been dipped, to the practice in Southern Greece of drinking water from a glass where a budding flower was placed to the accompaniment of the reading of gospel passages. When the flower has opened, the water will supposedly ease the labor pains.

846 The Greeks have a special word for the mother of a newborn infant — *lecho* — and give her solicitous treatment. The husband may insist that she observe the traditional eight days of staying in bed, although if there is much work to be done around the farm, she may in turn insist upon resuming various tasks as soon as she feels able. The other women of the household, or the neighbors, see to it that she observes many of the customs surrounding her activities and the care of the newborn infant. At night the
[776] child's clothes cannot be left outside, for it is believed that evil spirits will soil them. Throughout most of Greece the child's nails and hair are not cut
[856] before it is forty days old, when the clippings must be put in an envelope and preserved. In Aetolia anyone coming into the house must not go directly to see the lecho. He must sit for some time in another room and then
[777] enter her room; otherwise he brings her bad luck. Some families also insist that before a visitor enters the house, a burning charcoal be thrown on the doorstep for the newcomer to step over. In Artotina one is not supposed to enter the room of the mother in the afternoon or evening, although this taboo covers only the time after sunset in many other parts of Greece. Everywhere in rural Greece one encounters these customs surrounding the mother in the postnatal period and prohibitions which seek to forestall the visitation of any misfortune upon the infant.

844 In some parts of Central Greece as soon as a woman has given birth, she
788 must "take the blessing." Someone from the house takes a jug of fresh water to the priest, who "reads" to the water, which is then taken back to the lecho. She takes the blessing (water) and washes herself, after which all the people who were present in the house at the time of the birth also take the blessing.

851 As long as the child remains unbaptized, it is thought to grow more
856 quickly and is not subject to the Evil Eye because it still belongs to the bad
754 spirits. However, as one informant stated, "The parents are afraid and want to baptize the child as quickly as possible so that they can put it on the path
[778] of God. As long as it is unbaptized, it is not allowed to wear the cross or have a little icon."

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

854 [177] [856]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

853 [854]

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

291 [854] [515] [593] [828]

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame. [583] [586]

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23. [575]

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Eubolas* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice. [856] [302] [827]

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few. [532]

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous." [782]

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula. [124]

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Eubolas* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of [548]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vaiana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities. 156 828 867 858

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back. 156 828 867 854 [856]

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too. [751]

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence. 156 828 867 852 771 [846] [754]

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad- 156 828 771 867

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm 843
and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful.

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched.

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained [743]
by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained 844
in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. 759
In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but [369]
many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery.

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has 844
something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged.
Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special 846
regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over.

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a com- 854
pletely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals 856
suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is
at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens [369]
there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately,

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
[856] the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however,
[369] to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
[362] easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
[862] period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
[843] be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings. The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude, and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions; and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

village. We hired a caique, with both sails and motor, to take us on the three-hour trip to Neos Marmaras, a picturesque refugee village. Hardly were we aboard when a group of excited peasants came to ask if they could go with us. Our one crewman seemed to have no objection so we told them to join us. 243 124 [501]

Almost at once these lively individuals explained that they were from the village of Parthenon. They had been spending the past twenty-five days helping the peasants around Niketas harvest their grain and were no longer needed now that threshing had begun. Before talking about their work, however, we had to exchange the rites of hospitality. We had spread out a blanket on which we placed a large piece of bread bought just before departure and a portion of white cheese given me by the teacher in the village. Although the peasants looked thin and hungry, they refused our food. One man, carefully eyeing our bread, said, "Here, take some of my bread; yours isn't well done." [464] [574]

Six or seven of the people of Parthenon, sprawled around the blanket while we ate, tried politely to hide their curiosity. Our lunch finished and the purpose of our trip explained to them several times, it became our turn to ask them questions. We started with a woman in her thirties, a widow. She was dressed in a poor cotton dress, was barefoot, wore a kerchief on her head, but her proud look and direct answers were those of an independent spirit. She was obviously very anxious to get back to Parthenon and several times expressed her gratitude for the lift. "Thank you very much. You have saved us four or five hours of walking on this warm day." She had had to leave her four children at home twenty-five days ago and had had no word from them since then, even though her village was only a relatively few kilometers away. Apparently she had gone on working in the harvest fields for winter bread, clinging to the belief that "no news was good news," but her drawn face showed her long concern: "I left them with only a piece of bread to eat. I don't know how they made out." 243 855

"How old are your children?"

"My eldest child is fifteen, the next is eleven, and the other two quite young."

"Does the fifteen-year-old take care of the rest while you are away?"

"He would if he could, but he must look after the cows of my brother who is a soldier, and so the eleven-year-old takes care of the younger two." [857]

We learned that there were some relatives living in the village who probably kept an eye on the youngsters but did not assume full responsibility for them.

We were told that these villagers did not look forward to this trip. It is a trial, an ordeal that must be endured if they are to have any bread, for the men cannot find work in Parthenon that will provide them with money to buy bread. 243 464

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
184 receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by per-
184 sonal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

bacco-growing parts of Thrace, a child of six may be expected to help to the extent of his ability. In general, by the time he is five or six, he is asked to watch a younger brother or sister or to watch the sheep or turkeys; when not doing this, he can join children's play groups. By the age of fourteen a boy is already a competent field hand. A girl between eight and ten years of age is given little jobs, but between ten and fourteen she assumes much heavier burdens. 857

Yet life is not all work. Children in Greece also have their periods of play, frequently under the watchful eye of some woman in whose yard the children's play groups may be found. Some of the children, however, prefer to play away from home — along the street, around a fountain, or at the school yard — so as not to be called upon to do the chores which would be assigned if they were at hand. It is remarkable how many games can be played without toys. Much can be done with stones and little pieces of broken glass (where no marbles are available), and what dolls can be made by little girls from a few nondescript rags! Occasionally I would find two or three barefooted children damming up a stream near some pigs lying in the mud; or boys would roll iron hoops on the highway while their family worked in a field close by. So intent would the children be on their play that they would seem oblivious to approaching buses or autos. [524]

One of the children's games played throughout much of Greece is a form of jacks. In the village of Laimos, near Lake Prespa, the children playing it called it *vroche* (rain) although elsewhere in Greece it is usually referred to as *pentovola*. Instead of using a ball, on whose bounce the jacks must be picked up and the ball caught, the girls threw a stone in the air and picked up other stones in time to catch the one that had been tossed. Pebbles figure also in the game called "forty stones." Eight stones are put in a straight line, with forty on each side of the center. At a signal all must run to a set place and return before the girl called "the gatherer" picks up all of the stones into a pile. If the gatherer wins, she sits on the pile and pretends to be a setting hen. 524 [192]

There are the familiar games of hide-and-seek (only the Greek children spit on the tree serving as home base rather than touch it), drop-the-handkerchief, cat-and-mouse. Many of the games require special songs which the girls especially seem to enjoy. Boys at play seem much less organized and more apt to argue over the fine points of the game. [526] [533]

Quite often we came upon children simply sitting still. "What are you doing?" we asked. "Oh, we are telling riddles." Not all of these we heard would have much meaning to an outsider, but some of them had almost a universal touch:

My lamb, my little curly lamb, climbs, eats, and gets fed on grass, drinks water, and dies. (A fire on the mountain.)

Around, around it's round and in the middle it is long. (A well.)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a
[533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

156 But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality. Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
181 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate
871 for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of opportunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some
181 coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the
871 corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well.
[461] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern-
[643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learn-
872 ing. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[3]

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The children in our village are tyrannized. Just as they sit down to study their mother says, "Get up. Break your bones, take your papers and the goat, and take her out to pasture." "Get up, get some water, get some wood, go and bring in the oxen. Don't you hear? In the evening you can study." The children go do their different tasks and in the evening come back broken with fatigue and drop off to sleep. In the morning they are cuffed by the teacher because they haven't written their lesson, and thus it goes. Black letters they learn! As if they had a lamp! Most of them read sitting on the floor; they drop on their stomachs near the fireplace and read in the light of the burning wood. From exhaustion they fall asleep and there is danger that they might get burned if the elders do not pull them away. In spring when the days are longer they read outside; they take the hog and the goat and go here or there and read while the animals pasture. What sort of reading can they do? As soon as they start, the hog escapes here and the goat there; they try to catch the hog, the goat escapes again. They start crying and lost is the reading. They also get beaten if the animals cause damage to the crops. Most of the children work also in the field; they also do some heavier tasks. What sort of letters can they learn? It's lucky they learn as much as they do.

When I discussed parental attitudes toward education with an experienced school man in Northern Greece, he said: "Less land and more knowledge is needed. A farmer can't see the need of educating a son who is to farm. He will keep the one to succeed him at home and send the others off for an education." The people of Vilia, a village in Central Greece, brag that the parents there see to it that the children go through eight grades but indicate that the other villages do not do this. "We do this," they say, "because an educated man commands more respect." But what about the children in the other villages?

From time to time an Athens newspaper comes out with some shocking statistics which cause a sensation and are then forgotten. Such accounts point out that the Article 16 of the Constitution states: "Elementary education is obligatory for all and is supplied gratis by the state." In 1951–52 it was estimated that two hundred thousand Greek children of school age were not in attendance. Conditions have improved considerably since then, but the effects of this nonattendance will be felt for many years to come. At that time it was also stated that at about the third grade the numbers of those who started are halved, a truly high drop-out rate, although other reports place this reduction at the end of the fourth grade.[3] One article comments:

> Although the Constitution states that elementary schooling is supplied gratis, the various stamps and taxes, not to mention the prohibitive prices of schoolbooks, writing materials, and other paraphernalia, make this statement null and void.[4]

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178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
[435] near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
[476] being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep rais-
[233] ing to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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appeared in Serbo-Croatian, the author's mother tongue. In 1922 the first volume entitled *Balkansko Poluostrvo i Južnoslovenske Zemlje: Osnove Antropogeografije* (418 pp.) appeared in Belgrade. Volume two (254 pp.) appeared in 1931 with the subtitle *Psihičke Osobine Južnih Slovena* (Psychic Characteristics of the South Slavs). The connection between Cvijic's work and the present study is the interesting map facing p. 282 of volume one, which shows the migration patterns of the various shepherd groups throughout the Balkans. Any thorough study of shifting migration habits would have to take Cvijic's work as a starting point at least, although this would not imply accepting all of his generalizations about the effect of the physical environment upon social life.

7. Although no attempt has been made to cover the literature dealing with sheep production in the Peloponnesos, I have noted in passing that Z. Duckett Ferriman, in *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), tells of the pastoral pursuits of those living near the site of ancient Sparta early in this century: "Pastoral occupations become a necessity where tillage is impossible, and in every land the wildest districts are the domain of the shepherd, who is the most uncultured element of the population, and also the hardiest. The youths of Sparta were not kept in the valley, but sent up into Taygetus to acquire the training which they turned to account against the Messenians of the plain. . . . And so, today, the Arcadian mountaineers are noted for their strength and hardihood, and are perforce shepherds. Every cottage has its flock, tended during the day by children, elusive, faun-like beings, who manifest neither pleasure nor discontent nor surprise at the presence of the stranger, so unlike in this to the inquisitive, obtrusive Greek child of the towns and villages of the lowlands. At sunset they are relieved of their task by their fathers, who keep watch by night against wolf and robber. At the end of October all the livestock is moved to the plains, marching in solid phalanx, goats in front, sheep in the middle, mules and donkeys behind, the well-armed shepherds and their fierce dogs on either flank" (pp. 28–29).

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Another interesting source is volume one of *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), by William Martin Leake. Interesting information about sheepraising in the western Peloponnesos is found in K. N. Eliopoulos, "Poimenika tes Eleias" (Pastoral Life in Elis), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 253–285.

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8. Many travelers to the Balkans come into contact with these nomads and write about them. M. E. Picot, *Les Roumains de la Macédoine* (Paris, 1875), analyzes all of the source material available to him, and prior works need not be cited here. Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), devotes a few pages to pastoral life, stressing particularly the appearance of a Vlach encampment and the authority of the Vlach chieftains. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900) makes this interesting comment on the Vlachs in Macedonia: "They remind one of those ingenious pictures in which an animal or a human face is concealed so as not to be obvious on first inspection, though when once seen it appears to be the principal feature of the drawing. In the same way, one may live and travel in the Balkan lands without seeing or hearing anything of the Vlachs, until one's eyes are opened. Then one runs the risk of going to the opposite extreme and thinking, like Roumanian patriots, that most of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Vlachs in disguise" (p. 409).

Andreas Adossides, "The Shepherds of Greece," *Geographical Magazine*, September 1943, pp. 217–225, gives a vividly written account.

Jovan Cvijic, "The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples," *The Geographical Review*, V (June 1918), 470–482, estimates the number of Arumani (or Vlachs) at about 150,000 to 160,000 scattered individuals. He points out that during the Middle Ages they were very numerous and constituted the majority of the population in Thessaly and in Aetolia, two areas respectively called Great and Little Vlachia.

V. T. Vikas, "Ethima para Vlahophonois," (Customs of the Vlach-Speaking People), *Laographia*, VI (1917), 169–188, is chiefly a description of holidays and recreation.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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and rain. After the winter rains, the women keep watering the tiny plants and fertilize them regularly. The chemical fertilizer which is provided by the Agricultural Bank requires careful handling. Women explain that too much fertilizer will burn the tender plants, and they take pride in their success in applying just the right amount. Conversely, they ridicule any unfortunate woman who is so unskillful as to have burned her plants. As the tobacco plants grow and the weather gets warmer, occasional rains make worms and snails a hazard in the seed bed. In March and April, at dusk, women are seen stooping at the seed beds collecting and killing these parasites. 249 221 [652]

The winter of 1955–1956 was an unusually cold and long one, and Vasilika still had some snow in March. Many households had to plant tobacco three or four times in the course of the winter and spring, and several households ran out of seed. The abnormal weather with flooding rains in March and no rain for much of April delayed transplanting. Ordinarily, the tobacco plants are about four inches high in early April, and can be transplanted then. By that time, the fields are usually sufficiently well drained and yet still have enough moisture for the tobacco to "catch" as the villagers put it. In the spring of 1956, the fields were too dry by the time the tobacco was ready for transplanting. Some households resorted to carrying water from the wells, a gallon can at a time, making a hole with a small steel hook, pouring a small amount of water into the hole, and then placing the young tobacco plant into it. Everyone was thoroughly disgusted with the back-breaking and tedious labor, not normally connected with the tobacco crop, and men and women alike (both work at transplanting) were vociferous in their complaints. Tobacco, here, needs no irrigation. Therefore, although some of the farmers were willing to put their pumps into operation to irrigate the tobacco fields during this extraordinarily dry season, most of the tobacco fields were too far from the irrigation wells to make that entirely feasible. [132] 249 312 [461]

Usually in late June or early July, the outer leaves of the tobacco are ready to be picked. Both men and women work at plucking the three or four outer leaves of the plants, and then sit in family groups on the ground in the shade stringing the leaves in preparation for hanging them over the canes. This kind of work normally follows the hoeing of cotton and is especially welcome. As we would pass from one part of the village to another, at this time, we would hear exclamations of satisfaction and enjoyment as people explained what a relief it was to be able to work out of the hot sun, near their houses, and sitting down besides. The tobacco stringing is a job in which even very young children can help, and they sit with the adults piercing with holes the tobacco leaves through which their elders eventually pass the string. Throughout the summer, periods of cotton hoeing alternate with periods of tobacco cutting and stringing. 249 221 461 [462] [857]

Once strung, the tobacco is hung up to dry on frames which are set up on poles out of doors. A tobacco growers' association has recently distributed canvas shelters to prevent the soaking of the leaves by unexpected summer rains. When no such canvas is available, the tobacco is taken inside the barns each 249 221 [417]

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ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks.

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet.

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need.

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes.

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument.

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighorá"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [561] [594] [596]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562] different from each other for that.

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people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243 [654] [435] 857 243 464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562 [462] [581] [521] [584] 562 581 596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/34 cont./
wishers. People are formed into groups and visit every house where the table is set in the center of the main room with different drinks, colored eggs and good food. The groups crack /p. 35 skipped in original numbering/ /36/ an egg and wish the hostess saying, "Christ is risen", and the house owner answers, "Truly he is risen". 796 574

Children run through the streets dressed in their new clothes and carry colored eggs and candies. These are the days when the houses are open to every one. The recreation that these three days offer to these people is far greater than all the rest of the holidays of the year. For the Orthodox church the birth of Christ does not have so much importance as the resurrection of Christ which shows the Athanasia of the spirit. [779]

At this time of the year everything takes life in nature, too. The almond trees, the cherry trees, the pear trees are in blossom. The fields are green and nature takes the appearance of living again. All these combined leave an unresistable influence upon every person. Through such recreation which is a part of their religion, the people forgive each other and old hatreds give way to renewed friendship and forgiveness. It is surprising to note how much influence these holidays have in the lives of the people that live together. The spirit of hospitality, the spirit of giving to those that do not have, the spirit of taking active part in village movements and the blind obedience to the orders of the higher rank, are a result of these traditionally influenced holidays that are represented by different Saints. Recreation is thus closely associated with the /37/religious holidays. 796 571 182 517

Play of Children. Whether at school or outside of school the children do not have organized recreation. At the school the weekly exercises which are more or less military are given by the teacher. The children have two recess periods of ten minutes each from 8-12. At these periods they devise their own play. At home the child has no time for play. He or she will graze the oxen or weed the garden and fields, sweep the yard and help in housework. While very young the children are taught to work and 857 [872]

/37 cont./

help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times 857
of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the [526]
neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek.
When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom [834]
play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard
time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the [872]
children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active
days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is 533
there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance [535]
singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no
books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players
never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the [461]
fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups
returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses,
at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles
and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through [796]
the church services from beginning to the end and when the women [585]
dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any
song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to
generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them
or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part
of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of
nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition
and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of
their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture.
There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that
move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest
songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their
ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced
their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among [765]
the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed
during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the
war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

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Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

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The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Woman's work in Greece, as elsewhere, does not lend itself to neat, logical treatment. It does not have a beginning or any definable end. As a result, discussion of it moves from one topic to another with no necessary connection between them except the fact of the woman's involvement. As a wife, she is a partner to her husband; she bears and mothers the children; she prepares the food and still makes much of the clothing at home; she helps with the farm tasks; she has the responsibility for keeping the family well, or at least seeing an ailing member through an illness. To follow the women through the variety of these experiences is to move to the center of family life in rural Greece. 462 593

Getting Along with the Lord and Master

The world of the Greek woman revolves around the man. When young, her first concern — and the concern of her family — is to find a man and, through a dowry, "buy" him. After marriage she moves unobtrusively in his orbit and keeps their children, when they begin to arrive, in their proper course. Tradition still influences the way the woman gets along with the man. 562 593

In any social relationship, including that between husband and wife, a pattern of dominance and subordination develops. The Greeks assume that the man has the higher position. One village woman, when commenting on this, said with genuine earnestness: "My husband is a superior being; I must keep my distance." This sentiment is reflected in the relative social status of men and women, as well as in legal, moral, political, and economic rights. But even in delineating the differences in status between husband and wife one must bear in mind that broad social changes are under way throughout all of Greece which are leading to a rise in woman's position. [571] [178]

Some indication of woman's place is given by the preference for boys over girls. In some parts of Greece, a man when asked how many children he has will reply: "Two sons and, begging your pardon, one daughter." Or he might say: "Two children, one girl." In some villages of Thrace, however, the father might use a poetic touch in answering "two sons, one guest," implying that the daughter's permanent home is that of her husband. Since, true to the patriarchal, agrarian tradition, the line is continued in the son, one of the tests of a father's manliness is his ability to procreate sons. Preference for a son is reinforced by the need to collect a dowry for a daughter, who thus represents an economic drain. Indeed, the interest in the sex of the unborn child is so great that many ways have been developed for predicting the birth of a boy or a girl. Such practices, although taken jokingly or at best semiseriously by many, do figure prominently in women's conversations. 562 842 858 [195] [591] [583] [521]

In Aetolia a relatively simple method may be used. One need only take a piece of wood from the loom, put it in a public road, and see who passes over it. If a man does, a boy is on the way; if a woman, a girl. In Gortynia, 843 787

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, 562
even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she 593
give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect
or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, [574]
she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her.

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from 538
the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in 593
military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from [212]
Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula:

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express [858]
> longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will [583]
> say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name].

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one 594
must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. [511]
One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where
184 the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about
184 the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by personal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

82 777 village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

156 578 621 In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality [593] which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

156 828 571 578 What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the [558] contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only [777] if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksebazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

156 828 867 858 This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

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Vasilika

committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

521 methods is to ask the same questions in different ways at different times, and an
156 outsider is often struck by the persistence with which such questioning on the
828 same issue is carried on over many months. Not to succeed in gathering a choice
571 bit of knowledge is no disgrace—the villagers keep trying and every man stays on the alert to guard his secrets.

521 There are some kinds of verbal communication that are outside the realm
156 of agonistic relationships and in a sense provide a respite from them. These are
571 the ritual phrases, which constitute proper responses to frequently recurring common life situations.

576 Village manners require the use of a wide variety of greetings at meeting and at parting. In addition to these, there are a large number of appropriate set phrases for life crisis situations, large and small. For example, one says *"Kali eleftherya,"* "Good deliverance," to a pregnant woman, "May they live for you" to a parent showing you a picture of his children, "May it pass for you" to an ill person or to any member of his family, "To your health" to a person wearing new clothes, and so on. "Many years" is the wish expressed to everyone on saints' days. This list is far from complete, but illustrates the point that although the phrases are formulaic and are most often used without conscious awareness of their literal meanings, they are apotropaic in feeling. In other words, the villagers have a vague sense that the phrases, which are good wishes, may succeed in warding off evil. Certainly the formulas also serve as an immediate expression of the good intentions of the speaker toward another in a potentially stressful situation.

Transmission of Values

156 Some of the weapons used in agonistic relationships in the village and
828 some of the processes by which children acquire the necessary skills to use them
867 have been considered. It remains to complete the discussion of the kinds of values and attitudes inculcated in children and to show the relationship of all the foregoing to the question: Who are the actors in the contests of Vasilika, and what are the social alignments which form the structural base of these human relationships in the village?

156 If, as we have seen, obedience to elders is not a virtue which parents
828 stress to regulate the behavior of children, and if affection is interspersed with
867 ridicule so that children cannot depend completely on the parents' support, by
858 what mechanism do the villagers' children acquire the prevailing standards of behavior? It has already been suggested that the villagers act as if they believed
152 that human beings, by virtue of their humanity, have brains. It may now be added that they also believe that inherent in every child is a sense of integrity which, in English, is best translated as shame. Parents do not feel that they have to implant these traits in their children but expect to bring them to the surface and to put to use qualities which the child already has within himself.[2] Each child is believed to have rudimentary intelligence which will develop into rational

[2] I am indebted to Popie Mohring for this phrasing.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say. 828 867 [858]

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children. [609] [834] [562] [574] [369]

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them, *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself. [865]

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch [861]

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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighorá"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [561] [594] [595]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562] different from each other for that.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

[584] Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the
● [861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything
[581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

[654] Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't
[235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own
[511] money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

[578] These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents
[581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does
[831] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the
[521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
184 receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and
[462] Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by per-
184 sonal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called
[855] refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The children in our village are tyrannized. Just as they sit down to study their mother says, "Get up. Break your bones, take your papers and the goat, and take her out to pasture." "Get up, get some water, get some wood, go and bring in the oxen. Don't you hear? In the evening you can study." The children go do their different tasks and in the evening come back broken with fatigue and drop off to sleep. In the morning they are cuffed by the teacher because they haven't written their lesson, and thus it goes. Black letters they learn! As if they had a lamp! Most of them read sitting on the floor; they drop on their stomachs near the fireplace and read in the light of the burning wood. From exhaustion they fall asleep and there is danger that they might get burned if the elders do not pull them away. In spring when the days are longer they read outside; they take the hog and the goat and go here or there and read while the animals pasture. What sort of reading can they do? As soon as they start, the hog escapes here and the goat there; they try to catch the hog, the goat escapes again. They start crying and lost is the reading. They also get beaten if the animals cause damage to the crops. Most of the children work also in the field; they also do some heavier tasks. What sort of letters can they learn? It's lucky they learn as much as they do.

857 872 [354] [861]

When I discussed parental attitudes toward education with an experienced school man in Northern Greece, he said: "Less land and more knowledge is needed. A farmer can't see the need of educating a son who is to farm. He will keep the one to succeed him at home and send the others off for an education." The people of Vilia, a village in Central Greece, brag that the parents there see to it that the children go through eight grades but indicate that the other villages do not do this. "We do this," they say, "because an educated man commands more respect." But what about the children in the other villages? [555]

From time to time an Athens newspaper comes out with some shocking statistics which cause a sensation and are then forgotten. Such accounts point out that the Article 16 of the Constitution states: "Elementary education is obligatory for all and is supplied gratis by the state." In 1951–52 it was estimated that two hundred thousand Greek children of school age were not in attendance. Conditions have improved considerably since then, but the effects of this nonattendance will be felt for many years to come. At that time it was also stated that at about the third grade the numbers of those who started are halved, a truly high drop-out rate, although other reports place this reduction at the end of the fourth grade.[8] One article comments:

872 642 658

> Although the Constitution states that elementary schooling is supplied gratis, the various stamps and taxes, not to mention the prohibitive prices of schoolbooks, writing materials, and other paraphernalia, make this statement null and void.[9]

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Vasilika

the child that he would have the agent inject him just as if he were a chicken. The child started to cry, and after two or three minutes, his father righted the child and comforted him.

Sometimes adults use similar methods to discipline a child. On one occasion, a group of women were discussing the coming Easter festivities, and the two-year-old niece of one of them kept climbing on and off her aunt's lap. The child was told several times to sit still but ignored the request. Finally, her aunt laid the child on its back across her knees and laughingly told her they would kill her like the Easter lamb. The woman ran the edge of her hand over the child's throat to demonstrate the slitting of the lamb's throat. The others laughed and added vivid details. The child's eyes showed panic; she struggled up out of her aunt's lap and sat quietly on a stool for about fifteen minutes until they both left. We heard the aunt speaking gently and endearingly to the child as they departed.

As the foregoing examples indicate, when adults deliberately frighten children or even stimulate milder forms of distress, they do not abandon the child to his misery but try to relieve the anxiety by physical affection and soothing words. In spite of this, however, a three-year-old child will often try to hit a parent or elder brother or sister who is causing distress. He is laughed at for his futile efforts by those watching the scene. Four- and five-year-old children respond to the teasing by walking away or by maintaining stolid expressions. Once they do this, the severity and frequency of the teasing by elders decreases, and the pattern continues mostly among the children themselves in their relations with each other. Practical jokes continue on into adolescence. From the adults' point of view, the teasing is no longer amusing or valuable for discipline because the child has gained enough knowledge, enough intelligence to know that the process is a kind of game and has acquired the skill with which to handle his side of it. Mentally retarded individuals never learn, and they are baited and teased for the amusement of the watchers all their lives. From the child's point of view, the constant reassurance he receives after the pain may teach him that there is no real or permanent danger in the adult actions except that of ridicule, and that is what he learns to try to avoid.

Just as the teasing leads to a recognition that other people's actions and words should not be taken at face value, so does another common pattern of dealing with children—the pattern of deliberately lying to them. Usually, parents or older brothers and sisters lie to a child to get him to do what he does not want to do. For example, a three-year-old child may be asked to go into another room to fetch something. The child does not respond to several requests; his mother then tells him his father is in the other room and will give him candy if he goes. The child thinks he remembers that his father left for the fields early in the morning, and therefore is not likely to be in the next room; he makes a comment to this effect; his mother seriously reassures him that his father is really in the next room; he becomes uncertain and, finally, cautiously goes to the door, opens it slowly and looks inside. At this point his mother and anyone else around laugh at his look of chagrin.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 83 EH1 Greece EH1
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521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point
461 of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before, is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
512 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
521 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of
571 ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala,*" "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them, *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

152 156 828 867 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

[875] [861] When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 828 867 577 [562] [574] Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 828 577 777 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 828 574 571 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic
[292] poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national
[648] holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast
[796] of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in
[541] 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear
[535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

/29 cont./

leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A
861 mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise
[784] them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older rela-
tives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The dis-
[865] obedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child
553 is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with
[608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]
513

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
856 the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however,
369 to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
262 easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
862 period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
843 be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge 853
against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings.
The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of
firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude,
and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving
the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment.
Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules.

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on 863
child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at
five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come
until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is 856
suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek [868]
mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk
rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and
walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character 867
training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' [855]
task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding.
Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective.

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home 863
care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, 753
night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation
of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from
irritation of the gums.

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with 854
their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well- 182
to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle [369]
their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with
her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided
attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place
of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions;
and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family.

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in 854
touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the
swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. [291]
The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies,
the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of
the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells
of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands.
She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making
appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs
have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a
special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She
calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love";
she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaonboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and
[865] kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate,
[434] the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
262 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers'
233 diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

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231 With few exceptions, dogs, like the other animals, are not considered [552] pets. They are not given names and are referred to simply as "our dog." Parents permit young children to play roughly with them and to tease and abuse them [865] as they wish. The animal is fed scraps of bread once a day, and there is a feeling that there may be some advantage to keeping it slightly hungry. The dogs also act as scavengers whenever horses or other large animals die in the vicinity of [178] the village. Further evidence for the completely utilitarian attitude of the [373] villagers toward their dogs is the diminution of the number of these animals in the village since the introduction in 1960 of electric lights on the street and paths of Vasilika.

Variations in Wealth

423 This chapter has dealt with the most important methods of providing 511 subsistence and income in Vasilika from the standpoint of the typical small 592 farm owner. However, all the farming households of Vasilika do not have land or other resources of equal value. Among the thirty-five land-owning households of Vasilika there are perhaps eight whose total holdings range from one to [422] fifteen *stremata* and who own only a few sheep and goats. These households usually own donkeys, however, and occasionally, a mule and some chickens. Along with the four farm households in Vasilika who own no land whatever, [464] these eight are the groups who must find wage labor in the village or in the neighboring communities. The level of living of both these groups is close to what is needed for bare subsistence, and a bad agricultural season leaves them close to destitution.

Another eight households are those of farmers whose land-holdings range from about fifteen to thirty *stremata* and who maintain themselves at what is considered an acceptable standard in the village, but who do so by a narrow margin. In several instances, these are households with children too young either to help in the farm work or to supplement income by wage labor.

Slightly more than half of the total number of farm-owning families—some nineteen—might be considered substantial farmers who may have better or worse years but whose present situation is reasonably secure. The largest land owner in the village has about 150 *stremata*, several men have something like 100, and the rest have holdings of 40 or 50 *stremata*. Forty *stremata* are regarded by common consent as a minimum for a decent standard of living for [422] a farm household of four. Among these farmers, some own enough sheep to get additional income from selling surplus animals, but most have just enough sheep to supply milk, cheese, and meat for household needs. These farmers also have one or two horses.

434 A gross difference in the quantity of property owned is not the only fac- 511 tor effecting the income variation among the households of Vasilika. Soil fertility and drainage conditions are not the same on all the village lands, so some farmers get greater yields from smaller plots of well-situated fields. In addition,

56 hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and
828 some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but
771 God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes
867 affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an
[776] omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God
[821] has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

855 Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There
854 are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

855 Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

[865] In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government
[654] agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against New-
[232] castle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

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the child that he would have the agent inject him just as if he were a chicken. The child started to cry, and after two or three minutes, his father righted the child and comforted him. 855 [654] [232]

Sometimes adults use similar methods to discipline a child. On one occasion, a group of women were discussing the coming Easter festivities, and the two-year-old niece of one of them kept climbing on and off her aunt's lap. The child was told several times to sit still but ignored the request. Finally, her aunt laid the child on its back across her knees and laughingly told her they would kill her like the Easter lamb. The woman ran the edge of her hand over the child's throat to demonstrate the slitting of the lamb's throat. The others laughed and added vivid details. The child's eyes showed panic; she struggled up out of her aunt's lap and sat quietly on a stool for about fifteen minutes until they both left. We heard the aunt speaking gently and endearingly to the child as they departed. 865 861

As the foregoing examples indicate, when adults deliberately frighten children or even stimulate milder forms of distress, they do not abandon the child to his misery but try to relieve the anxiety by physical affection and soothing words. In spite of this, however, a three-year-old child will often try to hit a parent or elder brother or sister who is causing distress. He is laughed at for his futile efforts by those watching the scene. Four- and five-year-old children respond to the teasing by walking away or by maintaining stolid expressions. Once they do this, the severity and frequency of the teasing by elders decreases, and the pattern continues mostly among the children themselves in their relations with each other. Practical jokes continue on into adolescence. From the adults' point of view, the teasing is no longer amusing or valuable for discipline because the child has gained enough knowledge, enough intelligence to know that the process is a kind of game and has acquired the skill with which to handle his side of it. Mentally retarded individuals never learn, and they are baited and teased for the amusement of the watchers all their lives. From the child's point of view, the constant reassurance he receives after the pain may teach him that there is no real or permanent danger in the adult actions except that of ridicule, and that is what he learns to try to avoid. [855] [732]

Just as the teasing leads to a recognition that other people's actions and words should not be taken at face value, so does another common pattern of dealing with children—the pattern of deliberately lying to them. Usually, parents or older brothers and sisters lie to a child to get him to do what he does not want to do. For example, a three-year-old child may be asked to go into another room to fetch something. The child does not respond to several requests; his mother then tells him his father is in the other room and will give him candy if he goes. The child thinks he remembers that his father left for the fields early in the morning, and therefore is not likely to be in the next room; he makes a comment to this effect; his mother seriously reassures him that his father is really in the next room; he becomes uncertain and, finally, cautiously goes to the door, opens it slowly and looks inside. At this point his mother and anyone else around laugh at his look of chagrin. 855 [867]

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855 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways
865 as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders.
867 However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and
[593] when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

577 Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and
867 falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies, *psemata,* is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a
156 milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end
[578] of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"ponyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly
577 one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village.
578 An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict. [577] [578]

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion. [571]

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard. 521 571 867 868 [827] [865]

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the 521 571 867 [851]

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521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point
461 of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before,
512 is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
521 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
571 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala*," "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzevi,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi*, are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them, *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A 861 mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the [884] presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older rela- [865] tives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The disobedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child 553 is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with [608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1] 543

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 871
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his economic needs better than the combination of dairying with small cereals. 241

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-through the cooperative to help each other. 621 476 [241] [474] [866]

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neighboring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain. The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one 241 474 [407] [256] [444] [232] [621]

82 777 village culture: man must use human means toward human ends, and this is his first obligation not only to himself but to God.

156 578 621 In Vasilika, the same tension—the sense of a contest, of struggle, of agony, of a kind of pushing and pulling—is also a feature of a large number of encounters with other human beings. In earlier discussions I referred to the economic rivalries among families in the village and to the efforts to keep family activities private to the point where a kind of espionage is practiced by all the villagers to uncover secrets. These contests we may now understand as one manifestation of the agonistic quality of many human relationships within the village. But seemingly perpetual battles require an occasional respite; the nervous vitality [593] which they drain must be replenished. In Vasilika, some relationships within the family seem to contribute the respite and the energy to go on fighting the battles, whereas others appear to create the sense that perpetual struggle, principally outside the family, is a part of life. The family both starts the battle and also manufactures and distributes the weapons with which to fight it.

156 828 571 578 What is the ultimate aim of the battle, if I may continue the metaphor? It would seem that each man and woman seeks for identity, for a concept of self, and given the conditions of Greek village culture and its values, the search is carried on by pitting oneself against another, or against fate. One learns to know oneself primarily by contrast with others; and therefore the maintenance of some difference is a necessity. Contrasts, and the tension contrasts create, become expected and desired. Without change and variation the villagers lose their sense of life. But the need to engage in perptual struggle is an emotional burden, especially because there must be some who lose in the [558] contests. A man is not completely disgraced in the villagers' view, however, if he is bested in an encounter with another man, provided that he was willing to engage himself in the struggle in the first place and showed skill in his conduct of it. Just as agricultural failure is attributable to uncontrollable forces only [777] if a man did his physical best, so failure in human relations is attributable to some other force only if a man has first made a creditable effort. It would seem that it is not the outcome but the continuing *aghonia* that gives a village man or woman the feeling that he is a functioning human being, that he has an identity, that he is alive. *"Perazmena, ksebazmena,"* "What is past is forgotten," the villagers say, and although they say so mostly in connection with unpleasantness, the saying is equally applicable to victories. For both victory and defeat are shortlived; a new area of battle constantly supersedes the old.

156 828 867 858 This struggle is not something which is entered into as a new pattern when men and women take on the responsibilities of a family, after a childhood spent without it. On the contrary, Vasilika's culture is one of those in which there is a continuity in the behavior and attitudes expected of children, adolescents, and adults. There are no sharp breaks; from their earliest days the upbringing of children plunges them into the role of agonist, and skills for functioning in this fashion are acquired in all stages of a child's development.

The villagers assume that intelligence and self-control are basic human qualities which differentiate men from animals. The villagers are in many ways

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committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

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hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

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the child that he would have the agent inject him just as if he were a chicken. The child started to cry, and after two or three minutes, his father righted the child and comforted him. 855 [654] [232]

Sometimes adults use similar methods to discipline a child. On one occasion, a group of women were discussing the coming Easter festivities, and the two-year-old niece of one of them kept climbing on and off her aunt's lap. The child was told several times to sit still but ignored the request. Finally, her aunt laid the child on its back across her knees and laughingly told her they would kill her like the Easter lamb. The woman ran the edge of her hand over the child's throat to demonstrate the slitting of the lamb's throat. The others laughed and added vivid details. The child's eyes showed panic; she struggled up out of her aunt's lap and sat quietly on a stool for about fifteen minutes until they both left. We heard the aunt speaking gently and endearingly to the child as they departed. 865 861

As the foregoing examples indicate, when adults deliberately frighten children or even stimulate milder forms of distress, they do not abandon the child to his misery but try to relieve the anxiety by physical affection and soothing words. In spite of this, however, a three-year-old child will often try to hit a parent or elder brother or sister who is causing distress. He is laughed at for his futile efforts by those watching the scene. Four- and five-year-old children respond to the teasing by walking away or by maintaining stolid expressions. Once they do this, the severity and frequency of the teasing by elders decreases, and the pattern continues mostly among the children themselves in their relations with each other. Practical jokes continue on into adolescence. From the adults' point of view, the teasing is no longer amusing or valuable for discipline because the child has gained enough knowledge, enough intelligence to know that the process is a kind of game and has acquired the skill with which to handle his side of it. Mentally retarded individuals never learn, and they are baited and teased for the amusement of the watchers all their lives. From the child's point of view, the constant reassurance he receives after the pain may teach him that there is no real or permanent danger in the adult actions except that of ridicule, and that is what he learns to try to avoid. [855] [732]

Just as the teasing leads to a recognition that other people's actions and words should not be taken at face value, so does another common pattern of dealing with children—the pattern of deliberately lying to them. Usually, parents or older brothers and sisters lie to a child to get him to do what he does not want to do. For example, a three-year-old child may be asked to go into another room to fetch something. The child does not respond to several requests; his mother then tells him his father is in the other room and will give him candy if he goes. The child thinks he remembers that his father left for the fields early in the morning, and therefore is not likely to be in the next room; he makes a comment to this effect; his mother seriously reassures him that his father is really in the next room; he becomes uncertain and, finally, cautiously goes to the door, opens it slowly and looks inside. At this point his mother and anyone else around laugh at his look of chagrin. 855 [867]

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855 Lying to children as a kind of palliative occurs in less dramatic ways
865 as well. On one occasion, a mother was washing the legs of her two-year-old daughter. The child was standing on a table to be nearer the small water container hanging on the wall. When her mother finished, the girl did not want to come down off the table. She resisted, stamping her feet and calling for more water to play with. Her mother told her in a mild tone that there was no more water. This did not satisfy the child; she resisted further and finally the mother turned the spigot on and let her play with the water, of which there was quite a supply, for a few more minutes until the girl herself was ready to stop.

855 In both these instances the child easily detected the deceit of his elders. However, since there are occasions on which his father actually is in the next
867 room and does give him candy, and other occasions when the water actually has run out, a child cannot know in advance when he is being deceived and
[593] when he is not. Inconsistency in the actions of elders results in a wariness in accepting or rejecting the statements of others, even within the family. Children may learn to love and respect their elders, but it is not required that they trust them completely.

577 Lying to children is one aspect of the general attitude toward truth and falsity characteristic of the village's adults. In the village the word for lies,
867 *psemata,* is used much more freely, with less emotional intensity, and with a
156 milder pejorative connotation than Americans use the English word. "Let's tell a few more lies and then go home," a man once remarked jovially near the end
[578] of a social evening. To accuse someone of mendacity is not the gross insult it is in the United States; it may be meant as a statement of fact in a situation in which, in village expectation, it would not be unusual for a person to attempt some deception. As in the training of children, some form of deception as a means of achieving a particular good is acceptable as a technique for conducting one's affairs in the village or with outsiders. Each man and woman expects to develop skills both in the art of guilefulness and in the art of detecting guilefulness in others. Vasilika's villagers are not humiliated because someone tries to deceive them; they become angry only if the deception succeeds. In other words, if a person is gullible enough to have been misled, he gets angry at the deceiver for having made a fool of him, and this results in accusations and counter-accusations. The standard phrase for deceptions means literally "He has made a laughing stock of me," *"Me yelase."* Older children who have learned to turn the tables on their parents and try to deceive them are admired even as they are scolded. Certainly any child who, in mild ways, learns to take advantage of a neighbor or another villager is privately approved of by his parents as *"ponyiros,"* "cleverly bad," although the neighbors use less ambivalent epithets.

156 The constant vigilance necessary to avert becoming a dupe is certainly one of the sources of tension in the conduct of human relations in the village.
577 An American must not make the mistake of assuming, however, that these strains
578 have the same effect on Vasilika's inhabitants that they would have on middle-class Americans whose training has included a stress on consistency and truthfulness. In Vasilika, the expectation of, and conditioning for, deceit does not

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eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict. [577] [578]

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion. [571]

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard. 521 571 867 868 [829] [865]

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the 521 571 867 [851]

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521 dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way
571 the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too
867 tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves
[851] simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point
461 of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before,
512 is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose
521 variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous ele-
571 ments. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

861 The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is
521 very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their
571 elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala*," "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of
[196] voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that
[865] disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

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Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts. 571 867 521

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone. [868] [196]

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity. 521 571 156 828 [748]

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kuvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other. 521 156 828 571

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha,*" "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their

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521 156 828 571 methods is to ask the same questions in different ways at different times, and an outsider is often struck by the persistence with which such questioning on the same issue is carried on over many months. Not to succeed in gathering a choice bit of knowledge is no disgrace—the villagers keep trying and every man stays on the alert to guard his secrets.

521 156 571 There are some kinds of verbal communication that are outside the realm of agonistic relationships and in a sense provide a respite from them. These are the ritual phrases, which constitute proper responses to frequently recurring common life situations.

576 Village manners require the use of a wide variety of greetings at meeting and at parting. In addition to these, there are a large number of appropriate set phrases for life crisis situations, large and small. For example, one says *"Kali eleftherya,"* "Good deliverance," to a pregnant woman, "May they live for you" to a parent showing you a picture of his children, "May it pass for you" to an ill person or to any member of his family, "To your health" to a person wearing new clothes, and so on. "Many years" is the wish expressed to everyone on saints' days. This list is far from complete, but illustrates the point that although the phrases are formulaic and are most often used without conscious awareness of their literal meanings, they are apotropaic in feeling. In other words, the villagers have a vague sense that the phrases, which are good wishes, may succeed in warding off evil. Certainly the formulas also serve as an immediate expression of the good intentions of the speaker toward another in a potentially stressful situation.

Transmission of Values

156 828 867 Some of the weapons used in agonistic relationships in the village and some of the processes by which children acquire the necessary skills to use them have been considered. It remains to complete the discussion of the kinds of values and attitudes inculcated in children and to show the relationship of all the foregoing to the question: Who are the actors in the contests of Vasilika, and what are the social alignments which form the structural base of these human relationships in the village?

156 828 867 858 152 If, as we have seen, obedience to elders is not a virtue which parents stress to regulate the behavior of children, and if affection is interspersed with ridicule so that children cannot depend completely on the parents' support, by what mechanism do the villagers' children acquire the prevailing standards of behavior? It has already been suggested that the villagers act as if they believed that human beings, by virtue of their humanity, have brains. It may now be added that they also believe that inherent in every child is a sense of integrity which, in English, is best translated as shame. Parents do not feel that they have to implant these traits in their children but expect to bring them to the surface and to put to use qualities which the child already has within himself.[3] Each child is believed to have rudimentary intelligence which will develop into rational

[3] I am indebted to Popie Mohring for this phrasing.

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judgment, not through formal academic education, but by a natural flowering of common sense based on ordinary experience. Small children who get too near the fire or run too long in the sun are not scolded for disobedience but are excused on the grounds that they do not yet know any better. *"Dhen gzeri,"* they say, "He doesn't know." As children grow older, however, the same misbehavior is treated as a sign of unintelligence and accusations of stupidity may be flung at the child. *"Dhen echis myalo?,"* "Don't you have a brain?" they say.

The quality of shame which the villagers want to emphasize in their children is an inner sense of embarrassment at the thought of improperly revealing oneself—either the physical self (modesty) or the inner emotional self. The words for shame, which cluster about the term *endropi,* are used in at least three different contexts. When children refuse to talk to strangers, and smaller ones literally hide behind a parent, the elders say as an excuse, *"Drepete,"* "He is bashful." For young children to feel embarrassment at revealing themselves to strangers is proper in the villagers' view. As children grow older, girls are expected to be more modest than boys and shyness remains an excuse for females after it ceases to be one for males. The older women of the village, for example, find it difficult to join the men and visitors at a feast table; they prefer to eat in another room. They go into the *saloni* after their guests have finished eating and sit without speaking near the walls of the room. Villagers know that urban women do not have such reticences and they feel it necessary to make some excuse for their wives. *"Dreponde,"* they say, "They are ashamed," and although modesty as applied to a refusal to eat with one's guests is no longer fashionable, neither is it considered a disgrace to the husband or children.

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A second use of the word for shame occurs when children show lack of self-control at stages in their development when it is already expected of them, *"Min drepese?"* "Aren't you ashamed?" is often a reaction of elders to a child who is less cleanly or orderly by village standards than he should be. Excessive running or shouting, physical fights with other children, loud and prolonged vituperation, enjoyment of food which borders on gluttony—these are the kinds of actions greeted with the suggestion that the child is exhibiting to the world too much of his inner needs. It is not the existence of the need that is considered bad, but rather the inability to control its expression. If he cannot exercise sufficient control, the child is not utilizing his sense of shame as is proper; he is making an unseemly exhibition of himself.

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Although shame is considered an internal individual emotion, the process by which the villagers reveal his sense of shame to a child includes exaggerating and parading before others any evidence of possible shamelessness. That is, children are not merely asked *"Min drepese?"* but the action they should not have engaged in is often made much of and enlarged so that whatever inner discomfort is inculcated is reinforced by invoking the ridicule of outsiders. On one of our returns to the village for a brief stay, I visited one of my friends and casually asked where her five-year-old daughter was. Her mother answered that the child was probably hiding because she had been scolded for getting mud splattered on her dress. Some time later, as I was leaving, the mother caught sight of the little girl trying to hide herself on a narrow window ledge as she peeked out to catch

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152 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother
156 went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show
828 the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother
867 pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?"
And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

[875 When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell
861] the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their
828 lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component
867 of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his
577 masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his ful-
[562 fillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability
574] to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute
828 failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If any-
577 thing goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equip-
777 ment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connota-
828 tion of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting.
574 It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises
571 the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms.

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece.

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction.

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground, although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo*

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one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing together. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is, "God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of preventing birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3 members in the family. The compound family makes farming

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Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626] [834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538] [702]

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always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

/29 cont./

leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

East Foundation, which have recognized this, have been successful 177
in their relations with Greeks and in the introduction of desirable 571
changes. They realized that they had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self-interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however, necessary once the personal loyalty is there. In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from Athens, living in hotels catering to foreigners, of moving in foreign circles, and making no personal contact with the Greeks, thus creating difficulties for themselves and raising obstacles to the effectiveness of their missions. Greek families receiving CARE parcels impersonally, make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters, trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us". In Greece there are no political 666
bosses, since a man's vote is too personal, too much bound by personal 571
loyalty, to be swayed by self-interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues, who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and thereby, to their ideas. If there are irregularities at the polls, they come about not through the selling of one's vote, but through an attempt to vote several times in an impassioned effort to ensure the election of the chosen candidate.

Greek ethical conduct is personal also. A plea in the name of 571
humanity or of kindness is meaningless to most Greeks; and only 577
recently, in Athens, which has been affected by foreign ideas, did a 73
plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response. An organization called Friends of the Village was formed, and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or families, in terms of a personal relationship. A peasant woman, writing to such a "Friend" in Athens, accepts the gift with ease and gratitude saying: "You are now my sister, and your family is my family."

Americans, who excel in impersonal kindness, are always surprised to see their human, warm, generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers. Greeks, on the other hand, are surprised to see their kind American friends giving according to figures on a piece of paper, according to what they can afford. In giving, Greeks deprive themselves of the very necessities of life, impoverish and even bankrupt themselves; but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved.

This is also true where truthfulness, honesty, loyalty and obedience 577 867

are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to something abstract, like the government, which is equated with impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility, or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

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The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To [789]
the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

753 credited to supernatural causes, and there is no ill to which flesh is heir, —
776 from a headache to the plague, — without some demon responsible for it. A nightmare and the sense of physical oppression which often accompanies it are not traced to so vulgar a cause as a heavy supper, but are dignified as the work of a malicious being named *Vrachnas*, who in the dead of night delights to seat himself on the chest of some sleeper, and by his weight produces an unpleasant feeling of congestion. . . .[13]

755 For cures, then, one turns not only to the doctor but at times to the priest,
759 who will come and read from "the holy books," or even more frequently to the village wise women, who understand what herbs to use and the particu-
[793] lar charms appropriate to every occasion. These wise women usually keep their activities secret from the priest. Many remedies which seem fantastic, such as curing boils by putting pus from them on a piece of bread and giving it to a dog to eat, make sense to the peasant. One symbolically and supernaturally transfers the illness from the patient to some other host, susceptible or immune as the case may be.

755 A mother will pass on her knowledge of folk medicine to her daughters,
[868] although they will often seek the help of some wise woman particularly skilled in caring for the sick. In order to learn more about the ordinary
755 folk remedies, we compared a list drawn up by D. Loukopoulos for Aetolia,
757 a district in Central Greece, with those cures believed in by Chrysoula, a wise woman on the island of Spetsai, just off the Peloponnesos.[14] As was
[184] expected, the prescriptions did not tally on all points, but their general purpose and approach were much the same.

To cure malaria:

Wash a cup out, give patient holy water on an empty stomach without letting the patient know what he is drinking. After he drinks this once or twice at dawn he'll feel much better. (Aetolia)

To cure stomach ache:

Boil powdered acorn caps in one hundred drams of water, add clove and four pieces or *rigane* (wild origan). When it has been boiled down to size of an ouzo (brandy) cup, strain it and add some rum. When the sick man drinks it, all pains will ease. (Aetolia)

Boil the stem of the poppy plant and give the brew to patient to drink. (Spetsai)

755 *To cure insanity:*

Insanity cannot be cured with medicines. The priest reads to the insane per-
793 son out of the Four Gospels, then may take him to a monastery. If he does not get better, he is tied (often chained) to the ring in the tiling of the church floor. (Aetolia)

[789] The priest exorcises the demon by using the ritual of St. Basil the Great, or some sacred relic may be taken to the insane person in the hope of driving away the demon. The patient is not taken to the monastery. (Spetsai)

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

eliminate the objective, realistic discomforts of living with somewhat unpredictable human beings, but the cultural expectation does seem to eliminate some of the intensity generated by the conflict.

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable. In a sense, when the villagers know each other so well that they can predict reactions with some precision, they are bored and look for other diversion.

Conversation and Argument

So far, teasing and deceptive acts have been stressed as elements in the contest of human relations. We may now turn to another type of weapon: conversation and argument. Students of Greek society and culture invariably mention the Greek's love of talk. The villagers of Vasilika are not different in this respect. Again, even infants become accustomed to a stream of conversation whenever others are around them, and they themselves are talked to and are assumed to make responses. When babies cry they are often said to be talking, *"Milai to moro,"* and *milai* is the standard word for talk. If a baby hiccoughs, they say it is talking to someone who is absent, such as a maternal grandmother in another village. By listening to the talk around him, and by participating in it, the young child learns the functions of speech. In the village, children may be told to be quiet when they interrupt adult conversation, but this occurs only when the elders do not want to be interrupted. Children are not silenced on any general principle that they should be seen and not heard.

A child in the village quickly learns that some kinds of conversations communicate information, that others are merely a verbal accompaniment to activities, and still others are a form of recreation and part of the contest in human relations. Inside their homes children hear discussions of plans for the day and speculations about the weather and about neighbors. This kind of talk is a form of fairly direct transfer of thought and information. The child also learns that many ordinary, apparently routine activities are carried on to the accompaniment of a stream of comment and advice and that only a small proportion of what is said genuinely influences the person to whom the advice is given. For example, if neighbors are visiting with a woman who is about to place some loaves of bread in the oven, a discussion ensues as to what design to use for the slits in the top of the loaf, as to whether the bread has risen sufficiently, and as to whether the oven is hot enough. The housewife may have been baking bread every week or so for twenty years, but the discussion could easily give an outsider the impression that she was a novice. Agricultural decisions, such as on just how to place a few corn plants in amongst the rows of cotton, are discussed anew each year. Even at a baptism in Vasilika, the ceremony is punctuated by comments as to whether the baptismal water is too hot or too cold and as to how to wrap the

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts. 571 867

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone. 521 [868] [196]

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity. 521 571 156 828 [748]

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kuvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other. 521 156 828 571

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha*," "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

788 more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations
198 of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as
[797] a liturgical language.

This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient
[796] liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned. This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present
197 condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers. The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek
[204] equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an
[788] average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other
[198] hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is
788 more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it.
796 It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New
198 Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his
782 own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they
[852] inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By
[868] the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy
[779] and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626] [834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538] [702]

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1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

755 But again we asked, "How can you be sure that the Evil Eye is the cause of the trouble?" "One can be sure," we were told, "if you take a pan of cold water to a high place, break an egg into it, and notice whether the egg cakes or not. If it does, the child has the Evil Eye but will get well. Or one can drop the coals from the wood of a thorn tree into the pan and, if the coals turn over, one knows that the evil will turn over and the boy will get well. We then sprinkle the water from this pan onto the child." This is one time when the incantation is surely used.

Chrysoula, a wise woman of Spetsai, gave me further information about the Evil Eye that was similar in essentials but differed in details. She said [753] that when her young granddaughter comes back from a walk and is restless and nervous, it is clear that an Evil Eye has been cast, in which case one must test to be sure. To do this, Chrysoula takes the *kanteli* (little oil lamp) from the household shrine and gets a glass of water. She picks up the child, makes the sign of the cross over her three times and then crosses the water three times. After that she dips her fingers into the kanteli and lets one, two, or three drops of oil fall into the glass of water. If the oil spreads or mixes with the water, the child has the Evil Eye; if the drops remain as oil drops and do not mix, then the child is not suffering from the spell. Should it be the Evil Eye, one crosses the child with the water on the lips or forehead and whispers words from the gospel or gives special prayers. [124] But unlike our informants in the village near Thebes, Chrysoula refused to tell us the text of the special prayer because she said she would lose her power; she did say, however, that if she were away from her village she could repeat it. Yet she was ready to fill in many other details.

754 To find out who cast the Evil Eye in a particular case, according to 755 Chrysoula, one gives cloves to three suspected persons with the request that each in turn toss them into the fire. The one whose cloves pop is the one who cast the Evil Eye. There is another way: one can drop three pieces of charcoal into a glass of water, and if any piece floats then the person represented by that piece of charcoal, whether present or not, is said to have cast the Evil Eye. The same procedure was commonly used in Aetolia.

[826] There are also other ways of knowing. People whose eyebrows meet together or those with green eyes can cast an Evil Eye. Even a mother, if she does not take proper precautions, can cast the spell on her own child. Chry- [751] soula told about a relation of hers who looked at her sleeping baby and [827] said, "my, what a nice baby you are!" and failed to spit on it as a guard against the Evil Eye. Four hours later the child spit up some froth and died. A person who learns that he has cast the Evil Eye, and this is often done quite unintentionally, can undo the spell by spitting three times on the neck of the person suffering if he spits without the sick person's knowledge.

869 The children of the home, whether supposed victims or not, cannot help
751
152

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

feeling the mystery and fear that surrounds the whole discussion of the cause and cure of an illness attributed to the Evil Eye. As they grow older, they understand why the parent of a child or the owner of an animal will say in reply to any words of admiration: *Phtyse* (Spit) or *Phtys' to* (Spit it), at which you must pretend to spit.

It is into such an atmosphere of half-truth, and even harmful customs, that those interested in scientific medicine must practice their profession. They quickly find that patients are often brought to them after the priest and the wise women have done their best and failed. They also know that merely giving a prescription is no guarantee that it will be followed as directed, but may even be blended with folk medicine that makes it ineffective. In Greece today there is one physician for every thousand people, a proportion usually considered adequate in the United States. The difficulty comes with their maldistribution, for over 50 percent of all doctors are concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area. Consequently, many villagers have to travel long distances to obtain medical treatment, but the improved roads are making such trips less time-consuming.[18]

Once in a while some member of the family has to be hospitalized. An American, thinking only in terms of scientific sanitation concepts, is often amazed at what he observes if he chances into a small Greek provincial private hospital, one of which has been well described by Dr. Ernestine Friedl:

> One knocks on a door and enters a small room about twelve feet square. There are three ordinary iron bedsteads along three of the walls of the room. On each of the beds, fitted with her own bed linens in the typically varied colors of the Greek village, lies a woman patient. Two are older women wearing their brown kerchiefs and dressed in their own pink flannel nightgowns. The third is a young woman without a kerchief, lying on the bed fully dressed. It is not possible to move beyond the door because the entire center floor space is covered with a blanket, around the edges of which five relatives of one of the patients are sitting, just finishing a meal which they have been eating picnic-style. The remnants of bread, wine, and cheese are quickly gathered up as the relatives make way for the new visitors and apologize for taking up so much space. The husband of the young woman is warming some macaroni over a small kerosene burner on a tiny table near her bed. When the food is warm enough he serves it to his wife. The daughter and the husband of the third patient are standing near her bed watching the goings-on. The daughter coughs violently. It is midwinter and she has a cold aggravated by sleeping on a pallet on the floor of her mother's hospital room. A nurse comes in to leave an ice-bag. The daughter helps her mother to adjust it.[19]

Before one condemns too quickly such medical practices, it is well to try to understand some of the cultural factors which explain them. These have

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

with their Religion, and many other Rites of which the wiser men are ashamed, and wish they were amended; yet they fear to correct and alter them . . . lest the People observing their Guides to vary in the least point from their ancient, and (as they imagine) their Canonical Profession, should begin to suspect the truth of all, and from a doubt dispute themselves into an indifference, and thence into an entire desertion of the Faith.

The dispute about the substitution of the Gregorian calendar for the Julian has shown that a substantial body of opinion (especially amongst the monks of Athos), is still violently opposed to change and reform even in matters which might to the detached observer seem to have little religious significance. With the solitary exception of 'modernist' Vatopedi, the whole monastic community of the holy mountain still insists on using the old reckoning. Elsewhere in Greece one finds scattered groups of Old Calendarists who have separated themselves from the local bishop rather than accept the reformed calendar. The *Palaiomerologitai*, as they are known, include clergy and monks and until recently were in possession of several small convents.

Though it may be that political motives have played a certain part in this curious controversy, it would be rash to deny the presence of a strong element of sincere religious feeling. Even the saints are liable to be involved in these disputes about the calendar. Witness the story of the 'modernist' *papas* who ventured to sing a hymn in honour of St. George before the eikon of the saint on the new-fangled day, and was not a little disconcerted when the saint fell flat on his face: what clearer testimony could there be to the detestation felt for the new calendar in the heavenly places?

The centuries of oppression did but strengthen the awareness (already more marked amongst eastern Christians than in the clerkly west), that the maintenance of holy tradition is the responsibility of the whole body of the faithful—not of the clergy alone. The English layman still feels himself more or less at the mercy of the parson—so far at least as what goes on in his parish church is concerned. Not so the Greek. A *papas* who ventured to deviate in the least particular from the forms prescribed by immemorial custom would suffer prompt correction from his congregation. If a bishop should fall into strange novel doctrines contrary to the traditions of the fathers, the holy people of God would rise up and denounce him. In this, as in other matters,

/31 cont./ 275
where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political 517
leaders meet their followers.

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government [208]
employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house [203]
where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission.

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people 794
directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, 869
and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole 872
family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child
follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through [796]
its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings
up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/
learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or
that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its
religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend
church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such [796]
holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance
of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their 782
Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other 776
sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as 795
his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to
special designated saints whom they think are able to help them.
For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage
and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For
travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to
St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line.
It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as [771]
Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They
take their religion seriously and believe in it completely.

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop 793
is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the 782
priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the repre- [776]
sentative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God.
Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters 869
as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep. We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
221 chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
221 school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
796 cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos

chipped glasses from the dark basement of a roofless building which was serving as the office of the village council. 123

Around the Valtetsi school that morning were children curious about the strange adults, the car, and the ten-year-old American boy and the twelve-year-old English-speaking Greek boy in our party, who quickly established contact and were soon surrounded. Questions and answers about the children came naturally. When we talked to the two teachers, we began to see what migration meant to these shepherd children. The school year starts in September with everyone enrolled, but by December 1 the youngsters have all set off with their families on the seven- to ten-day tramp below. St. Demetrios' Day (October 28) is the traditional date for departure, and St. George's Day (April 23) is the date for the return. Nevertheless, school opens again on March 1. This year (1953) four pupils had been present then; a week later ten showed up; at the time of our visit business was picking up even more and before long would reach the expected 104 enrollment. Classes would continue to August 15, with only a small break before the September registration occurred. [362] [727] 221 233 872

During the winter pasturing, the children attend no school but help with the flocks as much as they can. We had often during the winter months seen these solitary shepherd children as we drove along a lowland road. As they stood motionless when our car approached, with the sheep and the goats climbing around them, their faded shapeless clothing melting into the barren hillside, they looked neither frightened nor submissive and were quick to respond to a wave or a greeting. Later on, I asked the men with whom I was talking where most of the children were born, in Valtetsi or down below. One of them replied, much to the merriment of his fellows, "They are usually born here, for it's here that the heat wave starts." One man, the proud father of nine, said that all of his had been born in Valtetsi, although each knew of occasions when a child had arrived on the roadside without the ministrations of even a midwife. We asked young and old alike in Valtetsi and elsewhere what the children thought of this semi-annual change. All agreed that such a life was hard on children and that many of them dreaded the long march, but that there was no other livelihood open to their parents. 221 233 857 [844] [124]

Since Valtetsi is at an altitude of 3360 feet, its hillsides are too exposed to make the pasturing of many sheep possible; in the winter months, removal to the plains below is therefore the only course of action open to the livestock owner. The families owning goats leave first, since the goats cannot stand the cold and they bear young earlier than do the sheep. Here in Valtetsi, the men pointed out, most of the pastures were communally owned and cost the people nothing; but down below each family had to contract with some peasant proprietor or commune for sufficient pasture for his flock, which now averages about 100 sheep in contrast to the 400 233 [221] [361] [423] [427] [246]

1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get
871 the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a
[533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality.
156 Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes in-
181 dividualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate
871 for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of oppor-
181 tunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some
871 coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well.
[46] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker govern-
[643] ment to hold things together until a new government is formed after a forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learn-
872 ing. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[3]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

The children in our village are tyrannized. Just as they sit down to study their mother says, "Get up. Break your bones, take your papers and the goat, and take her out to pasture." "Get up, get some water, get some wood, go and bring in the oxen. Don't you hear? In the evening you can study." The children go do their different tasks and in the evening come back broken with fatigue and drop off to sleep. In the morning they are cuffed by the teacher because they haven't written their lesson, and thus it goes. Black letters they learn! As if they had a lamp! Most of them read sitting on the floor; they drop on their stomachs near the fireplace and read in the light of the burning wood. From exhaustion they fall asleep and there is danger that they might get burned if the elders do not pull them away. In spring when the days are longer they read outside; they take the hog and the goat and go here or there and read while the animals pasture. What sort of reading can they do? As soon as they start, the hog escapes here and the goat there; they try to catch the hog, the goat escapes again. They start crying and lost is the reading. They also get beaten if the animals cause damage to the crops. Most of the children work also in the field; they also do some heavier tasks. What sort of letters can they learn? It's lucky they learn as much as they do.

When I discussed parental attitudes toward education with an experienced school man in Northern Greece, he said: "Less land and more knowledge is needed. A farmer can't see the need of educating a son who is to farm. He will keep the one to succeed him at home and send the others off for an education." The people of Vilia, a village in Central Greece, brag that the parents there see to it that the children go through eight grades but indicate that the other villages do not do this. "We do this," they say, "because an educated man commands more respect." But what about the children in the other villages?

From time to time an Athens newspaper comes out with some shocking statistics which cause a sensation and are then forgotten. Such accounts point out that the Article 16 of the Constitution states: "Elementary education is obligatory for all and is supplied gratis by the state." In 1951–52 it was estimated that two hundred thousand Greek children of school age were not in attendance. Conditions have improved considerably since then, but the effects of this nonattendance will be felt for many years to come. At that time it was also stated that at about the third grade the numbers of those who started are halved, a truly high drop-out rate, although other reports place this reduction at the end of the fourth grade.[4] One article comments:

> Although the Constitution states that elementary schooling is supplied gratis, the various stamps and taxes, not to mention the prohibitive prices of schoolbooks, writing materials, and other paraphernalia, make this statement null and void.[4]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable. 871

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities. 346 [177]

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture: [177] 346 727

> The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[8]

[634] [658] [653]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[9] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7] 872 [346] [875]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

871 Therefore, the school board in many villages has its hands full trying to provide an adequate school building by seeking aid from the King's Institute, from the local community council, or from whatever other source can be tapped. The village is much more apt to procure and hold a teacher, [875] since teachers are in such short supply, if it can provide him something approximating satisfactory living conditions. That is why some school boards, [346] in constructing a new school, include a room in which the teacher can live, for such private accommodations are not available in many Greek villages. Providing necessary equipment and school supplies is another persistent problem for the school board, particularly since many of the parents cannot afford to buy for their children what the teacher thinks essential. [658] Nor should it be supposed that the national government is indifferent to this state of affairs. Its funds for education are necessarily limited and these are first earmarked for teachers' salaries. What kind of person, one might ask, would care to teach under some of the difficulties encountered in the village schools?

The Village Teacher

875 For the almost 940,000 pupils in elementary school in 1956–57, there 872 were 19,872 teachers. This means a national average of about 47 pupils per teacher, although as an average it indicates that a large number of teachers have more than this. In many of the smaller villages, the teachers have from four to six grades in one room, reminiscent of the rural one-room school in America of many years ago.

If we turn to accounts of village life, we gain a quick insight into, but certainly not a representative sampling of, the number of teachers one would meet, since each of these villages has at least three teachers:

[874] In a fairly large Macedonian village we find five teachers, three with the rank of "instructors" who have finished a two-year normal school beyond secondary school. The two others are trained kindergarten or nursery-school teachers. They have 402 pupils, of whom 358 are in the regular six grades and 44 are in kindergarten and nursery. Most of these teachers have been in this village for at least five years. Nevertheless, because of their urban background, their thinking is urban and they find it difficult to take part in village activities.

In a village near Xanthe there are three teachers, all new to the community, who are paid by the central government. Two of these are from the Peloponnesos far to the south. All are graduates of the pedagogical academies. They have 156 pupils with an average daily attendance of 142.

Another village in Central Greece has three teachers: one man and two women. The man has resided in the village since 1947; one woman was appointed head of the school in 1942 but was away during the German occupation; the third was appointed in 1951. All are graduates of the normal school.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [55]

875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not
156 expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve
[212] glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is
[369] supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that
875 he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

The School Curriculum

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873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

[871] In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her children how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

872 [873] [871]

ing nation, but rather it was to study the ancient Greek culture as a basis for the new state and to establish the new Greek state as an extension of the old." [9] A general view of the curriculum, however, may be seen in two tables, the first of which (Table 5) is for the six-year grammar school.[10]

TABLE 5. CURRICULUM FOR SIX-YEAR GRAMMAR SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						Total (per subject)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Religion	1	1	2	2	3	3	12
Greek language	8	9	9	9	9	9	53
History			1	2	2	2	7
Geography	3	3	2	2	2	2	14
Natural science			3	3	2	2	10
Physics, chemistry					2	2	4
Arithmetic	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Geometry					1	1	2
Drawing	1½	1½	2	2	2	2	17
Writing		2	2	2			
Handicrafts	1½	1½	2	2	2	2	11
Singing	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Physical education	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Total class hours (per week)	22	25	30	31	32	32	172

In the first two grades the pupils study religion, begin the reading and writing of the popular language (*demotike*), study some local geography and start arithmetic, and spend time on drawing, handicrafts, singing, and physical education. In the third grade history and biology are added, while in the fifth grade physics and chemistry and geometry are taken up. At this level such subjects have to be rudimentary, but at any rate they are begun so that in high school the teachers have a foundation on which to build in intensive fashion. The history courses are so planned that by the time the child has completed the sixth grade, he will have some knowledge of European history up to the sixteenth century.

Turning now to the high school, we find a very full curriculum indeed. For an illustration we can look at the boys' high school (Table 6), since it is customary in a few of the cities to separate the boys and girls at the time of secondary school.[11] The only differences between the curriculum for the boys and the girls are that the latter has three hours less of ancient Greek, no Latin, three hours less of mathematics, but one more hour of hygiene and a six-hour home-economics course.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Language: Popular or Pure?

The Greek elementary school has been caught in the no-man's land of a controversy which makes the current educational debate between traditionalists and progressives in the United States seem pale by comparison. The epic struggle has involved the particular form of the Greek language to be used in this school. After the Greek savant has established the point that modern Greek is the same language as ancient Greek but that it has been modified over the past thirty centuries, he will then differentiate between the three representations of Greek.

197 [872]

First, of course, is the ancient Greek which was by no means a uniform language. There were four main classic dialects: the Ionic in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were originally written and which came to be identified with epic poetry; the Aeolian which was thought of chiefly in connection with lyric poetry; the Attic which was used for tragic poetry, oratorical art, and philosophical debate; and the Doric, used mainly by Spartans who wrote very little, and which therefore had no significant literary development. With the spread of Greek culture under Alexander the Great, another type of Greek, the Helleniki Koine, was used by many people speaking other languages but united under the same political ruler. It used only the commonest Greek words found in all of the Greek dialects; it also incorporated non-Hellenic words. It was the language in which the four Christian Gospels first appeared. The Koine, however, was not classical Greek and is not studied as such.[13]

Today one finds a popular form of Greek, again in a rich variety of dialects, which is called *demotike*, or the people's language. Just as the educated people in the Hellenistic period continued to use the Attic Greek when all the uneducated people were speaking Koine, so today many of the educated people frown upon the demotike as a vulgar form which is to be avoided.

In its place they would substitute a third form of Greek, the *katharevousa*, or purist language.[14] This is an artificial language, based as much as possible upon classic syntax and vocabulary, which became in effect the official language of the Greek state after the war of independence in 1821. The contrasts between demotike and katharevousa have been clearly explained by Kimon Friar in his discussion of modern Greek poetry:

197 538

> The purist is the official language used on all formal occasions by those in government, business, and university, although the same people speak demotic or some modification of it. By the time of the eleventh century the demotic had closely approximated its present form, which in grammar today varies but slightly from that spoken during the downfall of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century. The purist is condensed and synthetic; the demotic is periphrastic and analytic, rich in many concrete words and phrases but extremely

1:Sanders Z-5,8 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

197 538 poor in those abstract words of the arts and sciences which were not the concern of the common people who kept it living. Today, this lack of abstract words is the despair of the modern poet who wishes to express a thought of any metaphysical nicety, and he is driven to paraphase or symbol.

Since the eighteenth century, when the demotic had crystallized in folk poetry, the battle between the use of purist and demotic in prose and poetry has raged, but the battle has finally been won by the demotic, Today the contemporary poet may hold his expression on a living language and borrow his vocabulary as he can from a rich tradition of three thousand years, from Ancient, Hellenistic, Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek and its many dialects, and especially from the purist itself.[15]

Not just poets but almost any literate Greek can construct a private language of his own, within limits to be sure, and use a vocabulary which others may understand and appreciate but which they themselves would never use under the same circumstances. A person is always on safe ground in criticizing the sentence structure, vocabulary, and idiom of a Greek writer, since he is criticizing what is of necessity a personalized [872] style. In other words, the Greek language is still evolving, which means that "the language question" has perennially plagued the school authorities.

197 872 Should, for example, the beginning pupils in the first grade start out learning to read and write the kind of Greek they speak at home (demotike), or should they start out studying a kind of Greek which they cannot understand but which they will have to learn to understand if they are to be considered educated? There seems to have been little disagreement [873] over the matter of teaching the purist Greek in the secondary school. That is an accepted fact. But what about the elementary school?

In the beginning of the new state in 1830, the purist language was supposed to be used throughout the whole school system, even with the beginning pupils. By 1911 people were suggesting that maybe it would be [665] best to use demotike in the elementary school but the Royalists, then a political opposition party, raised such a hue and cry that action was deferred. The Royalists were supported in their stand by some professional men "on the grounds of prestige, and from some teachers who only knew the grammar of the *katharevousa*." [16]

In 1917 Venizelos adopted the proposal, but when the Royalists came to power in 1920,

they forbade the use of *demotike* in schools and made a public bonfire of the new textbooks which had just been written in it. Chaos followed. Every change in government meant a change in the medium of primary education: in 1922 *demotike* was reintroduced by Plastiras; in 1925 Pangelos forbade its use; in 1928, it was restored by the Coalition government with the proviso that *katharevousa* should be taught four hours weekly in the two top forms; in 1932, *katharevousa* was to be taught in all forms; in 1933 the two top forms were to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

be taught exclusively in *katharevousa*; and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.[17]

Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the demotike has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the demotike has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a demotike which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level.

But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied katharevousa? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm,"[18] but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use demotike, which is a written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of demotike but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using demotike for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer demotike as a writing medum over the katharevousa, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion." But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words:

> If in all his confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet [and he could mean any writer] sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.[19]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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15. The schoolmaster and his pupils by their century-old school, Kyparissia, Peloponnesos. Originally the school was privately endowed.

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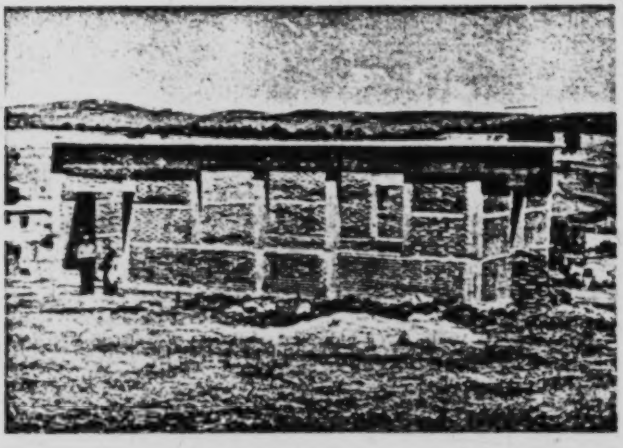

[177] 16. A school building under construction in Malakassa village, new promise for two dozen children. The Save the Children Federation provides the materials; Malakassa, the labor.

[p. 272-J]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

872 875 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional methods of rote learnng, but [876] occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the [609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational [861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 527 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic [292] poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national [648] holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day [541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in [541] 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets, [536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary [522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear [535] women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-* [621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

watch the plays, and together concentrate their attention for over an hour on exactly the same activity. 872 527 621

The Village Church

The affairs of the church in Vasilika are administered by the priest with the aid of a committee of four men. Committee members are selected for three-year terms by the bishop from a list sent by the priest. One of the members of the committee is the treasurer for the church. He makes the collections at services and generally supervises the church's funds. In Vasilika income for the church is derived from the Sunday collections, the sale of offerings of wheat and olive oil made on special feast days, the sale of candles, rent on church property such as the old school building and the community office (both of these buildings were put up by the church as an investment), and the sale of produce from some twenty church-owned *stremata*. The priest is now given a small salary by the national government, but one-quarter of the church's income must be returned to the national treasury as a partial contribution of the community to the priest's salary. The other expenses of the church include the salaries (eighty drachmas a month) paid to each of the chanters and to the sexton. In Vasilika, the latter office is held by a sixty-year-old woman who is often assisted in her duties by her grandchildren. The physical maintenance of the buildings is also a responsibility of the church committee, and in 1959 they arranged for an extensive renovation of the main church. 794 [793] [427] [793] [659] [465] [358]

The description just given is that of the formal organization of church affairs. In Vasilika the priest himself has more than his share of influence on all decisions and, indeed, it was said that one of the committee members in 1956 never went to any meetings of the church committee (they are said to be held about four times a year). The priest is a native of Vasilika, in his sixties. He is a strong, vigorous, and imposing figure, somewhat taller than the average villager and with a personality, temper, and voice to match. As he chants the liturgy the priest's deep voice fills the church, so that the elegant cadences of the Greek Orthodox mass gain added beauty. Because the priest and his sons have arranged his patrimony well, the priest as a private landowner is one of the more prosperous men in the village and for that reason, as well as for his personal qualities, he commands considerable respect. 793 [794] [788] [554]

Under the leadership of the priest, church affairs can, on rare occasions, involve the entire male population of the village. At about one o'clock on a rainy Sunday afternoon in the fall of 1955, the church bell rang. The men and the boys of the village streamed down the hill into the *aghora*. There they stood in the heavy rain as the priest, in his flowing black robes, as usual, and holding the only umbrella in the gathering over himself, began an impassioned oration. Several men responded with equal eloquence and after about a half-hour of speeches, they disbanded. It seems that one of the shepherds, who had rented a church-owned small house, was refusing to pay the rent asked of him. He had 793 794 626 537 [293] [427]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

little church was a melancholy sight: the stone eikonostasis had survived the fire but every trace of woodwork had perished. Our priest-carpenter had just completed two new lecterns for the singers and an episcopal throne: there was plenty of work to be done as soon as Leonidas—who had been discharged from the army with wounds in both hands—was home again and fit to return to his trade.

We went on to the school where sixty-four ragged children were huddled round a smoking stove. There had been no teacher in the village between the first and second periods of exile; the schoolmaster, we were told, had disappeared in 1946 and nothing had been heard of him since. Had he gone to the mountains, we asked? Nobody knew—he had disappeared. Kleoniki Zambra, the girl we had met the previous evening, had just been sent to reopen the village school. The windows of the building—roughly re-roofed by the priest and his sons—were blocked with stones and cardboard from packing cases which had contained powdered milk; light was an altogether secondary consideration when warmth was in question.

"Last Friday", the *didaskalissa* assured us, "it was so cold that the children cried aloud and we were obliged to give up." There seemed to be no books or slates or paper—there was indeed no equipment of any description save for the stove and a few wooden benches—but the school was again performing its liturgy, and the whole village was conscious that an important step had been taken along the road that led back from the anarchy and insecurity of a decade of war towards the halcyon days which none of the children who crowded the schoolhouse that January morning was capable of recalling.

Time and time again as I travelled about the ruined villages of Pindos during that terrible winter of 1949–50 it was brought home to me how essential an element the school constitutes in the pattern of Greek village life. Almost invariably the first thought of the returning refugees, once they had succeeded in improvising some temporary shelter from wind and snow, was for the church and the school. They would rest content with the most wretched living quarters, provided only that the house of God were decently furnished and their children were receiving regular instruction; but a village without a priest and a schoolmaster was a village only in name.

Urquhart arrived in Metsovo astride the sagacious Aristotle, in the summer of the year 1830, to find that mountain township in a state of the utmost panic and alarm: the houses barricaded, the sheep, cattle

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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727 and horses dispersed and hidden among the rocks; the town occupied
872 by the troops of "a Turkish Binbashi". And yet, amidst all this martial activity and excitement the good people of Metsovo were occupied with repairing one of their schools. "It is incredible", comments this traveller, "how ardent and universal among the Greeks is the desire of instruction . . . even in the wildest spots that man has chosen for a habitation or a refuge." The universal destruction of the village schools during the recent troubled years has done nothing to abate this passionate desire for instruction, which may still be reckoned one of the most striking and attractive features of the Greek character.

123 We did not linger long in Palaiochori. Mitsos was returning to
484 Kalambaka for supplies with a train of pack-animals, and before the sun was fairly round to the south side of the parsonage (where the *psaltes* lay late abed, reflecting upon his astonishing deliverance from the perils to which travellers are subject) the horses were saddled and we were ready to depart.

Some four miles down the valley, where the waters of the Aspropo-
[888] tamos divided, lay the cottage of Nicolas Kokoravas—the *geros*, as he was known in the villages round about. An ancient personage with a great reputation for wisdom, it was whispered that he spoke no less than seven languages. We had made the acquaintance of this venerable polyglot the previous evening, and had paused for a few moments outside his dwelling while one of his numerous grandchildren, a fair girl clad in Vlach costume with two children clinging to her voluminous skirts, had brought us apples as we sat astride our beasts, and Papa Costas had scribbled a hasty note addressed to the president of the village of Chrysomelia (an hour's journey to the eastward) to warn him of our impending visit and asking that an escort might be sent to meet us the following day at the cottage of the *geros*.

"Mitsos will leave you at the house of Papa Nicolas, where the waters divide", explained our priest-carpenter; "there you will await the animals from Chrysomelia."

"At what hour will they come?"

"At twelve, without doubt."

The schoolmistress borrowed Boris' camera and took our *eikon* as we perched upon our high wooden saddles. The children peered out at the door and through the chinks in the United Nations' packing cases. Mitsos led the way down the path between the high drifts of snow towards the bleached plane trees and the polished boulders of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 floor of the village president's cottage with a great fire burning at our
346 feet. The parish priest had been awaiting us in the square, and after I had photographed the ruins of the church he rang the great bell which
[123] hung from the branches of a plane tree and the whole community gathered to sing the first vespers of the feast of St. Athanasius the Great,
[796] in a chapel which had been disused for generations and had only been repaired since the return of the refugees the previous autumn. No more than forty families had as yet found their way back to the village and the destruction was very great. The next morning it was raining heavily and the mud lay so deep in the tiny chapel that planks had to be laid down to facilitate the movements of the celebrant.

727 Papa Georgios Papageorgiou was himself a native of Chrysomelia.
793 He had been ordained in the early days of the war after living for a time in the monastery of St. Stephen on the windy heights above
[346] Kalambaka. His first parish had been wiped out of existence by the Germans, and now the Lord Cherubim, Metropolitan of Trikka and Staghi, had sent him to this ruined hamlet, deep in the folds of Pindos.
[342] He lived with his 'priestess' and their four children in a wretched hovel roofed with corrugated iron a little way below the church and, in the absence of a schoolmaster, was himself acting as a temporary
727 *didaskalos*.

346 We spent a night at the village of Vanakoulia on our way back to
[872] Kalambaka. When we arrived the whole population seemed to be engaged in the task of setting up a school in the narthex of the church:
[211] a severe structure only lately completed. Over the doorway was set a rough inscription in rustic Greek commemorating the destruction of
[457] the church by the Germans and its subsequent rebuilding by the inhabitants—aided, as we later discovered, by generous gifts from relatives in America.

DESTROYED BY GERMANS

1943

REBUILT

AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INHABITANTS

JUNE 1949

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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[211]

About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. [872] The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had 875 just been released from the army. He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the 123 unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. The [793] priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena.

The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one [484] of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

/21 cont./ The 443
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 437
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 433
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [602]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married 582
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 883
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 583
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 286
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 294
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it [581]
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married 842
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a [521]
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is, [867]
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus [165]
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/31 cont./

where thoughts are crystallized into action. Here the political leaders meet their followers. 275 517

Every stranger, merchant, peddler, politician, government employee, or any other agent, goes first to the coffee house where he can get reliable information and pass on his mission. [208] [203]

The Orthodox religion has been enforced upon the people directly from the church. The religion is taught at the school, and church ceremonies are conducted in the church. The whole family goes to the church every Sunday morning and thus the child follows the elders in their religious beliefs. The church through its numerous holidays teaches something new to the people, brings up the people to it through various ceremonies. The child /32/ learns from father and mother that this or that holiday has this or that moral meaning to their lives. The school as a part of its religious education obliges every student with the teacher to attend church on Sundays and holidays. The teacher or the priest on such holiday occasions explains to the people the religious significance of the day and its practical application to their lives. Their Christian religion is unlike the Christian religion of many other sects. The Orthodox church believes in one God and in Christ as his son, but according to the nature of their demands they pray to special designated saints whom they think are able to help them. For example, for rain they pray to St. Ilias, who rides in a carriage and makes the thunder. For war they pray to St. Demeter. For travel on sea they pray to St. Nicola. For having a child to St. Nufrios. For sickness to St. Spyridion, etc. down the line. It is not so simple as the Protestant religion, nor so simple as Protestantism in that it depends much more on ceremonials. They take their religion seriously and believe in it completely. 794 869 872 [796] [796] 782 776 795 [771]

When a cow or a member of a family gets sick, or the crop is not as promising, either the priest or another person next to the priest will be called to offer prayer. /33/ The priest is the representative of the Saints through whom they communicate with God. Religion makes a large part of their activity and thus the youngsters as they grow, fit themselves in it and take their respective places. 793 782 [776] 869

/34 cont./
wishers. People are formed into groups and visit every house where 796
the table is set in the center of the main room with different drinks, 574
colored eggs and good food. The groups crack /p. 35 skipped in original numbering/ /36/ an egg and wish the hostess saying, "Christ is risen", and the house owner answers, "Truly he is risen".

Children run through the streets dressed in their new clothes and carry colored eggs and candies. These are the days when the houses are open to every one. The recreation that these three days offer to these people is far greater than all the rest of the holidays of the year. For the Orthodox church the birth of Christ does not [779]
have so much importance as the resurrection of Christ which shows the Athanasia of the spirit.

At this time of the year everything takes life in nature, too. 796
The almond trees, the cherry trees, the pear trees are in blossom. 571
The fields are green and nature takes the appearance of living again. 182
All these combined leave an unresistable influence upon every person. Through such recreation which is a part of their religion, the people forgive each other and old hatreds give way to renewed friendship and forgiveness. It is surprising to note how much influence these holidays have in the lives of the people that live together. The spirit of hospitality, the spirit of giving to those that do not have, the spirit of taking active part in village movements and the blind obedience to the orders of the higher rank, are a result of these traditionally influenced holidays that are represented by different Saints. Recreation is thus closely associated with the 517
/37/religious holidays.

Play of Children. Whether at school or outside of school the 857
children do not have organized recreation. At the school the [872]
weekly exercises which are more or less military are given by the teacher. The children have two recess periods of ten minutes each from 8-12. At these periods they devise their own play. At home the child has no time for play. He or she will graze the oxen or weed the garden and fields, sweep the yard and help in housework. While very young the children are taught to work and

/37 cont./

help the father and mother in the struggle of life. At certain times 857
of the year when there is less work at home and in the fields the [526]
neighborhood children come together and play hide and seek.
When boys and girls reach the age of 11-12 they separate and seldom [834]
play together anymore. The child in Megali Vrisis has a hard
time to express its freedom.

The school organizes picnics at which the teachers teach the [872]
children how to sing and dance. These picnics are the only active
days that provide ample time for the children to play.

Music Music is something which is never taught but it is 533
there always. From children to grown-ups all sing and dance [535]
singing is a part of their dance it is learned easily. There are no
books or music notes and the musi-/38/ cal instrument players
never learned with notes but just by hearing. Children going to the [461]
fields sing, people working in groups in the fields sing, and groups
returning home from harvest sing. People sing at the coffee houses,
at their homes and in the woods. Shepherds sing with their fiddles
and peddlers advertise their goods with a song. Singing runs through [796]
the church services from beginning to the end and when the women [585]
dress up the bride they sing all night to her. No one writes any
song to remember it. They are handed down from generation to
generation and sung so often that there is no fear of forgetting them
or losing them. Singing is a part of their recreational life, a part
of their courtship and a part of their expression of appreciation of
nature. The philosophy of life of those people is built on tradition
and singing comes voluntarily to express themselves. Some of
their songs have to with incidents of heroism or suffering and torture.
There are songs that move one to tears and there are others that
move one to sacrifice everything he possesses. Even the happiest
songs are tinged with an air of sadness. It is probable that their
ancestors have been through gloomy periods which has influenced
their songs. May be these wars will create more such songs among [765]
the village people /39/ for their beloved ones who were killed
during the spring months. Each girl who lost her sweetheart in the
war will make a song for him and sing it while working in the fields.

/70 cont./

Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 544
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872 ●
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476]
theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, 865
and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is 593
openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; 854
but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays 204
or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above 87
all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and 554
the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A [463]
university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect [583]
of the people, but has lo[illegible] of the standing which he had before education became centra[illegible] he printed word is very important, [212]
even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth [872]
grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are re- [212]
ported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

178 476 mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of the immediate, concrete situation, and unless it is implemented in terms of persons, is meaningless; what is meaningful, for example, is for the family group to work together toward the continued education or the dowering of one of its members; or of to the village community rebuild its destroyed coffee house together. A leader who has won the respect of the community, consulting and guiding rather than commanding, can create a co-operative unit derivatively; he enlists the personal loyalty of the people; the people will work for his sake and, incidentally, for his idea and proposed end. This remains within the personal framework.

178 554 59 476 Again, Greeks are *born into a group*, and many Greeks, except under foreign influences in the city, never *join* a group. They are born into the family, into the circle of family friends, into the village community; they do not have to please in order to belong, or to follow regulations. If they fail in their roles within these units, they are bad sons but they do not lose their membership. Only if they forfeit their Greekness in some way, perhaps turn traitor or change their religion, do they run the risk of being disowned. These are the units of co-operation, but they are rooted in the past, not created. There is no [192] Greek equivalent of the word "group" so common in the speech of Americans; words such as *omas* (mass) and *somateion* (body) are [807] used technically to apply to organizations. In school, the class becomes [590] a group only in its opposition to the enemy, the teacher, in playing cruel tricks involving co-operation; otherwise, what we find, even in this opposition, is cheating for the sake of a weaker student, or support of one student by another. There are individual friendships here, individual evocations of honesty. The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school, and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework; and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern.

199 476 577 Honesty exists, and is expected and respected, only where kinship and personal relations have been established, on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth. In American schools in the cities, American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends, and have thus changed the teacher-student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty. Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own, in foreign circles, and failing to establish personal relations, have evoked mistrust and dishonesty. Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group. However, it should not be taken for granted; neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty. Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe.

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

875

They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [554] 875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

1:Sanders Z-5 / (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

intimately, agreed with many of the points that the Athens gymnasium director had made, as the following summary of his comment shows: 875

About thirty or forty years ago the community was independent. It was something solid; it elected the best people to office. Why? They elected their own teacher, their own priest, and the field guards. Three main points of their life — education, religion, and security — were all in their own hands. The central government wanted to take into its own control all of these functions in order to put in its own appointees who would influence the people. The peasants lost their ability to manage their own affairs, and became hostile to the government and to the teacher. The teacher is no longer responsible to the farmer but to the government. Nowadays, because of this and because of the anti-government attitude brought in by the refugees from Turkey, the peasant has separated himself from his government and asks everything from it. 875 829 631

The teacher has no obligation toward the village, no sense of community relations. He stays in the coffeehouse and aims to move to a town or city. Formerly a village would give some bright boy a chance to go outside for an education and then he would come back and live in the village where he had his own home. He was one of the best teachers. 875

When one begins to sift from many conversations the findings about the village teacher and to read the village accounts which include him in their pages, a few matters stand out. First of all, it is true that the allegiance of the teacher is to the national government and to the bureaucracy upon which his advancement depends. He thinks of himself as a representative of the national ideal, which he is supposed to instill in every child studying under him. His loyalty is therefore to Greece, and one of his major purposes is to help the village child feel a close identification with the national state. Second, he tries, often like a drillmaster, to get the pupils to master the course content worked out in Athens. The brighter ones need encouragement to go on to the gymnasium and must receive the preparation that will serve them in good stead there. Third, the teacher must train children to participate through song, recitation, and national dance in the various holiday celebrations and festivals that come along and at which the school makes an appearance. This serves a village purpose in that it encourages local traditions and provides some diversion in what many would consider the humdrum life of the villager. But there are few teachers in the national school system, unless they are in one of the specialized schools set up for the purpose, who undertake any adult education or even try to make the younger scholars look around at their village environment for ways in which it can be improved. Very often I got the impression that many teachers were even trying to make the villagers forget the present and its problems by focusing their attention on the past and its glories as a substitute for action today. 875 871 619 [873]

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875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not
156 expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children
so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve
[212] glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read
and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way
places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is
[369] supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and
other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally
how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that
875 he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about
the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

The School Curriculum

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873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

[871] In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her childern how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

872

ing nation, but rather it was to study the ancient Greek culture as a basis for the new state and to establish the new Greek state as an extension of the old." [9] A general view of the curriculum, however, may be seen in two tables, the first of which (Table 5) is for the six-year grammar school.[10] [873] [871]

TABLE 5. CURRICULUM FOR SIX-YEAR GRAMMAR SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						Total (per subject)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Religion	1	1	2	2	3	3	12
Greek language	8	9	9	9	9	9	53
History			1	2	2	2	7
Geography	3	3	2	2	2	2	14
Natural science			3	3	2	2	10
Physics, chemistry					2	2	4
Arithmetic	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Geometry					1	1	2
Drawing	1½	1½	2	2	2	2	17
Writing		2	2	2			
Handicrafts	1½	1½	2	2	2	2	11
Singing	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Physical education	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Total class hours (per week)	22	25	30	31	32	32	172

In the first two grades the pupils study religion, begin the reading and writing of the popular language (*demotike*), study some local geography and start arithmetic, and spend time on drawing, handicrafts, singing, and physical education. In the third grade history and biology are added, while in the fifth grade physics and chemistry and geometry are taken up. At this level such subjects have to be rudimentary, but at any rate they are begun so that in high school the teachers have a foundation on which to build in intensive fashion. The history courses are so planned that by the time the child has completed the sixth grade, he will have some knowledge of European history up to the sixteenth century.

Turning now to the high school, we find a very full curriculum indeed. For an illustration we can look at the boys' high school (Table 6), since it is customary in a few of the cities to separate the boys and girls at the time of secondary school.[11] The only differences between the curriculum for the boys and the girls are that the latter has three hours less of ancient Greek, no Latin, three hours less of mathematics, but one more hour of hygiene and a six-hour home-economics course. 873

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

879 The official purpose of the various courses included in the high-school curriculum shows intent if not actual accomplishment:

[771] *Religion.* To convey a clear understanding of the moral works of Christ and of the Orthodox Church; to instill a proper respect for these works and thus elevate the students' religious and moral spirit so that it will become the major factor in their individual and social life. (Twelve hours total over six years.)

TABLE 6. CURRICULUM FOR BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL, WITH HOURS ALLOTTED PER SUBJECT

Subject	Class hours by grades per week						Total (per subject)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Ancient Greek	8	8	8	9	9	9	51
Modern Greek	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Latin			3	3	3	3	12
French	4	3	3	3	2	2	17
History	3	3	3	3	2	4	18
Mathematics	3	4	3	3	4	5	22
Science	3	3	3	3	3	4	19
Geography	2	2	2	1	1		8
Hygiene					1		1
Handicrafts	2	2	1	1	1		7
Singing	2	2	1	1			6
Philosophy					2	2	4
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Total class hours (per week)	35	35	35	35	36	37	213

Ancient Greek. To familiarize the students with the writings of the ancient Greeks; teach them a reading knowledge and understanding of ancient Greek, as well as the ability to write in the Attic dialect. Give them an appreciation of ancient life and its thoughts in order to better understand modern Greek. Better to appreciate good writing by reading selected texts of ancient Greek authors. Study of ancient civilizations so as to better understand our own age. (Fifty-one hours.)

[619] *Modern Greek* (*katharevousa*). Spoken and written use of Greek language; improvement of the students' literary education; leads to a greater understanding of modern Greek civilization and enhances students' national awareness. (Eighteen hours.)

Latin. To learn the Latin language in order to understand the work and thought of ancient Latin writers; to understand and appreciate the Roman civilization. (Twelve hours.)

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

French. To learn to speak, write, and understand French; to understand and appreciate French literature and through it modern French civilization. (Seventeen hours.) 873

As a sidelight, it is interesting to note that out of the 213 hours covered in high school, 98 are in languages. Twenty-five percent of the time is devoted to ancient Greek.

History. To study the way of life and thought of peoples. Comparison of ancient with modern times so as to allow the formation of an opinion which will help the student understand the influences of one historical period on another. History should lead to understanding of the Greek nation and civilization and their influence on contemporary religions, economies, science, arts, and morality. Teaching of patriotism and performance of the duties of citizens. (Eighteen hours.) [619]

Mathematics — Cosmography. To improve the ability of students in understanding arithmetic and geometry; in thinking clearly and precisely; to create the belief that mathematics is an important, independent science. Purpose of teaching cosmography: Learning about the celestial bodies, their relations, and the laws concerning their movements. (Twenty-two hours.)

Physical Sciences and Biology. Study of nature and importance of the physical sciences in life. Increase the students' love of nature. Application of science to industry and technology. Biology: Study of life and habitat of all living creatures in order to understand the uses of plants and animals in daily life. (Science: nineteen hours.)

Geography. Study of the surface of the earth, especially the area of Greece; influence of the land on human life; study of the people of Greece and the beauty of the land. (Eight hours.)

Hygiene. To improve the students' knowledge of hygienic conditions in life with relation to hygienic habits in personal and social life. For girls: Study of woman's body. Hygiene for babies and children. Hygiene of married and unmarried women; hygiene necessary for various ages of life. Nursing, elementary first aid. Use of drugs and medicine at home. (One hour for boys; two hours for girls.)

Philosophy is an introduction to psychology and logic, while handicrafts are taught not as manual training or shopwork but to further the "artistic education of students and to teach them to make small things with their hands."

And the curriculum guide correctly advises: "It is wise to create a musical life in the high school. The students will be better occupied during their recreational and relaxation time." Gymnastics consists of "physical exercises, games, swimming, dances, excursions, and several military (elementary) exercises for the boys and classic and folk dancing for the girls."

Such is the intellectual bill of fare for peasant boys attending the gymnasium in the nearest large village or town. There is, of course, no connec-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

873 tion between this curriculum and the requirements of farming in the village. The peasants recognize this, for they do not send the eldest son, who is to take over the farm, to such a school. Some completing the gymnasium will go on to get a university diploma and will therefore find this curriculum directly related to their needs in many university courses. Others [647] will go no further than the completion of high school, but this will be enough to open up certain government jobs to them.

874 But what of the eldest son who expects to farm? Is his education to stop at the sixth grade? In most cases it does, but there are about eight government agricultural high schools in Greece where boys can go to learn to be better farmers. Some of these government schools admit boys who have finished the fourth grade and others require the sixth grade, but all give those who complete the course through the eighth grade a certificate. [647] Here, again, the graduates are not so much interested in going back to their family's small farm as in going on to government jobs in the Ministry of Agriculture as technicians. In the school in Phlorina one can study horticulture and viticulture; in Kozane winemaking has recently been added to horticulture and viticulture; in Ioannina the emphasis is upon dairying and in Larissa upon cheesemaking and horticulture. The others, in the Peloponnesos and Crete, also stress horticulture and viticulture. In addition to the government schools, there are four private agricultural schools: [177] The American Farm School in Thessalonike,[12] and schools in Konitsa, Amaroussi, and the island of Chios. The two government Superior Schools of Agriculture are near Athens and Thessalonike and rank at the university level.

871 The lower agricultural schools as well as certain technical schools in carpentry, brickmaking, and the like, set up by the King's Institute, are [874] viewed by Greeks as training schools rather than as paths to becoming an educated man. In other words, education in Greece is utilitarian in that its pursuit helps one achieve life goals in the government bureaucracy and the social structure of the country; it is not utilitarian in the sense of preparing one for practical or vocational matters while absorbing at the same time general education from courses in language, history, mathematics, and the like. Greece, in this respect, follows the traditional European pattern.

871 Many Greeks are acutely aware of their educational problems. One nomarch told of a move toward closing down some of the classical gym- 369 nasiums and putting young people into trade schools. "But this presents problems," he said, "because the boys who finish think they are carpenters or blacksmiths and don't want to go back to the village." He thought the attack upon the flight of the educated people to the cities must begin with the mothers, for it is they who say: "But, son, you have your education; you can't go work in the fields."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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poor in those abstract words of the arts and sciences which were not the concern of the common people who kept it living. Today, this lack of abstract words is the despair of the modern poet who wishes to express a thought of any metaphysical nicety, and he is driven to paraphase or symbol.

Since the eighteenth century, when the demotic had crystallized in folk poetry, the battle between the use of purist and demotic in prose and poetry has raged, but the battle has finally been won by the demotic, Today the contemporary poet may hold his expression on a living language and borrow his vocabulary as he can from a rich tradition of three thousand years, from Ancient, Hellenistic, Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek and its many dialects, and especially from the purist itself.[15]

Not just poets but almost any literate Greek can construct a private language of his own, within limits to be sure, and use a vocabulary which others may understand and appreciate but which they themselves would never use under the same circumstances. A person is always on safe ground in criticizing the sentence structure, vocabulary, and idiom of a Greek writer, since he is criticizing what is of necessity a personalized [872] style. In other words, the Greek language is still evolving, which means that "the language question" has perennially plagued the school authorities.

197 872

Should, for example, the beginning pupils in the first grade start out learning to read and write the kind of Greek they speak at home (demotike), or should they start out studying a kind of Greek which they cannot understand but which they will have to learn to understand if they are to be considered educated? There seems to have been little disagreement [873] over the matter of teaching the purist Greek in the secondary school. That is an accepted fact. But what about the elementary school?

In the beginning of the new state in 1830, the purist language was supposed to be used throughout the whole school system, even with the beginning pupils. By 1911 people were suggesting that maybe it would be [665] best to use demotike in the elementary school but the Royalists, then a political opposition party, raised such a hue and cry that action was deferred. The Royalists were supported in their stand by some professional men "on the grounds of prestige, and from some teachers who only knew the grammar of the *katharevousa*." [16]

In 1917 Venizelos adopted the proposal, but when the Royalists came to power in 1920,

they forbade the use of *demotike* in schools and made a public bonfire of the new textbooks which had just been written in it. Chaos followed. Every change in government meant a change in the medium of primary education: in 1922 *demotike* was reintroduced by Plastiras; in 1925 Pangelos forbade its use; in 1928, it was restored by the Coalition government with the proviso that *katharevousa* should be taught four hours weekly in the two top forms; in 1932, *katharevousa* was to be taught in all forms; in 1933 the two top forms were to

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others.

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute.

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing."[15] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face).

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[16]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at

Pierce College.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1969 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the easy access to roads and transportation to and from the village has important consequences for its culture and social structure.

The Boeotian plain is bounded by mountain systems and the sea. Running west and north, the Parnis, Kithaeron, and Helicon ranges as well as Parnassos itself separate it from the plains of Attica. The town of Lamia on the small Sperchios plain to the north and the west can be reached only by traversing parts of the Kallidromon and Ghiona mountains. To the east, an extension of the Kallidromon range makes access to the Gulf of Atalanti difficult. But the most important road which runs over and around the mountains and through the plains from Athens to Thessalonika has been paved throughout its length since World War II. It is now a two-lane asphalt highway which serves as a truck and bus route of major importance in the communications system of the country. In most of Boeotia, the highway runs more or less parallel with and not far from the tracks of the Athens-to-Thessalonika railroad.

The village of Vasilika lies on the slope of a low ridge just a half mile off this main highway. Since the summer of 1956, a local bus comes through the main street of the village twice a day, at 6:00 in the morning and at noon.

Going in the direction of Athens, ninety miles distant, the bus passes a British Petroleum (BP) station and restaurant a mile and a half down the road and traverses several villages. Its destination, however, is usually Levadhia, fifteen miles from Vasilika. Levadhia is the provincial capital and marketing center of some 12,000 population. Here bus connections to Athens may be made.

In the opposite direction, the nearest village of some size and importance is Kifisokhori. It lies five miles up the road from Vasilika. Kifisokhori has, among other facilities not available in Vasilika, flour mills, large grocery stores, barbers, doctors, a pharmacy, a movie, and several taxis. Whether they use the bus or load their horses with flour for the mill and walk by way of the shortcut through the fields, the people of Vasilika go most frequently to Kifisokhori.

Further north and off to the west, but only about eight miles past Kifisokhori, is Amphiklia. This town is the seat for tax collections and other governmental financial matters for the fiscal district in which Vasilika is situated. On the 16th of each month, for example, the priests of the village within Amphiklia's jurisdiction gather in the town to collect government salaries. Amphiklia also has a coeducational gymnasium (the approximate equivalent of an American high school and junior college combined). Several boys and girls from Vasilika live in that town to attend the school.

The people of Vasilika can also travel in the direction of the sea. The dirt road which starts at the highway leads to the houses of the village, then becomes the main street, and finally extends beyond the settlement between the borders of the fields and the foot of the ridge on which the village is situated. Never free of ruts, of dust, and in the winter, of mud, the road narrows and deteriorates further as it passes the last village house. Nevertheless, pedestrians, donkeys, horses, tractors, and even, with some difficulty, trucks and buses can get through. Half a mile past the last village house, at the banks of the Kiphisus, this road meets the road to Atalanti. Buses from Levadhia that have turned off

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

professor who has become the principal of his gymnasium. In 1961, however, the son of a rather prosperous village farmer became attracted to a daughter of another Vasilika farmer with good land holdings. The young man asked his father to arrange the marriage for him, and, since all the conditions were entirely suitable, the young couple were engaged. 581 583 556 182

The trend in favor of town husbands prevails, however, among most of those who can afford it. Once a few girls had married urban men, the rivalry between village families led to greater efforts to secure town husbands for the others. Consequently, there has been an inflation in dowries which is alarming the villagers themselves. In the early 1950's, a *prika* worth $3,000 was enough for a town husband of no special prestige; by the late 1950's, the same kind of man was asking for one worth $4,500. 428 369 [621] [458]

The inflation has had several consequences. Often the value of the dowry can no longer be limited to the share of the inheritance to which a girl is entitled. Farming sons are willing to give up some portion of their shares so that their sisters can "live well," as they put it. The brothers gain also from the added prestige and influence of the family. These in turn may make it possible for them to find a girl with a larger dowry than their property qualifications might warrant. A farmer so situated may make higher demands on the ground that his and his wife's children will have an urban aunt and uncle. The town sister might provide board for her nephews and nieces (girls are increasingly being sent to gymnasium) while they are in school and can also be expected to help them find jobs. [593] [873]

Another consequence of the dowry inflation is the increasingly late age of marriage for the village girls and the town men. It takes farmers longer to accumulate the larger amounts of cash for the dowry, and the prospective grooms longer to attain a position or income at least partially commensurate. Vasilika's girls who marry town men are usually between twenty-five and thirty. Those whose fathers have few land holdings, and consequently can offer only small dowries, have been marrying farmers from other villages or within Vasilika itself and have been in their early twenties at the time of the engagement. 582 583 369 556 182

Now let us consider the disposition of the dowry which goes with a girl marrying a town husband. First, if he accepts land as part of the dowry, he will of necessity have it worked by his wife's male relatives. In time, however, often by the end of the first decade of the marriage, the son-in-law may wish to expand his shop, or may wish to start building a house for himself or for his daughter's dowry, or may hear of a good investment opportunity. He will want money for these purposes, and so he begins, with his wife's consent and after consultation with her father, to arrange for the sale of dowry lands. Since the 1950's, prospective town grooms have been less willing to take land which they know they will eventually want to sell, and have been asking for cash or for a house in town. Anticipating this situation, several of Vasilika's farmers who have small daughters have begun to use their savings and even to sell a little land in order to build houses in Athens or in a provincial town so that by the time their daughters are ready to marry, the houses will provide the main portion of the dowry. 583 425 454 369

However, Vasilika is an open community in
369 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
463 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
871 tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The
[873] gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who
[166] wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the
age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six
years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son
may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office
employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an
employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a
neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent
[702] years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in
the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience
[554] of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation un-
doubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too
early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the
[873] town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash out-
lay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent
farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land
resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his
sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of
land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of
the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
554 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is al-
58 most impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future
social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the
dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or
city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either
train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they
have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a
dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be
[463] trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to
engage in these occupations.[3] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual,
therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of
602 his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a t[illegible]

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

remains that the provision of a more adequate training for the parish clergy is perhaps the most urgent problem which the Greek Church has to face at the present time. Great efforts are already being made. Nobody who was in touch with ecclesiastical affairs during the years which followed the occupation could fail to be impressed by the energy with which the founding of new seminaries for the country clergy was pursued. The courage with which the problem was then tackled is already beginning to bear fruit in the mountain dioceses of Macedonia and elsewhere, but a vast amount of work remains to be done. 793 871 [874]

The reader will recall that the Greek parish priest must be at least thirty years of age at his ordination. There is much to be said in support of this rule; it does, however, together with the canons relating to clerical marriage, raise very grave practical problems as to the training of the clergy. These are particularly acute in the case of the so-called 'Hieratic Schools', seven of which were flourishing in 1950. These ecclesiastical boarding schools, normally with a priest-monk as director assisted by three or four lay theologians, are open to boys who have completed their course at an ordinary elementary school. A boy will normally remain at the hieratic school until he is eighteen or nineteen, but only a very small proportion of those who stay the course are eventually ordained. A few will decide against marriage and will be made deacons shortly after completing their studies—perhaps going on to the theological school at Athens or Salonica. These, however, form a small minority, and very few of the remaining students will be ordained. Some will marry, and become teachers of theology or the classics in secondary schools; some will attach themselves to episcopal households as secretaries or lay preachers. Far the greater number, however, drift into more or less secular occupations, and while it is doubtless admirable that there should be tobacco merchants and bank clerks who are not merely well grounded in theology but can quote Chrysostom and Nazianzen with as great a facility as any clerk in holy orders, it is understandable that the bishops should lament the fact that so few of those educated at the ecclesiastical secondary schools offer themselves for ordination. 793 874 873 [875]

It would seem that if the parish priest is to be given any theological education over and above that which every Greek boy acquires in his village school and in his home, he must be sent back to school after following some secular calling for twelve years or more, or even after having been in orders for many years. Hence the establishment of the 793 874

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherchori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178 x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [241]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising mar- [434]
ket crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178 x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

in 1933. Since the war the number of recorded births has never 163
exceeded 19, and sank as low as 11 in 1953. Deaths have de- 168
clined also, but not as sharply, so that the natural increase of 621
the village population in the early 1950's ranged from 6 to 12 persons a year instead of the 30 to 40 a year of the early 1930's. This decrease is the more striking since the total population of the village grew from something like 450 at the time the basic [162] distribution of land was made in 1927 to 875 in 1956.

Two defects are obvious in the adjustment which the people 178x
of Nea Eleftherohori are making to their straitened circum- 873
stances. In the first place, there is no certainty that the boys 464
pursuing a secondary school education will be able to find jobs when their training is completed. In 1956, there were three or four graduates of the gymnasium living in the village, waiting for something to turn up. One of them was working as a laborer on a road gang – a fate considered a terrible indignity to an educated man, even by his peasant relatives. But I was told that so far, "sooner or later," everyone who had finished the gym- [647] nasium course had been able to get a job in town, usually in the government civil service; and the parents who were sending their boys to school seemed to have no serious doubts that in due course their sons, too, might find a government desk to sit behind. If their hopes should be betrayed, then of course the whole campaign for maintaining family standards of living will be in danger of breaking down. Bitter disillusionment and discontent may then gain ground, especially among the educated young men. This is a real danger, for even a civil service as capacious as that of Greece cannot absorb indefinitely the gym- [647] nasium graduates of many villages like Nea Eleftherohori; and, of course, the gymnasium training does not prepare the boys for anything but white-collar work.

The second defect is psychological. Long postponement of 178x
marriage through the dowry represents a drastic alteration 582
583

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
x178 seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by – a smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian
[433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family
[571] can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
x178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and
[582] hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is
165 evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been
[744] a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimination of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

*178 commands a premium price in Athens and elsewhere, the use
245 of fertilizer becomes a somewhat dubious economic advantage.
[438] The fact is, I believe, that the age-old adjustment of traditional peasant agriculture in the olive-growing regions of Greece is very nearly perfect. Certainly every scrap of potential soil is used in Kardamili, and the peasants know very well how to care for their trees. Except for chemical sprays that discourage a number of insect pests damaging to the crop, scientific agriculture has not yet devised any very important improvement upon traditional peasant methods of olive culture. But sprays were known in Kardamili before the war, and their use was resumed as soon as the chemicals became available.

*178 In 1956 the village launched a project for bringing water
312 down the mountain. An interest-free government loan made the
[652] enterprise possible; but, even when completed, the water pipes will not supply more than household needs, leaving a little over, perhaps, for watering gardens. Shortage of water has been the long-standing problem of the community. There was scarcely enough to drink when I was there, and each glassful was treated as something precious, since the women of the village had to carry it in jars from a trickling spring half a mile away.

*178 Yet in spite of the stability of agricultural methods, the social
621 system of the village, to all appearances, is beginning to change,
873 more or less as the social system of Nea Eleftherohori is changing. For one-thing, the villagers have begun to place great hopes in education, seeing in it a means of escaping from the land. Fifteen boys from the village were enrolled in the gymnasium in Kalamata in 1956, a quite considerable number in view of the fact that they had to live away from home, and thus had to meet expenses far greater than those confronting the boys from Nea Eleftherohori. In Kardamili itself, there is a school that teaches the first two years of the standard four-year gymnasium course. This school had eighty students, five more than

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

were enrolled in the village primary school because boys from 178x
neighboring villages were in attendance. Within Kardamili, I 621
was told, almost every boy goes through the first two years of 873
gymnasium. Even without the final two years in Kalamata there is a chance, though not a good one, of finding a clerical job somewhere outside.

The other aspect of the adjustment characteristic of Nea 178x
Eleftherohori – postponement of marriage through the dowry 582
system – is less advanced in Kardamili, but seems to be coming 583
in. Dowries are rising, I was told, and even a man who owns no land himself may now ask a wife to bring him 2,000 okes of olive oil – the equivalent of several hundred dollars. This is a far cry from the huge sums expected in Nea Eleftherohori by a young man who is to inherit land; but what is significant is that before the war such demands were not being made in Kardamili. In those days a landless man would expect no more than a nominal dowry.

Village statistics did not show very convincingly any decrease 621
in the birth rate, however. The decrease in numbers born no 161
more than corresponded to the decline in the village population. Moreover, the decrease in deaths was more rapid than any [744]
change in the number of births – owing, mainly, to the elimination of malaria – so that the rate of natural increase of the population had actually risen between 1947 and 1956. So far, it would appear, the villagers have not felt it necessary to change their family customs very profoundly. Migration, facilitated by education, has sufficed to relieve intolerable conditions. The [582]
more drastic step of postponing marriage has not become generally necessary.

In poor villages deeper into Mani, these processes have gone 178x
much further. In one that I visited only briefly, Yerolimini, I 166
was told that "no" young men are left in the village: all have 369
gone to seek their fortunes in Piraeus, where this village has

/1/

BIOGRAPHY

The writer was born in 1909 in the village of Tjakrak a few miles away from the largest hazel nut exporting harbor of Kerasoun on the Black Sea. 114

During 1914 he attended his village school. He was deported to the interior part of Asia Minor with the rest of his family and during deportation, 1916-1918 he lost his parents and a brother.

In 1919 he entered the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Morsovan Turkey. After a year of study in Anatolia College he left for Greece in 1922 with the rest of his people.

He attended the Chalkis Gymnasium High School for a year. [879] In 1923 he entered the migrated Anatolia College from Turkey to Greece. He graduated in 1926 and served for a year as teacher at the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Syra, Greece. In 1927 through the help of Professor Kelsey he came the United States and took his Bachelor of Science in 1932 from Cornell University. In 1932 he returned to Greece, and after a year's service in the Greek Army he started extension work in Kilkis area under the supervision of the Near East Foundation. During the years in extension work he married in 1934 Paulymnia Charpidou, a refugee from Pontus. Later a /2/ son was born. In 1939-40 he transferred to the Athens area to demonstrate the practical value of the new established system of extension.

In 1940 through the interest and help of Professor L. D. Kelsey he returned to Cornell for advanced work.

/73 cont./ 178
fertilizing methods or rotation methods or introduction of new 476
legume plants or a new variety of wheat. As a rule, their effect 242
on the farmers is great with definite results. 874

Thus the future farmers of Megali Vrisi, working cooperatively, felt the need of adopting new methods and passing on to others the results of their /74/ investigations. It is surprising to know how effectively the cooperative project has tied up these fellows in undertaking to do other jobs useful for their village.

The individual project idea was a failure. People who live [621]
in the same village, still under the patriarchial type of family life and whose problems are so closely interwoven, cannot help but cooperate and support whole-heartedly cooperative work. This very same idea led those boys to build a community hall 476
and a stage for theatrical shows. The whole structure was built 621
by personal work and what money was saved from theatrical shows [345]
at Christmas. The group learned Christmas carols and sang them [533]
to every house in the village. The contributions from this event [735]
were used for the poor of the village. The small reforestation project which was started by this group has led to the development [314]
of the "Day of the Green", at which day everyone in the village [185]
planted a tree on the hill.

The yearly athletic day event that provides an enjoyable [526]
gathering for the village was planned by the young men.

/75/ One can easily foresee the future of such a community [874]
which will be handled by people who learned to cooperate so well in their youth. This vocational education meant more to the lives of these young men than what they got from the grammar school.

Invasion of adult education. The Greek government, feeling 873
great responsibility toward these people, who during the wars of [658]
1912-1913, 1914-1918, and 1920-1922, lost the chance of attending schools, provided special evening lessons in each village. The lessons were handled by the teacher in the local school and thus many of these men and women had a chance to learn how

/75 cont./ 873

to read and write. Besides this, agricultural lectures were given to the farmers by the agriculturist of the area during the winter months on different topics concerning the farming life of the area. A series of 5 lectures were organized by the priest of the village on different topics such as history, travel, biography, and inventions. Thus the farmers of Megali Vrisi had an ample chance to get whatever they could from these different agencies. [544] [242] [793]

/76/ Part VII Religion

Magic. The people of Megali Vrisi, due to numerous activities of an educational character that have been established there, find themselves in a transition period of trying to put aside old beliefs and adopt new ones. They still believe that certain people in the village have power to command the spirits and perform miracles. A young man who thinks that his sweetheart does not like him finds as an outlet the consultation of magicians and their command of the spirits to change her mind. If a member of the family is in a foreign country or on travel the magicians are asked to order the spirits to protect them. A pregnant woman desiring to give birth to a boy instead of a girl asks the magicians to act favorably to her desires. The people who perform the role of a magician are old women with suspicious looks. The same women may act as mid-wives, too. 789 [178] [832] [484] [843] [791] [759]

Certain signs handed down from generation to generation are believed to be true. A black cat crossing the road is thought a bad sign. If you meet a priest early in the morning, they think the whole day will be filled with failures. Dogs crying mean somebody is going /77/ to die in the neighborhood. When the eyelid moves fast some good news is coming. 777 [763]

The above are a few of the good and bad luck signs.

Religious beliefs. Almost every farmer has a Saint in whom he believes strongly. The ikon of the Saint, in front of which he 353 778 776

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes
476 closely identified with the central government, which immediately intro-
178 duces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting
438 past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic
474 greatness because of the well-run association which administered the com-
621 munity's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different
474 in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece
426 today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village
[875] of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with
656 at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

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634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a
661 week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village. One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban
[369] village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government
[875] although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
[758] rangement [*kondota*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[465] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our
[793] priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

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871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban
[212] Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent
[369] among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men).
[562] Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war
[669] many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals
[875] they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen to us if we can't read?"

Local Support for the School

871 Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by
[875] the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school, since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many
[875] parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people and the community council toward the education of their children.

[634] One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred
[653] schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board, the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

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solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable. 871

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities. 346 [177]

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture: [177] 346 727

The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[5] [634] [658] [653]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7] 872 [346] [875]

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871 Therefore, the school board in many villages has its hands full trying to provide an adequate school building by seeking aid from the King's Institute, from the local community council, or from whatever other source can be tapped. The village is much more apt to procure and hold a teacher, [875] since teachers are in such short supply, if it can provide him something approximating satisfactory living conditions. That is why some school boards, [346] in constructing a new school, include a room in which the teacher can live, for such private accommodations are not available in many Greek villages. Providing necessary equipment and school supplies is another persistent problem for the school board, particularly since many of the parents cannot afford to buy for their children what the teacher thinks essential. [658] Nor should it be supposed that the national government is indifferent to this state of affairs. Its funds for education are necessarily limited and these are first earmarked for teachers' salaries. What kind of person, one might ask, would care to teach under some of the difficulties encountered in the village schools?

The Village Teacher

875 For the almost 940,000 pupils in elementary school in 1956–57, there 872 were 19,872 teachers. This means a national average of about 47 pupils per teacher, although as an average it indicates that a large number of teachers have more than this. In many of the smaller villages, the teachers have from four to six grades in one room, reminiscent of the rural one-room school in America of many years ago.

If we turn to accounts of village life, we gain a quick insight into, but certainly not a representative sampling of, the number of teachers one would meet, since each of these villages has at least three teachers:

[874] In a fairly large Macedonian village we find five teachers, three with the rank of "instructors" who have finished a two-year normal school beyond secondary school. The two others are trained kindergarten or nursery-school teachers. They have 402 pupils, of whom 358 are in the regular six grades and 44 are in kindergarten and nursery. Most of these teachers have been in this village for at least five years. Nevertheless, because of their urban background, their thinking is urban and they find it difficult to take part in village activities.

In a village near Xanthe there are three teachers, all new to the community, who are paid by the central government. Two of these are from the Peloponnesos far to the south. All are graduates of the pedagogical academies. They have 156 pupils with an average daily attendance of 142.

Another village in Central Greece has three teachers: one man and two women. The man has resided in the village since 1947; one woman was appointed head of the school in 1942 but was away during the German occupation; the third was appointed in 1951. All are graduates of the normal school.

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They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8] 872

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background: 875

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians. [872] [873] [727]

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained: 875 369 [212] [55] 875

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself. [197]

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching. [465]

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera- [871]

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875 tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village,
871 today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-
[554] educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influ-
[242] ence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia, who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is cherished," he concluded.

871 It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the
184 past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a
[231] long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from Southern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted: "The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in the Peloponnesos."

[175] But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better education. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the
[875] state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

875 Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated. But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

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intimately, agreed with many of the points that the Athens gymnasium director had made, as the following summary of his comment shows: 875

About thirty or forty years ago the community was independent. It was something solid; it elected the best people to office. Why? They elected their own teacher, their own priest, and the field guards. Three main points of their life — education, religion, and security — were all in their own hands. The central government wanted to take into its own control all of these functions in order to put in its own appointees who would influence the people. The peasants lost their ability to manage their own affairs, and became hostile to the government and to the teacher. The teacher is no longer responsible to the farmer but to the government. Nowadays, because of this and because of the anti-government attitude brought in by the refugees from Turkey, the peasant has separated himself from his government and asks everything from it. 875 829 631

The teacher has no obligation toward the village, no sense of community relations. He stays in the coffeehouse and aims to move to a town or city. Formerly a village would give some bright boy a chance to go outside for an education and then he would come back and live in the village where he had his own home. He was one of the best teachers. 875

When one begins to sift from many conversations the findings about the village teacher and to read the village accounts which include him in their pages, a few matters stand out. First of all, it is true that the allegiance of the teacher is to the national government and to the bureaucracy upon which his advancement depends. He thinks of himself as a representative of the national ideal, which he is supposed to instill in every child studying under him. His loyalty is therefore to Greece, and one of his major purposes is to help the village child feel a close identification with the national state. Second, he tries, often like a drillmaster, to get the pupils to master the course content worked out in Athens. The brighter ones need encouragement to go on to the gymnasium and must receive the preparation that will serve them in good stead there. Third, the teacher must train children to participate through song, recitation, and national dance in the various holiday celebrations and festivals that come along and at which the school makes an appearance. This serves a village purpose in that it encourages local traditions and provides some diversion in what many would consider the humdrum life of the villager. But there are few teachers in the national school system, unless they are in one of the specialized schools set up for the purpose, who undertake any adult education or even try to make the younger scholars look around at their village environment for ways in which it can be improved. Very often I got the impression that many teachers were even trying to make the villagers forget the present and its problems by focusing their attention on the past and its glories as a substitute for action today. 875 871 619 [873]

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875 But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not
156 expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children
so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve
[212] glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read
and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way
places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is
[369] supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and
other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally
how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that
875 he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about
the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

The School Curriculum

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873 Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

[871] In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her childern how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

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793 in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will
[177] do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest."[11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires
[754] was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

793 The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the
794 priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, consisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruc-
[875] tion, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

795 The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other
788 Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending can not help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross,
[346] with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome repre-
[778] senting heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*),
[562] which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congregate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

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The Village Notables

554 Contrary to popular belief, one does not always find the village notables sitting around the coffeehouse. Most of them are usually busy people, working in their fields, around their houses, or in a shop. They do make at least brief appearances around the square some time during the day, most probably after supper. Loafers do not become notables in a Greek village. To learn who these notables were, I asked throughout mainland Greece: "Who are the most important people in your village? Why are they important?"

[622] I was struck by the fact that in 1955 and 1959 more people seemed to stress the high prestige of the community president than they had done in 1953. This impression, if fully verified, would indicate a growing importance of and a re-emphasis upon local government in the Greek scheme of things. One priest in the Peloponnesos attributed this shift to the fact that "interest in religion is not as great as twenty years ago and church attendance has declined." A few typical replies, many contradicting each other in some details, will convey the villager's view of the notables in his community. From Central Greece:

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> The greatest honor in our village is to be president of the community. Those who are most respected are those with the most money. Anyone who has money receives a hearty "good morning"; without money he doesn't. This is because our people are not educated. In fact, the priest gets more respect than the teacher, which is not as it should be. The local doctor, too, is respected.

From another village in Central Greece we hear:

> The most important people are the most educated, either the doctor or the teacher who, thanks to his education, can solve a problem in which the people are interested. We have some clever people who try to overshadow the teacher in order to influence other villagers, but if they are to do this they must be respected. If an extremely clever person is immoral, he has no great prestige. Two things influence other people: to be just in his judgment and honorable. We respect a man more if he is honorable than if he is rich. Even an uneducated man who is a good farmer and has good judgment and is honorable can have influence.

[665] Party leaders in former times would have been included among the notables, according to a businessman from Thebes:

> In my childhood days the party leader would have ranked as most important, particularly if he belonged to the strongest party and would be able to help local people solve their problems. Nowadays in the village the president of the community would play a great part. The doctor, if there is one, has high position, provided that he is respected by the others. In the old days the priest and teacher were more respected than today. In my childhood when the teacher

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In my childhood when the teacher
or priest would pass through the village square people would stand up. The local merchants in the village have changed their status little, for their role in life is still to do commerce. 554 875 793 622

The extent to which the priest or the president of the local cooperative, where it exists, is considered important depends today very much upon the personalities of the individuals involved. One person said: [474]

The role of the priest should be mentioned along with the teacher and doctor. He should lead because he represents the church and is more educated than the peasants. But there are some priests who play little part in community life. I know of one who drinks too much, shoots off his revolver, and is not respected.

The relative prestige of the village notables has been influenced by the practice of the central government in providing the teacher and the priest. Only the community president comes into office as the result of local initiative, but even his status, though gaining ground, is not what it used to be thirty or forty years ago:

The president of the village is usually a better man than the president of the cooperative because there is more tradition behind his office. But it does not always hold that the best man is picked as president. In Thessaly forty years ago when the president came into the coffeehouse all the men rose in deference to "their president." [474]

A man from a mountain village in Central Greece who is active in the cooperative movement contrasted the various statuses in his community:

I find that the teacher enjoyed more prestige formerly than now. Earlier there was a higher percentage of illiterates, but today many village sons have gone away for a higher education and so people are not so dependent upon the teacher. Since officials do not wish to undermine the position of the teacher, the agronom and other representatives of the nomarchia always consult the teacher when arriving in the village.

This man thought the secretary of the village more important than the president.

When I put the question of relative prestige of the notables to a group of students at the American Farm School in Salonica, I found the anticipated difference of opinion. The majority of the boys, all from villages, said that the president of the community was most important, but others said that the priest would be "if he is from the village itself and has a good reputation." They pointed out that the president of the community becomes involved in politics and is therefore apt to antagonize those who may differ with him politically. Of the twenty villages represented, fourteen had doctors. Only six of these were considered community leaders. These village boys also thought, for the most part, that the wealthy peasants were [759]

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554 not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other
●875 office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has
799 achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Mace-
622 donia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history,
[729] and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the
[561] textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

554 I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to
167 time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States,
177 would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 the British Admiralty, 1930); and M. L. Newbigin, *Southern Europe: A Regional and Economic Geography of the Mediterranean Lands* (3rd ed., London, 1949).

3. One still finds many similarities between the peasants of Hesiod's time (see his "Works and Days") and those of today.

4. Many allusions to nature are found in the passionate novel about the Communist guerrilla war by Panos D. Bardis, *Ivan and Artemis* (New York, 1957).

5. "The Holy Virgin's Hand" is mentioned on p. 123 of G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903). This book gives a number of examples of the peasants' use of and adaptation to nature.

6. For a delightful essay on the flowers of Greece, see "Flowers of Ancient Greece," *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 23, 1954.

7. For an earlier account of peasant cosmological beliefs, see the article by N. G. Politis in *Attikon Emerologion* (1882); also G. Kapsalis, "Meteorologikes paroimiakes Phraseis" (Meteorological Proverbial Phrases), *Laographia*, XIII (1950).

8. One of the most authentic documents on Greek village life came into my hands through a mutual acquaintance of T. K. Papaspyropoulos, the author. This account is in Greek typescript, from which the passages used in my book have been translated with the permission of the author. Mr. Papaspyropoulos teaches singing in one of Athens' secondary schools and has specialized in folk music. I accompanied him on a visit to his village, where I had a chance to observe at first hand many of the sights he so colorfully describes.

[875] [123]

9. A very common phrase among the peasants is *Ean theli o Theos* (If God is willing), to which one replies *Vevea, prota o Theos* (Yes, of course, first God).

10. Interesting observations on the use in Homer of the ancient Greek terms *atē* (divine temptation or infatuation, cause of irrational actions) and *moira* (portion or lot) are found in E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951).

11. The facts and figures used in this section are taken in large part from *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, 1947), and *Story of the American Marshall Plan in Greece, July 1, 1948 to Jan. 1, 1952*, Press Release No. 1300, MSA (Athens, July 20, 1952).

12. For the problem of soil erosion, see Constantine I. Nevros, "Soil Erosion in Greece," *Soil Conservation, VI* (1940), and F. G. Renner, "Erosion, Trojan Horse of Greece," *National Geographic*, December 1947. For forestry, see W. Miller, *Greek Town and Country Life* (London, 1905), pp. 229–232.

13. E. G. Mariolopoulos and A. N. Livathinos, in *Atlas climatique de la Grèce* (Athens, 1935), give a good description of the Greek climate.

14. For two views on the sun (Helios) and St. Elias, see the articles by N. G. Politis in *Laographika Symmikta B'* (1921), and E. Rein, "Zu der Verehrung des Propheten Elias bei den Neugriechen," *Ofversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, XLVII (1904–1905).

15. Percy F. Martin, *Greece of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1913), pp. 267–68, discusses the company-tenant relations worked out at Lake Kopais as of 1913.

[427]

16. One friend wrote in 1959: "Fresh fish has always been expensive. Earlier this winter there was a sudden 50 percent price rise. We ourselves cannot afford fresh fish and buy frozen fish brought in by Greek boats from the Atlantic, which is now available in many parts of Greece. It is a scandal that abundant fresh fish at reasonable prices is not available to the Greeks."

[435]

17. This gorgon is really a sea nymph or mermaid (*gorgona* in modern Greek) and not one of the classical gorgons of terrifying aspect (Medusa and her sisters).

18. Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, trans. from the Greek by E. D. Scott-Kilvert (London, 1949), p. 94.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks. 244 [417]

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet. 222 262 462 [857]

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need. 245 251 262 [574]

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes. [438] [263]

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument. 242 251 245 178 [262]

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children 242 178 245 [875]

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242 help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to
178 plant on the highway near the village.

[245] The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the tech-
[875] niques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton
[435] lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had
[244] failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck
[434] farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

231 Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with
492 the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of
231 wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaonboi* fashion.

[552] The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not re-
[865] move the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

233 Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy
[434] mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes
262 the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt
233 and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in
[272] milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but
[574] otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a
236 wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large
283 kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

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152 a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother
156 went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show
828 the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother
867 pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?"
And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

875 When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell
861 the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

156 Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their
828 lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component
867 of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his
577 masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his ful-
562 fillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his
574 knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

156 Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute
828 failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If any-
577 thing goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equip-
777 ment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

156 Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connota-
828 tion of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting.
574 It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises
571 the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

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planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

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school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional methods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets, which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evangelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

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remains that the provision of a more adequate training for the parish clergy is perhaps the most urgent problem which the Greek Church has to face at the present time. Great efforts are already being made. Nobody who was in touch with ecclesiastical affairs during the years which followed the occupation could fail to be impressed by the energy with which the founding of new seminaries for the country clergy was pursued. The courage with which the problem was then tackled is already beginning to bear fruit in the mountain dioceses of Macedonia and elsewhere, but a vast amount of work remains to be done. 793 871 [874]

The reader will recall that the Greek parish priest must be at least thirty years of age at his ordination. There is much to be said in support of this rule; it does, however, together with the canons relating to clerical marriage, raise very grave practical problems as to the training of the clergy. These are particularly acute in the case of the so-called 'Hieratic Schools', seven of which were flourishing in 1950. These ecclesiastical boarding schools, normally with a priest-monk as director assisted by three or four lay theologians, are open to boys who have completed their course at an ordinary elementary school. A boy will normally remain at the hieratic school until he is eighteen or nineteen, but only a very small proportion of those who stay the course are eventually ordained. A few will decide against marriage and will be made deacons shortly after completing their studies—perhaps going on to the theological school at Athens or Salonica. These, however, form a small minority, and very few of the remaining students will be ordained. Some will marry, and become teachers of theology or the classics in secondary schools; some will attach themselves to episcopal households as secretaries or lay preachers. Far the greater number, however, drift into more or less secular occupations, and while it is doubtless admirable that there should be tobacco merchants and bank clerks who are not merely well grounded in theology but can quote Chrysostom and Nazianzen with as great a facility as any clerk in holy orders, it is understandable that the bishops should lament the fact that so few of those educated at the ecclesiastical secondary schools offer themselves for ordination. 793 874 873 [875]

It would seem that if the parish priest is to be given any theological education over and above that which every Greek boy acquires in his village school and in his home, he must be sent back to school after following some secular calling for twelve years or more, or even after having been in orders for many years. Hence the establishment of the 793 874

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other the celibate clergy from whose ranks the chief ministers of the Church are normally chosen. In the training of the former book-learning plays but little part. The seminaries aim at providing no more than an elementary grounding in pastoralia for a race of craftsmen and peasant-farmers who, with few exceptions, are more at home with a plough than a pen, and are wholly unequipped for academic pursuits. The higher clergy, however, are almost invariably graduates, well versed in the disputations of the schools. 793 874 [589]

While the married clergy receive their training in the seminaries, the potential bishop is fashioned in the theological schools of the universities of Athens and Salonica. The theological faculty of the northern university was established only a few years ago. In former days many of the higher Greek clergy went to the theological academy at Halki, near Constantinople: a celebrated institution which, in the days of its prosperity, attracted students from every part of the Orthodox world. After the first world war, however, this sank to the level of a provincial seminary, and it is only in recent years (under the guiding hand of a new Oecumenical Patriarch) that it has regained something of its old prestige. Thus, the great majority of the present Greek bishops and archimandrites are graduates of the University of Athens.

In considering the place occupied by the theological schools of the universities within the framework of training for the ministry, it must not be forgotten that the clergy account for only a small proportion of the students of these faculties, far the greater number of whom are lay men and women (there are quite a few girls amongst the theological students of Athens and Salonica, and their number is steadily increasing). In the universities, moreover, as in the seminaries and the ecclesiastical schools, the majority of the teaching staff are laymen. The only cleric among the Athens professors—the Archimandrite B. Stephanides (whose *Ecclesiastical History* seems likely to be a standard work for every Greek student for many years to come)—retired in 1950 and was succeeded by a layman; while at Salonica likewise, only the professor of ecclesiastical history—an archimandrite who was formerly in charge of the Greek church in Paris—is in orders. Although the lay theologian has a long and distinguished ancestry in eastern Christendom and is often a man of deep spirituality, it can nevertheless be a trifle startling to hear a layman lecturing, to an audience which includes experienced priests and *pneumatikoi*, on the mystery of confession. [875]

The university course normally lasts four years. The theology of the [177]

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123 we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river
793 Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and
484 screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly difficult stretch of terrain.

About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages
[342] and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins. Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened
[262] one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy ridges of Pindos far above us.

123 It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the
793 tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless.
[875] Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa Costas divested himself of his outer *rason*, and, commending ourselves to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a
[262] few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas,
[346] Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

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727
346
[211]

About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. [872] The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had 875 just been released from the army. He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the 123 unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. The [793] priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena.

The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one [484] of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the

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communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

/39 cont./

At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

533 765 [535] [585]

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

212 793 875 517 [426] [544] [538]

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

212 517 857 [354] [204] [521]

/70 cont./

Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built. 362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses. 871 [727]

/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write. 212 871

The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life. 875 [872] [871]

Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother [554] [793] [275]

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
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The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

577 are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to
867 teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to
577 something abstract, like the government, which is equated with
671 impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother
619 of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

577 Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility,
608 or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty
661 evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

577 Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person
476 helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

867 Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from
571 birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the
608 parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this
849 structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is
671 not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience
875 and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 512 turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their [275] evening meals before and go afterwards.

Summer. As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start [241] preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then [241] we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that 221 of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 241 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts [432] we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we [273] press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and 82 our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare 4o, don't believe in Him and don't

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

872 school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They
875 lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional meth-
[876] ods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the
[609] schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational
[861] functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

872 On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of
527 interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of Octo-
[292] ber), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the
[648] Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day
[541] that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

[796] The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in
[541] 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets,
[536] which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary
[522] incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some
[535] of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evan-*
[621] *gelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

centre at Agrinion which includes an orphanage, a hospital (where the nurses are members of the Eusebeia sisterhood), and a group of workshops. All this has sprung from the little brotherhood which Father Eusebius gathered about him in 1907. 794

I have made no mention of many other voluntary movements which now flourish in Athens and its suburbs: movements like the 'Christian Corner', the 'Christian Social Union' and the association known as the 'Three Hierarchs'. All these were founded by lay people and have remained wholly lay in character. Their members include many distinguished men and women; their activities are both evangelistic and philanthropic.

No account of the evangelistic activity of recent years can ignore the part played by Christian literature, both periodicals and books. Almost every movement has at least one periodical of its own, and the circulation of these weekly and fortnightly papers is astonishingly large for a country where most of the inhabitants devote little time to reading, and where (even in the universities) oral instruction still predominates. The periodical *Zoë*, for example, which has been issued weekly since 1911, now has more than 100,000 subscribers. Several of the provincial movements publish excellent periodicals which circulate all over Greece; such for instance is the journal *Apolytrosis*, published every month by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Thessaloniki, which has a circulation of about 12,000 copies. The 'School of Christ' in the same city also publishes monthly papers, devoted to scriptural exegesis, which are used by many preachers. Both Zoë and the Christian Unions of Father Nissiotes publish periodicals for children. 204 794 [876]

In the field of book production, as elsewhere, the Zoë Brotherhood has led the way, and the exhibition held in Athens in January, 1950, was an impressive monument to the diligence with which the written word has been cultivated in recent years. Father Eusebius himself wrote many books during the last twenty years of his life, and his *magnum opus*, *The Destiny of Man*, has exercised untold influence. Amidst a wealth of books covering almost every field of Christian literature I would pay special tribute to the work of the brotherhood in publishing the text of the New Testament and the Septuagint in moderately-priced editions well printed on good paper. The Zoë pocket edition of the New Testament has had an enormous circulation. 214 794

Of liturgical reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary

/29 cont./

leave school the second or third year and often with ill health. Two of the young men died from T. B. in Megali Vrisi. Both of them were in High School for two years. 871 164

Discipline. Besides the local school which plays /30/ a large part in discipline, the established morals of the village disciplines the youth. The part also of the grandparents and especially that of "Gerousia" is important. The most effective type and enforced one is through "Gerousia". 861 876 [626] [623]

The stick at home and at school still has its blessings, since according to the philosophy of the villagers it came out of paradise. Even married men sometimes are subjected to this stick punishment by the parents without any complaint. The teacher keeps it on his desk and one corner of his office is filled with reserve sticks to use in case one breaks. When a teacher has 175 students of six grades, there is no time for explaining why and how, the stick enforces everything. [593]

Political and Religious Training in the home. The political training is formed and reshaped in the coffee house. The convincing speakers and those that can read newspapers usually influence the rest. Coffee houses are places for recreation and the exchange of ideas, for forming political beliefs and for deciding important decisions for the community. Its function as a coffee drinking place is of minor importance. 275 517 [208] [867]

The name does not mean very much to the average person who does not have experience of the coffee house. The number of coffee houses usually denotes the magnitude /31/ of the conflict groups and the amount of leisure time the farmers have. The coffee houses, besides being the place where one sips his coffee and plays his "tavli", are also centers for drinking from soft to strong alcoholic drinks. Quarrels, conflicts, political discussions and gambling take place in the coffee houses. With all these evils, still the coffee house is one of the best social centers, and centers where the common farmers exchange ideas and become aware of the current world political problems. It is the center [578] [578] [525] [208]

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2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young; men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the privilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, 602
her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of [195]
"we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the [538]
plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother 594
must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his 593
age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard [577]
or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can [183]
wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in 583
the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often 584
functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned [602]
with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, [607]
with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young 584
men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes 882
or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

584 882 increasing freedom in the lives of young people, particularly in Athens. Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so widespread that the family, in effect, has its eyes on the young people wherever they go.

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

842 The Greeks love children. Boys are generally preferred; traditionally, sons are a sign of family vigour. Besides, a family not only loses its daughters, it has to pay out property with them. Childlessness is a terrible calamity, and the woman is held responsible. People say "the poor man", pitying the husband for his wife's sterility. A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief, telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family. Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept "maternity difficulties" without asking for medical help, lest this might somehow harm their fertility. A book 581 on maternal and child care, *For the Mother*, urges that before marriage, both family histories be examined for possible sterility.

For the Mother urges young people to choose mates with a view to progeny. As a sanction, it mentions that the ancient Greeks urged eugenic marriages; and that the term "eugenics" was invented by Xenophon. Young people are advised to see a doctor before making the final decision. They are further advised to choose according to firmness of flesh and orderliness of features and limbs, for seriousness tempered with cheerfulness, for optimism implemented by effective energy. Marriage with kin, and with people having family histories of tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, psychasthenia, is to be avoided.

843 According to this manual, a young woman beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indisposition, accompanied by the non-appearance of the menses: this the husband diagnoses for her with great joy. Next come the food whims and the nausea, and this is the time to go for obstetrical advice. The first two months are the critical ones for the life of the embryo; therefore, a mother is urged to take a vacation in the second month. After that she may resume her normal activities, taking care only to avoid over-exertion and jerky movements [515] In the last month she should not immerse herself in bathing, because of the danger of infection; for the same reason, she should avoid sexual intercourse in the last three weeks. In the last two weeks she [513] should avoid all exertion. She should sleep eight to ten hours daily during her pregnancy, never more, lest she become listless and melancholy. She should avoid large social gatherings, she should not play cards, she should drink nothing stronger than light wine, she should eat meals as balanced as is consistent with her means and her

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel [594] over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, [581] people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [567] [594] [596]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562] different from each other for that.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

women) afford a systematic course of instruction in Christian doctrine 794
and practice for boys and girls between the ages of nine and twenty-two. These children have all, it must be borne in mind, been full com- [795
municant members of the Church since infancy. There are no con- 883]
firmation classes in Greece, and, within the new movements at least, the period of adolescence, when so overwhelming a proportion of our own children lose all vital contact with the Church, is commonly that at which the young Greek Christian begins to play an active part in the life of his local community.

The size of the catechetical schools, even in the provincial towns of 162
northern Greece (where such schools were not founded until the late 794
'thirties and had hardly established themselves when these districts were overwhelmed by foreign occupation and Communist sedition) is often quite staggering. The figures for the town of Kilkis—a few miles north of Salonica and the scene of some of the bloodiest massacres of the whole war—may serve as an illustration. During the year 1948–49, when the war with the Communists was at its height, membership of the catechetical schools was as follows:

	Boys	*Girls*
Junior schools	782	696
Middle schools	165	180
Senior schools	55	77
Young workers	123	293
	1125	1246

These are the figures for a Macedonian market town whose pre-war population scarcely exceeded 7,000. Even allowing for the fact that several hundreds of the children belonging to the catechetical schools in 1948–49 were refugees from the villages of the diocese, they show the astonishing development of these new Christian schools within a bare ten or eleven years.

Remarkable as these figures may seem they are by no means exceptional. All over Greece catechetical schools have sprung up as it were overnight and multiplied with incredible rapidity, despite the lack of trained leaders. At Kilkis the metropolitan had the assistance of one [793]
priest-theologian. In the adjoining diocese of Siderokastro, where the bishop had only a seminary-trained preacher to help him, and where

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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794 [162] [793] catechetical schools were in September, 1949, quite a recent innovation, membership of the schools, in a town considerably smaller than Kilkis, had already risen to 957 and was increasing rapidly. In and around Salonica the number of catechetical schools under the supervision of the Zoë Brotherhood rose from less than thirty in 1942 to 170 in 1949.

The catechetical school normally meets every Sunday, and the teaching is based on one of the two courses now in circulation—the first issued by the Zoë Brotherhood, the second (only recently published) by the official Home Mission. While the parallels with our own Sunday Schools and 'catechisms' are evident, these Greek schools have a character which is all their own. Particularly impressive is the stimulus which is given to the active apostolate of the laity. The children are from their earliest days encouraged to pull their weight in the life of the local *ekklesia*. At Verroia, in the spring of 1950, boys of nine were visiting the townsfolk and delivering letters from the *hierokeryx* of the metropolis. At Salonica, where the catechetical schools under the auspices of the Apostoliki Diakonia were normally directed by a student of the theological faculty of the university, the teacher would at the end of a lesson despatch his pupils, two by two, to call at the homes of any who through sickness or for some other cause had been unable to be present that day. When the defaulter was run to earth he would be given a brief *résumé* of the afternoon's lesson.

794 883 The catechetical schools form the base of an impressive structure still in process of creation. In describing the Christian youth movements that now flourish in almost every diocese of Greece I will start with those connected with the Zoë Brotherhood, which are the most important. The reader will recall that as early as 1877 Father Eusebius (then chaplain to the School of the Logos) was experimenting with small groups of young people and adults, and such *omades* have played an important part in the extension of his teaching and influence.

First, then, the movement known as *X.M.O.* (*Christianikai Mathetikai Omades*). This is made up of selected members of the catechetical schools between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Its members try to bring others to the catechetical schools, to spread sound sacramental teaching, to distribute Christian publications and generally to set a high standard of conduct by their example. Each group consists of from fifteen to twenty members, meets once or twice a week and is led by an undergraduate (at any rate in Athens and Salonica).

These student-leaders are drawn from another youth organisation

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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known as the 'Christian Union of Students', or *X.Φ.E.* (*Christianiki Phoitetiki Enosis*), founded in 1933, membership of which is confined to undergraduates of the two universities. The movement is sub-divided into 'circles' which meet every week for Bible study. Members of this organisation often preach in village churches in the vicinity of Athens and Salonica, and teams of students undertake missions in the country dioceses. About 1946 there was created a further youth movement, the 'Christian Union of Young Workers' (*Christianiki Enosis Ergazomenon Neon*, or *X.E.E.N.*) This had spread to most of the chief towns of Greece within three years of its foundation and is growing fast. It is organised in factories and workshops much as *X.Φ.E.* in the universities, in 'circles'—one would be tempted to say 'cells' had the word not acquired associations which would be misleading in the present context. The age limits for this movement are seventeen to twenty-five. Many of its members are at present serving in the army.

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These three youth movements, *X.M.O.*, *X.Φ.E.*, and *X.E.E.N.*, are all under the direction of the Zoë Brotherhood. Amongst other organisations for young men and girls, too numerous to describe in detail, several demand special mention. I have already referred to the 'Christian Union of Young People' (*X.O.N.*) that flourishes in the Piraeus. From the movement of Father Angelos Nissiotes there has sprung up in recent years a 'Student Christian Association' which meets every week under the guidance of Professor Bratsiotes, for the study of the Bible. Membership of this extremely lively group is confined to university men and women: it includes some of the ablest of the younger theologians, and has taken the lead in co-operating with the Oecumenical Institute in Switzerland and with the World Student Christian Federation.

Other vigorous youth organisations are to be found attached to several parish churches in Athens—notably at the church of the Prophet Elias, Pankrati, where the then Archimandrite Timothy Matthaiakes (now assistant bishop of Salonica) built up an extremely interesting movement—while many a provincial town has become a centre for similar activities.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that membership of the voluntary movements is confined to young men and girls. Their scope is far wider. As a lay theologian of the Zoë Brotherhood once said to me, it is scarcely an exaggeration to claim that the various Christian unions now make provision for every man or woman from the cradle to the

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/8 cont./

Since the refugees settled the village changed its external and internal appearance. The pond in the center of the village was filled up with 1400 cubic meters of dirt. It was fenced and a war memorial monument was erected in the center of it. Many shrubs were planted /9/ and the acacia trees surround the whole park. Once a bathing spot for the lazy buffalo, it has become now a rendezvous place for the youth of the village. The refugees were not satisfied with the well water and through personal work brought running water to the village from the nearby hills. A large fountain was built in the square of the village and two more smaller ones in the neighborhoods. As soon as the water came to the village, at the inauguration ceremony, the village changed its name from Armoutchi (Pear bearing) to Megali Vrisi (Big Fountain).

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Many of the Turkish houses were torn down and new houses with better roads and aesthetic appearance were put up. The whole village is covered with huge elm trees. The South Western part is occupied by the Thracians and the North by the Caucasians.

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The Thracians are the only refugees who changed their homes for four times in less than 10 years and this last one may be the fifth. They are so discouraged in building big houses and leaving them every time to the enemy to destroy them that they all decided to erect one room houses with mud walls and ceiling made out of reeds. The cost of the material does not exceed more than $18 to $25. One of them once told me, "I left enough big houses to the enemy who destroyed them. This time I am going to destroy it before he comes in." When I laughed /10/ at his last remark, he shook his head and said. "You are too young yet to know the Balkans." No, I think he was right. Every Thracian family can carry everything they have on their backs. They simplified their lives, having only those things that are the most essential.

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one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing together. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is, "God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of preventing birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3 members in the family. The compound family makes farming

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

621 x 178 villagers know that they are now much better off than the people in Yugoslav Macedonia, with whom they so recently felt a [197] [619] degree of kinship.

Since 1954 no representative of the Greek government has [631] lived in the village. An army detachment, which had been there from 1949, departed in 1954, leaving patriotic slogans on the walls of the buildings used as barracks. No gendarmes came to replace the soldiers. Hence the village has been left very largely to its own devices. The inhabitants like it that way. As is true [651] of all villages in Greece, the government no longer tries to collect direct taxes from Kotta (as it did before the war), but contents itself with a 2 per cent sales tax on products sold in town markets. This, for Kotta, amounts to paying almost no taxes at all, for the inhabitants sell almost nothing. This, too, pleases the villagers.

Kotta, therefore, is a community in which thoroughly old- [727] fashioned attitudes prevail. In spite of the harrowing guerrilla war – or rather because of it – life has resumed its old, familiar channels; and since everyone now has enough to eat without having to venture into the outside world, the villagers seem well content to settle down within their nearly self-sufficient valley and let the world go by.

621 161 x 178 The real question for the future is whether or not the village will proceed once again to breed children on the reckless scale that prevailed before. The age structure of the surviving popu- [728] lation is altogether anomalous, the removal of all children between the ages of two and fourteen in 1948 having left a great gap. Moreover, military losses and emigration overseas mainly affected young men and women of the next older age groups. The potentially childbearing population has therefore been drastically depleted, so much so that out of a total of seventy- [885] seven families in 1956, the village contained only four or five couples of childbearing age. (One must bear in mind that in a

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kotta
[Hill Villages]

community where very early marriages have been the rule, a woman of thirty or thirty-five is already old.) Between 1952 and 1956 there were only four marriages in the village, twelve births, sixteen deaths. Under the circumstances, it seems certain that the population will decrease still further in the immediate future. 621 161 178 [885]

Yet even four or five families could turn out to be quite enough to repopulate the village, if the old patterns of early marriage and numerous children prevail. Indeed, the close blood relationships of all the villagers suggests that in times past the community may well have contained only a handful of families from whom hundreds (or, counting those overseas, thousands) in due course descended. Thanks to the depopulation brought by the guerrilla war, the traditional life of Kotta has become easy once again, and if the young people accept the old ways, and do not allow the glitter of urban life overseas, reflected in the letters and money orders sent back by friends and relatives, to change their outlook, then it seems fairly certain that within a decade or less the depopulation of the village will come to a halt, and rapid growth in numbers will begin once more. If so, after something like thirty or forty years Kotta will probably be back in the impossible position of 1947.

This cycle is, I believe, the key to much Balkan history. The peasant family system was adjusted, from age-old antiquity, to supply large numbers of children, most of whom died from violence or disease before attaining adulthood. With the more or less effective pacification of the countryside in the last couple of centuries, together with the elimination of some epidemic diseases and the control of others, this age-old balance was thrown out of kilter, so that the peasant population began (as early as the mid-eighteenth century) to run far ahead of the development of resources that might sustain it. 175 161 669

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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[VII]

Woman's Work Is Never Done

In traveling in Greece from south to far north, one finds numerous variations in family life. Among the Greeks of Slavic descent, who more and more are being assimilated into Greek national life, a man feels a strong sense of responsibility for his brother's family. Among the Vlachs described in the last chapter there is persisting prejudice against the dowry system common in Greece. The Turks of Thrace follow Islam unhampered and continue to keep their women in relative seclusion.[1] Furthermore, the Greek refugees who left their ancestral homes in Asia Minor in the 1920s brought many family patterns new to those whose forefathers had lived in Greece itself. The women in refugee villages of Macedonia, for example, have more independence of decision than do those of nonrefugee villages, according to those government specialists trying to promote programs of child care and home economics.

There are variations, too, in the extent to which the larger kinship group participates in (or interferes with) the activities of a particular family. In general, one can say that the kin will take over the orphaned children, but the aged are supposed to be taken care of by their own children and not by their other relatives. Furthermore, a man who has a favored position which carries a handsome salary is not required to distribute portions of his salary to less fortunate kin, but he is apt to give quicker service to rela-

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 .EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law. 591 606 607 [596]

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law. 606 596 [584] [171]

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home. 593 596 606

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation. 606 888 [587]

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually 844 [851]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

156 is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by
828 overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individ-
571 ual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its mem-
594 bers, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

571 Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not
578 between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

571 Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly
561 as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they
88 have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference
561 toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior
576 among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older
888 men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in
[593] front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the
[276] age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba*
[521] (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and
[793] older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the priyilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"gligbord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one. 561 576 888

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants. 561 571 858 [594] [857] 883 594 [572] [476]

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest. 561 185 594 178

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations. 578 [567] 594 [596]

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too [562] different from each other for that.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

727 and horses dispersed and hidden among the rocks; the town occupied
872 by the troops of "a Turkish Binbashi". And yet, amidst all this martial activity and excitement the good people of Metsovo were occupied with repairing one of their schools. "It is incredible", comments this traveller, "how ardent and universal among the Greeks is the desire of instruction . . . even in the wildest spots that man has chosen for a habitation or a refuge." The universal destruction of the village schools during the recent troubled years has done nothing to abate this passionate desire for instruction, which may still be reckoned one of the most striking and attractive features of the Greek character.

123 We did not linger long in Palaiochori. Mitsos was returning to
484 Kalambaka for supplies with a train of pack-animals, and before the sun was fairly round to the south side of the parsonage (where the *psaltes* lay late abed, reflecting upon his astonishing deliverance from the perils to which travellers are subject) the horses were saddled and we were ready to depart.

Some four miles down the valley, where the waters of the Aspropo-
● [888] tamos divided, lay the cottage of Nicolas Kokoravas—the *geros*, as he was known in the villages round about. An ancient personage with a great reputation for wisdom, it was whispered that he spoke no less than seven languages. We had made the acquaintance of this venerable polyglot the previous evening, and had paused for a few moments outside his dwelling while one of his numerous grandchildren, a fair girl clad in Vlach costume with two children clinging to her voluminous skirts, had brought us apples as we sat astride our beasts, and Papa Costas had scribbled a hasty note addressed to the president of the village of Chrysomelia (an hour's journey to the eastward) to warn him of our impending visit and asking that an escort might be sent to meet us the following day at the cottage of the *geros*.

"Mitsos will leave you at the house of Papa Nicolas, where the waters divide", explained our priest-carpenter; "there you will await the animals from Chrysomelia."

"At what hour will they come?"

"At twelve, without doubt."

The schoolmistress borrowed Boris' camera and took our *etkon* as we perched upon our high wooden saddles. The children peered out at the door and through the chinks in the United Nations' packing cases. Mitsos led the way down the path between the high drifts of snow towards the bleached plane trees and the polished boulders of the

/28 cont./ 603 867 702

always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [538] [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source of the disease. 744

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their children. 164 165

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though the local doctor is free of charge. 758 [777] [511]

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. According to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of their religious duties to respect and care for the aged. 888 593

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farming. The people barely make their living and on lean years they have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise. 241 511

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436] [804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.